



Publication of the Revolutionary Movement - Central Visayas PAKIGBISOG

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EDITORIAL

Advance the Anti-feudal Struggles of the Toiling Masses, Gain the Support of the Peasantry for the People's War!

Our national democratic revolution is one gigantic movement of the masses, the peasants especially. In a backward and agrarian country, they contribute the necessary number in the entire array of revolutionary forces. Their enthusiastic support and participation are requirements for victories in every stage of the people's war. Without their participation, the revolution is assured of defeat. Thus, if we must evaluate our current strength and chart our direction, we must give prime consideration to the state of our agrarian revolution.

Looking back at our achievements in waging agrarian revolution

The lessons learned in waging agrarian revolution, especially in the early years of the Second Great Rectification Movement have been our most valuable teachers. In an effort to recover the mass base lost due to the opportunist errors in the late 80's as well as to the reactionary armed forces' campaigns of encirclement and suppression, the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army, and the revolutionary mass organizations in Central Visayas conducted a comprehensive rectification movement. We summed-up our practice in waging revolution and reviewed the Party's basic documents as well as its guiding theory, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

From the mid-90's onwards, the NPA conducted social investigation and class analysis in the barrios, a practice almost forgotten during the period of disorientation.

After grasping the key issues that confront the peasant masses in the barrios, there were attempts to engage in anti-feudal struggles in the local level. One relevant case in 1996 was that of an anti-usury campaign in Zone 5 of the NPA's Chocolate Hills Command. Although it suffered some setbacks at the start, the masses' militant determination to win their just demands soon overwhelmed the landlord concerned. The victory prepared the ground for consolidating the mass base after a period of disorientation due to the opportunist errors of the previous years.

With this breakthrough experience, the peasants and the NPA squads in the



various guerrilla zones of the Chocolate Hills Command tried to replicate the anti-feudal struggle won in that particular barrio. In 1997, an inter-barrio campaign was launched in Zone 2 to assert the peasants' right to sideline occupations, particularly the "dukdok bato" (manual stone



Agrarian revolution in Central Visayas grew to an unprecedented level when anti-feudal struggles mushroomed in both its provinces.

crushing). The peasants' struggle to resist state restrictions in the Chocolate Hills area and to augment their meager incomes led to the exposé of the US-Ramos regime's Proclamation 1037, a "pseudo-environmental" law that banned extracting limestone as a minor additional source of income for small farmers. Conscious that this would generate protests from the peasants, the regime made an effort to conceal this decree.

The same anti-feudal struggle exposed the real intent of reactionary police operations of that time. In the guise of counter-insurgency, the 346th Mobile Field Force Company launched Oplans Bionic and Bulawan. The operations actually harassed the peasant population and cleared the way for the reactionary state's "eco-tourism" projects. These drove the peasants to the arms of the revolutionary movement. The first tactical offensives in the rectification period were just punishments by the Red army against the fascist troops, demanded by the people.

The anti-PP 1037 struggle, led by a reinvigorated Party and its regional leadership, was widely participated by the peasant masses. This anti-feudal campaign not only led to further recovery of the mass base, it laid the basis for the new advances of the people's war. The Party, the NPA, and the revolutionary mass organizations reaped its gains. Many peasant mass activists who were aroused, organized and mobilized during the said campaign were recruited to the Party and the NPA. It gave both the Party and the people's army the much-needed new recruits to face the challenges of the rectification movement while confronting the reactionaries.

With the anti-PP 1037 struggle as an inspiration and source of practical lessons, the masses in the guerilla fronts as well as the legal peasant movement made advances in their own anti-feudal struggles.

In fact, new guerrilla fronts were established as results of the masses' warm response to the people's army. In the area of the Francisco Dagohoy Command, a campaign against PP 468 or the Wahig-Inabanga Watershed Area was waged. The peasant resistance in the area of the former Bobby Penalosa Command to the Rajah Sikatuna National Park heightened. And in the Vicente Padayao Command's area of midnorthern Cebu, the peasants relentlessly battled the foreign mining corporations and pseudo-environmental programs of the reactionary state. The legal peasant movement also made progress during the same period, exposing the rottenness of the fake land reform of the reactionary government.

Agrarian revolution in Central Visayas grew to an unprecedented level when anti-feudal struggles mushroomed in both its provinces. This resulted to the widening and deepening of the mass base, which laid the basis for extensive and intensive guerilla warfare. There was a well-rounded development of the three integral tasks of the Party and the Red army.

Current conditions are ripe for the anti-feudal struggles to intensify

The conditions in the region's countryside continue to ripen in favor of agrarian revolution. At the same time, we have reaped valuable lessons from the 1996-1998 peasant mass campaigns. There is, therefore, objective basis for intensifying anti-feudal struggles in the guerilla fronts and the legal peasant mass movement.

The reactionary local governments promote foreign-funded infrastructure projects, such as dams (or irrigation systems) and reclamation at the expense of the peasants and fisherfolk. Both the Aumentado and Garcia administrations of Bohol and Cebu, respectively, have shown utter subservience to imperialist interests.

They serve as chief spokesmen of the big comprador-landlord classes in the region.

In Bohol, Aumentado's clique seeks to transform a major portion of the island into an oil palm plantation even as it speeds up the construction of the Bohol Irrigation Project II and other similar ventures funded by Japan's Official Development Assistance. These projects adversely affect the livelihood of thousands of peasants, especially in northeast Bohol. Cebu's Garcia and Osmena are just as determined with their own similar schemes such as the South Reclamation Project as they continue to reclassify agricultural lands into residential, industrial, and worse, mining areas.

As the peasants and other oppressed masses in the countryside brace themselves against these state sponsored attacks on their livelihood, they continue to face age-old feudal and semi-feudal forms of exploitation. The *tersyo* or *tinulo* (land rent) system, which is even considered illegal under reactionary laws, persists in many parts of the region. Usury remains rampant and impoverishes further the masses. The big compradors and landlords control the market and continue to buy the peasant's farm products, from rice to copra, at insultingly low prices. Farm workers' wages remain severely inadequate for their families. Even the reactionary state's agricultural support systems, such as irrigation, burden the peasants with unfairly high payment for inadequate services.

The US-Arroyo regime, in a desperate effort to appease its imperialist masters, intends to hasten these infrastructure projects, pseudo-environmental programs like the CBRMP and NIPAS, and the


conversion of lands consigned to food crops into cash-crop plantations. It does so despite the peasants' strong opposition. It unleashes the fascist troops of the AFP and the PNP to harass the masses in the countryside and defeat the armed revolutionary movement, the major obstruction to its capricious economic plans.

Wage anti-feudal struggles and reap the gains for the people's army and mass movement

Even as feudalism and semi-feudalism are saddling the peasants to intense exploitation and oppression, we have yet to surmount certain problems in launching, sustaining and, achieve victory in our anti-feudal struggles. We still have to embark on more widespread anti-feudal campaigns in the region similar to those of the late 90's. There may have been some sparks of such campaigns in the guerilla fronts and white areas, but we still have to see the prairie fire that could engulf the region. We need to learn correct tactics in order to sustain and, ultimately, win concrete gains such as successfully resisting land grabbing and conversions, changing land rent in favor of the peasants, increasing farm-gate prices of peasants' products, eradicating usury, and achieving affordable agricultural support systems. The minimum program of our agrarian revolution must be struggled for and won even as we continue to wage the people's war in order to, ultimately, seize state power, a requisite for the maximum land reform program.

We must not let the favorable conditions in the region pass. We must seize the opportunity to advance agrarian

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Nueva Montana Burning

From the ashes, resistance.

August 13, 2003. A poor man's hut was burned to the ground in the remote barrio of Nueva Montana, part of Buenavista, Bohol. What made this more heartbreaking is that Tatay Lumen himself set fire to his own hut, forced by the supposed protectors of the Bolanon populace, soldiers of the 15th Infantry Battalion.

The Land Problem and Revolutionary Movement

Eleven towns in Bohol were declared protected and watershed areas under Presidential Proclamation 468, of which Buenavista is included. In Nueva Montana, almost 70 hectares were planted to gmelina. Under PP 468, the farmers were left with even less land to till. The faint hope of finally acquiring the land under the reactionary government's land reform program vanished under the new laws.

Which is why in 1998, the peasant masses welcomed with open arms the revolutionary movement when our Red fighters entered Nueva Montana, seeing that the only way to genuine agrarian reform is through building their political power in the barrio and strengthening the ranks of the New People's Army.

However, the enthusiasm and determination of the masses to consolidate their organs of political power was matched by the Betanganso family's unrelenting persecution of our organized masses and

► *from page 3*

revolution until we can intensify and sustain anti-feudal mass campaigns in the regional plane. Doing so will not only alleviate the peasantry from their immediate economic problems, it will also solve our political and organizational problems. It is through the mobilization of the multitude of peasants according to their class interests that we are able to deepen the mass base, recruit those most qualified into the people's army and Party, broaden the united front and strengthen it with the basic masses at the core, and build the basis for establishing the revolutionary government at the barrio level.

In the face of brutal fascist campaigns in the countryside, the peasants' militancy must continue to surge against the

terrorism perpetuated by the US-Arroyo regime and its local lackeys. The struggle for the respect of human rights must be given a class content by relating the issue of state fascism to the land problem. On the other hand, widespread anti-feudal struggles forms part of the basis of the Red army's tactical offensives and the people's war in general.

As the agrarian revolution advances more comprehensively, we further strengthen the people's army and Party in terms of quality and numbers. We also achieve all-rounded revolutionary strength with the peasants as the main force and contribute to the national effort to raise our people's war for national liberation and democracy to a new and higher level.



even our Red fighters. Led by the barangay captain, Baldomero Betaganso and his brother, chief of the reactionary militia, Virgilio, they armed themselves and spied on the revolutionary ranks and activities in the barrio.

Despite this, our Red fighters exhausted all efforts to neutralize or even at least gain their respect. We repeatedly explained to them the existing revolutionary organization in the barrio represented by its organs of political power. If they would not join the revolutionary ranks, they must at least recognize and respect the movement. But they continued their counter-revolutionary activities.

As the revolutionary ranks expanded and consolidated in the barrio, a case was filed in the People's Court against the Betaganso family for land grabbing. The People's Court resolved that the land in question be returned to the rightful owners. After this, the Betaganso's counter-revolutionary activities increased. In May 2002, when the 78th Infantry Battalion conducted combat operations in Nueva Montana, Captain Baldomero and other family members became their eyes and ears in the barrio and acted as guides. They exposed those active in the revolutionary movement to the military.

It was during these operations that 'Tay Lumen's house was burned and 3 local inhabitants were beaten up by the fascist troops. So when it was confirmed that Baldomero and Billy Betaganso were hired spies of the 302nd Brigade based in Carmen, Bohol, they were tried for crimes against the people of Nueva Montana. The People's Court sentenced both to the maximum penalty of death, which was implemented by the Red fighters last February 3, 2003.

The Violence of the Reactionary State Exposed

Even if the Francisco Dagohoy Command of the NPA in Central Visayas already made an official statement claiming responsibility for the death penalty that was meted to the Betaganso brothers,

5 farmers from Nueva Montana were arrested, charged, and detained for double murder. Antonio Sanchez, first councilor Edwin Lofranco, Ruben Busalanan and Rudy Mejias were arrested by the military and turned over to the police on February 4, 2003. The next day, Elpidio Tagsip was also arrested. All five were arrested without any warrant and were not advised of their rights as detainees. The elements of 15th IB, who promptly made Nueva Montana a temporary base, connived with the Betaganso family to set fire to 17 houses in the barrio. Without showing any remorse or hesitance, they slaughtered chickens and other livestock and harvested the rice and other crops of the farmers who evacuated from the place in fear. Even families who were spared from the burning and rampage still left Nueva Montana, seeing how the military troops and the Betagansos wreak havoc and sow fear in the barrio (See table in page 7).

The municipal and provincial governments didn't make even a show of effort to help the innocent civilians caught in the fascist rampage of the 15th IB. Gov. Erico Aumentado himself said during a dialogue organized by the affected farmers that he cannot do anything for the 5 innocent civilians of Nueva Montana who were charged and detained by the reactionary troops. This unmasks him, as with his superior Pres. Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, as proponents and implementers of state fascism. They defend militarization and turn a deaf ear to the human rights violations committed by the AFP.

All this only shows that the state never wavers and hesitates to use force and fascism to counter any resistance of the

oppressed Filipino people. Of course we know that the ruling class in the country today is comprised of the big comprador bourgeoisie and landlords so it is no surprise that they use all the power at hand to crush opposition. Which is why, 21 years after the lifting of martial law, cases of human rights violations continue to pile up.

An Oppressed People's Response

Yet even as the military troops razed to the 17 houses of Nueva Montana, Buenavista, the people's ire against the fascist state continue to rise, adding more fire to their determination and resolve to advance the national democratic revolution. It is only through this that the fascism of the state will be forever vanquished.

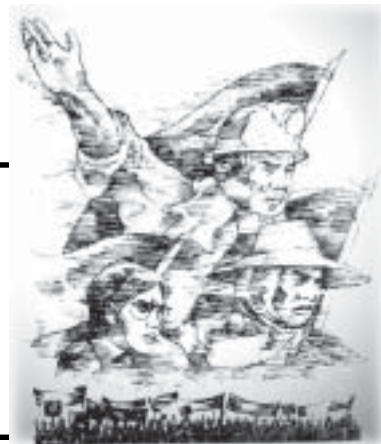
Tatay Lumen and other 17 families might have lost their houses to state fascism, but not their dignity and integrity. The power to write history and build the society remains in their hands.



As the US-Arroyo regime pushes for the OALC:

Gather the working class for the coming struggles

Last May 1, more than a thousand workers and their supporters gathered in Cebu City to oppose the now-pending Omnibus Amendments to the Labor Code as well as to push anew their demand for wage increases. At the same time, the rally condemned militarist aggression of US imperialism and called for the ouster of the puppet Macapagal-Arroyo regime.



Contrastingly, Malacanang offered “consuelo” packages last May 1 in complete disregard of legitimate demands for higher wages, better working conditions, and recognition of democratic rights. Flaunting its disregard of the working class in shameless fashion, Macapagal-Arroyo regime reduced the historic day into a day of token offerings, as it treated the public in Metro Manila for free LRT rides and concerts. The regime “pledged” to reduce electricity rates, long after the Supreme Court ordered Meralco in November 2002 to reimburse excess charges amounting to some P29.2 billion, exposing further the government’s collaboration to the Lopez-owned company.

The May 1 gesture of the Arroyo regime clearly corroborates its consistency in upholding the policy of cheap and repressed labor in the country. Contractualization, lack of job security and union busting are prevailing norms which ensure superprofits for imperialism and local capitalist as the workers continue to bear the brunt of every economic crunch. In Central Visayas, the daily wage rate of P190/day prove clearly inadequate even for conservative government estimates of P368.70 per day needed by a family of six for decent subsistence. It was in 2002 that wages were last raised only for agricultural workers in the region by a measly P5.00/day.

As the mass of workers are mired in abject poverty, the regime chooses to further push through anti-labor measures which are designed to take away the hard-earned victories of militant and nationalist unionism and escalate cheap and flexible labor in accordance with the neoliberal dictates of its imperialist masters. Militant unionism is being criminalized as the regime stretches “terrorism” to include any kind of collective action by workers within and even outside the factory as possible “terrorist acts.” Macapagal-Arroyo’s capitalist patrons are also pushing for a 10-year strike moratorium.

The regime is all braced-up to push further the anti-worker provisions of the Philippine Labor Code and attune it further to imperialist globalization. If enacted, the proposed bill shall make the policy of cheap and flexible labor more systematic. Foremost of the proposed changes are:

- Limitation of wage increases to once every six years and the further strengthening of wage regionalization.
- Extension of the effectivity of collective bargaining agreements (CBA's) from the current two to three years, to six years.
- Further legalization of lockouts or the cessation of operations by an enterprise or factory in order to boot out strikers or

coerce them into accepting whatever the capitalist offers them.

- Regulation of labor-only contracting, a widespread practice in export processing zones where foreign MNC's and TNC's thrive in Central Visayas, where most workers remain contractual for life. Labor-only contracting will likewise no longer be considered a crime.

- Putting unions and labor organizations under surveillance, especially their sources of funds.

Twisting the arms of militant unionism had always been a priority of the previous regimes in an effort to promote an "investor-friendly environment". The US-Arroyo

regime is taking a step further by amending the Labor Code to institutionalize more repressive measures and define even the most legitimate workers' struggles as terrorism. Hence, it braces its fascist machinery for an attack on the working class. Nevertheless, it is bound to fail.

The workers have history on their side. They have fought heroically and established their vanguard party in the darkest years of direct US colonialism and again during the US-Marcos dictatorship. Their militant struggles have outlasted puppet regimes. The workers are bound to surge forward and win.



HR Violations in Nueva Montana

HRV Case	Date	Victims	Perpetrators
Arbitrary Arrest and Detention	05 February 2003	Edwin Lofranco and Rodrigo Mejias	SSgt. Gervas, Cpl. Aguirre, Cpl. Diong, PFC Janlandoni, 15th IB
Arbitrary Arrest and Detention	05 February 2003	Antonio Sanchez and Ruben Busalanan	SSgt Gervas, Cpl. Baliguan, Cpl. Aguirre, Cpl. Diong, and PFC Janlandoni, 15th IB
Harassment	05 February 2003	Jojo Sanchez and Richardo Sanchez	SSgt. Gervas, Cpl. Baliguan, Cpl. Aguirre, Cpl. Diong, and PFC Janlandoni 15th IB
Arbitrary Arrest and Detention	09 February 2003	Elpidio Tagsip	Capt. Mendez, et. Al, 15th IB
Grave Threats	09 February 2003	Elpidio Tagsip	Maurico Tagsip (military asset)
Violation of domicile	09 February 2003	Ruben Busalanan's family	Elements of 15th IB
Arbitrary Arrest and Detention, Grave Threats, Grave Coercion	11 February 2003	Pedro Tagsip and family, members of BUFA	Lt. Abas and elements of 15th IB with Felix, Lando, and Maurico Betaganso, and Mauricio Tagsip
Arson	16 February 2003 (2:30AM)	Households of Marilou and Gonzalo Lofranco, Agapito and Meleton Abanda, and Diosdado Bautista	Elements of 15th IB with local civilian agents (from the Betaganso family)
Arson	19 February 2003 (11:00PM)	Households of Sonny Ramirez, Efren and Bernardino Sanchez, and Judith Subsuban	Elements of 15th IB with local civilian agents
Arson	23 February 2003 (11:00PM- 12:00 MN)	Households of Ciriaco, Jefelito, Jeffrey, Rolando Degamo and Nilo Lofranco	Elements of 15th IB with local civilian agents
Mass Evacuation	05-19 February 2003	Households of Agapito Abanda, Maximino Abanda, Victoria Betaganso, Rowena Busalanan, Rolando Degamo, Jepelito Degamo, Elmer Diez, Emelia Lofranco, Gonzalo Lofranco, Marilou Lofranco, Diosdado Nadunza, Cerilo Nuezana, Anatolio Ramirez, Adoracion Sanchez, Pablo Sanchez, Bernardino Sanchez, Efren Sanchez, Sonny Ramirez, Terisa Sanchez, Victor Sobiono, Vicente Socorin, Judith Subsuban and Pedro Tagsip	Elements of 15th IB and civilian agents
Violation of Domicile and Grave Threats	19 February 2003	Adoracion Sanchez, Sr, Arlene Abante, Irene Larita	Alvin Betaganso, Dante Betaganso, Rico Betaganso, Rogelio Betaganso and Leonardo Betaganso

THE 302ND BDE's COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY CAMPAIGN

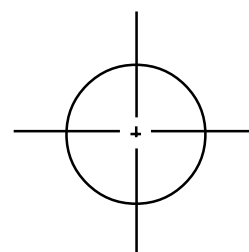
Last June 30, the 302nd Brigade celebrated its 27th anniversary in Camp Rajah Sikatuna, brgy. Katipunan, Carmen, Bohol. The brigade, known in the reactionary army as the Achievers' Brigade, exercises operational control over the counter-revolutionary campaign in Bohol and Cebu.

As expected, 3rd Infantry Division (3rd ID) commander Maj. Gen. Reynaldo Alcasid and 302nd Brigade (302nd Bde) chief Brig. Gen. Dionisio Torina both boasted of their so-called achievements in the implementation of the US-Arroyo regime's Oplan Bantay Laya in the region.

They claimed that the 302nd Brigade's internal security operation (euphemism for the AFP's left hand concept of combat, intelligence and psywar operations, or triad operations) was able to "neutralize" (kill or capture) 38 NPAs, affected the surrender of 76 others, recovered 12 high-powered rifles (HPRs) and 11 low-powered firearms (LPFs), and "cleared" 16 barrios.

The brigade also claimed that the brigade's Special Operations Team approach (SOTs, or the AFP's right hand concept of bringing the civilian government and private groups at the forefront of the counter-revolutionary campaign) was able to "clear" 109 barangays in Bohol and seven in Cebu (out

An Exercise in Futility

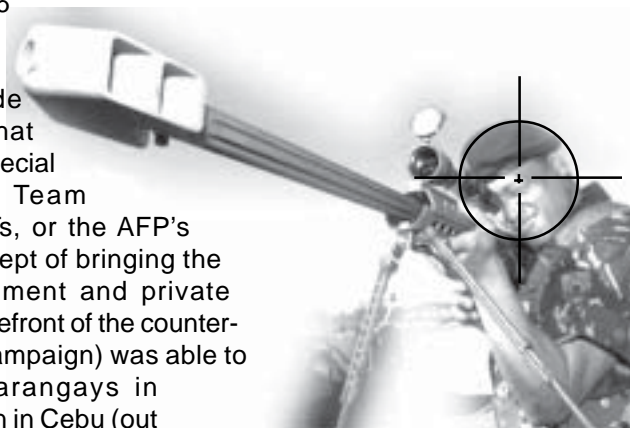


of the 132 it classified as NPA-affected barangays). It said it did so by implementing so-called impact projects worth P810,000 in Bohol and P55,000 in Cebu for waterworks, schools, mechanical driers and blowers, animal dispersal, and the like.

The two generals also awarded Bohol Gov. Erico Aumentado and a few mayors for their political, financial and moral contribution to the 302nd Brigade. As chairperson of the so-called Area Coordinating Center (ACC) in Bohol, Aumentado futilely brought a few mayors and private individuals at the forefront of the counter-revolutionary drive in an attempt to project a "civilian face" to the US-Arroyo's Oplan Bantay Laya campaign.

But Oplan Bantay Laya, like other counter-revolutionary campaigns before it, is doomed to fail. Even its concept of mobilizing local civilian officials is proving ineffective in reversing the steady revolutionary advance in Central Visayas.

As the revolutionary masses consolidate and strengthen their ranks, they unite against their most notorious and unrelenting counter-revolutionary enemies. The New People's Army, heeding the people's demand for justice, thus consider



as principal targets Gov. Erico Aumentado and the triumvirate of Pres. Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, Defense Secretary Angelo Reyes and National Security Adviser Roilo Golez.

Beyond the lies

Based on the current balance of forces in the country, the revolutionary movement launches extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare based on an ever-widening and ever-deepening mass base. In the countryside, it implements the three integral aspects of armed struggle, agrarian revolution and base building.

Thus, the New People's Army (NPA) launches armed tactical offensives based on capability, implements the minimum land reform program, and establishes revolutionary mass organizations and organs of democratic political power.

From June 2002 to May 2003, the NPA Arnulfo Ortiz Regional Operational Command launched five major armed tactical offensives, wherein the Red army seized 19 high-powered rifles (HPRs), including an M-79. Among these were the August 15 ambush of RMG troops at brgy. Pansoy, Sogod by the Vicente Padayao Command (3 HPRs seized), December 11 ambush of Cagfus at brgy. Taming, Dagohoy by the Francisco Dagohoy Command (3 HPRs seized), December 12 raid of a 78th IB detachment at brgy. Siotes, Carmen by the Vicente Padayao Command (6 HPRs seized), and the March 8 ambush of 15th IB troops at brgy. San Isidro, Mabini by the Arnulfo Mendez Command (6 HPRs seized).

The Red army punished at least twelve enemy troops during the said armed tactical offensives. Most were members of the notorious 15th IB based in northeastern Bohol and the 78th IB based in midnorthern Cebu. More than 10 other enemy troops were wounded.

In contrast, the NPA suffered only five fatalities and lost only eight HPRs to the reactionary army during the last twelve months.

The Red army also implemented sanctions during the same period against Globe Telecom, Gorones Construction and the Rough Riders Bus Company for their serious anti-people activities and violation of the revolutionary taxation policy.

The revolutionary mass base continues to expand and consolidate. With the stress on consolidating the several hundred barangays within the various guerrilla fronts in the region, the ratio between consolidation and expansion work further improved to one consolidated barangay for every two expansion barangays. The number of barangays with peasant associations and organs of political power thus increased.

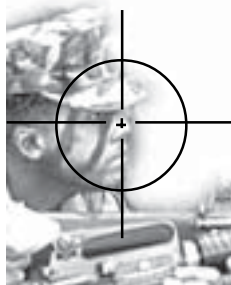
The organs of political power continue to dispense revolutionary justice against land-grabbers, rapists, cattle rustlers and other criminal elements in the localities. Since June 2002, punitive actions against four anti-people elements were implemented by the Red army after the People's Court found them guilty of grave criminal activities against ordinary farmers in Bohol.

Implementation of the minimum land reform program has been sustained. Particular campaigns to reduce land rent and usury, and to promote various sideline occupations of poor peasants, benefitted hundreds of peasant families in the various guerrilla fronts during the past year. These were complemented with vigorous campaigns against various anti-peasant and anti-poor projects of the reactionary US-Arroyo regime.

302nd Brigade's growing
desperation

To counter increasing failures in its counter-revolutionary campaign, the 302nd Brigade uses the bourgeois mass media to spread incredible reports regarding the revolutionary movement and supposed NPA fatalities. Such was the case of the March 26 and 28 failed raids against the NPA

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Failing to defeat the NPA in combat, the 302nd Brigade vents its counter-revolutionary wrath upon unarmed civilians and non-combatants.

Francisco Dagohoy Command, where it boasted having killed as many as thirty NPAs despite its failure to produce even a single body of a fallen Red fighter. It later became the laughingstock of the revolutionary masses who knew first-hand that the most the Red fighters suffered in the two incidents were very minor scratches.

Alongside its psywar campaign, the 302nd Brigade commits a string of human rights and international humanitarian law violations against peasant civilians, legal people's organizations and suspected revolutionaries. Two recent experiences exposed the brigade's penchant for naked fascism. One involved the 78th IB's arbitrary arrest and manhandling of ordinary peasants, as well as grave threats against human rights advocates, following the NPA's ambush of RMG elements last August 15 in brgy. Pansoy, Sogod, Cebu. Another was the 15th IB's campaign of terror since early February in brgy. Nueva Montana, Buenavista, Bohol. *(See related story.)*

Failing to defeat the NPA in combat, the 302nd Brigade vents its counter-revolutionary wrath upon unarmed civilians and non-combatants in clear violation of the 1949 Geneva Conventions, its Additional Protocols of 1977, and the 1998 GRP-NDF Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL).

Frustrating the 302nd
Brigade's prolonged
campaign of suppression

On the occasion of the NPA's 34th founding anniversary, Chairman Armando Liwanag of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) declared that the revolutionary forces nationwide is now "fully developing the early phase of the strategic defensive." He added that the revolutionary

movement has "gained the critical mass of Red fighters for moving towards the middle phase of the strategic defensive."

As we remember our revolutionary martyrs and departed heroes, the revolutionary movement can and must frustrate the 302nd Brigade's prolonged campaign of suppression. Bohol, in particular, was singled out as a priority of Oplan Bantay Laya's strategy of encircling certain guerrilla fronts with large numbers of its forces. Thus, from 1,500 to 2,500 regular Army, Special Forces, Scout Rangers, Engineering Brigade, RMG, PMG and Cafgu forces have been operating in the province for years. They are sent into the barangays mainly for psywar, intelligence and kill-loot-and-burn operations against the revolutionary movement.

The enemy campaign will and must be frustrated by adhering to protracted people's war and the specific line of extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare based on an ever-widening and ever-deepening mass base. Calculated armed tactical offensives must be launched against the weakest part of enemy operations. These must be combined with the painstaking building of the mass base and the steady advance of agrarian revolution.

The 302nd Brigade as part of the parasitic military of the reactionary US-Arroyo regime is constantly hampered by the worsening socio-economic crisis in the country. And as the semi-feudal, semi-colonial state imposes graver sufferings to the overwhelming majority of Filipinos, the scamper for power among the various reactionary cliques increases.

The revolutionary movement must unite the various oppressed classes and sectors in the region. It must also extend leniency and cooperation to sections of the ruling class who do not allow themselves to be utilized in the US-Arroyo regime's counter-revolutionary campaign. By doing so, a broad united front can be mobilized against the most corrupt, fascist and oppressive enemies of the revolution.



History, Written in Blood

As proletarian revolutionaries, we know that history is dictated by the masses, built through their sweat and toil, and written in their blood.

Throughout time, as the masses suffered under the yoke of exploitation and oppression, the blood of countless martyrs flowed to nurture the fertile ground of revolution. Here in our country, our ancestors fought gallantly against the invading colonialists for centuries, and millions gave up their lives. Their sacrifice is our inspiration, their cause our legacy. In the 34 years of armed struggle waged by the CPP-NPA-NDF, we have continued to write the history of our people, in blood.

It has been three years since 2 July 2000, when 8 comrades were martyred in a firefight with fascist troops from the 801st Infantry Brigade in Sitio Diis, Brgy. Kauswagan, Trinidad, Bohol. In remembrance of Diis and all the martyrs of the revolutionary movement in Central Visayas, PAKIGBISOG is devoting a section in each issue to salute their sacrifices and establish their mark in the history of the revolution.

Ka Gabriel

Athena Ninal (1969-2000)

It was in the strife-torn island of Mindanao that Ka Gabriel first encountered the bitter reality of war and class struggle. Early on, she saw the dedication of relatives and members of her family who supported and participated in the revolution.

However, she also witnessed the massive disorientation of the revolutionary ranks and the devastating Kampanyang Ahos. Having decided that they have had enough, her family decided to flee Mindanao and relocate to Argao, Cebu in the late 1980's. They vowed never to return to the revolution again.

Ting-ting, as friends knew her, went on to college in the big city, and took up Sociology at the University of San Carlos and by all accounts impressed her teachers with her intelligence and dedication. While she was there, she met the student leaders who would lead her back to the path of revolution.

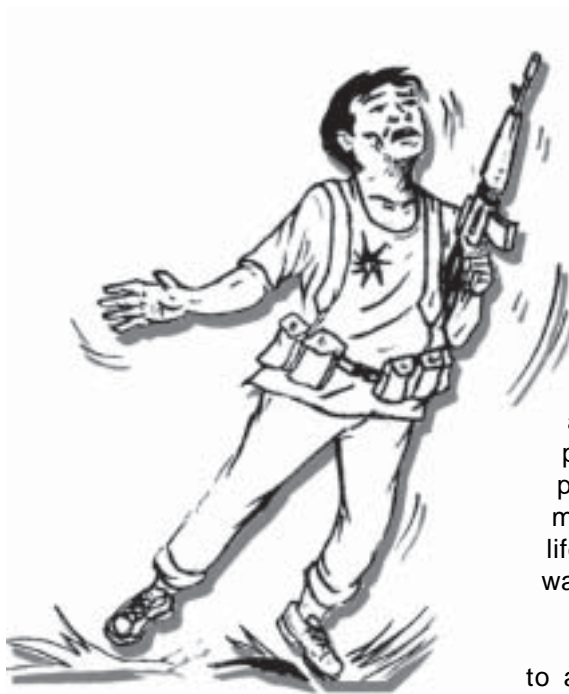
She joined the thousands of students taking up the battle cry against commercialization of education and later integrated into peasant and worker's communities to further understand the society she was living in. Finally, in 1990, she decided to go into full-time organizing of the peasant masses in Cebu. By this time, she was already a member of the Communist Party of the Philippines, vowing to devote herself to the masses and the revolution.

After four years of hard work in the legal peasant mass movement, Athena or Ka Gabriel (her nom de guerre) decided that it was time to take up a much higher form of struggle. Recognizing that we will achieve national liberation only through armed struggle, she went to the countrysides of Bohol still to organize the peasant masses but this time with the People's Army.

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*In remembrance
of Diis and our
martyrs*



According to her comrades-in-arms, she was an untiring organizer who never refused any task given to her. She put to use the theory she learned and integrated it with the practice of the toiling masses. She struggled to remold herself and turned her back on her peti-bourgeois influences and embraced the proletarian standpoint and perspective. The rigors of military training and guerilla life didn't daunt her in any way.

In 1997, she was married to a fellow member of the *Hukbo*, with whom she had a daughter. Her married status did not hamper her tasks as a people's warrior. Her resolve didn't falter even if she had to leave her daughter with her family and return to the hills after she gave birth. She knew that she was building a better future for their little baby and endured the yearning that a mother naturally feels for her offspring.

Ka Gabriel was already a responsible cadre by the time the 801st Brigade arrived in Bohol. Her tasks included helping in the preparation and establishment of a new guerilla front. In fact, as the sun rose on 02

July 2000, she was up early, looking forward to starting challenging tasks in a new area.

When the first shots rang out, Ka Gabriel showed the discipline of a people's warrior. She followed the commander's instructions and encouraged comrades as the bullets rained all around them. She also made sure that her husband's brother, Baludoy, who was only 15 years old and visiting his *manong*, was beside her while they systematically withdrew from the camp. Her husband later found them beside each other, his wife and brother, bleeding and unconscious.

The fascist troops piled Ka Gabriel's body, along with those of the 7 other martyrs in a truck, in a similar manner as one would transport slaughtered livestock. Her family, who came with the fact-finding team from Karapatan, was aghast at the way she was treated, a clear human rights' violation.

Ka Gabriel was given a hero's burial attended by former schoolmates, friends and people she worked with. Her comrades in the New People's Army also gave her, along with the 7 other martyrs of Diis, a big memorial service.

Ka Gabriel was only 31 years old when she was martyred. But her legacy will live on in the years to come, as the history of the revolution continues to be written.



In Praise of Martyrs

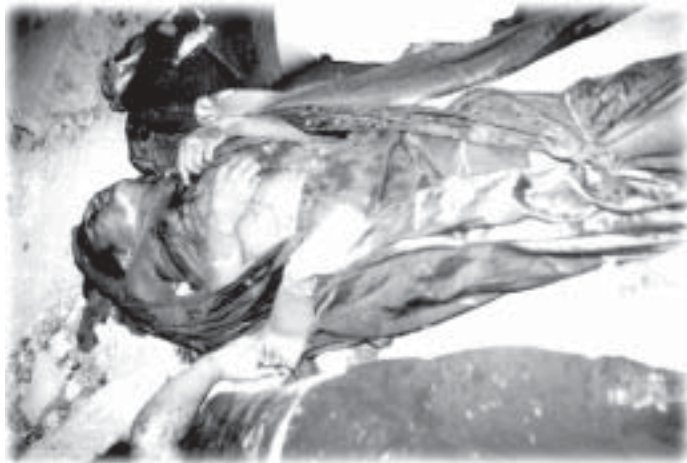
*We praise to high heavens
And for all time
The heroes who die
In the hands of the enemy
In the battlefield,
In the torture chamber
And against the wall.
In these bloody places,
The struggle is sharpest
And the meaning of one's life
Is tested in one crucial moment.
Courage to the last breath
Makes the martyr live beyond death.*

Jose Ma. Sison
9 December 1977



The AFP's Terrorism in Kananga, Leyte

Civilians and Hors d' Combat



MASSACRED

Nine helpless civilians and hors d' combat were tortured and massacred by elements of the 19th Infantry Battalion when they raided a suspected camp of the New People's Army last 16 April 2003 in Sitio Mahayahay, Brgy. San Isidro, Kananga, Leyte.

According to the Fact-Finding Team from Karapatan-Central Visayas and corroborated by the recent autopsy conducted by the Commission on Human Rights (CHR)-Eastern Visayas, all nine victims were first scalded with boiling water and severely beaten up before they were massacred without mercy.

The civilians murdered by the fascist troops were Eugenio Tazan, 54, chair of the San Isidro Small Farmers' Association; minors Rey Corpin, 14; Randy Potoy, 15; Obet Quidlat, 16; Benjie Cabugoy, 17; and 3 months pregnant Rowena Superior, 24, a member of the Bagalungon Small Farmers' Association. Three Red fighters were also martyred in the said massacre namely, Teofilo Samuya Jr., 24; Joe Cosenillo and a Ka Louie.

It is presumed that the Red fighters were carrying out propaganda and organizing work in the area when the fascist troops arrived. It is clear, however, that the slain comrades were outnumbered and they chose not to engage the enemy because of the civilians' presence. Witnesses interviewed by the Fact-Finding Team disclosed that they heard the

victims shout "Surrender na mi, sir!" minutes before the bursts of gunfire started.

Seven of the victims bore head wounds, some with skulls clearly bashed in with a heavy object. One victim, his body riddled with several rounds of ammunition, was barely recognizable when the human rights activists arrived to examine the site.

Most of the civilian victims were members of progressive farmers' organizations which led successful anti-feudal campaigns in Kananga. In retaliation, the local landlords and the fascist troops who served them had long been harassing these organizations. As seen in the brutal killings of Bayan Muna, Karapatan, and KMP members in Southern Tagalog, our class enemies and their troops have resorted to torture and murder to curb the intensifying people's resistance.

However, instead of decimating the ranks of the progressive and revolutionary forces, state fascism has only opened the eyes of the masses to the only solution to end their centuries-old suffering under the ruling class: armed struggle.



Enemy Troops Incur Heavy Losses in Danao, Bohol

Ten elements of the 15th IB under 1st Lt. Abdulmanan Abas on combat operations chanced upon red fighters resting in Sitio Pikas, Brgy. Cabatuan, Danao, Bohol last March 26, 2003 at around 6:45 in the morning. The ensuing firefight lasted only a few minutes and our red fighters were able to withdraw from the encounter area with no casualties.

The fascist troops reported a second firefight on the same day in an adjacent barrio in Inabanga. But no such encounter took place between the red fighters and enemy troops. What happened was a misencounter between 1st Lt. Abas' group and the reinforcing troops.

The second encounter between the reactionary troops and our red fighters

actually took place in Sitio San Jose, Brgy. Tabok, Danao, Bohol on March 28, 2003. Fifty-two combined elements of the 15th IB and 6th Special Forces Battallion engaged our red fighters in a running gun battle.

Contrary to enemy propaganda which came out in the local newspapers, the New People's Army did not suffer any fatality in the consecutive encounters. None were wounded and except for some personal belongings and ammunition, nothing was lost to the fascist troops.

Meanwhile, inhabitants in the said barangays saw 8 bodies being retrieved by the military, which they claimed were dead NPA guerillas. The peasant masses, however, did not believe they were bodies of red fighters because of the special treatment given by the enemy troops in the retrieval. Furthermore, they know the policy of the Red Army to inform the families of slain comrades so that they will be able to claim their loved ones' bodies.



NPA Repulses RPA-ABB Attack

A platoon of the New People's Army in Negros Oriental repulsed a raid by the Revolutionary Proletarian Army-Alex Boncayao Brigade last February 24. In the firefight, which lasted less than ten minutes, the people's warriors were able to outmaneuver the counter-revolutionary bandits and were able to inflict wounds on the enemy, particularly Arnel Dagudog, the RPA-ABB unit's commander.

The raid conducted by the RPA-ABB is only one of the series of counter-revolutionary activities and crimes it perpetuated against the revolutionary movement and the people. The armed group is working alongside the reactionary troops of the 3rd Infantry Division of the Philippine Army in "counter-insurgency operations". The RPA-ABB in Negros is led by Arturo Tabara; this gang of rabid counter-revolutionary traitors have incurred numerous blood debts since they bolted the CPP and NPA.

VPC-NPA Punishes Rough Riders Again

Elements from the NPA-Vicente Padayao Command torched three buses of the Rough Riders bus company last March in Maya, San Remigio, Cebu. The special tactical offensive was launched to punish the said bus company for its crimes

against the common folk of northern Cebu and for refusing to pay tax obligations to the people's revolutionary government.

Rough Riders buses have a vicious record of running over ordinary townspeople along its route. Aside from its disregard for the people's safety, it blatantly disrespects the policies of the revolutionary government existing in its area of operations.

Red Fighters Ambush 15th IB Convoy

A squad of the New People's Army belonging to the Arnulfo Mendez Command ambushed a convoy of the 15th IB in Brgy. San Isidro, Mabini. This successful tactical offensive, carried out last March 8, 2003, left five elements of the fascist troops killed in action and two others wounded. The Red army was also able to seize from the enemy a baby M203, a M79, three M16 rifles with vests and ammunitions and one military compass.

A day earlier, death penalty was meted out by our red fighters to a member of the CAFGU who was convicted by the people's court for abusive conduct and crimes against the revolutionary movement. The convoy of responding enemy troops arrived the next day, resulting in the ambush. Included in the list of casualties was 1st Lt. Bongaos, Intelligence Officer of the 15th IB. On the other hand, two red fighters were martyred during the firefight.



Thousands Participate in June 10 Protest

All over Central Visayas, thousands of peasants and other concerned sectors marched in protest last 10 June 2003 to mark the 17th anniversary of the reactionary government's inutile Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP). The three major cities in the region were shaken by the peasants' shouts demanding genuine land reform.

In Cebu, an estimated 2,500 members of Kilusan Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KMP) and allied organizations under the Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (BAYAN) took to the streets after a night's vigil at the provincial capitol. Before the culminating march towards the city's central district, the peasants confronted the Gov. Pabling Garcia in a dialogue for allowing the militarization of mid-north Cebu. The AFP's Central Command did not send any representative to the said talks, despite being invited. The militant peasant organization also demanded from the provincial government food, potable water

supply, and medicines in response to the effects of the El Nino.

Meanwhile, almost 3,000 peasants and allied sectors conducted a camp-out at the Provincial Capitol in Tagbilaran City, Bohol. Led by the HUMABOL, peasants from different parts of the province trooped to the city to demand an end to all anti-peasant and anti-people projects of the Aumentado administration such as the oil palm plantation and Bayungan Dam. While Gov. Aumentado remained deaf to the peasant's demands, the Sangguniang Panglalawigan, when confronted by the peasant leaders in a dialogue, gave in to pressure. They agreed to declare Bohol free from genetically modified crops such as Bt corn through a resolution. They also decided to put under investigation the oil palm and the Bayungan Dam projects.

Peasants in Negros Oriental also made a breakthrough in the legal democratic movement based in Dumaguete City. Coming from the surrounding towns and cities, members of the militant peasant organization, KAUGMAON streamed to the province's capital in unprecedented hundreds. They demanded for the implementation of genuine land reform even as they protested DAR's and DENR's violation of the state's own token agrarian reform program.



PKM and KM mobilizes in the open

Revolutionary mass activists of the Pambansang Katipunan ng mga Magbubukid and Kabataang Makabayan shocked Cebu's reactionary police and government when it launched a series of lightning rallies and *operation dikit/pinta* last April and May. About 20 PKM activists conducted a lightning rally in April 9 in Carbon Market and an *operation dikit* in April 11 in Colon Street. The KM also made a lightning rally right at the city's center in May 2 and an *operation pinta/dikit* a week after. These propaganda activities were well-covered by the local media, amplifying further revolutionary propaganda.

The PKM and KM are revolutionary mass organizations of peasants and youth, respectively. Both are allied members of the National Democratic Front.

On the March 26 defensive

*'Twas a morning
Of the unhesitant sun,
Embraced by the quietness
Of keen guerillas
Waiting....*

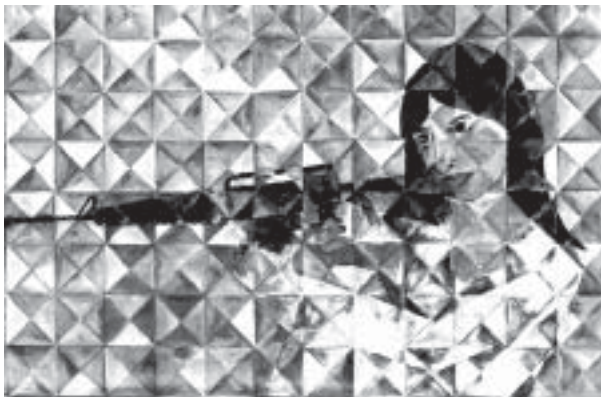
*The enemy's grenade
Marked the death
Of silence.*

*As the mountain shook,
The sight was more sharpened,
The stand became firmer.*

*The cogon grasses, as they swayed
With the 90 RR's waving sound,
Betrayed the mercenaries.*

*The burning fury of the oppressed
Taught the finger
To squeeze the trigger of the gun
And freed the bullets,
The bullets of freedom!*

Ka Hakeem



BALIK SA MASA

by Ka Pipol

*By the glaring sunlight of the east
My sleep so deep was awakened
Like a clock that moved
So did my leap*

*It reached the zenith
Like the brightness of midday
In the midst of sacrifices and sufferings
My firmness was beyond compare*

*But at the peak of my quest
I thought I was infallible
Oh! my ardently desired path
The path to freedom*

*But suddenly the sun declined
Its axis gradually receded
I doubted and was greatly confused
Maybe it ought to be so*

*Until the day unfolded
And its brightness disappeared
Soon darkness came
Gone and gone was hope*

*Is it right?
I can't answer! I can't!
Yet with my belief I went on
A principle that was evil and wrong*

*Cries of the masses
For truth they were searching
These cogently opened my eyes
Indeed I had been away from them*

*My arms I raised up
With so much disgust I uttered
A wrath so devoid of principle
To end the wrong I committed*

*But truth always prevails
The masses are the real judges
And they guided me
To go back to the cradle of the revolutionary movement!*

*The original Bisaya version was translated
into English by Ka Totong.*