

# **LIBERATION**

VOL. XIX NO. 1 PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF THE PHILIPPINES Jan.-Feb. 1991

NDF field hospital

## **Revolutionizing health care in the countryside**





## Take to the streets! Launch offensives!

Five years after EDSA, the people are now denouncing and rejecting the US-Aquino regime for causing them such insufferable pain and hardships.

Kowtowing to the wishes of its US imperialist masters, foreign lending institutions and multinational corporations and the narrow interests of the big comprador bourgeoisie and big landlords, the US-Aquino regime has mired the people deeper in crisis, even surpassing the Marcos dictatorship's record of corruption and brutality.

The people's hopes for social change after EDSA have been utterly shattered. But the EDSA uprising's legacy of democratic struggle and popular initiative continues to be nurtured in the hearts of all patriotic and freedom-loving Filipinos.

With the ruling system faced with an economic and political crisis unprecedented in the nation's history, the people once more take to heart EDSA's number one lesson: that it is within their power to overthrow despotic regimes and shape their destiny.

The time has come for another popular uprising — an uprising that shall redeem the Filipino people's hopes for deep-seated social change. Never again shall

the reactionaries be allowed to coopt popular strivings for democratic change and destroy what the people have fought for. Never again shall they be allowed to derail the path to revolutionary change by dangling before the people the deceptive bait of elections and sham peace talks.

The revolutionary forces led by the NDF call on the people to resist the lure of reformism and form a broad front of all democratic and progressive forces united in the goal of overthrowing the US-Aquino regime.

In line with this, the revolutionary forces should be alert to every twist and turn in the political scene and seize the initiative in exposing and isolating the US-Aquino regime. They should give their all in arousing and mobilizing the people in their tens and hundreds of thousands to take to the streets to launch armed offensives and join militant mass actions that shall reverberate throughout the archipelago. Conditions are ideal for the revolutionary forces to vigorously carry forward the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-fascist struggle to victory.

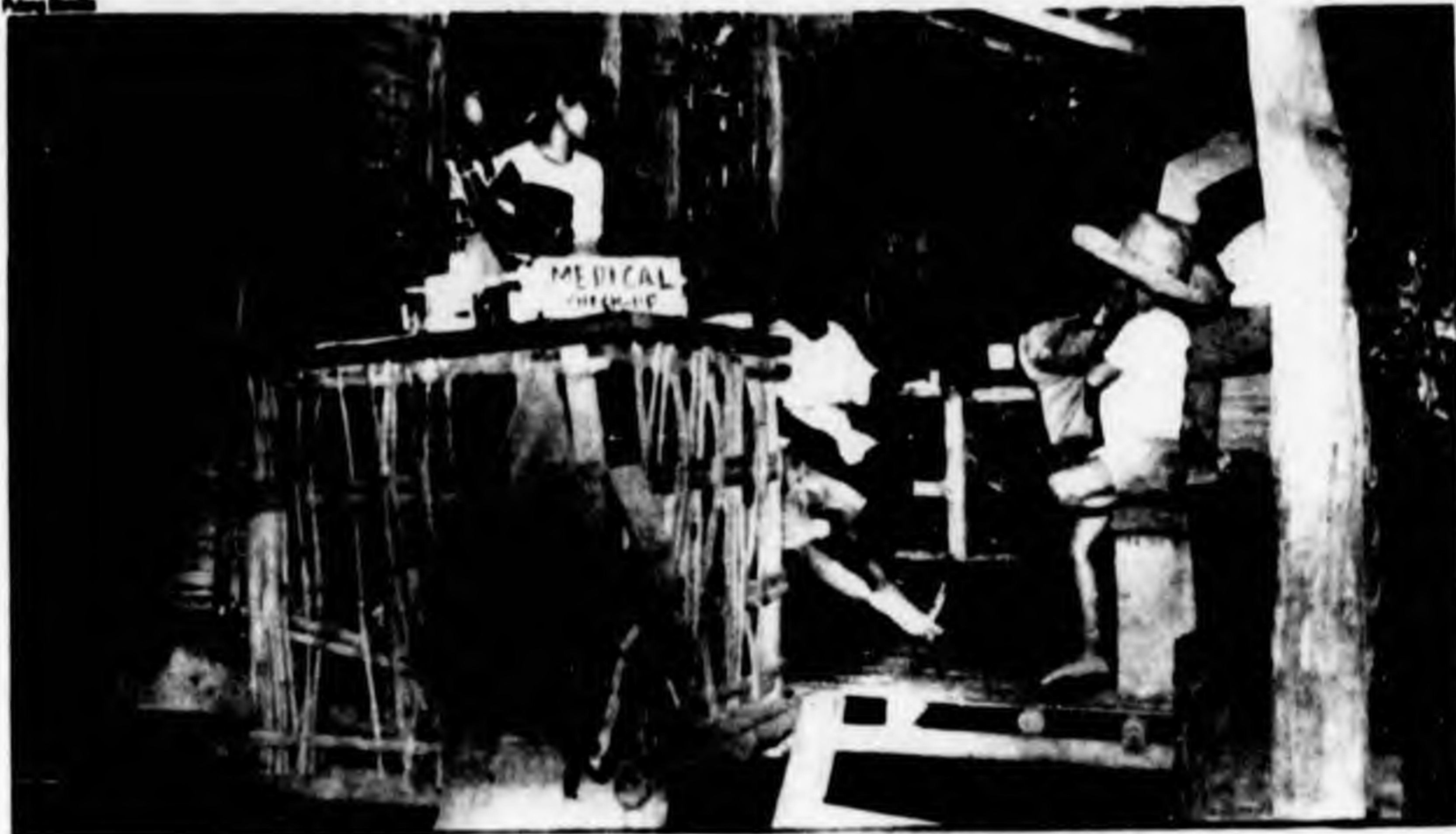
Let these daring popular initiatives spark a massive uprising that shall lead to the overthrow of the US-Aquino regime and help usher in the dawn of a new nationalist and democratic order. ■

*The National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDF) is an alliance of revolutionary organizations and individuals with roots in the various sectors and classes of the Philippines. Its task is to overthrow the dictatorship, to defend national sovereignty, authentic democracy, social justice, progress and peace. It seeks to work with all forces willing to fight to achieve these goals. LIBERATION is the official publication of the NDF.*

# The barefoot doctors come of age

Revolutionary health work makes great strides in guerrilla zones and bases

Phong Thanh



Phong Thanh

*Bringing health care to the people: Villagers wait their turn in a mass clinic (above); medic applies a plaster cast on an injured guerrilla*



**B**ringing quality health care within reach of the toiling masses is one of the fundamental social objectives of any authentic people's revolution. Under the yoke of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, the health care system is largely privatized and

profit-oriented and caters almost exclusively to the ruling elite in the urban centers. At the same time, health services are unaffordable to the basic masses, or simply unavailable, especially in the countryside.

Health has a profound political significance. Even the World Health Organization recognizes that "health is not the mere absence of disease, but a state of physical, mental and social well-being." Thus, in order to

attain a significant and lasting improvement in the people's health, the overall political and socio-economic conditions have to be created that are its indispensable prerequisites. A genuine struggle for health cannot but

*From simple first aid to a higher knowledge and practice of medicine: Combat first aid kit (right); surgery in progress (below)*



Phong Thanh

LinhThao/Lan Emmerich



**Health is not the mere absence of diseases, but a state of physical, mental and social well-being**

be an integral part of the broad revolutionary struggle to radically cure this moribund semicolonial and semifeudal society by striking at its root causes.

#### **Systematizing revolutionary health work**

The practice of bringing health care to the people can be traced to the very beginnings of the revolution's expansion. Health care was considered important as a direct service to the people, who were deprived of effective health services by the reactionary state. But it was also used as a means to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses in the countryside for the armed struggle.

In those pioneering years, many organizers had a basic knowledge of acupuncture and herbal medicine, which became quite popular among the barriofolk. But little by little,

much of the traditional medicine practiced in the early years was discontinued in favor of Western medicine. Through lack of knowledge but also as a result of the all-pervading influence of Western medicine and the unethical advertisements of multinational drug companies, in some cases, irrational and unscientific practices evolved. Typically, many patients seemed to get better only when they were administered dextrose, and many medics felt insecure if they did not automatically prescribe one drug or another to each and every patient.

The need for a scientific, comprehensive and systematized revolutionary health care system gradually became apparent. With the expansion and consolidation of the guerrilla zones, the mass base as well as the revolutionary forces kept increasing in numbers, with their health needs

now have a health structure in place, with one medical officer per NPA squad and platoon, and a staff of two to five health workers at the company and battalion levels. A similar system exists in most territorial organs, with medics and health staffs at the section, district, front or province and regional levels. There is close coordination and cooperation between the (military) NPA medics and the (civilian) territorial medics, and in fact they both serve the organized masses as well as the armed and unarmed revolutionary forces without distinction.

Because the number of health professionals working in the guerrilla zones is rather low, it is this machinery of some 1,500 medics that constitutes the backbone of the revolutionary health care system. It is heart-warming to see how a well-motivated guerrilla-medic, although coming from a peasant background and having

trainings were held at the regional and front levels, involving 1,211 medics. These trainings are then re-echoed to lower levels, thus multiplying their effect. Many regions have developed their own training curricula and manuals on basic medical, surgical and dental skills. For more advanced trainings, the help of the Medical Section of the NPA's General Command is requested, or city-based health professionals are tapped. In advanced surgical trainings, surgical teams are formed, who for a whole day simulate all possible surgical procedures on a dog. After that, these "barefoot surgeons" perform operations on real patients, albeit under supervision.

At the very moment the infamous counter-insurgency campaign Oplan Thunderbolt struck southern Negros in April 1989, such an advanced surgical training was going on in a nearby



*Medicine in the battlefield: Guerrilla-medics hone first-aid skills during a health training workshop*

Felix Bernal

growing correspondingly. And as the people's war intensifies under the US-Aquino regime's ruthless "total war" policy, it becomes all the more necessary to be able to effectively treat the wounded and sick within the guerrilla zones.

Over the last years, enormous progress has been made in health work in guerrilla zones and bases all over the country. NPA formations

received only a few years of elementary education, is able to perform his health tasks remarkably well - often better than many a college-educated but unmotivated health professional.

#### **Negroes medics stand the test**

Most of the medics have undergone training at different levels. Nationwide and in a one-year time-span (1989-1990), no less than 54

guerrilla camp. The 25 medics present were immediately divided into teams, one medical and one surgical, to attend to the many sick and wounded. And with outstanding results: none of the gunshot wound cases had to be brought out of the guerrilla zone for treatment; and while 540 children succumbed to measles, diarrheal dehydration and broncho-pneumonia in the Sipalay evacuation center,



Pia Ang Ilanillo

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**Well-  
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*Say "aaahh": Parodontist performs tooth extraction in a mass clinic*

these diseases were effectively prevented and treated by the guerrilla medics in the interior barrios. Since then, the medics have been affectionately called "doktor" by the grateful barriofolk.

But the reaction to Oplan Thunderbolt also revealed a number of weaknesses in preparedness and management of this cruel brand of man-made disasters called militarization. The organized masses who decided to evacuate inwards with the revolutionary forces instead of to the highway, suffered from the lack of socio-economic support systems. And the campaign of terror waged by fanatical groups such as the *Greenans* brought about some mental health problems to which the medics didn't have any ready-made solutions.

**Mass clinics generate mass support**

The most widely practiced method of bringing health services to the people is through mass clinics.

They are usually part of a more comprehensive health campaign, which involves the broad participation of the people. After coordination with the units and organizations that are active in a particular barrio, a mass meeting is held to check the expectations of the barriofolk and to explain the campaign. For a couple of days, the barrio buzzes with activity: health education sessions, medical, dental and minor surgical consultations are held and preventive campaigns like sanitation and agro-nutrition undertaken. In a few weeks' time, four to 10 barrios are covered.

Often, these campaigns also have an organizational component: the setting up of a Barrio Health Committee (BHC) - if there isn't one yet. Depending on the level of organization of the barrio, this BHC may be supervised by the Peasants' Association, the Revolutionary Barrio Council or the People's Revolutionary Organ of Governance. The

BHCs consist of part-time medics who engage in more sustained health activities. They may hold regular clinics, run a small barrio pharmacy, take care of an herbal garden and follow up health campaigns.

As the benefits of the revolution visibly uplift the people's living conditions, the close links between the revolutionary forces and the masses are being deepened and broadened. And this translates into stronger mass support for the revolutionary armed struggle.

**Revolutionary code of medical ethics**

While health professionals in the bourgeois health care system have their *Hippocratic Oath* and *Nightingale's Pledge*, so have the guerrilla medics their Revolutionary Code of Medical Ethics. Evolving around the principle *Serve the People*, the code dwells on the correct revolutionary attitude of a medic towards his patients, towards other medics and towards enemy patients. Indeed, a wounded enemy soldier who has surrendered or has lost his capacity to fight back is treated by the guerrilla medics just like any common patient as long as the military situation allows it. The soldier's wounds are dressed; he is administered the necessary medicines; and often even receives some money to be able to take the bus back to his detachment.

This attitude sharply contrasts with that of the military. Although the US-Aquino regime is a signatory to Protocol II - a set of humanitarian rules aimed at protecting victims of internal armed conflicts, including health personnel - the actual conduct of the military betrays a continuous violation of these principles. During Oplan Thunderbolt, one of the newly trained medics, Ka Jane, was brutally raped and murdered by soldiers while on her way home. In Bicol, the military raided a house where a team of medics was holding a barrio clinic. The soldiers arrested

## COVER STORIES

one of the medics, Ka Jo-Ann, and confiscated valuable medical equipment. During battles between the NPA and the military, the guerrillas' first aid stations or backcenters also become immediate targets - again a clear violation of Protocol II.

The NDF's adherence to the principles enshrined in Protocol II gives the revolutionary forces the moral edge and high ground over the US-Aquino regime. Although the NPA's Three Rules of Discipline and Eight Points of Attention, which have always guided the NPA, contain even higher standards of humanitarian conduct, Protocol II can play a complementary role in the efforts to further humanize the war.

### Facing challenges ahead

A perennial problem plaguing revolutionary health work is finances. Medicines, medical equipment, laboratory examinations and hospitalization are expensive, and their prices tend to increase faster than

those of other consumer goods. Under guerrilla conditions, many medical supplies are also lost due to enemy confiscation, moisture, rats, cockroaches and other storage difficulties.

Moreover, the masses living in the guerrilla zones and bases have problems making both ends meet and usually don't have much to offer in exchange for the health services received. Nevertheless, in most regions, patients give fixed contributions, with the amount depending on their class background. On the overall, however, any patient who needs medical care is efficiently cared for, even if he is unable to contribute anything.

In some areas, a system of voluntary donations, in cash or in kind, is practiced. In more organized barrios, the mass organizations raise funds for medicines or instruments. And in some cases, such as in Mindoro, experiments are going on

with a simplified form of cooperative social insurance: every family pays P15 a year to a health fund. In exchange, every family member receives all necessary medicines and services.

Even as the health staff are creative in tapping local resources, more outside financial, technical and material support is needed. And even as the guerrilla medics are doing an incredibly good job, there remains the need for highly skilled health professionals to render more specialized services to the revolutionary forces and organized masses in the guerrilla zones.

But in the meantime, the health infrastructure that has been built in the guerrilla zones has proven its worth, continues to develop and improve and serves as one of the seeds of the alternative health care system in the new society the revolutionary forces under the NDF are fighting for.

**Miguel Moya**

*Plano, Ilocos*



*Scenes from a mobile hospital: Planting the seeds of an alternative health care system*

*Plano, Ilocos*



# Holen sa mata?

Abanteng treyning medikal Idinaos sa Hilagang Luzon

**I**binalik nila sa ayos ang isang nabaling kamay na naipagamot na sa ospital pero muling nabali.

Tinanggal ang tapon ng bala ng shotgun na tumagos sa buto ng paa.

Isang malaking peklat na iniwan ng tama ng malakas na baril ang isinaayos sa pamamagitan ng *skin grafting*.

Tinanggal ang isang matang tinamaan ng israpnel ng mortar at pansamantalang pinalitan ng holen habang wala pang *artificial eyeball* na maikabit.

Inihawalay sa buto ng kamay ang nakadikit na peklat sa balat sa pamamagitan ng *skin revision*.

Luslos, *tubal ligation* . . . .

Ito at iba pang pag-oopera sa mga may kapansanan ay matagumpay na isinapraktika ng 21 pinunong medikal bilang bahagi ng mahigit anim na buwang pagsasanay mula Pebrero hanggang Agosto ng taong nakaraan sa isang baseng gerilya sa Hilagang Luzon.

Nasa ika-apat na antas ng treyning medikal na ito. Layunin ng treyning na maitaas ang kakayahan ng mga kasama sa gawaing medikal, laluna sa pag-oopera, para matugunan ang pangangailan sa harap ng pagiging ng pakikibakang gerilya.

Ang mga pinunong medikal ay dumaan din sa ikatlong antas ng treyning medikal na isinagawa noong Setyembre hanggang Nobyembre 1987. Ang una, ikalawa at kahit ang ikatlong antas ng pagsasanay ay isinasagawa sa kani-kanilang rehiyon o yunit na kinikilusan.

Ang mga nagsanay, 16 na babae at limang lalaki at may edad mula 18 hanggang 30, ay mula sa limang rehiyon ng Hilagang Luzon at sa gawaing medikal, at ang kanilang kasanayan ay karaniwang binubuo ng *pag-acupressure*, paggamit ng *herbal*

*medicine*, paggamot sa may malarya, trangkaso at iba pa at pagbebenda ng sugat.

Sa mga ito, may nakatuntong sa paaralan hanggang Greyd II, may nakapaghayskul, may nakapagtapos ng midwifery, at iba pang kursong malayo sa gawaing medikal.

Batay sa sakop ng pagsasanay, limang propesyunal ang gumabay sa teoretikal at praktikal na pag-aaral: isang dentista, isang siruhano (surgeon), isang *anaesthetist* at dalawa pang doktor para sa *trainers' training*.

*Layunin ng treyning: Maitaas ang kakayahan ng mga medik, laluna sa pag-oopera*





Ang kurikulum ay binuo ng sumusunod: *Advanced Dentistry, Major Surgery, Anaesthesia at Trainers' Training.*

Sa *Advanced Dentistry*, ang diin ay ang paggawa ng pustiso. Maraming nasirang pustiso bago sila nakabuo. Ang nabuo nilang 13 pustiso ay ginagamit na ngayon.

Sa *Major Surgery*, ang pag-aaral ay nakatuon sa pag-oopera sa tiyan, mula sa pagbukas, pagtanggap, pagsasaayos at pagtahi. Pinag-aralan nila ang mga organong nasa loob ng tiyan. Para sa praktikum, hinati ang mga nagsasanay sa limang tim, at sa sunud-sunod na limang araw ay nagkatay ng aso para pagpraktisan.

Isinagawa rin nila ang ilang pag-oopera tulad ng binabanggit sa itaas. Maraming masa ang nanood habang isinasagawa nila ang mga ito.

Sa *Anaesthesia*, tinuruan silang magsagawa ng pagpapamanhid ng buong katawan (*general anaesthesia*) at pagpapamanhid mula pusod hanggang paa (*spinal anaesthesia*).

Nahirapan ang mga nagsasanay sa pagkompyut kung gaano karaming gamot ang ibibigay sa pasyente. Sa praktikum, ninerbyos sila dahil sa nakita nilang *side effects* sa kanilang mga pasyente, tulad ng pagsisisigaw, pagsakit ng ulo, biglang pagtaas ng presyon ng dugo, pagbilis ng pitik ng pulso, kahirapang huminga at pangngiwi ng mukha.

Mabilis namang lumipas ang mga ito, at walang pasyenteng naimpeksyon.

Sa *Trainers' Training*, ang diin ay ang pagsisistematisa ng gawaing pagtuturo. Nilaman nito ang paggawa ng *task analysis*, pagbubuo ng kurikulum at *lesson plan* at aktwal na pagtuturo.

Ang programa ng pagtatapos ay pormal na pinamahalaan ng Lt. Crispin Tagamolila Command ng Hilagang Luzon. Pinarangalan sila ng Pulang hukbo ng parada, awit at bulaklak.

Handa na nilang gampanan ang kanilang *tour of duty*.

Silvio Bakir

# Marag Valley: No man's land

**BHB, tanging depensa ng sibilyang nabibiktima ng operasyong militar ng AFP**

Ang sumusunod na artikulo ay batay sa mga pinakahuling ulat tungkol sa malawakang operasyong militar na kasalukuyang isinasagawa sa Hilagang-Kanlurang Luzon. Sa kabila ng paglagda ng gubyernong Aquino sa Protocol II, isang kasunduang nagsasaad na kailangang proteksyunan ang mga sibilyan sa panahon ng digma, walang puknat ang kasibayanan ng mga tropa ng AFP sa pananalakay na nagdudulot ng napakalaking pinsala sa mamamayan ng lugar. Gayumpaman, tuloy ang pagtatanggol ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan (BHB) sa mga biktima ng operasyon.



**I**numpisahang bombahin ang Marag Valley ng 2nd Field Artillery Battery ng AFP noong Oktubre 12 mula sa pinagpwestuhan nila sa Luyon-Lappa, Luna, Kalinga-Apayao. Kasabay nito, pinasok ng RSAF at 115th PC Coy ang Baryo Macalino, Pamplona at binomba ng dalawang Sikorsky helicopter ang mga baryong nakapaligid sa Flora at Sta. Marcela.

Sa sumunod na mga araw at gabi ng Oktubre at Nobyembre, nagpatuloy ang walang-tigil na pambobomba, *strafing, mortar shelling* at putukan sa Marag Valley at kanugnog na mga bayan sa Kalinga-Apayao. Inilarga sa lugar ang laking-dibisyong pwersa (mahigit 15 kumpanya) na kinabibilangan ng iba't ibang yunit ng AFP tulad ng 54th IB, 65th IB, 21st IB, 77th IB, 50th IB, 45th IB-RSAF,

ang Cagayan Constabulary Command at Kalinga-Apayao Constabulary Command. Hanggang nitong Disyembre ay patuloy ang kanilang operasyon.

Pinamunuan ang operasyong militar na ito nina Gen. Honesto Isleta, Brig. Gen. Homer Capulong ng 501 Bde, Brig. Gen. Orlando Soriano ng 5th ID, Brig. Gen. Gumersindo Yap ng NOLCOM at Col. Miguel Fontanilla ng Recom 2.

Para sa operasyon, ginamit ang dalawang F-5 jet fighter, tatlong UH-1H helicopter, dalawang Sikorsky helicopter gunship, dalawang Tora-

Tora fighter plane at isang battery ng 105 howitzer. Kabilang din ang isang F-4 Phantom jet at tatlong F-16 jet ng US Air Force.

Taliwas sa mga probisyon ng Protocol II at sa lahat ng pamantayan ng karapatang pantao ang kondukta ng operasyong militar. Sa halip na konsentran ng AFP ang mga armadong gerilya ng BHB, walang pakundangan nitong nilalapastangan ang mamamayang pinaghihinalaang kabilang sa baseng suporta ng rebolusyonaryong kilusan. Dahil dito, malaking pinsala na ang naidulot ng operasyong militar sa buhay at

mamamayan ang nag-ebakweyt sa gubat.

Tinatayang may 7,000 sako ng palay ang kinain, sinunog, tinapon, sinira at ipinaanod ng mga pwersa ng AFP. Kinain nila ang 40 kalabaw, 100 baboy at manok. Sinira o ninakaw nila ang mga gamit pambahay at pambukid, binhi, kumot at damit. Winasak nila ang isang rice mill, isang outboard motor at dalawang bangka.

Aabot sa P5 milyon ang halaga ng napinsalang ari-arian at pananim ng mamamayan sa loob ng mahigit 30 araw nang operasyon.



*Pakay ng operasyong militar: Kalubhin ang nalalabing gubat sa paanan ng Sierra Madre*



ari-arian ng mamamayan sa Luna, Pudtol, Flora, Sta. Marcela, Conner, Cabugao, Calanasan at mga kanugnog-bayan sa Hilaga-Kanlurang Cagayan.

Sang-ayon sa mga pinakahuling ulat mula sa rehiyon, 92 tao na ang namatay (60 sa mga ito ay mga batang namatay sa tigdas), tatlo ang na-salvage, tatlo ang tinamaan ng bomba at 21 iba pa ang may sakit.

Dahil sa pambobomba, nawasak ang may 100 bahay sa mga baryo ng Calabigan, Turatod, Bucao at Cagandungan. May 3,000

**Dalawang mukha ng operasyong militar**

Bukod sa layuning ihiwalay ang BHB mula sa masa at wasakin ang imprastrukturang pampulitika ng rebolusyonaryong kilusan sa erya, pakay din ng Oplan Pagkakaisa-Salidummay na manumbalik ang malawakang pagtotroso sa lugar.

Sa pamamagitan ng Task Force Luntian, ang pinagsamang proyekto ng Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) at ng AFP, nilalayan na makapagtroso ang malalaking kapitalista sa darating na tag-araw sa mga kagubatang pumapaligid sa Marag Valley.

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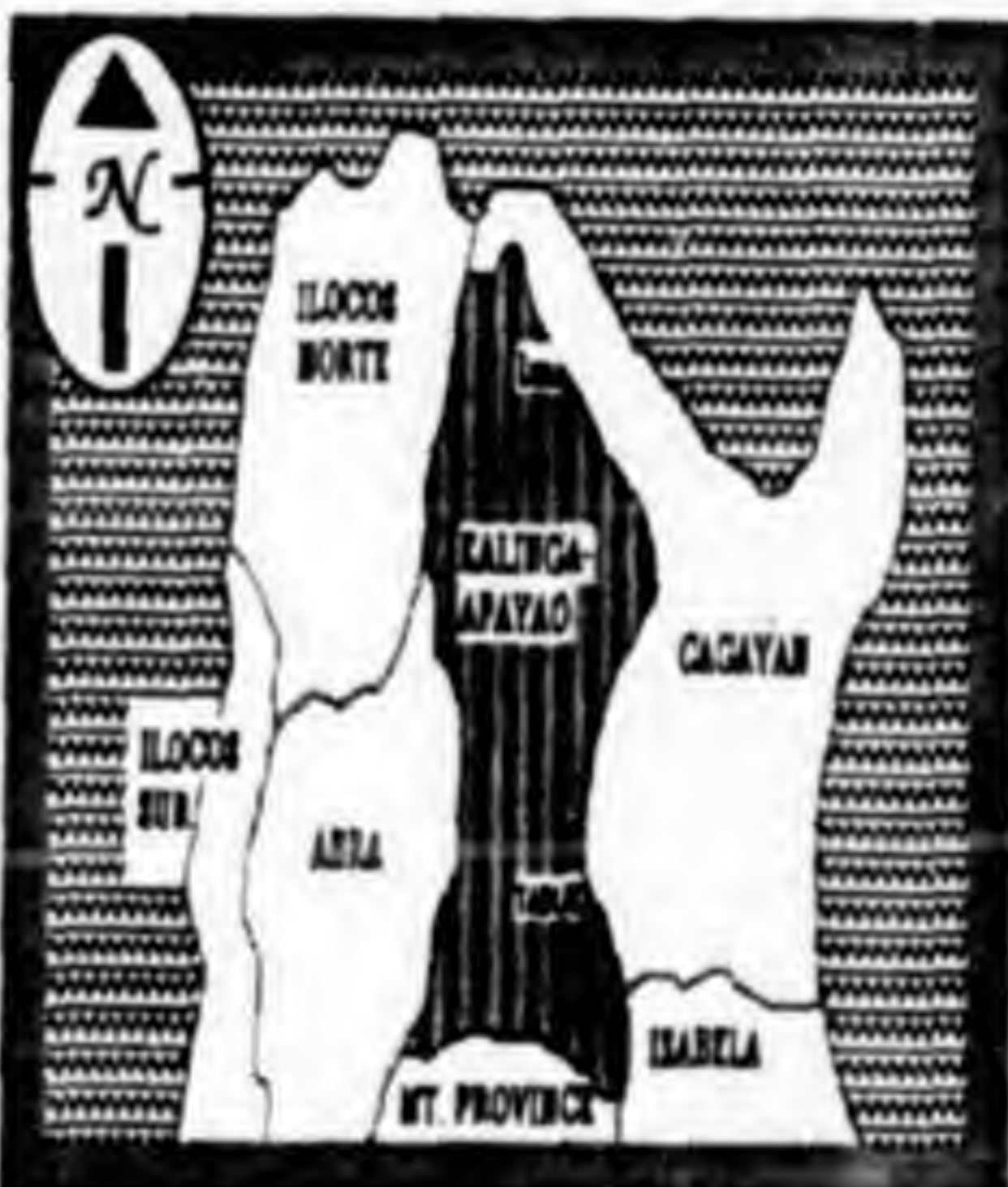
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## Tiyak na mabibigo ang Oplan Pagkakaisa

*Bagong Hukbong Bayan: Patuloy sa pagtatanggol*

MF-81

Tinatayang mahigit sa 50 milyong board feet ang makukuha ng mga kumpanya sa pagtotroso mula sa lugar.

Mula noong 1985, kumita ng may \$15 bilyon ang mga kumpanyang tulad ng United Timber Licensees, Inc. na pag-aari ni Kong. Leoncio Puzon; Taggat Industries na hawak ng Presidential Commission on Good Government; North Luzon Timber, Inc. at iba pang may hawak ng konsesyon at kontrata sa pagtotroso sa kagubatang nakapaligid sa Marag Valley.

Malaking halaga ang ibinubulsa ng mga opisyal ng DENR at AFP mula sa mga logging concessions na ito. Nito lamang 1990, umabot sa P30 milyon ang ibinibigay ng mga kumpanya sa pagtotroso kay Brig. Gen. Soriano, ayon sa mga ulat ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan.

Bukod sa pagtotroso, hinahangad din ng mga naghaharing uri na matuloy ang pagtatayo ng Abulug Dam sa lugar. Ilulubog nito ang may 9,400 ektarya ng lupa at mawawalan ng tirahan at ikabubuhay ang may 18,000 Isneg.

### Depensa ng BHB

Sa panahon ng operasyong militar, dinepensahan ng BHB ang mamamayan laban sa mga nais mangamkam ng kanilang lupain,

likas na yaman at kabuhayan. Iniulat na may 60 sundalo na ng AFP ang namatay at mahigit 80 ang sugatan sa sunud-sunod na opensiba ng BHB mula Oktubre hanggang Disyembre 22. Pinaulanan ng hala ng mga Pulang mandirigma at napabagsak ang limang helicopter (apat na UH-1H at isang Sikorsky) at apat na T-28 (Tora-Tora) bomber. Nakaagaw sila ng pitong matataas na kalibreng armas (isang M60, apat na M16, isang M1, isang M14); bala para sa M16, M15 at M203; dalawang mortar shell; at 16 na bakpak.

Sa hanay ng mga Pulang mandirigma, tatlo ang namatay sa bomba at engkwentro at apat ang sugatan.

Samantala, ipinagpapatuloy ng National Democratic Front, BHB at gubernong bayan sa crya ang *Oplan Lapat* na sinimulan nilang ipatupad noon pang 1984. Ang *Oplan Lapat* ay nagbabawal sa malalaking operasyon sa pagtotroso sa mga kabundukan ng Apayao. Mula pa noong 1987, walang makapasok na malalaking logging operator sa mga bayan ng Luna, Pudtol, Flora, Conner at Cabugao dahil sa pagkilos ng mamamayan ng Apayao, lalo na ng mga Isneg, Malaweg at Aggay at iba pa sa Zinundungan Valley, Paco Valley at Marag Valley.

Noon pang 1985, itinuring na ng rehimeng US-Marcos ang Marag Valley bilang isang *no man's land* dahil sa matinding pagtutol ng mamamayan sa proyektong Abulug Dam at paghadlang sa pagpasok ng malalaking kumpanya ng pagtotroso.

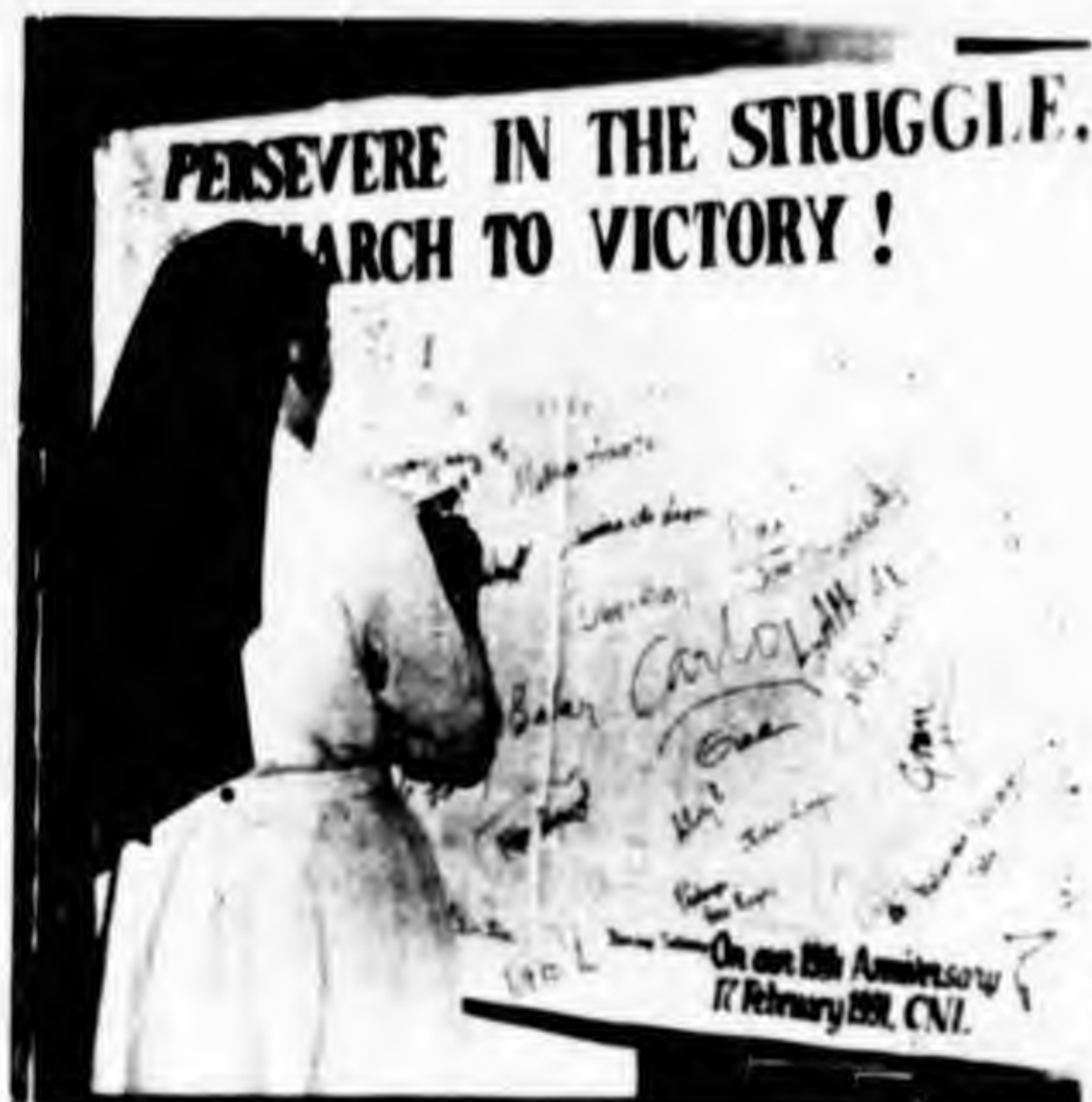
Mismong ang konseho munisipal ng Luna na noo'y pinamumunuan ng reaksyunaryong si George Vargas ay naglabas ng isang resolusyon na nagdeklarang ang Marag Valley ay isa ngang *no man's land* o "free-fire zone", at sinang-ayunan ang paggamit ng bomba kemikal para patayin ang lahat ng tao sa lugar. Ibig sabihin, dahil itinuturing nilang base ng rebolusyon ang Marag, sa pananaw ng reaksyunaryong guberno ay wala nang karapatang mabuhay at maproteksyunan ang sinumang nakatira dito. Ito rin ang dahilan kung bakit hinihigpitan kundi man pinagbabawalan ng AFP ang pagpasok ng mga *humanitarian* o *relief organizations* sa lugar sa kabila ng labis na paghihirap ng mamamayan dito.

Pero nabigo ang Oplan Timberland noong 1984-85 at ang Oplan Red Buster noong 1986-87. Ganito rin ang tiyak na mangyayari sa Oplan Pagkakaisa sa harap ng pagtutol ng mamamayan at ng BHB.

SB

# Fulfilling a revolutionary charism

CNL vows to build strength as it celebrates its 19th anniversary



*Renewal of faith: Members recall CNL founding in symbolic signing rites*

**O**n February 17, 1972, the centenary of the martyrdom of Frs. Gomez, Burgos and Zamora, some 70 church people converged at Plaza Roma in front of the Manila Cathedral to sign the historic document that was to signal the founding of the Christians for National Liberation (CNL).

From that time on, the CNL was to consciously mold itself in the tradition of the three martyr-priests, whose execution served as a catalyst in the struggle against Spanish colonialism. The CNL fulfilled its charism by arousing, organizing and mobilizing church people for the revolution. Like the prophets of old, they went among the people denouncing social evils while proclaiming the good news of revolution and the promise of national democracy.

The path to Plaza Roma, however, had been fraught with gut-wrenching vacillations between commitment and non-involvement, between embracing the legitimacy of revolutionary violence and maintaining an acquiescent attitude to systemic violence. As NDF Secretary General Fr. Frank Fernandez, a former CNL activist, described it in a message sent to the revolutionary church organization: "The CNL's founders, after undergoing an agonizing process of inner conversion, made a collective decision to renounce the comforts and privileges of their position to take the bitter cup of sacrifice and serve the national democratic revolution."



Fr. Fernandez alluded to the scene at the garden of Gethsemane, where Christ, confronted by the supreme test of his life, overcame the temptation of indecisiveness to face his enemies who had come to crucify him.

Driven underground only seven months after its founding, members speak of those first years as the CNL's "hidden life". "Emptying itself" in the basic masses, the CNL embarked on a new exodus. Members poured into the countryside to help organize the peasantry and establish guerrilla zones. They immersed themselves in city slums and factories, building networks for the urban underground. It was a time when church people were mobilized in their thousands to serve the masses. In heeding the call to draft a program of struggle and form a revolutionary organization to unite the Filipino people for the overthrow of the hated dictatorship, the CNL became one of the founding members of the National Democratic Front (NDF).

December 1975 saw the emergence of church people from the catacombs. The La Tondena strike, the first to break through the strictures of martial rule, was launched with the participation of several militant priests, nuns and lay workers. It also signalled the beginning of open defiance against the US-Marcos dictatorship.

Leaving their imprint at every critical juncture in the nation's history, CNL members have been among those at the forefront of the revolution, carrying on their tradition of struggle and sacrifice. In chronicling their organization's history, CNL activists frequently hearken to the example of the early Christians, many of whom were martyred for steadfastly bearing witness to a faith forbidden by state authorities. To date, the CNL has had close to 200 of its members martyred on the altar of revolution.

Nineteen years after its founding, about a hundred CNL activists gathered somewhere in Metro

Manila to reflect on their organization's original charism, renew their revolutionary commitment and honor the memory of their martyrs.

Praying with feet unshod to show respect for the soil that has been made sacred with the blood of the revolution's heroes and martyrs, they pinned black ribbons on each others' sleeves and posted strips of paper bearing the names of the honored dead on the walls around them. In the continuing struggle, there is remembrance, and martyrs live on in those who find strength in their commitment and sacrifice.

The organization's chairperson, Fr. Edgar Dandan, cited four challenges the CNL must face to ensure its continued effectiveness as a revolutionary organization for church people.

Citing the NDF Congress theme *Building strength towards a strategic leap in the national democratic revolution*, the first challenge CNL faces, said Fr. Dandan, is to take the NDF's call to heart and bring the church's revolutionary movement to new heights. In his message, Fr. Fernandez remarked: "Looking back at the gains of the CNL, the NDF has full faith that it will go all out in accomplishing various aspects of the tasks for the maturation of the strate-

gic defensive of the people's war."

The second challenge is to revive the CNL's strong links with the basic masses, for it was when its members immersed themselves among the poor that the CNL was strongest.

The third is for CNL members to be able to continue pursuing the dialectic of being church persons and revolutionaries. This means striking a balance between being involved in the institutional church in order not to be isolated from the church masses, and at the same time transcending the limitations of being institution-bound. The challenge, said Fr. Dandan, lies in being true church persons, but truer revolutionaries.

The fourth involves sustaining the CNL's specific contributions to the revolutionary movement — that of being revolutionaries while keeping the name Christian and holding on to the resources of their faith.

As the CNL members renewed their revolutionary commitment and reflected on these challenges, they sipped on small cups of wine. It was at once a reenactment of their own Gethsemane and of "sharing the wine of struggle" — a ritualistic symbol of CNL's enduring sense of solidarity and its determination to face the challenges of the times.

Nicole Felipe



# The sound of marching feet

Thousands repudiate US-Aquino regime in mammoth rally

**C**lose to a hundred thousand people representing mass organizations from Metro Manila, Southern Tagalog and Central Luzon gathered last February 27 at EDSA in front of Camps Crame and Aguinaldo to dramatize their rejection of the US-Aquino regime. Earlier that day, they held demonstrations at Liwasang Bonifacio and Mendiola before proceeding to EDSA in a gargantuan march-rally spanning several kilometers.

The atmosphere was festive and militant as the jampacked crowd listened to speakers taking turns in denouncing the US-Aquino regime. They viewed cultural programs and swayed to the rhythm of patriotic songs blaring through stereo speakers. Lasting till way past ten in the evening, the mammoth rally tied up traffic in all directions. Riot police and military operatives admitted that they had not seen a mass action of such magnitude along EDSA since the "people power" rally that toppled the Marcos dictatorship.

In contrast, a regime-sponsored rally held two days before featured

spectators herded from various government offices. Organizers tried hard to recapture the "EDSA spirit" by reenacting scenes from the historic 1986 uprising, but to no avail. The people had been disabused of the illusion of EDSA. A public school teacher who was part of the herd sarcastically remarked: "*Kahakot-hakot na tao ang pumunta sa rali ni Cory!*"

Widespread public indifference and anger over this year's EDSA spectacle was not surprising. For the past few years, the people had been bludgeoned with an economic crisis unprecedented since the Second World War, a serious breakdown in social services and rampant bureaucratic corruption.

Filipinos were quick to relate the series of anti-people policies to the regime's capitulation to foreign interests. Just before the EDSA anniversary, the regime had signed a new stabilization program with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) providing for huge budget cuts for public services, an expansion of the import liberalization program and the removal of government subsidies. The IMF regime will mean

more price hikes, higher taxes and the further deterioration of public services. Local entrepreneurs have also assailed the IMF program, saying that the influx of cheap imports would further undermine domestic industries.

At about the same time, President Aquino shed her "open options" stance on the US bases by stating that she was in favor of a seven-year extension of the RP-US Military Bases Agreement, provided the price was right. Aquino's statement signalled the imminent approval of a new treaty extending the bases' stay.

In a strongly worded statement issued last February 26, the National Democratic Front called on Filipinos to take to the streets and launch armed and political offensives to overthrow such a patently anti-national and anti-people regime.

Already grossly unpopular, the present government is clearly fast approaching the state of acute isolation suffered by the Marcos dictatorship prior to its downfall in 1986. The mammoth EDSA rally has sent powerful signals to the US-Aquino regime that its own hour of reckoning is near at hand. ■



Show of force at EDSA:  
A massive outpouring of anger  
and defiance



**K**apwa bahagi ng tradisyunal na kultura ng mga katutubo sa Kordilyera ang *salidum-ay* at *FETAD!* Sa pag-awit o sa pakikidigma, taglay ng mga katutubo ang mga kaugaliang nakapagpanatili ng kanilang lipunan sa harap ng mga pagtatangkang sakupin sila, mula sa panahon ng kolonyalismong Espanyol hanggang sa kasalukuyang paghahari ng imperyalismong US, pyudalismo at burukratang kapitalismo, dagdag pa ang pambansang pang-aaping dinaranas nila bilang pambansang minorya sa kamay ng mga lokal na naghaharing uri.

Sinasagisag ng mga kantang nasa koleksiyong ito ang antas ng organisasyon at pakikibakang naabot na ng mga katutubo sa Kordilyera para sa pambansang demokrasya at tunay na otonomya.

Noong 1981, sinimulang itatag sa rehiyon ang Cordillera Peoples' Democratic Front (CPDF) bilang organisasyong pampulitika ng mga

## Ang salidum-ay ng fetad!

Rebyu ng *Balligi*, cassette tape ng mga kanta  
(Komisyon sa Kultura ng CPDF at Pambansang Seksyon  
sa Musika ng ARMAS), 1989

katutubo. Ang CPDF ang nagsisilbing panimulang binhi ng Cordillera Peoples' Revolutionary Autonomous Government (CPRAG), isang probisyunal na rebolusyonaryong gubyrno para sa pakikibaka.

Ang mga batayang yunit panteritoryal ay binubuo bilang mga lokal na rebolusyonaryong gubyrno ng mamamayan (Organo Dagiti Demokratiko Bilig Pampulitika - ODBP)

sa mga lugar na may relatibong lakas ang Bagong Hukbong Bayan, may mga milisyang bayan, may makinarya ng mga aktibista at organisasyong masa ng CPDF, at kung saan napahina na ang otoridad ng reaksyunaryong gubyrno.

Kaya nga ang mga kantang ito ay mga panawagan para sa pagpapatatag ng mga ODBP sa mga lugar na kinikilusan ng Chadli Molintas



Command, ang destakamento ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan sa rehiyon, at nasasakop ng pamamahala ng CPDF.

Ang kantang *Umili iti Kordilyera* ay nananawagan para sa pagtatayo ng gubyrerno ng mamamayan hanggang sa pananagumpay:

**Gobyerno ti umili**

Gubyrerno ng mamamayan  
*Itakder agingganat balligi*  
Itatag hanggang sa tagumpay

Ang lahat ng mamamayan, armado man o hindi, ay hinihikayat na ipagtanggol ang kanilang gubyrerno laban sa mga atake ng kaaway:

**Lallakay, kabataan**

Kalalakihan, kabataan  
*Ubbing, kababaihan*  
Mga paslit, kababaihan  
*Armado ka man*  
Armado ka man  
*Wenno sibilyan*  
O sibilyan  
*PRG, salakniban*  
PRG, ipagtanggol  
*Saan tayo a palubusan*  
Huwag nating papayagang  
*A sumrek ti kalaban*  
Pumasok ang kalaban  
*Intayo ngarud*  
Tayo na't  
*Pagtintinnulungan*  
Magtulong-tulong  
*PRG ket bantayan*  
PRG ay bantayan  
(*FEIRD*)

Sa ilalim ng bagong gubyrerno, isinusulong ang iba't ibang gawain para sa pagpapahusay ng pamumuhay ng mamamayan, tulad ng produksyon, kalusugan at hustisya.

Sa *Salidum-ay Hustisya*, inilalarawan kung paano tumatakbo ang mga *Korte ti Umili* (hukumang bayan) para maresolba ang mga problema sa hanay ng mamamayan at mapanatili ang kapayapaan sa kanilang mga komunidad:

**Komite ti Hustisya**

Komite sa hustisya  
*Daytoy ti trabaho da*  
Ang gawain nila  
*Risiris ket isimpa*  
Gulo ay ayusin  
*Tapno ili natalna*

Upang baya'y maging payapa  
*Sino't nagbasul kanyada*  
Kung sino ang may sala  
*Agpayso kadi dayta*  
Katotohana'y aalamin  
*Daytoy ti usigan da*  
Ito'y uusigin  
*Kitaen padapada*  
Susuriing mahusay

Sa *Salidum-ay Salun-at*, inilalarawan ang kahalagahan ng pagpa-paunlad ng katutubong panggagamot, kalinisan sa mga komunidad, pag-iwas sa sakit at ng paghahanda para gamutin ang mga kasama at masang nasusugatan sa digma:

**Gagangay iti gubat**

Talagang sa digmaan  
*Nagadu ti masugat*  
Maraming nasusugatan  
*Intayo mangiwayat*  
Ating ilunsad  
*Programa ti salun-at*  
Programa sa kalusugan

Sa *Salidum-ay Pangkabiagan*, hinihimok ang mamamayang magtanim ng mga masustansyang gulay; gumawa ng irigasyon, tulay, daan, iskwela, klinik; magbuo ng mga kooperatiba; at pataasin ang produksyon. Pinapahalagahan ang kolektibong paggawa para sa pagpapahusay ng kabuhayan:

**Abuyog nainsigudan**

Kolektibong paggawa  
*Intayo pairulan*  
Ating palakas  
*Trabaho nabingayan*  
Hatian sa gawain  
*Kolektibo pamuspusan*  
Ating pagkakapan

Ang muling-paghuhubog sa sarili ang siya namang nilalaman ng kantang *Sinnogom Akay*. Idinidiin ang pagtatakwil sa bulok na kaisipan, ang pagharap sa mga sakripisyo at kahirapan, ang pagiging malapit sa masa, ang pagkilos para sa kapakanan ng nakararami, at ang pagtataguyod ng pamumuna at pagpuna-sa-sarili bilang paraan ng pagwawasto sa mga kamalian:

**Bulok a kapanunotan**

Bulok na kaisipan

**Ibelleng ken rimbawan**

Itapon, itakwil  
*Galad rebolusyonaryo*  
Rebolusyonaryong diwa  
*Ipinget, ipangato*  
Isapuso, paglinangin

Ilang himig ng *salidum-ay* ang inilalarawan sa koleksiyong ito. Bukod sa *salidum-ay* may halimbawarin ng *oggayam*, isang tipo ng katutubong *chant*. Minimal ang paggamit ng katutubong plawta o kawayang patpat, at sa isang kanta ay gumamit ng *sound effects* tulad ng huni ng ibon at bagsak ng bomba. Walang pagtatangkang gawing "moderno" ang *salidum-ay*, tulad ng paglalagay ng *second* o *third voice*, *counterpoint* o pagkantang ala-rock sa naunang koleksiyong *Salidummay* (1987). Mahusay na disisyon ito, sapagkat nilalayon ng koleksiyong ipopularisa ang mga kanta sa hanay mismo ng mga katutubo at awitin nila ang mga ito batay sa kanilang kinagisnang paraan at kasalukuyang pangangailangan sa paggugubyrerno at pakikidigma.

Namamayani sa mga kantang ito ang diwa ng *FEIRD*, ang panawagan para sa pakikibaka ng mga katutubo sa Kordilyera. Ang pangunahing kahulugan ng salitang ito, kapwa sa tradisyunal at rebolusyonaryong paggamit, ay armadong pakikibaka. Gayunman, batay sa karanasan sa pagkilos ng mga katutubo sa rehiyon, yumayaman ang kahulugan nito para masakop ang pakikibaka sa hayag na kilusang masa, ang pagbuo ng ekonomyang panggyera, ang pagpa-paunlad ng kakayahang magtanggol ng mamamayan at ang pagbigong sa mga pakana ng kaaway na paglaban-labanin ang iba't ibang tribu sa Kordilyera.

Tulad ng *FEIRD*, *bodong*, *sagang* at iba pang kinamihasnang ritwal sa kabundukan ng Kordilyera, ang mga *salidum-ay* at *oggayam* sa *song cassette tape* na ito ay nagkakaroon ng bagong gamit at kahulugan para sa mga katutubo na nakikibaka para sa pambansang demokrasya at otonomya. SB