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of the Central Committee  
of the Communist Party of the Philippines

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## CARRY FORWARD THE PEOPLE'S WAR

Message to the New People's Army  
By Armando Liwanag, Chairman  
Central Committee, Communist Party of the Philippines  
March 29, 1995

## SOCIAL INVESTIGATION: SOUTHERN TAGALOG 1994

## ON THE NATURE OF PHILIPPINE SOCIETY AND THE DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL CLASSES

## ON THE U.N. WORLD SUMMIT FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

## ON THE ISSUE OF THE ENVIRONMENT

Number 2  
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## CONTENTS

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EDITORIAL NOTES .....	1
CARRY FORWARD THE PEOPLE'S WAR.....	4
SOCIAL INVESTIGATION: SOUTHERN TAGALOG 1994 .....	12
SOME CLARIFICATIONS ON THE NATURE OF PHILIPPINE SOCIETY AND THE DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL CLASSES WITHIN IT .....	57
ON THE U.N. WORLD SUMMIT FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND OFFICIAL "DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE" IN THE PHILIPPINES .....	69
ON THE ISSUE OF THE ENVIRONMENT IN THE WORLD AND IN THE PHILIPPINES .....	75

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## EDITORIAL NOTES

Comrade Armando Liwanag has made important emendations on his message on the 26th anniversary of the Communist Party of the Philippines, "Carry the Rectification Movement Through to the End and Advance the Revolutionary Cause in an All-Round Way", which appeared in our first regular issue for 1995 (*Rebolusyon*, No. 1, Series 1995).

1. The first print-run of the issue contained the sentence, "The trade and budgetary deficits are ever increasing" (1st sentence, 1st complete paragraph on page 33) which was omitted in the succeeding print-run. This is Comrade Armando Liwanag's explanation:

"This sentence was based on published estimates of the budgetary deficit for 1994. But in January 1995, the Departments of Finance and Budget Management of the reactionary government claimed a fiscal surplus of 18 billion pesos at yearend 1994, the first in two decades.

"The 'surplus' can be explained by two major factors which do not at all indicate or signal the stabilization of the economy: 1) the reduction or withholding of expenditures for infrastructures and social services and 2) the nonrecurrent revenues from the sale of state assets in accordance with the policy of privatizing and denationalizing profitable state corporations.

"The postponement of expenditures for infrastructures and social services is part of the Ramos regime's maneuver to make a wide allowance for 'pork barrel' and other expenditures in favor of the pro-Ramos coalition for the legislative and local elections in May 1995."

2. The second emendation has to do with the expression "terminal stage of the crisis". The phrase "that it is in its terminal stage" (2nd sentence, 2nd paragraph, page 39), is avoided with the following explanation:

"The 'terminal stage' of the chronic crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system can be as prolonged as the 'highest and final stage of capitalism' (imperialism) which has run for so long in the 20th century and will run even beyond this century. But



there are comrades who assert that the phrase 'terminal' can be misleading insofar as it seems to suggest that the chronic crisis will come to an end soon, as in the phrase 'terminal stage of cancer'. Thus, in order to avert semantical confusion among some people, the phrase is avoided.

"When Lenin spoke of imperialism as the highest and final stage of capitalism, he meant that it was leading to crisis, global wars and social revolution. The term 'terminal stage' is used in the sense that the chronic crisis of the ruling system has led to the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war and to the enemy's inability to rule in the old way, without the open use of terror which continues to this day in the form of the total war policy, despite the fall of the Marcos fascist dictatorship. It does not mean the end of the ruling system within a few years' time. It is not a license for the erroneous line of the premature strategic counter-offensive, urban insurrectionism and military adventurism to sabotage the people's war.

"The end of the chronic crisis of the entire ruling system can be brought about by the victory of the forces of the new-democratic revolution led by the proletariat. But there is still another possibility, that the ruling system can deteriorate and muddle through as a semicolonial and semifeudal country for a long period of time while the subjective forces of the revolution cannot yet win total victory. The counterrevolutionaries do not turn the Philippines into an industrial capitalist country because they cannot repeat the examples of South Korea and Taiwan under current circumstances when the U.S. is straining against its huge trade deficit.

"The correctness of the term 'terminal stage' will become exceedingly clear when the strength of the revolutionary forces is such as to put in sight the seizure of political power and the commencement of social revolution on a nationwide scale. The U.S.-Ramos program, 'Philippines 2000', has all the ingredients for aggravating and deepening the agrarian, preindustrial and semi-feudal character of the Philippines and thus cannot convert it into a newly-industrialized country by the year 2000."

• • •



This issue focuses on socioeconomic questions and how the revolutionary forces confront these at various levels nationally and internationally.

The excerpt from the general summing-up of the Southern Tagalog Regional Party Committee deals with the general description of the economic situation of the region and its island provinces (Mindoro Oriental and Mindoro Occidental) and the reactionary government's so-called development projects in the region. The report is backed up by collated reports of concrete social investigation at local levels from the barrio upward in the course of the Party's mass work and the building of local organs of political power.

The Communist Party of the Philippines has been making big headway in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people for the revolutionary struggle (in both the legal and the armed struggle) in the entire region, including its most urbanized parts adjacent to Manila, the urban seat of power of the reactionary ruling classes. The central government of the reactionaries attaches great strategic importance to and has thus made the region the main focus/nerve center of its so-called development project in its total war scheme to alienate the people from their own revolutionary interests.

The next issue shall carry the succeeding sections on the conditions of the masses in the region.

The article on the nature of Philippine society and the dynamics of social classes within it (a reprint from the November 1994 issue of *Pilipinas*, official publication of the Christians for National Liberation) focuses on the ongoing debate on the character of Philippine society. It reflects the CNL's point of view in the debate.

The statements from the National Democratic Front and the International Department of the CC/CPP focus on the role of the U.N. and other international agencies in promoting the universalist concept of development and how these in real politik reinforce the rule of monopoly capitalism.



# **CARRY FORWARD THE PEOPLE'S WAR**

## **Message to the New People's Army**

**By Armando Liwanag, Chairman  
Central Committee, Communist Party of the Philippines  
March 29, 1995**

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines, I convey warmest comradely greetings and congratulations to the Red commanders and fighters as well as the Party cadres and members in the New People's Army on the occasion of its 26th anniversary of establishment.

The Filipino people and the Communist Party of the Philippines cherish you for your hard work, fearless struggle and selfless sacrifices. We joyfully celebrate the victories of the NPA in its long history and in the past year.

### **VICTORIES OF THE NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY**

Let me cite your most brilliant achievements in reaffirming basic revolutionary principles, in serving the people, in further strengthening your ranks and in fighting the enemy.

1. You have strengthened your unity by upholding and defending the absolute leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the revolutionary party of the proletariat under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, over the NPA and by resolutely pursuing the general line of the people's democratic revolution against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism, now chiefly represented by the U.S.-Ramos regime.

2. You have frustrated the major campaigns of the enemy to destroy the NPA under the U.S.-inspired "total war" policy or low-intensity conflict strategy even as the ultra-Left opportunist currents of premature strategic counteroffensive, urban insurrectionism and militarism and the Right opportunist currents of reformism, capitulationism and liquidationism worked to make these enemy campaigns effective.



3. You have triumphed in the rectification movement against the opportunist traitors, have overcome the errors, crimes and damage perpetrated by them and have reinvigorated the armed revolutionary movement. You have summed up your experience at various levels, drawing positive and negative lessons, criticizing and repudiating errors and raising your fighting will and capabilities against the enemy.

4. You have firmly followed the line of trusting and relying on the masses and you have put revolutionary politics in command of all your activities, including military training and combat, mass work, production and so on. You have integrated armed struggle, land reform and mass base building, all within the framework of the people's democratic revolution.

5. You have persevered in the strategic line of protracted people's war, which is to encircle the cities from the countryside and accumulate strength until it becomes possible to seize the cities. You have streamlined your organization and redeployed your units for mass work, carried out extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of a widening and deepening mass base and have significantly increased the number of tactical offensives nationwide in the past year.

6. You have expanded and consolidated the mass base in scores of guerrilla fronts and hundreds of guerrilla zones, have recovered areas previously lost due to enemy onslaughts and grave errors and have opened new areas for revolutionary work. Your guerrilla fronts cover significant portions of more than 60 provinces and more than 600 municipalities, far beyond the capacity of the reactionary armed forces to occupy and control.

7. You have organized a great number of appointive provisional organs of political power (barrio organizing committees) in expansion work and proceeded to organize the elective regular organs of political power (barrio revolutionary committees), militia and self-defense units and the mass organizations of peasants, workers, youth, women, children and cultural activists.

8. You have mobilized millions of people for their empowerment and social benefit in the course of campaigns for land reform, mass education, higher production, health and sanitation, self-defense,



environmental protection and so on. These campaigns are being undertaken by the mass organizations and the organs of political power.

9. You have increased the number of Red fighters and Party members within the NPA by training and tempering them through studies, practical work and struggle. You have also encouraged the cadres and advanced mass activists from the urban-based legal democratic movement to learn from your ranks and the people and to join the armed revolutionary movement.

10. You have become far more self-reliant than ever before by adopting guerrilla warfare and doing away with the unnecessary and unsustainable costs required by premature larger formations and by relying on the contributions of the people, on your own production and on taxation.

### **FERTILE GROUND FOR THE PEOPLE'S WAR**

The socioeconomic and political crisis of the domestic ruling system is the fertile ground for the growth in strength and advance of all the revolutionary forces. The chronic character of this crisis makes possible and necessary the development of protracted people's war.

The U.S.-Ramos regime viciously opposes and works against national industrialization and land reform. The Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan (MTPDP) and other related economic policies of the regime dictated by the foreign monopolies and their multilateral agencies (IMF, World Bank, WTO and ADB), cannot industrialize the Philippines by the year 2000 but can only aggravate and deepen the agrarian, underdeveloped and semifeudal character of the economy.

The liberalization of investments, trade, foreign exchange and credit in favor of the foreign monopolies and big compradors is further ruining the economy. The growing trade and budgetary deficits, the mounting foreign and local public debt, the sale of state assets (enterprises and land) and dependence on short-term speculative capital from abroad are all manifestations of the bankruptcy of the economy. The claim of investment-led economic growth (5.1 percent in 1994) is false and misleading because the



GNP is in fact the sum of goods and services without real industrial development and is now puffed up by the estimated income of overseas contract workers, short-term speculative capital, overpriced energy and infrastructure projects, falsified data about increased agricultural production and so on.

The budget of the reactionary government is as absurd and counterproductive as ever, overloaded by debt service, military expenditures, overpricing of supplies and the overconsumption and corruption of the bureaucrat capitalists. The claim of budgetary surplus amounting to 18 billion pesos is false. It is the result of the nonrecurrent revenues from the privatization of state assets, the postponement of expenses for infrastructure and social services to the electoral campaign period, nonpayment of the advances made by the Philippine National Bank and so on. While it uses tax exemptions to benefit the foreign investors, the regime increases the tax burden on the people, especially through the expanded value-added tax, and wastes the revenues on debt service, military expenditures and bureaucratic corruption.

The exploitation of the workers and peasants and even the middle social strata is accelerated. The rapidly rising costs of subsistence and production relentlessly cut down their real incomes. The policy of the regime is to press down their incomes, do away with workers' job security through casualization and violate even the land tenure and ancestral rights of peasants and ethnic minorities. Accumulated unemployment goes beyond 40 percent. Seventy-six percent of the population fall below the poverty line. There is a general breakdown of social services and infrastructure. The social, economic, political and cultural rights of the people are being suppressed comprehensively.

Millions of people have left the country to become low-paid migrant workers because of deteriorating economic and social conditions. There is high popular awareness that as a matter of policy the reactionary government pushes Filipinos to accept low wages abroad and does not protect them in order to make export labor "competitive" and "marketable" and to increase foreign exchange earnings from it. Thus, a giant wave of public outrage and protest



actions has arisen from the unjust execution of Flor Contemplacion in Singapore.

As the socioeconomic crisis worsens, the social unrest spreads and becomes more intense. Thus, since last year, mass protest rallies and strikes have intensified nationwide. Among the issues were the IMF structural adjustment loans, the antilabor policies, the oil price hike, the expanded VAT, the GATT issue and the violence of the reactionary state. The social discontent is already so widespread and intense that a wave of mass protests can easily arise from any of so many specific social issues. Under current conditions, the armed revolution can advance.

The class dictatorship of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class reigns over the country. The open rule of terror against the working people has persisted in the form of the U.S.-directed total war policy or low-intensity conflict scheme since the fall of the Marcos fascist autocracy. The bourgeois reformists and the special psy-war agents commit a grave offense to the people and the revolutionary movement and support the U.S.-Ramos regime by claiming that there has been democratization since 1986.

Human rights violations are rampant and have become more brutal, especially in the course of base-denial operations or forced mass evacuations in the countryside. Since 1986, more than two million people have become refugees as a result of aerial and ground bombardments and bulldozing. Massacres, selective murders, illegal arrests and detention, torture, arson and looting have been perpetrated by the military, police and paramilitary forces. These barbarities are a clear manifestation of the crisis of the ruling system and the inability of the exploiting classes to rule in the old way prior to 1972.

The increasingly conspicuous predominance of the political descendants of the Marcos fascist dictatorship exposes the rottenness of the ruling system. This is compounded by the persistence of the armed reactionary factions, the rise of military politicians and the growing involvement of military and police officers in criminal syndicates.

The political crisis of the ruling system is bound to take the form of violent contradictions among the reactionaries as the socioeco-



conomic crisis limits the ground for amicable relations among them and as the revolutionary forces carry the people's war forward and the Moro people intensify their own struggle for self-determination.

The crisis of the world capitalist system interacts with and aggravates the crisis of a neocolony like the Philippines. The global crisis of overproduction, generated by the use of jobkilling high technology for profit and by the overextended abuse of finance capital, is driving the major capitalist powers to compete with each other although they still unite to further exploit the countries of the third world and the former Soviet bloc. This is pushing the Philippines into worse conditions of neocolonial underdevelopment.

This crisis of capitalism has already caused a new world disorder which discredits the imperialist powers and diffuses their attention. It favors the development of the people's war in the Philippines and the eventual resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movement on a global scale. The people's war waged by the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines is outstanding and exemplary amidst the new world disorder wrought by monopoly capitalism, neocolonialism and revisionist betrayal of socialism.

### **CALL FOR THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE**

The Communist Party of the Philippines calls for the intensification of both the armed revolutionary movement based in the rural areas and the legal democratic movement based in the urban areas. The directive of the Party to the NPA is clear: carry out the rectification movement through to the end and carry forward the people's war through extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of a widening and deepening mass base.

Armed struggle is the principal form of struggle in the people's democratic revolution because it is the way by which the oppressors and exploiters of the people are overthrown and the democratic power of the people is established. Social revolution is impossible without the people's democratic power replacing the state of the exploiting classes.



At the same time, it is absolutely necessary to advance the urban-based legal democratic movement. It is the way to arouse, organize and mobilize the people on a wide scale. The mass protest actions and strikes are the most potent weapon of the legal democratic movement so long as these adhere to the national-democratic line and is based on solid mass organizing.

The forthcoming legislative and local elections are a farce, a variety show staged by the reactionaries for conjuring the illusion of democracy. These elections limit the electorate to a choice of personalities and factions that will continue to oppress and exploit the people.

As a matter of principle, the revolutionary forces can neither participate in these elections nor entertain the question of participating in them or not, as if participation were a real choice. In fact, the reactionaries ban the revolutionary forces from participation. However, without proclaiming participation, the revolutionary forces can oppose the reactionary candidates and support the relatively patriotic and progressive candidates in appropriate ways in accordance with the CPP's united front policy.

The formal peace negotiations of the NDFP and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines, which is scheduled to open on June 1 in Brussels, Belgium, provide the revolutionary forces with one more specific form of legal struggle through the duly-authorized NDFP negotiating panel.

In the course of these negotiations, the NDFP negotiating panel is duty-bound to pursue the line for national liberation and democracy as the line for a just and lasting peace. There should be no presumption that these negotiations are by themselves the way to a just and lasting peace. The NDFP negotiating panel must resolutely uphold, defend and advance the position of the revolutionary forces and frustrate the attempts of the GRP to undermine the revolutionary movement.

The NDFP confronts the GRP across the table on equal legal terms in a foreign neutral venue and under "mutually acceptable principles" and "no precondition which negates the character and purposes of peace negotiations (no surrender in principle and fact). The revolutionary forces and the people must intensify their mass



struggles in order to push the basic demands for national liberation and democracy and strengthen the position of the NDFP in the negotiations.

I am confident that the New People's Army will be able to raise the level of its fighting will and capabilities and win ever greater victories in mass work and guerrilla warfare in order to advance the people's war in the year ahead.

Long live the New People's Army!

Pursue the correct revolutionary line set by the Communist Party of the Philippines!

Long live the Filipino people and the Philippine revolution!



## **SOCIAL INVESTIGATION: SOUTHERN TAGALOG 1994**

**(Excerpts from the General Summing-Up  
of Southern Tagalog Regional Party Committee)**

### **GENERAL SOCIOECONOMIC DESCRIPTION OF THE REGION AND ITS ISLAND PROVINCES**

The Southern Tagalog region has a total population of 9.023 million, constituting some 14 percent of the national population. It has a population growth rate of more than three percent. It is the most populous region, next to the National Capital Region or Metro Manila, in the entire country.

The people in the region are mired in extreme poverty. The great majority of them continue to be drawn into the vicious cycle of semifeudal and semicolonial enslavement.

The masses of workers suffer severe exploitation under the power of capital wielded by the foreign monopoly capitalists and their local comprador big bourgeois collaborators. To maintain a docile work force, ensure "industrial peace" and guarantee the steady supply of cheap labor for capitalist exploitation and enslavement, the reactionary state in the service of these classes suppresses the workers to prohibit them from exercising their right to strike and freedom to organize themselves.

The masses of peasants and semiproletarians in the countryside are being sunk deeper into the mire of feudal and semifeudal enslavement and oppression by the landlord-merchant-usurers. The "comprehensive agrarian reform" promised by the Aquino regime and the current Ramos regime, like all similar programs promised by previous regimes from the time of President Roxas to that of the dictator Marcos, is all bubbles bursting to vanish whatever hope there is of democratization of the wealth created by working masses in the countryside.

The masses of fisherfolk and the poor along the coastlines and lakeshore are being driven off their homes and communities and



deprived of their very source of livelihood to make way for the so-called development projects of the reactionary government in the name of "industrialization" or NIC-hood illusions under Philippines 2000. To ram its projects through, the regime has demolished and razed their communities, negated their productive potential and right to livelihood in order to further accommodate the foreign and local capitalists and the comprador bourgeoisie in control of the fishing industry in our country.

The ethnic minorities are being deprived of their inherent right to own, cultivate and manage their ancestral lands and ancestral domain by the reactionary state. They are increasingly being brought under feudal, semifeudal and semicolonial oppression and exploitation even as they are being forced to remain under primitive and backward conditions, deprived of the most basic social services and suffering Christian chauvinist maltreatment and class oppression.

Increasing numbers of the urban petty-bourgeoisie, the professionals, small merchants and handicrafters have lost their means of livelihood as the socioeconomic convulsions from the worsening crisis of the semifeudal and semicolonial system brought about by foreign monopoly capitalism destroy the very foundation of petty ownership and production.

In the past year (1993), inflation rate in the region (based on official statistics of the reactionary government) stood at 18.4 percent. The relentless rise in prices of basic commodities further reduced the income of the people. The peso is only 17 centavos of its former value in 1978.

Of the more than 5 million labor power, only 3 million are employed (full time and part time). This means that 40 percent (according to the government's own minimized data) cannot sufficiently feed their families. No amount of hocus-pocus in official government statistics can hide the misery of 70 percent of the people in the region living below the poverty line.

In recent years, the regional income from such traditional products as coconut and sugarcane declined drastically. Most heavily affected were the peasants in Quezon who depend mainly on the coconut industry.



The economic program of the regime of U.S.-Ramos collaboration has further worsened the people's impoverishment. The program does not differ basically from the failed program of the U.S.-Aquino regime. In fact, the new IMF-WB impositions for "stabilizing" the economy are even more burdensome. These include the deregulation of price subsidies for agricultural products, privatization of strategic enterprises and industries, continued debt-servicing, elimination of remaining barriers for protecting local industries and implementation of the Foreign Investment Act of 1991.

The entire region, countryside and urban, is fertile ground for revolutionary struggle. Internal and external factors continue to fuel the social discontent, flaming the people's centuries-long outrage against the exploitative order and urging them on to the path of the revolutionary alternative of the national-democratic revolution led by the Party. The sympathy of the people in the countryside remains as strong for the armed revolution as their reliance on the agrarian revolution that it wages.

The Marxist-Leninist critique of Philippine semifeudal and semicolonial society and its national-democratic revolutionary alternative is still the sharpest and most scientific analysis of Philippine society at present.

Despite the relative increase of industrial establishments and enterprises in the region's urban areas, agricultural production in its countryside comprising 70-80 percent of land area remain agrarian and backward. Some 70-80 percent of the population depend on agriculture and agriculture-based industries, using primitive implements, relative to the standards of modern capitalism; and merchant capital reigns supreme in the countryside, constantly reproducing the essentials of semifeudal exploitation and oppression.

According to the Center for Labor Statistics/Bureau of Labor and Employment Statistics, from 1991 data based on current prices then, our region contributed a gross regional domestic product of P175.5B, second only to the NCR, to the gross domestic product (GDP). Of the GRDP, industrial labor contributed the amount of only P58.398B



In real terms, at constant 1985 prices, the GRDP amounts only to P103.1 B [at constant 1978 prices = P29.115 B] and labor contributed only P34.20 M [constant 1978 prices = P9.927 B] of the 0.29% real annual growth rate registered.

Also contradicting what is shown by government statistics is the widespread poverty and deprivation in the expanses of the countryside, the cities and town centers of the region.

## **THE ISLAND OF MINDORO**

### **General Economic Condition**

The island of Mindoro has an area of 10,244.5 square kilometers, the seventh largest island of the country. It is 150 kilometers long from north to south and approximately an average of 90 kilometers wide from east to west.

The economy is predominantly agricultural. The island has a rural population of 85 to 90 percent on the same percentage of land area. It is divided into two provinces.

Mindoro Oriental, with a population of 588,959 (1990 census) and projected 648,086 in 1994, has a more developed economy relative to Mindoro Occidental. In 1980, 85.75 percent (85.67, in 1975 and 82.19, in 1970) of the population were in the countryside and 14.25 percent (14.33 in 1975 and 17.81 in 1970) were in urban areas. Up to the present there has been no significant change in this population distribution.

The population distribution also reflects the labor-force distribution. According to NCSO population estimates in 1989, of the 326,000 with ages 15 years old and above, some 278,000 were in the countryside and only about 49,000 were in the urban areas, of which 198,000 constituted the work force, with 182,000 employed and/or seasonally employed: 152,000 in the countryside and 30,000 in the urban areas. As to employment by economic sector: agriculture accounted for 117,000 employed/underemployed (countryside = 110,000 and urban centers = 7,000); industry, 14,000 (countryside = 12,000 and urban = 2,000); and services, 51,000 (countryside = 30,000 and urban = 21,000).

In April 1992, of the estimated 365,000 of ages 15 years old and above, 233,000 constituted the work force. Of these, 151,000 or



64.8 percent were in agriculture, 25,000 were in the service sector, and 24,000 were in the industry sector; 178,000 of the work force were in the countryside and 45,000 in the urban areas.

Although these statistics do not exactly reflect the actual conditions of employment in the region, the data confirm the backward, agrarian rural economy of the island.

The incidence of poverty and destitution in both provinces is high. Almost all lines of livelihood revolve around and are sucked into the vortex of landlord-merchant-usurer power and control. Merchant capital is the dominant form of capital accumulation, mainly through the vicious cycle of usurious lending, in both provinces.

The biggest landlords also monopolize political power in the local bureaucracy, own the largest grain warehouses and mills, control the market and maintain the most extensive network for usury.

Mindoro is a major rice producer and supplier for the Luzon mainland. Mindoro Occidental in 1993 registered a total of 37,643 hectares of irrigated rice land, with a total production of 4,895,834 cavans, of which 144,375 was locally consumed and 3,451,697 was shipped to Metro Manila and nearby provinces. In Mindoro Oriental, a total of 84,767 hectares were planted to rice, with a total production of 4,491,242 cavan of which the surplus was 2,288,566 cavans.

Aside from palay, Mindoro Oriental had 57,914 hectares planted to coconut with a total production of 27,000 metric tons (copra); 5,090 hectares planted to abaca, producing a total of 152.2 metric tons of hemp; 20,042 hectares planted to banana, with a total production of 20,042 metric tons; 1,024 hectares planted to corn, with a total production of 1,130 metric tons; and 74.2 hectares planted to garlic, with a total production of 275.10 metric tons.

Mindoro Occidental had 125 hectares planted to ground nuts, annual yield 86.1 metric tons; 177 hectares planted to mongo, annual yield 88.5 metric tons; and 70 hectares planted to vegetables, annual yield 225 metric tons.

As island-provinces, 24 of their 26 municipalities are along the seacoast. Some 85 percent of the population on the seacoast and



the surrounding countryside are peasants, fisherfolk and semiproletarians.

In 1990, the annual production of the fishing industry in Mindoro Oriental was 661.0 metric tons on 1,348 hectares of brackish-water fishponds and 2.6 metric tons on 42.1 hectares of fresh water fishponds. Municipal fishing had an annual yield of 2.6 metric tons and commercial fishing, 280.0 metric tons.

Some 14,236 families along the seacoasts depend on fishing, using fish traps, fish hooks and fishing nets. They have been driven to earn their livelihood in the seas because of the lack of land to cultivate in the countryside. Others fish to supplement their income from farming when the planting and harvest seasons are over and while waiting for the rainy season. The fisherfolk are also victims of feudal and semifeudal conditions of exploitation in the countryside.

Most small fishers use simple or primitive fishing implements and small wooden sail boats. The small fishers are being displaced and driven off from their fishing grounds by the big fishing capitalists using big basnigs. In other areas and farther off shore, big motorized commercial fishing fleets with their mechanized gears deprive the municipal fishing grounds of fish.

Despite what we have enumerated as the abundant surplus yield of the working masses in the region, more than 80-90 percent of the people are impoverished. The impoverishment of the ethnic Mangyans is even greater because the basis for their primitive mode of production has been undermined and destroyed by settlers who have encroached upon their fishing and hunting grounds. The Mangyans suffer from malnutrition, lack of basic social services, low productivity and discrimination.

*[Data on the other island provinces within the scope of the region — Palawan, Marinduque and Romblon — are still being collated and summarized.]*

### **THE "DEVELOPMENT" PROJECTS OF THE REACTIONARY GOVERNMENT IN THE REGION**

The "development" projects of the U.S.-Ramos regime within the region do not redound to the people's prosperity nor bring de-



mocratization in the ownership and distribution of the wealth created by society. Neither can these bring the country to NIC-hood as envisioned in *Philippines 2000* nor can these radically change the relations of production and release the forces of production in the countryside and in the cities.

What we have seen so far brings us to the conclusion that the implementation of these projects is bringing the Filipino people to a new calvary of feudal and semifeudal exploitation. This means tighter imperialist control over every fiber of our society; and the further consolidation and domination of political and economic interests of the joint rule of foreign monopoly capitalists and domestic comprador-landlord-bureaucrat bourgeoisie to the detriment of the people.

This phenomenon is clearly unfolding in our region.

#### **A. The Calabarzon Project**

In 1986, the U.S.-Aquino regime designated five Southern Tagalog provinces (Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, Rizal and Quezon) as the launching area for the biggest and most ambitious "development" project in the entire country. The Calabarzon Project is the main component of the Philippine Aid Plan (PAP) drawn up by the government upon the instigation of imperialist agencies (principally the U.S.-controlled multilateral agencies, IMF and World Bank) supposedly to revive the country's economy [meaning, provide new sources of wealth to be mined by the new ruling class faction in power] devastated by several decades of corruption under the U.S.-Marcos fascist dictatorship.

The regime used Aquino's fleeting kind of popularity to offer and sell the Philippines anew to the foreign monopoly capitalists and their agencies in exchange for a new injection of foreign investments and loans and new areas and opportunities for exploiting the country and the people. With the country's economy bankrupted by the IMF-World Bank regime imposed through more than two decades of U.S.-Marcos rule, the new ruling class faction in power had to resort again to the imperialist countries and their agencies to rehabilitate and revive the national economy.



The results of PAP were far below the expectations of the Aquino government. Due to the crisis besetting the capitalist countries, the funding that these pledged was niggardly. The first pledging session at the launching of the PAP in Tokyo in 1989 yielded a measly US\$2.87B in pledges of grants and official assistance by the capitalist countries; while the second pledging session in Hongkong in 1991 yielded some US\$3.23B. These pledges were far less than the expected US\$10B required to launch a mini-Marshall-type Plan for the Philippines. The regime had wanted a repeat in scale of the rehabilitation of Europe when the imperialist countries, with the United States in the lead, moved to revive the European economies devastated by World War II.

#### **The General Character and Content of Calabarzon**

The Calabarzon project has been designed to develop the Southern Tagalog (ST) region as the principal industrial center of the entire country. Were the plan fulfilled, the number of factories in the region would surpass that in NCR. Even now, many multinational corporations are relocating their main offices from NCR to ST. The region's contribution to gross domestic product (GDP) currently is 14.21 percent of national total.

The program aims to set up some 200 new factories, generating employment for 200,000 workers. It expects some US\$1.0B of foreign investment inflow annually. The government claims that the project will help alleviate poverty and prime the country for industrialization.

To launch this program, the government must put up the necessary infrastructure and service support (efficient transportation, nearby international seaports, sufficient number of cheap but skilled and docile labor power, steady and ample supply of electricity and water, adequate telecommunications service, adequate housing and recreation facilities for top local and foreign executives) to meet the basic requirements for building and running big enterprises. And because the government lacks funding, it has to beg for help from capitalist countries to finance the project.

In addition, the government also has to solve the "problem of peace and order". Political stability [read: government's efficiency



in suppressing the people] is extremely important to the foreign monopoly capitalists so as to ensure unhindered operation for the extraction and repatriation of profit to their home countries. This is what the government calls "creation of a favorable climate" for the growth of foreign investments in the region and in the country. Such a climate must be ensured to attract foreign investors to the Philippines. Japan recently pledged to increase its investments in the ASEAN countries if these countries removed trade barriers and put up sufficient infrastructures in their areas.

The Philippines has fallen far behind such ASEAN members as Thailand, Taiwan, Malaysia and Singapore in getting foreign investments. This is because the Philippines is among those with the lowest GNP, per capita income and GNP annual growth rate.

The Calabarzon is a US\$861M development project mainly funded by Japan's Official Development "Assistance" (ODA) through its Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund (OECF). The release of funds is divided into almost 20 yen installments.

According to the agreement, the Philippine government is to raise a counterpart of 25 percent of the entire funding requirement for the project. This means that the government budget will have to carry a US\$215M or P5.38B item for public works in the area. If this project counterpart cannot be raised, the government cannot avail of the OECF fund.

The local private investors from the comprador big bourgeoisie and their foreign business partners also play a big role. Usually they put up corporations with shares from big foreign enterprises to participate in developing the area. Being constantly short of funds, the government has to depend on private capital for funding massive public works projects.

Upon the "recommendation" of the IMF-World Bank, the build-operate-transfer (BOT) system is being widely implemented, for infrastructure projects supposed to be funded by the national government. Thus, private contractors or builders of public works acquire the license to collect toll fees and amass huge profits from the people for the use of public infrastructure facilities (roads, bridges, etc.). Private toll fees actually constitute surcharges im-



posed for services and use of facilities which the people have paid for in taxes.

Local government agencies at the provincial and municipal levels also take part in the project. These agencies draw up their own subsidiary "development" programs under the Calabarzon project. These agencies wish to cash in on increased tax collection from the factories to be built and the urbanization brought about by the project to their towns and provinces.

### **The Main Components of the Project**

1. Building and expanding export-processing zones (EPZA) and "industrial" enclaves. The target is to develop the Cavite Export Processing Zone (275 hectares) in Rosario, Cavite; the First Cavite Industrial Estate; Batangas Industrial Estate (345 hectares); and Ayala Industrial Estate, Technopark, Inc. and Science Park Industrial Estate in Canlubang, Laguna.

The industrial enclaves and export processing zones are old methods by which the government entices foreign corporations to invest in our country. This was first used in Mariveles, Bataan and in Baguio City. Big corporations are formed usually with foreign equity to build industrial enclaves. The factories put up here do not serve national industrialization because what is produced are semiprocessed components through a system of subcontracting. And the target is not local production but to exploit cheap local labor for supplying the manufacturing needs of the giant transnationals in the capitalist countries. The system merely takes advantage of the low price of some raw materials and low wages of workers.

2. Expansion and modernization of Batangas City Port, costing some US\$98M of borrowed funds from Japan's OECF. According to the plan, it will have modern facilities to serve world trading, such as containers, yards and warehouses, buildings and other essentials for port operations.

The National Economic Development Agency (NEDA) has approved P967M for the Batangas Port Development Program (BPDP), half of which is to come from the 17th yen credit of the OECF while the rest is to be financed by the Philippine Port Authority (PPA).



There is also a plan to develop Polilio Island as a port for international trade and tourism.

3. *Building and modernization of railways* at the cost of US\$23M. A 112-kilometer railway from Tutuban to Batangas City will be completed.

4. *Expansion and increase of telephone lines and other telecommunications systems* costing US\$201.2M. The PLDT target is to lay 59,950 telephone lines all over the region. Paging systems, (Pocketbell), fax, cellular telephone services (Philtel and PLDT) are also being developed.

5. *Setting up provincial-level centers for manpower training* costing US\$3.0M to provide the labor force with "marketable" skills. One training center each for Laguna, Cavite and Batangas are being set up to train some 85,000 workers every year.

State colleges and universities have been commissioned to manage the training courses for meeting the labor power needs of the industrial estates. The College of Economics and Management of the University of the Philippines - Los Banos has been put in charge of designing a research program in this regard.

6. *Low-cost housing construction for workers and employees of factories and the corollary service sector* to be set up. Four main areas have been designated for housing projects covering 942 hectares and costing some US\$175M.

7. *Road construction and improvement*. 60.3 kilometers of new roads are to be built and 61 kilometers of existing roads are to be improved. The entire project costs \$111M. The road system is to be improved for efficient transport of export-products.

8. *Expansion of power generation and construction of new transmission lines*. The capacity of Malaya II power generating plant is to be increased to 500 megawatts, Calaca II in Calaca, Batangas is to be built with a capacity of 800 megawatts and also in Pimukan, Batangas City, including corresponding transmission lines. All these will cost \$252M.

The construction of new factories and the support services for these, will drastically jack up the consumption of electricity in the region. The current capacity of existing power plants will no longer suffice for the energy needs of the region and the entire country.



One requirement of foreign investments is the availability of sufficient electricity.

Thus, there were also plans (now discontinued) to construct a 300 megawatt power plant fueled by liquefied natural gas (LNG) in Tanza, Cavite. A consortium of local and foreign capitalists were supposed to raise P6.87B for the project. According to a study, electricity from LNG-fed plants is cheaper (P1.44 per kilowatt-hour) than that generated by oil-fired plants (P1.69 per kwh) and coal-fired (P2.08 per kwh).

These eight main components are interrelated. Industrial enclaves are being set up to create a cluster of factories focused on increasing production of such exports as textiles and garments, electronic components and semiconductors, food and drugs, etc.

The other components will serve to create the necessary infrastructure and service support for attracting foreign investors, mainly capitalists from Japan, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan, to put up companies or buy shares in existing enterprises of the comprador-bourgeoisie. Big factories in the NCR are also being encouraged to relocate to the region.

Aside from PAP/ODA-funded projects managed directly by the national government, there are also projects involving the private sector, i.e., the comprador-bourgeois companies and the local governments at the provincial and municipal level. The five provinces of Calabarzon are drawing up their own "development" plans. Also part of the master plan is the development of the tourist industry in the region.

The private corporations have drawn up plans for their participation in this grand "development" project of the government. These have put up first-class subdivisions as residential and recreation areas for foreign and local executives and managers. Among these are Southwoods Golf and Country Club in Cabuyao, Laguna; Orchard Golf and Country Club in Carmona, Cavite; Rodeo Homes in Alfonso, Cavite; Casino Filipino at the Taal Vista Lodge. Also on the drawing board are the Shoemart Tagaytay Complex and the development of beach resorts in Batangas.



### **Level of Implementation**

1. As the principal component of the PAP, the Calabarzon Project is directly being administered by the national government through the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI). Up for legislation is the Calabarzon Administrative Body to coordinate the various agencies participating in the project.

In the implementation of the Local Government Code (LGC), a regional development council (RDC) is to be created to determine the priorities of infrastructures to be built; and to relate with other RDCs in interregional and interprovincial projects in the entire country. But with particular reference to Calabarzon, the principal responsibility for the implementation of the project will remain with the government's line agency, the DTI.

The DTI coordinates closely with the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) because Japan has the single biggest contribution to the project. As the crisis of the U.S. economy worsens, Japan will play an increasingly important and decisive role in the whole of Asia, and Germany, in the whole of Europe, in order to maintain the strategic interests of the world capitalist system.

JICA also undertook a comprehensive study of the character of the region with the objective of determining the method for the meticulous and rapid implementation of the project. It held an interagency consultation among the representatives of such national agencies as the DTI and NEDA; and officials of local governments at the provincial and municipal levels. It also convened a consultative meeting of mass organizations in four provinces covered by the project; but which the local bureaucrats manipulated to include only delegates from organizations in support of the project.

Recently, as a result of the people's protests against the negative effects of the project, the JICA was forced to add two factors: the concern for the environment and improvement of agricultural production. But these are merely tokenistic and do not change the essential character of the Calabarzon Project.

The completion of all components of the project is estimated to take ten years. The first phase requires wholesale land-use conversion and cementing of roads. Some 15,557 hectares of prime agri-



cultural land is recorded as having been converted to industrial, commercial and residential uses.

2. Based on Philippines 2000, four major projects within Calabarzon are among the 18 flagship projects of the regime. These are the following: The Batangas Port Development Project (BPDP), South Lane Expressway Expansion Project (SLEEP), the Marikina-Infanta Road Project, and Angat-Umiray Transbasin Water Project (AUTP).

The implementation of BP/DP has been delayed for four years now (1993) due to the inability of the government to produce the peso counterpart fund and due to the people's opposition to the project.

The SLEEP is closely tied to the completion of the BPDP. Of its three packages — Calamba-Sto. Tomas, Sto. Tomas-Lipa City and Lipa-Batangas City — only one has available funding, the Lipa-Batangas City stretch with P5.3B.

The AUTP is a project to replace the Kaliwa-Kanan Dam, which has been shelved as a result of an engineering study claiming the latter to be extremely expensive (P21B) and to take a long time to complete and put on stream. The AUTP project will connect Manila to the Angat-Umiray Transbasin through a 13.1 kilometer pipeline to sustain the residential and industrial water needs of the entire urban area. The project will deprive the people and the farms of upland Rizal province of water for drinking and irrigation.

3. The road projects are almost completed. The Carmona-Ternate Road in Cavite is near completion and so is the improvement of the Manila-Batangas City Road.

The widening of the Baclaran-Bacolor coastal road and its extension to Rosario, Cavite is still to be finished.

4. The second stage of implementation has started. It consists of increasing energy and water supply, developing the telecommunications system and training labor-power.

Most important are the construction of electric power-generating plants. The Philippine Geothermal Inc. (PGI) is being extended to Bay in Laguna and Sto. Tomas in Batangas. The construction of coal-fired thermal plants in Calaca II, Pagbilao Grande and Pinamukan, Batangas City have started. The National Power Cor-



poration (NPC) is proceeding with construction of diesel turbines in Malaya II in Pililla, Rizal and also with the rehabilitation of Calaca I, KPSPP, Malaya I and MAK-BAN.

On the other hand, the projected \$275M LNG-run plant in Tanza, Cavite, the Sariaya and Guinyangan Power Plants and the Kanan River Hydroelectric Plant have been scrapped.

Lack of funding and high technological requisites have caused also the scrapping of the water-use conversion project in Laguna de Bay in favor of the AUTP. The former design was to convert the 90,000 hectare lake from a fishing area to industrial, irrigation, residential and recreational uses, which would require increasing the volume of water. Instead of achieving this through dredging, the plan called for raising the water level by building dikes 100 meters away from the water edge to keep more water within the lake.

Land-use conversion continues at the municipal level through the designation of the municipal zone. The task of implementation has been passed on to the local provincial and municipal councils. The local governments continue to reclassify their municipal zones. Big landlords also resort to land-use conversion in order to skirt around the implementation of the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law (CARL). Land prices, especially those near or adjacent to the industrial estates, have doubled in price.

The construction of industrial estates in Cavite, Laguna and Batangas continue. Many factories are already operational and the biggest number of these are in Rosario, Cavite. Some factories have also started to operate in other areas though most are still in the process of completing infrastructure and service support.

5. The third stage is supposed to be the further development of agricultural production and projects for ecological protection. Food production in the region is to be increased to meet the expected increased demand when the project goes on stream. Food processing and preservation will also be developed.

When Calabarzon becomes fully operational, industrial waste, air and water pollution and other ecologically harmful consequences will surely increase. This will be worsened by the fact that most of the factories to be set up are those prohibited by other



countries from being put up within their own territory because of their proven devastating ecological impact. Because of the people's strong protest, there are now belated plans to include in the Calabarzon project a plan for reforestation, for the strict implementation of an antipollution policy, dissemination of information on ecological protection, etc. The Japanese imperialists want to cover up their share of responsibility and culpability (apart from that of their Filipino collaborators, the comprador-bureaucrat capitalists) for dumping into our country ecologically devastating industries and processes.

### **Our Stand on Calabarzon**

The Calabarzon project is merely a continuation of what used to be the "development" program of the U.S.-Marcos regime. Actually, Marcos' old master plan for the development of 11 major industries in the country's economy had access to bigger funding sources and was on a grander scale. Aside from having more infrastructure projects, the old plan supposedly included the development of important "industries" such as iron, petrochemical and others.

There cannot be a program for real development until the fundamental problems of the people are resolved. No industrialization can be achieved unless genuine land reform is achieved to free the people from feudal and semifeudal exploitation.

There can be no national industrialization so long as the basic industries in the economy are not developed; so long as what the industrial estates manufacture are mainly semiprocessed products for export and are of low value or price in the world market; and so long as the economy relies mainly on foreign capital and foreign loans from the imperialist countries.

The Calabarzon Project works against all its avowed objectives. Far from solving the problems of the Filipino people, the project merely tightens the imperialist control over the country's economy. It serves the interests of the foreign monopoly capitalists and the local ruling classes of the bureaucrat capitalists, big compradors and landlords.

The national and local bureaucrats are interested in the expeditious implementation of the project within their terms of office. As



with all other previous "development" projects, Calabarzon presents a new source from which to draw and appropriate huge funds for themselves.

Top local government bureaucrats are also drawing up their own several-year "development" programs. They wish to have their own infrastructure and industrial "development" projects accommodated into the Calabarzon Project with the objective of getting their own share of the loot from the project funding already being mined by the national bureaucrats. Needless to say, with more enterprises set up, more taxes can be collected and, more importantly, more sources for bureaucratic corruption.

In order to further attract foreign capital, the local governments, especially of Cavite, wishes to adopt a no-union-no-strike policy (NUNS) within the industrial estates. They wish to deprive the workers of the basic right to organize themselves into unions, a long-won victory of the working class. Exploitation is intensive within the factories being set up, especially because the products are labor-intensive semiprocessed components. The project is clearly antipeople, peddled under the slogan of "development".

The project has sped up the process of land-use conversion of prime agricultural land to industrial, residential and commercial uses. As of 1993, 15,557 hectares of agricultural lands had been converted, affecting 8,000 families. The revision of municipal zoning by the local government to jack up land prices is bound to affect many more. Agricultural production, especially of food grain, will definitely fall.

With the water-use conversion of Laguna Bay, communities around it would be submerged. The problem of water pollution in the lake is already critical. Formerly, there were 25 species of fish and 13 of aquatic plants in the lake; now there remains only six species of fish and two, of aquatic plants. If the Kaliwa-Kanan Dam project is revived, seven barrios of Rizal will also be put under water, thus displacing the inhabitants there.

Large numbers of families are being forcibly evicted to give way to the construction of the infrastructures. The eviction/relocation of the fishing and poor communities around Laguna Bay, the coastal areas of Cavite and the communities of Sta. Clara in Batangas City



is underway. It is estimated that some 80,000 people are directly affected.

The project will worsen the ecological problem of the region and the entire country. The industries to be put up are proven heavy pollutants in their countries of origin. These countries have stringent antipollution laws and requirements which entail increased operation costs. Thus, in their drive to maximize profit, the monopoly capitalists are transferring these industries to underdeveloped countries without the least regard for the ecologically devastating immediate and long-term effects on the people and the environment both locally and internationally.

On the whole, the Calabarzon project will not bring development to the masses of the working people in the entire region. So long as it serves the interests of the foreign monopoly capitalists and their comprador-landlord collaborators, it can only serve to perpetuate the neocolonial system of trade, reliance on foreign capital and loans, and intensify the exploitation and oppression of the people in Southern Tagalog. For the great majority of the people, the project is causing a rapid deterioration of the quality of life, disemployment and pauperization.

### **B. The Bondoc Development Plan**

Aside from the Calabarzon project, there are other "development" projects being cooked up by the government in definite areas of the region, such as Bondoc Peninsula. Now being implemented is the Bondoc Development Plan (BDP).

#### **A Brief Overview**

In 1975, the provincial government of Quezon and the University of the Philippines-Los Banos (UPLB) drew up a project plan under the sponsorship of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). This was called the Integrated Rural and Agricultural Development Plan (IRADP). It covered three towns of Bondoc Peninsula (Padre Burgos, Agdangan and Unisan) where the revolutionary forces maintained extensive guerrilla fronts and local organs of political power.

In 1978, the program was expanded to cover the entire Bondoc Peninsula and renamed Bondoc Integrated Development Program



(BIDP). In the implementation, the towns of Pitogo, Macalelon, General Luna, Catanauan, Mulanay, San Narciso, San Francisco and San Andres were added. The program was stopped in 1982 due to problems in implementation.

When the government revived the project in the following year, this was given priority and included in the National Council of Integrated Area Development Project (NCIADP). Despite this, the program could not be continuously implemented due to the grave economic and political crisis that developed after the Aquino assassination of 1983.

In June 1986, the Ministry for Economic Cooperation (BMZ) of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), at a meeting attended by Filipino media people, showed interest in raising annual "assistance" to the Philippines which had been designated as a "model country" where nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) would play an important role in projects "assisted" by the FRG.

Consequently, in 1987, the U.S.-Aquino regime presented the Bondoc Peninsula Integrated Development Project (BPIDP) — involving a mere change of name from the Marcos' Integrated Development Project in Bondoc Peninsula (IDPBP) — for funding under the terms of the financial and technical cooperation agreement between the Republic of the Philippines and the FRG. It was one among the regime's several on-line projects begging for foreign funding. In 1988, it was designated as one of the projects under the Integrated Area Development (IAD) planned under the Medium-Term Southern Tagalog Development Plan for 1987-92.

The BPIDP was focused on road infrastructure related to the "counterinsurgency" operation in Bondoc Peninsula. This was exposed and came under a lot of criticism in Germany, especially after the arrest and detention of a German and a Swedish national in 1988 who had been on a visit in the area. In fact, before the FRG approved the project, it had priorly been offered to but rejected by the Japanese and the Australian governments successively because of opposition initiated by the people in the locality and supported by the people's solidarity groups in these countries. The representative of the Australian government declared that the project had a



military objective, which was confirmed by statements of the Secretary of Defense and the AFP Chief-of-Staff during that period.

By October 3, 1988, NEDA director Solita Monsod made a visit to Bonn to finalize the agreement on the project with the German Minister of Economic Cooperation Hans Klein. Because of the opposition to the project by the people and the progressive and revolutionary organizations in Bondoc Peninsula which was aired in the German media and taken up by the people's solidarity groups in Germany, especially after the arrest and detention of the German Rev. Klaus Schmidt, the German BMZ had to take the opposition to the project into account. In this connection, it dispatched a German expert to look into the Bondoc Peninsula.

In 1989, an independent German mission led by Martha Mamozai made an analysis of the project. The mission recommended a discontinuation of the original plan of project and put forward three criteria for the continuance of the project: (1) the implementation of agrarian reform in the area; (2) the observance of human rights in dealing with the people there; and (3) guaranteed participation of the "grass roots" organizations.

The Mamozai report generated a debate within the Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ), the agency responsible for technical cooperation, and the German foreign ministry. On June 19, 1989, the newly designated Interim Committee for the IDPBP recommended a temporary halt to the project and a fact-finding mission to be participated in by the NGOs. The fact-finding result would be the basis for continuing or halting the project. However, this recommendation was disregarded by the BMZ Minister Jurden Warloke who decided that the project should be continued, whether or not there was opposition to it. This decision was made in connection with the visit of President Aquino to Germany in July 1989.

After a 2-year long negotiation amidst strong opposition, a formal agreement was forged in January 31, 1990 to implement the project. The GTZ sent Heinz Schmidt to manage the implementation of the project. For a time, Schmidt "supported" the position of the opposition to make the project conditional on the following criteria: genuine land reform, peace and order, and participation of



genuine people's organizations as beneficiaries. In the end, he dropped these conditionalities due to pressures from the Philippine military and the local bureaucrats *in the area to go on with the implementation of the project*. None of the criteria had been fulfilled. The opposite of the stated criteria in fact operates and is being promoted. No genuine land reform is being undertaken in Bondoc Peninsula; militarization continues; and the local reactionary ruling classes and local government bureaucrats are setting up their own "people's organizations" mainly as instruments for diverting funds from the project to their own pockets. Real people's organizations are not only excluded from the project but are being suppressed. The project has been relabeled as the Bondoc Development Program (BDP).

#### **The Character, Objective and Funding of the Project**

According to the government, the BDP is a long-term (10-15 years) multisectoral rural development project. Its avowed general objective is to improve the economic, social and ecological conditions in Bondoc Peninsula.

To achieve the stated objectives, the following results are supposed to be achieved:

- a) improved capability for continued development;
- b) improved agricultural productivity and marketing facilities;
- c) improved health delivery and education, including potable water supply;
- d) positioning target groups and improving their capability to continue the program for integrated development on their own.

The primary target group designated are the poor, consisting of the farm workers, fisherfolk, small peddlers, plantation workers, out-of-school youth and owner-peasants and small landholders.

Total project fund appropriated is DM28.7M, constituting the "grant" or official development "assistance" of the German government, which is 85 percent; and the 15 percent Philippine government counterpart to pay the local staff of the management office. In the first three years of the BDP, the FRG has appropriated the equivalent of P72 M.



### **The Implementation of the Program**

*According to design, the project is to be implemented in two stages: the first stage is "orientation" and the second stage is implementation. The first stage supposedly aims to prepare the communities to become conscious, organized and mobilized politically, economically and socially. The second stage supposedly is running and implementing the projects decided upon by the people.*

The project is to be implemented in 12 towns of Bondoc Peninsula, which is the third district of Quezon Province. The project has started in 39 of the barangays in the area.

Management is supposed to be undertaken by three sectors: government, NGOs and "people's" organizations. Representatives from these three sectors also constitute the Bondoc Development Board (BDB), which is supposed to implement the BDP, draw up the policies to guide the running of the project. The BDB has 18 members: nine representatives from the government sector and nine representatives from the two other sectors (NGOs and POs). The governor of Quezon Province sits as the chairman of the board.

The government sector consists of the mayors of Mulanay and Macalelon, representative of the 3rd congressional district, agencies of the DECS, DOH, DAR and NEDA. The NGO and PO sectors consist of the Center for Community Services (CCS), the Coconut Farmers' Federation for Rural Advancement (COFFRA); Coconut Farmers' Technology Center; Quezon Federation and Union of Cooperatives (QFUCI), Samahan ng Malayang Kababaihan (Samaka) and Ugnayan ng Magsasaka sa Quezon (UGMA). It is apparent that what constitutes the "NGO" sector are institutions and organizations of the "social-democrats" and the local bureaucrats. There is no people's organization representative sitting in the BDB to speak of. The names of institutions serving the peasants, such as the Center for Ecumenical Development Action and Research (CEDAR), are used only for appearances.

The Project Management Unit, headed by a project director, runs the BDP, with its office in Catanauan, Quezon. This is currently assisted by a project officer representing German government. The community affairs officer takes charge of delivery of the program to the people in the localities.



### **Our Stand on the BDP**

It is clear that the BDP is not really a development project to solve the problem of poverty of the people in Bondoc Peninsula. It is a deceptive project for "counterinsurgency" with the objective of trying to alienate the people from the revolutionary movement. This project comes under the scope of the psy-war aspect of the U.S.-Ramos regime's total war policy. What the regime calls its "comprehensive approach" is none other than its "total war" in order to crush the revolutionary movement, because the people of the Bondoc Peninsula have long adopted this movement as their own.

The construction of roads and bridges serves primarily to facilitate the mobility of AFP and PNP troops in their desperate attempt to crush the revolutionary movement in the BP's rough terrain. It will also greatly benefit the local exploiting classes who own the large estates in the area and who also need the roads for rapidly transporting their export products.

The "socioeconomic" content of the project serves the AFP/PNP tactics of clear-hold-consolidate/develop within the strategy of gradual constriction. The BDP is a source of funding for the deceptive, frequently flash-in-the-pan projects used merely to cover up the long record of fascist violence and human rights violations of the AFP/PNP troops.

Furthermore, the BDP has now become a milking cow of greedy local bureaucrats. These local bureaucrats outrace each other in putting up their "people's organizations" through which they channel funds from the project to their own pockets. Thus, the so-called target groups being freed from their impoverishment are only on paper. The local bureaucrats have resorted to all sorts of hocus-pocus to corner for themselves substantial part of the project funding. The program will further enrich the rich and further impoverish the poor. Note that the government has to raise a 15 percent counterpart fund to the 85 percent provided by FRG. How else will the government raise the amount except to squeeze this from the people through more taxation? It is not surprising that corruption with regard to the BDP funding has become an issue in the electoral in-fighting among local politicians. Contention among them for access will continue for so long as there are funds.



Thus, the BDP is bound to fail, as all the other projects that preceded it during the Marcos and then the Aquino regimes. Mere changes of label and of personnel in its management cannot effect changes in the general pattern of the BDP.

No development can be achieved under the BDP unless genuine land reform is undertaken to solve the centuries-old problems of the people in the area. No development can be achieved in the BDP unless there is an end to fascist violence by the AFP/PNP and unless the people's desire to organize themselves and act collectively in their own interest is promoted.

We strongly object to the BDP because, given its nature as described above, it continues to be an instrument for victimizing and burdening the people of the Bondoc Peninsula. We must expose the deceptive character of the project. However, we must also make clear that we do not oppose development and progress. We support development projects that clearly serve the interests of the people and not the exploitative and oppressive interests of the few from the ruling classes. We must stress that there is no other way to solve the problem of poverty of the people in BP but to implement genuine land reform, end militarization in the area, and allow the people to organize themselves and act in their own interests. They do not need a deceptive project, like a candy offered to pacify a crying child. What they aspire for is a real development program based on the decisive abolition of feudal and semifeudal exploitation perpetrated by the landlords and the comprador big bourgeoisie.

We oppose BDP because it intensifies the suffering of the majority of the people in Bondoc Peninsula and, as we have earlier mentioned, it serves only the exploitative interests of a few landlords and compradors, the ruling classes. Worse, the program serves the "counterinsurgency" operations. The majority of the families in Bondoc Peninsula have suffered various kinds of fascist atrocities from the military, from simple threats to arrest and detention, kidnapping, torture and killing, rape, arson and destruction of their farms and homes.

We have achieved some victories in the earlier campaigns to oppose the project. We have succeeded in exposing the deceptive



character of the project not only in Bondoc Peninsula and our entire country but also in Germany. The justness of this struggle of the people in Bondoc Peninsula struck a chord among the German people who supported the struggle and lobbied against the anti-people and military objectives of the BDP. The issue was carried by the German media and came under debate in the German parliament. In October 1988, the BMZ of the German government was forced to put a stop to 75 percent content of the project, which had been focused on the building of roads and bridges and refocused this on "socioeconomic" programs. However the Philippine reactionary government easily overcame this problem by using other ODAs (for example through Japan's JICA which provides the main financing of the Calabarzon project) for continuing the construction of the roads and bridges. And, of course, German "socioeconomic assistance" frees government resources for the use of the military in the total war against the people.

Our initial victories in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people in the struggle against the BDP must be pursued.

### **C. The NIPAS Project in Mindoro**

#### **Some Notes on the International Historical Context of the National Integrated Protected Areas System (NIPAS)**

The current NIPAS is a project and program being financed by the Global Environmental Facility (GEF) under the management of the World Bank. The GEF supposedly concerns itself with such global issues as global climate change, biodiversity and protection of the ozone layer and of international waters.

The GEF is an instrument for further exacerbating on a world scale the inequality between the countries of the industrialized North and the impoverished South. Today, the industrialized countries of the North enjoy the benefit from their control of biotechnology and intellectual property rights over genetic resources, even as the main bulk of biogenetic resources are found in the underdeveloped countries of the South.

Scientists estimate that half of the remaining species of plant and animal life are to be found in the tropical forests, the majority of which are in underdeveloped countries. These forests are the ideal



habitat for the reproduction of plants bearing important chemical compounds for the development of wonder drugs. In the last decade, 90 percent of the wild seed varieties were collected from the third world, according to the ecologists of the United Nations.

As the GEF — and the World Bank — fail and refuse to adopt measures to ensure technological training and transfer, reform of the current intellectual property rights and royalty compensation and scheme so as to allow the countries of the South to benefit from their own biogenetic resources, they also evade creating conditions to equalize economic relations between the industrialized countries of the North and the poor countries of the South. These measures for confronting the current global environmental crisis merely reflect the economic inequality among states and the control of the world's resources by the monopoly capitalists.

While the colonial stage of world history showed the conversion of the colonized countries into gardens, plantations and markets of the colonizers, the current stage may yet witness the conversion of the countries of the South into greenhouses, pharmacies and markets to feed the greed of the supermonopolies for profit.

#### **A Brief Review of NIPAS**

NIPAS is supposed to be a measure for the protection of local biodiversity through the establishment of a system of protected areas managed in order to ensure the continued existence of all the indigenous flora and fauna for the benefit of current and future generations of Filipino people (RA 7586, sec. 2).

With this objective, all the parks, refuges, sanctuaries, wilderness areas, reserves, watersheds, landmarks and virgin forests will be classified initially as NIPAS (RA 7586, sec. 5a). Subsequently, a process of documentation, consultation, research and review, proclamation and legislation will be undertaken (RA 7586, sec. 5; DAO 25, sec. 3). Areas with sufficient biogenetic resources will be proclaimed and legislated as protected areas.

These protected areas are of various types: 1) strict nature reserve, 2) natural park, 3) natural monument, 4) wildlife sanctuary, 5) protected landscapes and seascapes, 6) resource reserve, and 7) natural biotic areas (RA 7586, sec 3).



Within these areas, depending on the characteristic and site, a system of zoning will be implemented in order to support its particular type of usage. These zones are the following: 1) strict-protection zones, 2) sustainable-use zones, 3) restoration zones, 4) habitat-management zones, 5) multiple-use zones, 6) buffer zones, 7) cultural zones, 8) recreational zones, 9) special-use zones, and 10) other management zones (DAO 25, sec. 10).

Two layers of system management, national and regional, will be established (DAO, 25, Chapter V) consisting of 1) the regional executive director, 2) a representative of the autonomous regional government, when applicable, 3) provincial development officer, 4) a representative from every municipality, barangay and tribal community within the area, and 5) three representatives from the NGOs, and when necessary 6) a representative from another national department or agency of the government.

Management will be guided by Republic Act No. 7586 (1992), Department Administrative Order No. 25, series of 1992, and the Management Plan and Management Manual specific to every site (DAO 25, secs. 11 and 12).

#### *The Mangyan Heritage Nature Park (MHNP)*

The Mangyan Heritage Nature Park is a project in Mindoro of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR). It is part of the broader NIPAS project. This project is supposed to focus on the protection of local biodiversity.

The research on NIPAS was formally initiated in 1986 through a project funded by the World Wildlife Fund (WWF). Research was finished in 1988 and the result is contained in the report submitted to the DENR and the WWF. The report contains the list of the maps of potential areas and the degree of importance of each.

Ten areas were chosen for inclusion into the NIPAS. Two of these are to be found in Mindoro: the MHNP and Apo Reef Marine Natural Park (ARMNP). The total area to be covered by the ten protected areas is 1,251,884 hectares.

The estimated cost for implementing the NIPAS is US\$20 million. This is to be financed by the World Bank through the Global Environmental Facility (GEF), its agency for administering environmental projects.



The World Bank imposed two conditions: a) the legislation of the NIPAS bill before June 1992, and b) DENR acceptance of the 10 management plans already drawn up by the World Wildlife Fund-US (WWF-US) for the ten chosen areas.

The NIPAS bill was passed into a law on June 1, 1992 as RA 7586, now called NIPAS Law of 1992.

*What are the imperialist interests behind the NIPAS project?*

The World Bank, as a financial institution in the service and under the control of the industrial capitalist countries of the North, ensures that the economies of the imperialist countries maintain their dominance and control over the countries of the third world as a source of raw materials.

Through the NIPAS, the GEF can ensure the availability of living wealth [yamang-buhay] which constitute the raw material resources for biogenetic technology controlled and monopolized by rich countries of the North. The key point is control over the resources, which the monopoly capitalists wish to secure.

The value of this technology, for example in agriculture, is the development of high quality hybrids that are both high-yield and disease-resistant varieties. The application of this technology can be seen in the development of new varieties of rice, potatoes and other food plants. This technology is also used in upgrading the breed of animals in the dairy and livestock industries.

According to Mark Plotkin of Conservation International, half of the drugs in the United States are produced from natural substances. Many profitable antiviral drugs are produced from tropical plants. Thus biodiversity is very important in medicine. And if the habitat of many important plants are not protected, these will disappear or become extinct even before their value can be observed or studied.

But the major issue at the core of biotechnology is the ownership of, or intellectual property rights, over genetic materials. Historically, seeds, germ plasm and specimens of individual species were publicly owned. Anyone could avail of these without having had to pay compensation to the source country.



For example, Madagascar in whose tropical rain forests exclusively the rosy periwinkle — source of the chemical base for the drug against childhood leukemia and Hodgkin's disease — can be found, is not at all compensated for the plant, despite the fact that it is a country of widespread hunger and unemployment.

In the Philippines, the forest ecosystem holds some 5,500 species of plants, of which 2500 are tree plants. More than 90 percent of these trees belong to the dipterocarp species, among the best quality hard-wood in the world.

Part of the rich genetic resources consists of 230 species of mammals, 980 species of birds, 240 species of reptiles and 75 species of amphibians. Therefore, our forest ecosystem is a huge gene bank of considerable importance economically, esthetically and scientifically.

Control over genetic technology and over biogenetic resources is essential for the imperialists in order to secure their economic interests in the colonial and neocolonial countries. With the biogenetic resources under the control of the imperialists, they can wield these to blackmail dependent countries and ensure perpetual profit from these riches that can be found in abundance only in underdeveloped countries.

The GEF, as an institution controlled and administered by the industrialized countries, serves as their dependable instrument for protecting the biodiversity of the remaining forests of the countries in the third world for the benefit of biotechnology monopolized by these same industrialized countries. It aims to ensure the continuous resource base of fauna and flora which are scarce if not absent in the industrialized countries.

#### *Why has Mindoro been chosen for NIPAS areas?*

Mindoro is rich in the biodiversity of resources in its remaining forests. Furthermore, the threat of natural calamity on wildlife and wildlife sanctuary is not so great.

In an initial inventory, the MHNP has 25 varieties of mammals, including the endangered tamaraw, 121 varieties of birds, 13 of snakes, 20 of butterflies and 67 indigenous varieties of plants.

The MHNP consists of 274,917 hectares or 27 percent of the total area of the island of Mindoro. This is the largest among the ten



chosen "protected areas". Thirty-two percent or 86,731 hectares of the MHNP is grassland, 14 percent or 37,149 hectares are primary forests, while four percent or 11,081 hectares are mossy forests.

The MHNP is an enlarged nature park from the merging of two previous nature parks: the Mt. Iglit Baco-Natural Park and the F.B. Harrison Game Refuge and Bird Sanctuary.

When fully implemented, the park will cover 10 of the 15 towns of Oriental Mindoro (Puerto Galera, San Teodoro, Baco, Calapan, Naujan, Pinamalayan, Mansalay, Bansud, Gloria at Bongabong) and five of the eleven towns of Occidental Mindoro (Abra de Ilog, Mamburao, Sta. Cruz, Sablayan and Calintaan).

The project covers the following areas in each town:

Towns Area (hectares)

1. Sablayan	153,923.900
2. San Teodoro	26,053.530
3. Sta. Cruz	22,230.650
4. Baco	16,365.460
5. Bongabong	13,615.460
6. Puerto Galera	9,204.272
7. Naujan	8,379.865
8. Bansud	8,263.585
9. Abra de Ilog	4,785.496
10. Gloria	4,376.328
11. Calintaan	3,340.969
12. Pinamalayan	3,071.048
13. Calapan	864.989
14. Mamburao	372.888
15. Mansalay	65.882
Total	274,914.322

#### *Objectives of the MHNP*

The DENR states that the MHNP's general objective is to promote sustainable development in the demand and usage of forest resources by using methods that do not destroy biodiversity, sanctuary of flora and fauna and the ecosystem. A study will be undertaken of the biodiversity of the MHNP to record its content, structure and role.

The areas will be classified into three categories:



a. Strictly protected zone. This consists of 83 percent of the total area, which is practically the total area of forested and still natural environment. Logging and all kinds of extraction of forest resources, other than the primary needs of the Mangyan inhabitants, are to be prohibited. The entry of those who are not indigenous to the area, except for purposes of inventory or research, will be prohibited. The Mangyans will be confined to settlements to be designated as ecological settlements. No "development" will be undertaken and no roads and permanent buildings will be built.

b. Managed reserve zone. This constitutes 17 percent of the MHNP. The facilities to be built here are limited to roads for patrol and ascent, and camps for protection and ecotourism.

c. Multi-use zone. This consists of areas outside the borders of MHNP. In this area, buildings, roads and primary facilities, watch towers and other infrastructures are to be built.

#### **Our Analysis of and Position on the MHNP**

The NIPAS Law of 1992 or RA 7586 makes no mention at all of the settlements of the indigenous people in its policy declaration. It is silent on the question of recognizing the natural and inherent right of the indigenous people to their ancestral land and domain; to their right to control, manage and use the natural resources within their domain.

DAO 25 provides that the DENR shall be responsible for drawing up the rules and regulations pertaining to the ancestral lands within the protected area. This can only indicate the absence of any commitment to recognize the basic and inherent right of the indigenous people to control their ancestral domain.

Instead of direct recognition, the indigenous people will be made to go through the eye of a needle in laying claim to their ancestral domain according to the rules and regulations laid down by DAO 25. The settlements are required to apply for or get Certificates of Ancestral Domain Claims (CADC) and/or Certificates of Ancestral Land Claims (CALC) before the government and its reactionary laws can consider to recognize their right to their ancestral land and domain. Absence of such a recognition is tantamount to absence of security for the indigenous people or the Mangyans to reside in such areas and therefore such lands are in danger of being



declared public and government lands under the rules and laws governing such a category.

The MHNPA and the entire NIPAS project are expressions of imperialist aggression on what is left of our biodiversity, ensconced in high falutin' slogans of environmentalism, ecology and concern about global warming and the greenhouse phenomenon. The true features of class oppression and exploitation perpetrated by imperialism on the colonies and neocolonies are veiled by such deceptive phrases and expressions of intent. These serve to project a deceptively genial face of imperialism as the savior of a world threatened by destruction due to the senseless and relentless abuse of the natural environment and due to environmentally destructive modern technology.

Let us not forget that it is the imperialist countries that are principally accountable for the wholesale destruction of the natural and environmental balance in the world. They are the ones culpable for the poison and pollution generated by their gigantic firms and industries, annihilating the throb of life in lakes, seas and forests within their own boundaries and extending to those of their colonies and semicolonies; destroying the ecology and climate now destined to explode into a global environmental crisis. All these in the name of extracting superprofits from the underdeveloped countries. For example, the United States is responsible for 25 percent of the entire carbon dioxide emissions in the world.

What is left of biodiversity in the underdeveloped countries and, specifically in the Philippines, is the last frontier for the maintenance of the biogenetic and pharmaceutical industry of imperialism, for the security of its strategic political and economic interests.

The other blade of the sword cuts into the interests of the indigenous people whose security of livelihood and existence, inherent right to own and control and manage the natural riches within their land and ancestral domain, are not only directly threatened but ruthlessly undermined and violated. The same is true of the interests of the underdeveloped countries which are the sources of biogenetic resources coveted by the imperialists but are not compensated or paid royalties by the private imperialist companies.



We must expose, oppose and frustrate this latest form of imperialist aggression. The indigenous people must be aroused to organize themselves and build their own strength to fight for self-determination. We should support them in their struggle to assert their right to own, control and manage their own ancestral domains, including the natural resources there.

#### **D. THE MEDIUM-TERM AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN (MTADP)**

Our country has an underdeveloped economy which is primarily agricultural. About 70 percent of the people rely on agriculture directly and indirectly. About 65 percent of them inhabit the plains and coastal areas and the other 35 percent, the elevated areas (mountains and hilly areas). According to government statistics, more than 50 percent or 11.4M of the entire work force are lower-middle peasants, poor peasants, fishermen and regular and seasonal farm workers.

Also according to government data, the share of agriculture in the national economy is one-third of the gross national product (GNP) and two-thirds of the income from export.

However, from 1900 to the present, state policy has been focused on maintaining agriculture as the major producer of raw materials for export and as dollar-earner. These exports are of various farm, fishery and forest products.

The state's economic policies, particularly agricultural policy are bound to perpetuate the extreme poverty of the people in the countryside and at the same time further strengthen the dominance and control of the big landlords, comprador-usurers and foreign multinational corporations over agricultural production, market and agricultural inputs and equipment.

The Marcos fascist regime had its devastating Green Revolution, together with his Presidential Decree 27 and his "Balanced Agro-Industrial Development Strategy" (BAIDS), which the U.S.-Aquino regime appropriated, repackaged and relabeled as its own so-called Agro-based Industrial Development (ABID).

The ABID is within the framework of the policy of deregulation and import liberalization. This policy removed government subsi-



dies for agricultural production (fertilizer, irrigation, etc.); strengthened the control of the big foreign monopoly corporations over the manufacture and sale of agricultural inputs (Philphos, Chemphil-Isabela and Atlas Fertilizer); removed price subsidies on such farm products as rice, which strengthened the control of market by the big merchant usurers (the rice cartel); deprived the small peasants of low-interest loans for agricultural production; and generated a crisis in food-grain production which necessitated the importation of rice.

### **The Agricultural Development Program of the Ramos Regime**

The Medium-Term Agricultural Development Program ((MTADP) of the Ramos regime is even worse than those its predecessors as the following description would bear out.

The MTADP is within the framework of "Philippines 2000", with its deceptive twin slogans of "worldwide competitiveness" and "people empowerment".

Its strategy is to designate areas for agricultural production, to be chosen based on climate, appropriate crops and ready markets for designated crops, which are primarily for export. Governmental service support for agriculture, such as irrigation, loans, subsidies, technology and infrastructure will be concentrated on these areas which are called "key production areas (KPAs)".

Emphasis is on raising agricultural productivity in the countryside. By the government's logic, high agricultural productivity, together with "efficient management of resources" to reduce the cost of production, is supposed to redound to "worldwide competitiveness" of the agricultural products. "Resources" refer mainly to land, funding, and services and equipment for production.

An example of "efficient management of resources" is the Ramos regime's plan of reducing the hectarage for rice production. According to the KPA concept, rice and corn lands are not maximized for productive efficiency. The 2.5 million hectares of rice land will be reduced to 1.2 million hectares; the 2.5 million hectares of corn land will also be reduced to 700,000 hectares; and the hectarage gained from these reductions is to be devoted to other agricultural products, of which 1.8 million is to be devoted to pas-



ture or fodder production for cattle and other livestock and the remaining 1.3 million hectares is to be devoted to cash and commercial crops. The regime estimates that 1.2 million hectares of rice land and 700,000 hectares of corn land can produce sufficient food grains for the entire nation.

The expected result is increased income for "farmers". According to the regime, increased income for the people in the countryside means "empowerment". A part of this concept is supposed to be empowerment through the completion of CARP (basically real estate sales transactions) to which the success of the KPAs is anchored.

An example given by the Department of Agriculture of "empowerment" of farmers is "project self-reliance". According to this, the government will support "farmers'" cooperatives and federations so that these can gradually take control of the rice and corn warehouses of the National Food Authority. This is supposed to help the "producers" take control over the sale and storage of their products. What is unsaid is whether the government will make funds available to these organizations to enable them to buy off the harvest from their members at higher prices.

#### *Targets under the KPA*

The KPA has the following components: the key grain areas, key livestock development areas, key commercial crop areas and key fisheries development areas.

#### *KEY GRAIN AREAS (KGAs)*

This is the "strategy" for rice and corn production. The government has designated 1.2 million hectares in 34 provinces for intensive rice production and 700,000 hectares in 17 provinces for corn production. These KGAs will become the focus of the government's rice and corn production service support under the "grain production enhancement program" (GPEP).

The GPEP has a package of eight support services for the planting, technology and marketing of rice and corn. The target is country self-sufficiency in rice and corn.

For unhusked rice, the target was a yield of 3.5 metric tons (MT) per hectare per harvest on 750,000 irrigated rice lands in 1993 or (5.5 million MT for the whole year) until a yield of 5.0 MT per



hectare on 1.2 million hectares is reached in the year 1998 (12 million MT for the whole year).

It is expected that GPEP will fulfill 79 percent of the target in 1993 and 99 percent in 1998 for the production of unhusked rice.

For corn, the target was to produce 3.25 MT per hectare per harvest on the 270,000 hectares designated corn land in 1993, until a yield of 5.0 MT per hectare per harvest on 700,000 hectares of corn land is reached in 1998.

The GPEP has a budgetary appropriation of 74.3-billion pesos from 1993 to 1998. For the whole of 1993, the 5.7B-peso appropriation was to come from the national budget. The 68.6B pesos for the years 1994 to 1998 was to come from a 29.7B-peso (43 percent) government funding and a 39B-peso foreign official development assistance (ODA).

#### *KEY LIVESTOCK DEVELOPMENT AREA (KLDA)*

This is the counterpart program of KGA. Its supposed objective is to establish an independent, productive and economic livestock and poultry industry. This program is to be implemented in 43 provinces.

The target is to increase the population of the following livestock in 1998: cattle, three million; carabao, 2.5 million; goat and sheep, four million; hog, 10.8 million; and chicken, 100 million.

To reach the target the government plans to: 1) broaden and improve the "breeder base" by importing high-quality livestock for the enlargement and needs of the dairy industry through the establishment of "nucleus farms" or stock farms; 2) strengthen the support system for production by ensuring constant supply of animal feed, for poultry and piggery; this means sufficient supply of cheap corn; and 3) develop the marketing system, meaning incentives for private investments in the processing and marketing of meat and dairy products.

The government needs 23B pesos to fund this program from 1993 to 1998. The Department of Agriculture does not specify the source of the funding requirement.

#### *KEY FISHERIES DEVELOPMENT AREAS (KFDAs)*

According to the Department of Agriculture, the objective of the program is the improvement of fisheries management to raise the



productivity of the fisheries sector while "maximizing the sustainable level of limited fisheries".

The DA has designated 12 fishing bays and 173,000 hectares for aquaculture in 27 provinces.

The program is divided into five stages and is to be funded by foreign aid and loans. US\$82 million will come from the Asian Development Bank, and US\$80 million from the Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund (OECF). Both are international financial institutions are controlled by Japan.

#### **The "Agrarian Reform Committees" (ARCs)**

The ruling U.S.-Ramos regime is well aware of the futility of CARL. However, the regime dangles the law and the program in the attempt to deceive the peasantry and the revolutionary forces. To make it look attractive, the CARP had to be fitted into the framework of Philippines 2000 and given a facelift and renamed "agrarian reform communities" (ARCs) - a corpse that has been revived.

The ARC is a twin of the KPA in "agrarian reform". According to the Department of Agrarian Reform (DAR), to quickly and substantially implement the CARP, the ARC has been designated to focus operation on land tenure improvement and providing support services. The DAR is supposed to intensively intervene in a) raising the income of peasants, b) raising the productivity of land and farms; and k) promote sustainable development.

The DAR claims that ARCs are intended to create the "impact" in the implementation of CARP and will serve as "show cases" for the regime to demonstrate that agrarian reform under it can succeed; that agrarian reform as an all-sided development undertaking can improve the quality of life and can empower and facilitate sustainable agro-industrial development.

The idea of the regime is to have the ARCs as "growth points" in the countryside. It is expected that the growth in livelihood resulting from the success of the ARCs will provide the "multiplier effect" that will spill over to the adjoining areas.



## *The Elements of the ARCs*

### *AREA AND COVERAGE*

At the minimum, one barangay, and at the maximum a cluster of barangays with a "critical mass" of peasants to give impetus to "integrated development" in an area.

"Clustering" takes effect only if a) the barangays are adjacent to each other; b) the POs and NGOs active in one barangay are also active in the adjacent ones; c) there is a cooperative servicing the cluster of barangays; and d) in the case of haciendas or "estates" or other privately-owned land the area to be "distributed" under various methods of acquisition (CA, VOS, OLT, etc.) covers more than one barrio.

The key in designating the area is "efficiency" in order to lay down the necessary support services for intensive production. The idea, according to the DAR, is to achieve economies of scale.

### *PILOT AREAS*

The DAR has targeted 1000 ARCs by the year 2000. Generally, the DAR central office has already designated ARCs into which it is supposed to pour the resources and service support, from the funds to be appropriated for the CARP. Meanwhile, local governments are also being allowed to designate their own ARCs.

Initially, there were 264 ARCs in 179 congressional districts nationwide, as designated in 1993. In our region, with the exception of Aurora, 194 have been designated in ten provinces. The regime has the illusion that the ARCs will become shining star clusters (supernovas) bringing CARP to a full development in the countryside.

### *The Priorities for 1993-1995*

The CARP is expected to be completed within Ramos' constitutional term (1992-98). In 1993, this was supposed to be at its 3rd stage of distributing all private agricultural land beyond 24 hectares. But it is obvious to all that its implementation is far from being completed even only for the first and second stages. To "speed up" completion, the regime has defined a "twin strategy" for its first 1000 days of rule. The ARC is integral to this plan.



#### *LAND TENURE IMPROVEMENT (LTI)*

"Land tenure improvement" of the peasants is supposed to be the "acquisition and redistribution" of land. The target is to complete the distribution of remaining private and public lands set for distribution, including all land remaining with the landlords under the fixed land-rent system.

The DAR has targeted the acquisition and distribution of 300,000 hectares for 1992; 350,000 for 1993; 480,000 for 1994; and 480,000 for 1995. The prospective beneficiaries total approximately 400,000 peasants. To achieve the "speed up" the DAR bureaucracy was supposed to be made more efficient; the implementing rules and regulations were to be refined; and such DAR operational processes as land survey and revaluation of the land were to be simplified.

#### *PROGRAM BENEFICIARIES DEVELOPMENT*

The objective set by the government for this is to "speed up" the delivery of support services to the beneficiaries of reform. This has two aspects:

a. Social infrastructure building. This is the promotion of various types of peasant organizations such as the cooperative, women's and peasant-youth associations, sociocultural associations, etc.; and

b. Support services. Flow of essential support services to the beneficiaries of CARP, such as loans, technical and physical production inputs and marketing (post-harvest facilities) and other infrastructure facilities.

#### *METHOD AND FUNDING*

For implementing the priorities set, the state has designed a method similar to the program of the legal institutions or NGOs. This is the so-called "integrated area-focused approach. The priority is to focus on the designated areas for development. The ARC is the content of this concept. The designation of the ARCs, as earlier mentioned, is based on the characteristic of the area (usually specific to each town or province) and the number of beneficiaries. The towns and provinces in the priority are supposed to be transformed into "development management centers" and are to be given priority in the allocation of resources, with specific ARCs to be



developed through coordinated interagency operations and active participation of local government units, peasant associations and development institutions (NGOs).

Priority is also to be given to areas where the peasants are already organized and there are NGOs servicing them. The central government is to entice local government units, peasant associations and NGOs to redirect their priorities and resources to speeding up the implementation of the program in their areas.

To quickly complete the targets with the method set, the DAR needs a total amount of 149 billion pesos from 1993 to 1998. For 1993, the amount needed is 8.9 billion pesos and for 1998, 36.3 billion. The fund allocations are:

1) Land acquisition and distribution - 128.8 billion pesos. Ninety-eight percent of this (P120.7B) is for the "just compensation" of landlords.

2) Service support - P20B.

### OUR ANALYSIS

With the KPA and ARC, the stress of the Ramos regime is on raising productivity of "quality" but cheap agricultural products. Its aim is "competitiveness" of such export-products in the world market. These programs and policies hew to the same extremely conservative thinking of the landlords, the compradors and their agents within the U.S.-Aquino regime during its first year in power when the issue of agrarian reform was on the national agenda. And this accords with the wishes of the foreign multinational corporations and the American Chamber of Commerce in the Philippines.

The overstressing of productivity has fundamental implications for the peasant masses and for the society.

1. There will be no genuine land reform. Even the implementation of the "distribution" provision of the CARP will not be undertaken. Agricultural agro-forest, forest and fishery land will remain in the hands and under the control of the landlords, big compradors, merchant-usurers and foreign multinational corporations.

a. The policy of export-oriented "industrialization" impels the setting up of RICs and "growth centers". The land needed for these



will come from agricultural land with high productivity. The conversion of agricultural land into industrial, commercial and housing estates; and the conversion of lake and coastal fishing ground into industrial and tourist areas — these are the first implication of the policy of “efficient management” of land and other resources.

Since Ramos came to power, the policy of land-use conversion has been strengthened and extended. DOJ Opinion # 44 (1990), Administrative Order 20 (1992) and Section 20 of RA 7160 are being relentlessly used to skirt around the acquisition and “distribution” of land under CARP. DAR admits that numerous conversion of land-use are being made without its approval. And the majority of these lands are within the designated RICs and “growth centers”. In Calabarzon, for example, the DAR reported in September 1992 that a total of 8,350 hectares of agricultural land was converted. On the other hand a legal anti-Calabarzon alliance reported in October 1991 that some 15,557 hectares of agricultural land in Southern Tagalog had been converted to other uses.

b. Land will be further reconcentrated and will not actually be distributed as a result of the programs for key livestock development areas and key commercial crop areas (KCCAs).

The KLDA is a program requiring large tracts of land. These are to be taken from the 3.1 million hectares of rice and corn land targeted for conversion, though for other agricultural uses. These are excluded from redistribution for purposes of achieving “economies of scale”. The setting up of so-called stock farms and grazing lands aims to expand animal breeding and meat processing for the benefit of foreign multinational corporations and big compradors.

The KCCAs is a program to convert land use for the production of so-called high value crops (HVCs). Included among these are lands for conversion to fishponds, orchards (banana, pineapple, mango, cashew nut, etc.), vegetable and “cut flower” garden, cacao, coffee and rubber. The so-called competitiveness of these products will depend on low production cost (read: increased unemployment and starvation wages for peasants and farm workers) and large concentration of land to the detriment of the toiling masses.



Lands designated for the KCCA and KLDA fall under the category set by section 11, chapter II of RA 6657 — land “deferred” or temporarily exempted from distribution within ten years. This only means that the “distribution” of these lands go beyond the effectivity of CARP. For lands newly designated as KLDA or KCCA, the 10-year deferment starts only with the first year that the plants become productive.

c. Only the landlords, compradors and the foreign agrocorporations will actually have the opportunity and the right to control or own the land.

The policy of attracting foreign investors even in agriculture (relaxing foreign equity limitations, improving security of foreign land tenure through longer land leases, etc.) is bound to further strengthen the control by foreign multinationals over increasingly larger tracts of our land. This has been legislated by RA 7652, or the Long-Term Lease Act, through which the foreign multinational corporations and their comprador-landlord cohorts are guaranteed 50-year leases over huge tracts of land, renewable for 25 years more. Needless to say, these lands are exempted from “redistribution”.

d. Should “reform” take place in the countryside, it will be to sink the peasants deeper into the quagmire of semifeudal exploitation.

This is what “land tenure improvement” (LTI) within the framework of ARC and CARP 2000 actually means. Should LTI be implemented, the land would be put under the leasehold system, as under PD 27. In localities designated as ARCs, the leasehold system, more than land “redistribution”, would be implemented because of less funding necessary; and available government funding would be used only for intensive production.

e. On the question of compensation for the landlords, the old scheme of land valuation has been abandoned. A new formula for setting a higher price for land has been adopted. With the new formula, land value will rise by up to 50 percent compared to that based on the old formula, which is already very high. This is why the main bulk of ARCs will go to the landlords. For example, Garilao has stated that for 1994, the CARP needed P6.4B to fulfill



the target for the whole year. P4.075B of this was to be used for the purchase and "distribution" of land. Eighty-three percent of P4.075B will be used for the "just compensation" of landlords.

2. The emphasis on productivity and the corresponding priority on appropriation of funds will not redound to the progress of the peasants in the countryside.

Under the ARC and KPA programs, agricultural production in the countryside will not be expanded. What these aim to do is intensive production on existing relatively more productive agricultural land.

The ARC program aims to limit land for food-grain production to 1.9 million hectares. The DAR and DA will pour into these all their available fund for support services. Actually, these lands come under the coverage of PD 27, thus there is no more "distribution" within the framework of redemption. To raise production to 5 MT per hectare per harvest, the peasants would need much bigger capital for fertilizers, pesticides and other inputs, as use of these would also be intensive. Increased production cost would also tighten the grip of merchant-usurers on the peasants and drive them further into indebtedness and bankruptcy. Aside from this, the revaluation of land prices forces the peasants to pay higher amortization and land rent than before, if they do not wish to be removed from their tenancy.

Also because of land revaluation, peasants undergo confiscation of their certificates of land transfer (CLTs) and emancipation patents (documents certifying amortization payments) by the landlords and the Land Bank.

b. The emphasis on productivity will tighten the control of the landlords and merchant-usurers over the marketing of food grain because of the withdrawal of price subsidies on the buying of rice and corn.

The grain production enhancement program or GPEP's avowed objective of putting the National Food Authority (NFA) under the "control" of peasant organizations would actually strengthen the rice cartel's monopoly control over grain supply and marketing. The GPEP has an estimated budget of P74.3B for the entire period from 1993-1998. From this, P12B or 16 percent (P2.4B yearly) has



been appropriated for the purchase of unhusked rice. This is expected to control six percent of the rice supply in the country (meaning that 94 percent would remain in the hands of the Rice Cartel). In 1990, the NFA's budget for grain buying was only P1.0B, enough for only a few week's supply of rice in the country or three percent. But in 1990, with a population of 61.48M and a daily requirement of 16,680 metric tons, the NFA needed a P14B budget for purchasing a 90-day supply of rice for the whole country at the price of P6.00 per kilo of palay. What can P16B do within five years?

Even if the entire GPEP credit support of P15.9B for the entire program period were to be lent to the peasant organizations, this would not suffice for them to acquire even only 25 percent of the rice supply to ensure affordable food grain for the people, especially in the urban areas.

3. Neither can the farm workers expect anything from the GPEP. Despite the increasing trend in their number, the regime has not made any appropriation for their support even as farm wages are falling. It appears that CARP has disregarded them.

Under KPA and ARC, the plantation economy will be expanded. Huge numbers of poor and middle peasants are bound to fall to the status of farm workers or join the huge reserve army of unemployed or underemployed due to further reconcentration of land, bankruptcy as a result of rising cost of production and falling prices of farm produce, and disemployment resulting from land-use conversion. The regime has not drawn up any program for them. Wages are being pressed down to attract multinational corporations to farming. The displaced peasants and farm workers can neither be absorbed by the export industries.

4. The KPA and ARC programs are bound to generate a food crisis. First, there is the reduction of land devoted to food grains because of land-use conversion. Second, there is the lack of affordable food grain for the people because of market control by the comprador-landlords and merchant-usurers. The Ramos regime has put the comprador-landlords and merchant-usurers, especially the rice cartel, in the position of totally controlling the supply of rice



in the market and setting the price. The price of rice is bound to rise to P40 per kilo.

5. The regime is further endangering the environment as a result of the relentless land-use conversion from agricultural crop land to pastureland, and the exhaustion of the soil due to intensive use of chemical inputs in agriculture. Also, the growing number of displaced peasants will be driven to swidden agriculture on the remaining brush and forest lands, what remains of the frontier since its exhaustion during the '60s.

6. In sum, the U.S.-Ramos regime's programs of agrarian "reform" and agricultural restructuring do not redound to the progress of the peasants or of society. The ones who benefit or stand to benefit from these are the landlords, the compradors and the foreign multinational corporations. These cannot change feudal and semifeudal relations in the countryside, these can only push the peasant masses into further impoverishment and the whole country to more intense crisis.

Tensions in the countryside have further intensified as a result of the increasing numbers of displaced peasants. Hunger and deprivation have also intensified. The regime's promise of putting the country on the road of industrial development by the year 2000 will remain an illusion. The promise of reform, though temporarily pacificatory, will not suffice as the peasants are driven by poverty and deprivation to fight for their survival. The regime will increasingly resort to barefaced military repression its psy-war through the promise of reforms fails.

The intention of involving the organized peasantry and nongovernmental legal institutions is to coopt them and to use resources made available to them for the government's program of psy-war against the revolutionary forces and the people. The calculated objective is to bring the organized peasantry to the path of reformism and to deceive them by giving them the illusion of democratically participating in a reform movement against their own interests and in the service of the big comprador-landlord and foreign monopoly capitalists. This is what is behind ARC-KPA. It is also being used in the attempt to deceive the revolutionaries. This is the counter-revolutionary and dominant aspect of the programs mentioned above.



## SOME CLARIFICATIONS ON THE NATURE OF PHILIPPINE SOCIETY AND THE DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL CLASSES WITHIN IT<sup>1</sup>

By Renmin Malaya

We wish to comment on the suggestion from certain quarters that the Christians for National Liberation (CNL) should now pursue a political line based on a reading of Philippine society as capitalist and not as semifeudal and semicolonial. A variation of this thesis is the suggestion that CNL should adjust or refine its politics in consideration of the growing prominence of capitalist features in the economy, particularly in agriculture. The proponents of these suggestions claim that the adjectives semifeudal and semicolonial may be retained but only as descriptions of economic features and not as precise definition of a mode of production.

The programmatic implications of following these and like suggestions are tremendous, and would require a complete upheaval of CNL's current ideological, political and organizational life. So be it, if these suggestions are indeed valid. But they are not. They stem from a misreading of economic, political and cultural data, and a poor understanding of national democratic discourse. It is strange that the proponents of the new line/s would still prefer to retain semifeudalism and semicolonialism as terms and yet would give them a content the mainstream national democratic movement currently rejects.

What is one to make of the following thesis?

"There is no dispute, insofar as this 'semicolonial and semifeudal' character is but a description, an expression of the popular features of the socioeconomic evolution of Philippine society. It is an *expedient* formulation that highlights the *immediate political tasks* of the people's struggle, the elimination of all feudal remnants and the struggle for national self-determination, all within the bourgeois bounds of the democratic revolution. ... (All underscoring are the author's.-Ed.)

"The mode of describing this persistence and pervasiveness of old feudal forms under present day Philippine society which is



essentially bourgeois and capitalistic in character, and in the context of present-day world capitalist system dominated by imperialism, is what should be properly called 'semifeudalism.'

"This is semifeudalism. Meaning, the basic economic process of a bourgeois, capitalist system has taken over and ousted the old feudal process, and is now the underlying economic law beneath all the vestiges, all the survivals, all the remnants of the old feudal mode. There would not be any dispute if Sison defined semifeudalism as such — a basically capitalist, bourgeois mode of production hampered and distorted by feudal survivals and imperialist impositions."<sup>2</sup>

And what is one to make of these remarks from the Triad or the Patricio Conference, through its spokesperson Felipe Patricio?

"CNL retains the term 'semifeudal' to characterize Philippine society, even as it recognizes the problematic nature of the term. Thus, rather than being fixated in endless debate over the term, it lays stress on a serious and concrete investigation of the mode of production now prevailing in the country and on its most accurate description. ...

"Even in the absence of a thorough study, observation and experience sufficiently indicate that in many important aspects, the political economy is very different from what it was in 1968 (or as described in, say PSR). This is true both with regard to the growing incursions of capitalist relations in the whole economy as well as in the greatly changed features of the rural agricultural sector. (Take, for example, the more complex stratification of the peasantry and the growing capitalist form of extraction of surplus in the countryside). In any case, much observable changes already indicate the need for some important adjustments (or modifications) in our strategy and tactics, say, in the area of peasant struggle and agrarian revolution."<sup>3</sup>

What is the mode of production of the Philippines society in which there is simply a "growing incursion of capitalist relations in the whole economy"? Can one accept this, if data permit, and yet categorically say the mode of production is "semifeudal and semi-colonial"? Can one not categorically say it is not capitalist, or even semicapitalist?



We wish to inform our CNL forces that CNL, and all national democrats for that matter, see no reason to change their stand that *the mode of production of Philippine society remains semifeudal and semicolonial despite the development of capitalist features in the economy*. Our stand is based not merely on *Philippine Society and Revolution* of Amado Guerrero (1968) but on the continuing research of national democrats, particularly the NPA, in the countryside, and independent economist-researchers from the academe, and CNL's own observation and experience. Research went beyond that of PSR in 1983 in the "articulation of modes" debate in the academe where the "semifeudal and semicolonial school" convincingly proved their thesis as against those of other persuasions. Again in 1987, the National Economic Protectionism Association (NEPA) analyzing the Philippine economic crisis from 1949 to 1983<sup>4</sup> confirmed that the Philippine economy is semifeudal and semicolonial, and not capitalist or even semicapitalist, and most likely will never be capitalist unless the foreign debt problem is radically solved, this foreign debt ever growing, that is now the main instrument of imperialist or monopoly capitalist exploitation in the Philippines.<sup>5</sup>

The semifeudal and semicolonial thesis in our opinion is most reasonable and deserving of the allegiance of reason. We choose it because it is better than others in the order of science and simple observation of social realities. Therefore, we allow it to determine the behavior of revolutionary politics.

We do not use semifeudalism merely as a description of "certain features" within a capitalist mode of production but as an accurate name of a mode of production itself in which are articulated or arranged certain features of capitalism and even of semisocialism (cooperatives and bayanihan forms, for example) and communalism. The name is important because of the reality it accurately reflects and the future that this reality projects for revolutionary undertaking.

Backed up by empirical evidence, we continue to assert the mode of production of Philippine society (therefore that society as a whole) as semifeudal and semicolonial because in the social class stratification the comprador big bourgeoisie is now the dominant



hegemonic class. It is the ruling class under the auspices of foreign (chiefly US) monopoly capitalism.

Simply put: Philippine society is semifeudal because of the class dominance of the comprador big bourgeoisie. It is semicolonial because this class is under the protection of foreign monopoly capitalism or imperialism. The comprador big bourgeoisie is dominant in the countryside and in the urban areas. It is dominant in agriculture and in industry. Contrary to the belief of Carlos Forte and Oikos, the comprador big bourgeoisie — and not the capitalist class — is dominant in Metro Manila, despite the landscape of smokestacks and factories, and the proletarian population. The comprador big bourgeoisie is dominant over the landlord class (its ally), the capitalist class or national bourgeoisie and the rich peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, the working class and the peasantry.

Only if and when the capitalist class becomes dominant and hegemonic can the Philippines be said to be a capitalist country. The Philippines ceased to be feudal and became semifeudal and semicolonial when the comprador big bourgeoisie replaced the landlord class as the hegemonic class and turned the latter into its necessary ally.

Who make up the comprador big bourgeoisie? It is a class of "rentiers composed of franchise holders (of foreign brands or from assignment by government), merchants, financial speculators, monopolistic manufacturers."<sup>6</sup> Their domination "prevents the economy from being dynamic and self-reproducing; that is the Philippine economy has always been incapable of capital accumulation and in the process is being left behind by other Asian countries."<sup>7</sup> In the Ilocos region, for instance, the comprador big bourgeoisie is clearly dominant through their control of the rice, tobacco and garlic trading centers, the agri-input cartels and the rural banks. The landlord class force the peasantry and farm workers to produce for the markets of the comprador big bourgeoisie that in turn sell to or for the foreign monopoly capitalists. This pattern is replicated all over the country.

Why call the dominance of the comprador big bourgeoisie semicolonial and not, say, mercantilist? Because the semifeudal system has something in common with feudalism, and is in a sense, its



variant. The comprador big bourgeoisie produce and reproduce their control over their monopoly spheres of influence (cartels, etc.) and their class dominance at their poles and of production relations in the manner of the landlord class under feudalism. Both do so primarily through noneconomic mechanisms won through their access to power and privilege. Like the landlord class, the comprador big bourgeoisie does not invest in the production process itself, in innovations in the means of production and in accumulation of profit for this purpose. Both are economically conservative and reactionary, interested in quick returns from the market or from rents.<sup>8</sup> The comprador big bourgeoisie is antidomestic-capitalist, like its master, the foreign monopoly capitalist. In this sense, the feudal law of motion operates in semifeudalism.

What are noneconomic mechanisms for control? For example, comprador big bourgeois traders or monopolists resort to intimidation, using armed might to ward off competitors, or buy state power (legislation, grants, franchises) through the bureaucrat capitalists and thus gain power and privilege which ensure their economic dominance. Moreover, like the landlord class, the comprador big bourgeoisie too exacts rents for access to its economic spaces/monopolies, even as it pays rent to its masters in semicolonial relations, and to the state bureaucrats for the privileges it needs.<sup>9</sup>

The comprador big bourgeoisie mediates between imperialism and the landlord class, and enables feudalism to be the social base of imperialism by way of state mechanisms. The comprador big bourgeoisie is thus the principal strategic class enemy of the peasants and farm workers, even as the landlord class is an immediate target. The CBB too is the principal class enemy of the other democratic classes.

To be sure there are competitive local entrepreneurs, the national bourgeoisie and rich peasants. Were it not for imperialism, they could and would, through economic laws of motion, overthrow the CBB and its landlord allies. But the alliance between imperialism and the big comprador-landlord classes prevent such a possibility. All social indicators show that in the Philippines, the national bourgeoisie will not be allowed to develop and compete with for-



eign monopoly capitalists. They will be tolerated to a certain extent, be allowed into joint ventures, but never in order to have access to high technology and means of production. For one thing, genuine agrarian reform and investments to create markets will not be allowed.

The genuine capitalism we have in the Philippines is the capitalism of other countries like the US, Japan, Euro-States. Economists talk of the regionalization of the Japanese economy in Asean of which the Philippines is a part. This is what Carlos Forte, Oikos and the Triad see, and call Philippine capitalism or capitalist features.

National democrats do not regard the mere presence of wage system or workers or capitalist markets and lending institutions as indicators that the Philippines is a capitalist country. They are features that do not indicate the dominance of the national bourgeoisie as the ruling class. Other persuasions say these are enough. Ultimately, one must choose one's criteria.

It is correct to say that semifeudalism and semicolonialism in the Philippines is not in toto the same as it was in 1968. Felipe Patricio will not find any national democrat who would assert the contrary. Semifeudal and semicolonial Philippines has had many presidents, different forms of exploitations have evolved, forms of rule have changed, and so on. But still the mode of production has not changed basically. The CBB is still the ruling class by virtue of its semicolonial relations with imperialism and the state power it wields together with the landlord class.

Indeed, there must be constant monitoring of data to check whether or not competitive capitalists are gaining prominence and are on the road to becoming the dominant class (by the year 2000?). But it seems that nationalist capitalists who swear by the economic nationalism of Claro M. Recto are the first to decry the regime's bias against national industrialization and capitalism itself. Their hatred of U.S. imperialism is not hidden, if Dr. Alejandro Lichauco is any indicator. In any case, for now, changes in the capitalist features of Philippine society and in the alignment of class forces will entail, not a change of strategy but of tactics in revolutionary politics.



Having claimed that Philippine society is semifeudal and semi-colonial, CNL necessarily asserts that the struggle for national democracy is the immediate revolutionary agenda and socialism the historical project afterwards. Socialist construction shall begin upon the revolution's seizure of political power. CNL sees no reason to abandon its views on the two-stage revolution.

We do away with the misconception that in the struggle for national democracy competitive capitalism will be encouraged to develop into full-blown capitalism, with its political and cultural superstructure. In national democracy, competitive capitalism is the dominant mode of production even as it is a transitory stage. However, the national bourgeoisie or the competitive capitalist class is not the dominant or ruling class. Moreover, the political and cultural systems of the transitional formation are not supportive of the capitalists, as in traditional capitalist society. These systems are designed to enable capitalist features to fulfill their transitory historic role and push socialist features articulated or arranged within the capitalist mode to their destiny. In other words, national democracy is a "freak" type of social formation. For which reason it is called so and not "capitalism" or "capitalist society". It is in this sense that we say national democracy is a mixed economy. It is in its own right a social formation between semifeudalism and capitalism.

We cannot accept the position of Carlos Forte, Oikos, the "popular socialists" and the "democratic socialists" that socialism is (should be) the revolutionary agenda. For to say this is to imply that at present it is the socialist law of motion or socialism-in-the-womb, that are being suppressed by the U.S.-Ramos regime, and were likewise suppressed by previous regimes. Where are these socialist indicators?<sup>10</sup>

On the premise that Philippine society is semifeudal and semi-colonial, and the Filipino people look forward to national democracy with a socialist perspective, and considering all aspects of Philippine demography and geopolitics, CNL sees it most reasonable to accept the theory of protracted people's war and the strategic line of surrounding the cities from the countryside as the line of conduct. In this context, armed struggle — in the comprehensive



political sense of the term — as the principal and decisive form of struggle in the national democratic revolution makes sense.

The theory of protracted people's war stresses the fact that the armed revolution is a democratic endeavor of the entire people. This armed revolution, this protracted people's war, is necessary, legitimate and just. It is to be participated in by all Filipinos of good will, all democratic classes, progressive political persuasions, groups, organizations, and so on. The foundation of protracted people's war is the basic alliance of peasants and workers, the toiling masses.

Unlike Carlos Forte, we do not take the protractedness of the war lightly. The people's war must perforce be protracted because, among many reasons, it is not a militarist nor an insurrectionist endeavor. Winning the war and consequently building a new society necessitates all-round educational, political, organizational, material and military preparedness of the people. This requires painstaking mass work and step-by-step organizing for the accumulation of political, cultural, military and economic strength, particularly in the countryside. We wish to emphasize that armed revolution must win political and ethico-cultural hegemony before the final seizure of political power. This victory cannot be rushed. And then, of course, there are the many practical considerations. The alternative to protracted people's war is insurrectionism and military adventurism, and other gross errors and deviations in politics.

We must do away with Felipe Patricio's misconception that "armed struggle" has been reduced to "military struggle". These two terms are definitely not synonymous. It is armed struggle that is the main and decisive form of struggle in protracted people's war, and not "military struggle" that is but a component of armed struggle. Armed struggle is thus to be taken in its comprehensive political sense. It is a political act with a deep ethical core.

We must remind ourselves of what we have learned and what we teach — that armed struggle is base building, agrarian revolution and comprehensive military activity, in their dialectical interrelatedness in the countryside. These dynamics have their counterparts in the urban areas even as here legal forms of struggle are domi-



nant. It is ill-advised of Felipe that he should advise the dropping of the "principality" of armed struggle. Victory cannot be won through purely military means. Hence, armed struggle. Even political negotiations between the NDF and the GRP will not be to the people's advantage unless armed struggle is continually waged. It is even only in the context of armed struggle that "truce" may be considered and attempted.

For other political persuasions, armed struggle is used synonymously with military struggle. This is why they ask the question: Should armed struggle be "the primary form of struggle under all circumstances? Should legal mass struggles always play a secondary or supportive role? This must be asked after the fall of Marcos." Thus, Francisco Nemenzo of Bisig, Felipe Patricio is of similar bent, that armed struggle need not be principal in all circumstances. Bisig members go to the extent of saying that armed struggle (in their sense) is necessary only against dictatorship, when no democratic space exists.<sup>11</sup> However, Walden Bello observes a curious line in Bisig and others: "Maintaining an armed capacity (according to them) is also important to serve as the nucleus of armed resistance in the event the elite attempts to resort to fascist rule when it ceases to enjoy mass legitimacy."

While other persuasions base the necessity for armed struggle on "forms of rule", CNL and national democrats, all, assert the primacy of armed struggle as a form of struggle based on the nature of the semifeudal and semicolonial political economy. We hold that armed struggle (comprehensive political term) is the principal form of struggle no matter what the ruling classes' form of rule, as far as strategy is concerned. The tactics of the struggle in the countryside and in the urban centers are a different matter. Simply put: the peasantry can never hope to achieve genuine agrarian reform without comprehensive armed struggle under any form of reactionary rule. The political economy of land reform in the Philippines necessitates the use of armed struggle. The non-national democrats should try setting up alternative political power that leaves out the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class, without armed struggle, under the present dispensation with its so-called democratic space. As far as CNL is concerned, it is not cor-



rect to uphold the "equality of all struggles for equality,"<sup>12</sup> which denies a central struggle, and a central task, and therefore diffuses revolutionary energies.

Our final comments have to do with the united front and the NDF.

The armed revolution is nothing unless it is a united front of all democratic classes under proletarian hegemony (leadership/influence), and with the basic alliance of the working class and the peasantry as its foundation. Admittedly, the concept is difficult for those of non-ND persuasions. At the core of the principle is "pluralism with a proletarian center" which attempts to resolve happily the imperatives of two extremes. Twisted misrepresentations have come from many quarters, not excluding the ranks of the Triad. The interpretations have led to the conclusion that the independence and integrity of the parties and organizations (such as CNL) is threatened by such a united front.

We shall not go into the ramifications of united front but instead comment on NDF dynamics which bring into focus what the united front principle is all about. The difference between the CNL and the Triad is thereby defined. The basic underlying issue here is the protection of the legitimate class interests of the workers and peasants (the poor, deprived and oppressed).

In 1990 CNL joined the NDF as a formal federation (with unitary aspects) of allied organizations and prominent individuals. The unity was political, despite the membership of the CPP and its strong influence. At the center of the decision-making process of the federation was the traditional parliamentary mechanism of rule of the majority through the power of the vote. Any member-organization could be outvoted. The organizations of the peasants and workers could be outvoted. And of course, CNL could also be outvoted. The 1990 NDF was perceived to be democratic and pluralist-with-a-program-as-center. Until the correct and better idea came along: NDF as a conference of allied organizations, engaging in united front work with one another on the principle of consultation and consensus. The principle of consultation and consensus (difficult to achieve but worth all efforts) would protect the integrity of all members and, above all, the peasants and workers. It



would safeguard socialist society as the holding vision of the revolution.

This is the reason why the vast majority of national democrats have become cold to the 1990 federation-type NDF. Its dangers have dawned on us all only gradually against the backdrop of a better model. Consultation and consensus make for better democracy. If no consensus ensues, independence and initiative of members come to the fore.<sup>13</sup> There is growing consensus in CNL that our mass organization, through a congress act, will formally ratify the July 1994 confederal NDF.

The CNL is not averse to the new NDF being under the leadership of the working class through the vanguard party. Unity in the NDF is political and not ideological. We believe that it is not possible for any member organization to get a consensus for ideological unity. To unify on proletarian ideology is to transform the NDF into the CPP, pure and simple. CNL will continue to recognize the earned and correct historical leadership of the CPP since this, on the bottom line, continues to uphold the interests of the basic masses, tread the path of revolution, cling to socialism as a project not only of the proletariat but of all people of good will.

CNL's recognition of proletarian leadership is expressed thus, by way of a principle/policy: CNL shall engage in alliance work with the vanguard party through bilateral relations based on consultation and consensus. This principle safeguards the independence and integrity of the two organizations, equal yet in working relationships. It resolves, in micro, the contradiction in pluralism-with-a-proletarian-center.

CNL's membership in the NDF (confederal) is a recognition of the freedom of people to set limits to themselves in the revolution. Not everyone will share CNL's option. But once differences are clear to us all, the task of creating larger unities becomes an imperative for all.

These comments are given with the advice of Paul to the Thesalonians (1.5): "Put things to the test; keep what is good, and avoid every kind of evil."



## Notes

1. Reprinted from *Pilipinas*, official publication of the Christians for National Liberation, issue of November 1994.
2. "PSR: The semifeudal Alibi for Protracted War," manuscript released by the so-called Metro Manila Regional Committee-CPP, and believed to have been written by Carlos Forte. Oikos supports this view.
3. From "Draft Discussion Notes #1" prepared by the Triad for their so-called national congress
4. Cf. *From Crisis to Crisis*, 1987
5. Dr. Emmanuel de Dios and Carlos Bautista, *Of cabbages and kings*, 1990
6. NEPA, *From crisis to crisis*
7. Ibid.
8. Cf. articles by Ricardo Ferrer in *New Progressive Review* and other journals.
9. Cf. Ferrer
10. Cf. Ferrer
11. Cf. Nemenzo and Rene Ciria-Cruz.
12. Bello
13. With or without consensus, independence and initiative is constant  
*Editor*



## **ON THE U.N. WORLD SUMMIT FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND OFFICIAL "DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE" IN THE PHILIPPINES**

**Excerpt from the Statement  
of the National Democratic Front,  
March 1, 1995**

The U.N. World Summit for Social Development is a conference which begins on March 6, 1995 in Copenhagen, Denmark. It costs at least US\$50 million and brings together some 55 chiefs of state.

The summit will discuss the issue of attacking poverty, building solidarity and creating jobs and will accomplish such a feat without any reference to monopoly capitalism, neocolonialism and the exploiting classes as the causes of poverty, social disorder and joblessness.

The focus of discussion is official development assistance so-called. This subdivides into bilateral assistance in the form of concessional loans and grants, contributions to the U.N. and other multilateral agencies and trickles of funds to the "nongovernmental organizations" of both donor and recipient countries.

### **THE DONOR AND RECIPIENT COUNTRIES**

The chiefs of donor and recipient states presume in common that the "official development assistance" (ODA) is a boon to the developing countries rather than a bane, which complements and facilitates the less disguised methods of neocolonial exploitation, such as superprofit-taking by the monopoly firms from direct investments and trade and the practice of international usury by the commercial banks.

General Fidel V. Ramos, president of the Philippine neocolonial state, is set to deliver a speech praising his own economic pseudoachievements and use of "development assistance" and begging for more of such "assistance" as lubricant to the foreign direct investments and loans. In the specific case of the Philip-



pires. Japan has run ahead of the United States and Western Europe since the '70s in providing ODA, all of which is tied to purchases of goods and services from Japan.

There will of course be some loud complaints from the chiefs of the underdeveloped countries, including General Ramos, about how the industrial capitalist countries have failed since 1961 to fulfill the U.N.-set goal of transferring at least 0.7 percent of their gross national product to the underdeveloped countries in the form of overseas "development assistance" as well as about the downward trends and change of priorities in the availability and use of this so-called assistance.

As of December 1994, the industrial capitalist countries have allotted on the average only 0.3 percent of their GNP for overseas "development assistance". The United States has allotted 0.2 percent; Japan 0.3 percent and Germany 0.36 percent. The imperialists always try to reduce support for anything that does not deliver to them outright profits or maximize the amount of capital for outright exploitation through loans, trade and direct investments.

Among the industrial capitalist countries, there is the general trend to further reduce the allocation for overseas "development assistance". This is a result of the capitalist crisis of overproduction, characterized by ever increasing use of high technology and by increasing level of disemployment in pursuit of maximizing profits, and also of the preponderance of the most selfish and anti-social ideas of capitalism.

While people are being thrown out of job in the industrial capitalist countries, the big bourgeoisie has launched a savage ideological and political attack on the hard-won rights and measures of social welfare. The imperialists contend that the industrial capitalist countries should not give aid to other countries when in the first place they should cut back on welfare payments and social services at home.

To put the beggarly governments on the defensive, the imperialist donor countries readily refer to the inefficient and incompetent use of "development assistance" and put the blame on the corrupt bureaucrats whom they have always used for their neocolonial purposes.



The use of the decreasing amounts of "development assistance" by the richest donor states has become more blatantly violative of national sovereignty and the socioeconomic interests of the people in the recipient countries. The imperialists arrogantly proclaim that such "assistance" must be for political and economic intervention in the recipient countries.

The imperialist countries have dropped the pretense of putting poverty alleviation and social development as their priorities. The new code words for what they proclaim as their priorities are "democratization" and "market reforms". These mean consolidating the power of the imperialists and the local reactionaries against the working people and promoting privatization and further alienation of social wealth and natural resources of the underdeveloped countries to the foreign monopolies.

In recent years, there has been a relatively stronger surge of "development assistance" towards the former Soviet bloc countries than towards the most poverty-stricken countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. At the same time, the imperialist countries have made much propaganda out of military interventions in the name of humanitarian aid, human rights and peacekeeping under the banner of the United Nations. But these imperialist countries have been reducing their financial contributions to the U.N. from year to year.

### **THE THREE SECTORS OF "DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE"**

In the wake of the unprecedented aggravation of underdevelopment and social turmoil in so many countries of the world, the Philippines can expect a dwindling in the flow of "development assistance" to itself. At any rate, whatever assistance still flows in is preyed upon mainly by the corrupt bureaucrats of the neocolonial state and by foreign and local big business.

Only the crumbs fall to the so-called third sector of "nongovernmental organizations" and "people's organizations" (NGOs and POs), which are set up principally by the state and big business and secondarily by foreign "NGO" funding agencies, religious institutions and Filipino petty-bourgeois hustlers.



The three sectors of government bureaucrats, businessmen and NGO bureaucrats use foreign "development assistance" for token or even ghost projects that enable them to pocket large amounts of money for themselves. But the imperialist donors are not bothered by the corruption because "development assistance" is some kind of a slush fund anyway and they are satisfied that these three sectors collaborate in conducting anticommunist propaganda which is well within the U.S.-directed scheme of low intensity conflict.

When NGO bureaucrats speak of democracy, people's empowerment and civil society, they mean promoting bourgeois pluralism in the attempt to deceive the working people into rejecting the revolutionary party and the revolutionary process. These bureaucrats idealize so-called autonomous grass roots organizations, which in fact they do not form, and prettify the institutions and processes of the neocolonial state by claiming that these are "democratizing" and regard the revolutionary forces as undemocratic and incapable of civility.

When they speak of the protection of the environment, they mean the rejection national industrialization and opting for the "environment-friendly" foreign monopoly firms to continue plundering and polluting the environment. When they speak of the gender issue, they mean the imposition of the values of the bourgeois feminists on women of the working class and peasantry.

When they speak of human rights, they mean obscuring the differences or posing as neutral between the imperialists and the oppressed, the oppressor and the oppressed and between the exploiter and the exploited. When they speak of ethnicity, they mean playing up ethnocentrism, glossing over the principle of self-determination and turning the indigenous people against the revolutionary forces to the side of the reactionary state.

Within the framework of imperialist "development assistance", the reactionary government, big business and their collaborators in the "third sector" recognize such contradictions as those between man and nature in environmentalism, between man and woman in genderism and between ethnic minorities and the majority population but they do not recognize the contradiction between imperial-



ism and the oppressed people and between the exploiting and the exploited classes.

The three sectors together sing the tune that their foreign-funded concepts and projects have "marginalized" and rendered "irrelevant" the anti-imperialist and class struggles. The worst agents of imperialist "development assistance" are the most rabid anticommunist propagandists who use their so-called projects to try to creep or insert themselves into the organizations and areas of the revolutionary forces and collect intelligence information for state agencies and foreign funding agencies.

### **THE POSITION OF THE NDFP**

The National Democratic Front of the Philippines and all the allied revolutionary forces within its framework oppose imperialist "development assistance" and combat its concepts, agents and projects. They are determined to keep out of the areas under their control all foreign-funded projects that serve counterrevolutionary purposes.

The NDFP is resolutely carrying out the national democratic revolution against foreign monopoly capitalism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. Its program of action encompasses the issues of democracy, socioeconomic development, environment, women's liberation, human rights, ethnicity, and all other issues which the agents of imperialist "development assistance" wish to appropriate in order to obscure or contrapose to the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

In fact, the revolutionary forces hold the initiative in tackling these issues. They arouse, organize and mobilize the people in relation to these issues. The NGOs sponsored by the reactionary government, big business and the imperialist funding agencies are afflicted by counterrevolutionary ideas, bureaucratism and corruption.

The Filipino people have no need for the "development assistance" from the imperialist and reactionary states, business corporations and the kind of NGOs and POs which they wish to build as



alternative to the revolutionary forces. This "development assistance" is poison to the revolutionary mass movement.

Coincidental with the World Summit for Social Development, the NDFP is cooperating with anti-imperialist parties, mass organizations, movements and institutions in Denmark in a Scandinavian solidarity campaign for support to the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The Filipino people are in revolutionary solidarity with the people of the world in the common struggle for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all reaction. They seek moral and material support from abroad, through the relations of the NDFP with the anti-imperialist parties, mass organizations, movements and institutions abroad. At the same time, they are conscious of waging revolutionary struggle as the way for them to extend support to the people of the world. They are guided by the spirit of revolutionary internationalism.



## **ON THE ISSUE OF THE ENVIRONMENT IN THE WORLD AND IN THE PHILIPPINES**

**By the International Department  
Central Committee  
Communist Party of the Philippines  
31 March 1995**

During the last more than two centuries, the bourgeoisie has increasingly exploited the human and natural resources in the development of industrial capitalism. In the era of modern imperialism in the 20th century, the monopoly bourgeoisie has carried out on a global scale unprecedented plunder and caused the destruction and pollution of the natural environment. Furthermore, the world capitalist system has been repeatedly afflicted by the crisis of overproduction leading to two global wars, several "limited" wars (among them the Korean war and the Vietnam war) and the invention of one genocidal weapon after another.

Following World War II, the imperialist countries headed by the United States have ferociously opposed the socialist countries and national liberation movements, accelerated the production of nuclear and other genocidal weapons in the arms race during the cold war and used the methods of neocolonialism to undermine and negate the national independence of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, aggravate their underdevelopment and force the people down into the mire of poverty by exploiting their labor power and natural resources in order to extract superprofits and debt service payments.

Monopoly capitalism has used all kinds of methods to prevent, stunt or derail the industrial development of countries that dare to assert national independence or build socialism. These methods have included political and military acts of interference, intervention and aggression. But economic, financial and technological manipulation and blockades have been the most effective methods for long-term domination and control of underdeveloped client states and for tightening the encirclement of and undermining the socialist and anti-imperialist countries.



## THE ENVIRONMENTALISM OF THE U.N. AND MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

Now gloating over the ruination of countries subjected to neo-colonialism as well as those countries subjected to decades of revisionist betrayal of socialism by the monopoly bureaucrat bourgeoisie, the imperialist countries preach that any attempt at industrial development outside the world capitalist system is not only futile but destructive to the environment. In the name of environmentalism, darkened pictures of state-owned industrial plants and the landscape in the former Soviet bloc countries are used in the bourgeois mass media to mock at the very idea of seeking industrial development independently.

The tale repeatedly told to terrify the people is that if they dare work for economic and social development under the banner of national independence or socialism, they would suffer economic blockade by the most advanced industrial capitalist countries and thus be deprived of advanced, "environment-friendly" and fuel-efficient technology and they would devastate their environment and incur social costs which will make any degree of self-reliant industrial development "unsustainable".

Since the '70s, the imperialists and their retinue of bourgeois scientists, ideologues and publicists have adopted environmentalism to deflect attention from the anti-imperialist and class struggles in the world, to stress to the world that the imperialists are economically and technologically supreme and must therefore be the ones determining the development of the world. They exaggerate the scarcity or limitedness of natural resources, blame the people of the world themselves for the destruction of the environment and make the people in the industrial capitalist countries think of clean air and clean water and good health in a self-indulgent way.

The worst propaganda of the pro-imperialist environmentalists idealizes underdevelopment as the preservation of the natural environment and obscures the unhealthy conditions and consequences of underdevelopment and poverty as well as the vulnerability of the underdeveloped and poor countries to imperialist plunder and pollution. Indeed, the monopoly firms have had all the license to pollute and damage the environment in the underdeveloped countries.



The imperialists have systematically misappropriated the issue of environment and have pushed, under the auspices of the United Nations, an ideological line and political agenda which pretend to allow criticism of the "worst" environmental abuses of governments in general (first sector) and big business (second sector) but which in fact prettify these on the false promise of their becoming "environment-friendly". The two sectors cultivate and promote a pro-imperialist "third sector" of "nongovernmental organizations" and "people's organizations" that go through the motions of "criticizing" environmental abuses and environmentally destructive practices and policies from a classless civic viewpoint in order to beg from the monopoly capitalists and governments for reforms and for measly amounts of money to promote bureaucratic, tokenistic and palliative environmental projects.

Under the neocolonialist framework set by the imperialists through the U.N. Conference on the Environment and Development and the U.N. network in general, it is propagandized that the monopoly capitalists are the ones who can most efficiently promote environmentalism and "sustainable development" because they are supposed to have the capital and most advanced "environmentally-friendly" technology and because they are interested in a kind of development that maximizes the use of limited resources and makes profit-taking sustainable. The phrase "sustainable development" an ill-intentioned paraphrase of Mao's concept of self-reliant development, overstates the scarcity of natural resources and consequently the "limits of growth" as earlier decreed by the Club of Rome and asserts the global hegemony of the imperialist countries over development and the environment.

It is pure hypocrisy and chicanery for anyone to speak of environmental concerns without criticism and repudiation of the monopoly bourgeoisie and imperialism. We must expose the fact that special funds have been made available through U.N. agencies and directly by the imperialist governments, big business and pro-imperialist institutions in order to finance the propaganda — in the bourgeois mass media and among the "NGOs" and "POs" to obscure the criminal responsibility of monopoly capitalism in the plunder, destruction and pollution of the natural environment,



ameliorate the image of the so-called first and second sectors on the issue of ecology, discourage self-reliant industrial development in the underdeveloped countries and in a subliminal way romanticize as idyllic the conditions of underdevelopment.

Since the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in 1992, the imperialist countries have not decreased but have even aggravated the destruction of the environment and have not cut down but have even increased the emissions of carbon dioxide, methane and fossil fuel which cause global warming. The United States — the world's biggest spewer of carbon dioxide is at the head of the imperialist countries which refuse to take drastic measures to cut down the greenhouse gas emissions but which demand that the underdeveloped countries remain underdeveloped to minimize the "greenhouse effect". The U.N. global climate conference in Berlin is one more exercise in muddling the issue of environment and obscuring the culpability of imperialism for global warming and underdevelopment.

The genuine advocates of environmental protection for the well-being of the people, self-reliant development and conservation and wise utilization of natural resources are those who condemn and repudiate imperialism, neocolonialism and reaction and, better still, those who act to combat and overthrow these malignant forces and establish a new social system which promotes both industrial development and a clean and healthy environment in countries like the Philippines.

### **DESTRUCTION OF THE ENVIRONMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES**

Let us consider the Philippine historical experience with regard to the issue of the environment. It was in the 19th century when deforestation was pushed more vigorously than at any previous time under Spanish colonialism. This occurred with the expansion of the friar estates for producing crops exported to the industrial capitalist countries. There was a chain of reaction from crop specialization for export and domestic consumption to the rapid land dispossession of peasants who had to resort to swidden agriculture.



In the first half of the 20th century, under the direct colonial rule of U.S. imperialism, deforestation accelerated at a rate making that in the 19th century look like kindergarten work. U.S. and local comprador firms deforested large areas in all major islands to take logs for export and increased domestic use. The further expansion of the plantations for export crops, the opening of the mines and encouragement of homesteading also contributed to unprecedented deforestation. In exploiting the mineral resources, the U.S. firms cut trees for making shafts and for fuel, polluted the rivers with chemicals and mine tailings and caused soil poisoning and erosion over extensive areas. They did not bother to adopt any filtration method nor pay for the damage to the land.

In the second half of the 20th century, the deforestation of the Philippines proceeded exponentially from decade to decade. Logs were exported mainly to Japan in the course of its rapid economic reconstruction and subsequent construction booms. Japan financed the big compradors in their logging operations. The wanton deforestation has caused increasingly severe floods, soil erosion and silting of rivers, lakes, hydroelectric dams, irrigation systems and the coastal waters and higher rates of dehydration during droughts.

In the '50s, more than one-third of the Philippine land area of 30 million hectares was still covered by tropical rain forests. Now, less than one million hectares of this remains. And the forests are being cut down at the rate of 200,000 per year. At least one billion cubic meters of prime top soil are eroded every year. Thirty percent of the rivers have died. There has been a tremendous loss of biodiversity on land and in waters and thus a drastic reduction in agricultural and marine productivity. Deforestation, together with its consequences, are the principal ecological problem in the Philippines. It is also contributory to the problem of global warming.

Greenhouse gas emissions come from crude oil and coal-fired energy plants, some manufacturing enterprises and the heavy urban traffic of motor vehicles. Due to the gross underdevelopment of the country, these emissions are not yet as problematic as those in the imperialist countries with regard to global warming, although these emissions are immediately detrimental to the health of the people in urban areas.



Since the '60s, U.S. and Japanese monopoly firms and their big comprador-landlord partners expanded the mines and plantations for export crops without consideration of ecological balance and the social costs. The destruction of agricultural land by toxic chemicals and tailings from the mines and the grabbing of the best land by agrocorporations have forced many peasants and indigenous people to clear land even on steep slopes. There are now 26 large active mines producing gold, copper, bauxite, iron, nickel ferrochrome and other mineral ores for export; and a great number of plantations producing sugar, coconut, banana, pineapple, etc. as well as aquafarms producing shrimps, fish and other marine products also mainly for export.

Big hydroelectric dams have been built without consideration of ecological balance and without adequate compensation and proper resettlement of the people displaced. The power generated is mainly for consumption related to enlarging the market for imported appliances and secondarily for supplying the energy needs of import-dependent enterprises. The corollary irrigation systems built have also encouraged the agrocorporations and landlords to accumulate land.

Since the '70s, the "green revolution", involving the "miracle rice" varieties, has resulted in dependence on imported chemical fertilizers and pesticides, which have damaged the health of peasants and work animals, made the soil lose fertility and turn acidic, polluted the streams and rivers and killed off the fish and other marine life which previously provided the protein in the diet of the peasants. The rising costs of imported inputs have bankrupted the peasants and have brought down the level of rice production.

Agricultural chemicals already banned for being harmful to users in the developed countries are sold to and used in the Philippines. Dubious chemical products — agricultural or medicinal — are also frequently trial-tested in the country by foreign monopolies, with Filipinos, especially the poor, serving as guinea pigs before these products are approved for marketing in the United States, Germany, Japan and other imperialist countries.

A few pollutant industries in the primary stage of production, like the Kawasaki iron sintering plant, have also been shifted from



Japan to the Philippines. But the general preference of the imperialist countries is to simply transport their toxic wastes, including *computer scraps, used batteries, PVC scraps and nuclear wastes*, and dump these on Philippine waters and soil. Officially and unofficially, the U.S., Japanese and West European countries, especially Germany and the Benelux, are dumping huge amounts of toxic wastes on Philippine territory.

The import-dependent manufacturing enterprises owned by foreign monopoly firms and Filipinos dispose of their industrial wastes flow by dumping these into the ground and into the water system with impunity. Thus, the streams, rivers, lakes and coastal waters near manufacturing sites are clogged with these industrial wastes. Real estate development projects have also been undertaken on watersheds of reservoirs for drinking water and have caused the dwindling of water supply in urban areas. In the urban areas, large amounts of solid garbage waste are piled up on the ground or thrown directly into rivers and the sea.

Due to soil erosion and toxic flows from the land and the massive cutting of mangroves for export to Japan, mangroves forests have either disappeared or become inhospitable to marine life. The factory ships and fishing fleets from Japan and Taiwan have raided and depleted the fish, seaweed, coral and other marine resources and destroyed the marine ecosystem over extensive areas of the Philippine territory. At the same time, corrupt bureaucrats in the localities have encouraged dynamite and chemical fishing. The honest poor fisherfolk are shunted off the fishing grounds.

Soon after the official termination of the U.S. military bases in the Philippines in 1991, the U.S. government acquired for its military forces "access rights" to the Philippines in 1992. Thus, the U.S. military forces have continued to carry to the Philippines nuclear and chemical weapons of genocide under the guise of transit, acquisition of supplies and forward deployment. The United States has also refused to clean up the pollution its forces have left in the erstwhile U.S. military bases.



## FRIENDS AND FOES OF THE ENVIRONMENT

*Like its predecessors, the U.S.-Ramos regime is the principal domestic force in the service of foreign monopoly capitalism wreaking havoc on the environment in the Philippines. It has expanded and liberalized the privileges of foreign monopoly firms and the local reactionaries to exploit the human and natural resources.*

It has continued the open rule of terror and perpetrated grievous human rights violations. It has launched the most vicious military campaigns which are destructive to the lives, property and environment of the people in order to make the human and natural resources of the country available for exploitation and profit-taking by the imperialists and the local reactionaries under its so-called Medium Term Philippine Development Plan or Philippines 2000.

The regime sheds crocodile tears over the issue of ecological destruction and echoes the U.N. slogans on "environmental protection", "people's empowerment" and "sustainable development". But it works to destroy the environment. Despite the official log ban, it issues logging concessions under various pretexts as a way of enriching its coterie of military officers and bureaucrats. It has allowed foreign investors 100 percent ownership of mines and encouraged open pit mining. It has encouraged the dumping of toxic wastes from developed industrial countries on Philippine territory as a way of earning foreign exchange.

Historically and currently, the communist and noncommunist advocates of national industrialization, free from imperialist domination, have always been ahead in criticizing and condemning the wanton plunder of our country's human and natural resources and in advocating the conservation and wise utilization of natural resources.

Before and after reestablishing the Communist Party of the Philippines in 1968, the proletarian revolutionaries have made comprehensive and profound critiques of the exploitation and plunder of the Philippines by imperialism and the local reactionaries. The CPP's Program for a People's Democratic Revolution encompasses the issue of environment. The CPP has also issued social investigation reports and timely analyses explaining the in-



creasing degradation of the environment as well as the increasing severity of the floods and droughts.

*The National Democratic Front of the Philippines and the mass organizations, sectoral and multisectoral alliances of the national democratic movement have addressed the issue of ecology in their programs of action. They have become the powerful mass base for the environmental movement in the Philippines in opposition to the plunderers, destroyers and polluters of the environment — the imperialists and the local reactionaries.*

The imperialists and local reactionaries blame the people for the environmental destruction. For instance, they obscure the wanton deforestation done by the big logging, plantation and mining firms and put the blame on the peasants and indigenous people who in the first place have been deprived of the land by the exploiters and have been driven to swidden agriculture. They also obscure the destructive role of the big foreign fishing fleets that raid Philippine waters and they put the blame on the poor municipal fisherfolk for the dynamite and chemical fishing done by unscrupulous elements that connive with local bureaucrats and military and police officials.

In the Philippines in recent years, there are latecomers who have used the issue of ecology to get money from foreign funding agencies and who specialize in falsely claiming that they represent the environmental movement and that the forces of the national democratic movement have had nothing to say or do about the issue of ecology. They pose as advocates of classless civic consciousness, social voluntarism and reformism within the trisectoral framework of neocolonialism.

These are anticommunist petty-bourgeois hustlers cashing in on the issue of ecology. They pretend to criticize governments and big business and at the same time toady up to them directly and to their conduit private funding agencies begging for money to fund imaginary or token ecology projects. These hustlers have become notorious as "NGO" racketeers and are concentrated in the so-called Green Forum. Variably they call themselves popdems, socdems, BISIG, Siglaya, Sanlakas and the like. They collaborate in spreading the anticommunist line of hostility towards the national demo-



cratic movement, empowering themselves through NGO bureaucratism and enriching themselves on money from foreign funding agencies. They also collaborate with Haribon Foundation, which is composed of bureaucrats, academics and dilletantes in ecology.

The funding sources of the Green Forum and Haribon Foundation are not limited to foreign private funding agencies of varied ideological, religious and political persuasions, which are in fact conduits of the imperialist states and big business. Conspicuously, they get increasingly large amounts of funds from the World Bank, the "development" agencies of the imperialist states and the Philippine reactionary government, as in the National Integrated Protected Areas System (NIPAS) project. They celebrate the announcement of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) to channel more money to the "NGOs".

The third sector of neocolonialism, consisting of "NGOs" and "POs", is an instrument of psychological warfare under the U.S.-Ramos regime. Its propaganda work to slander and discredit the revolutionary forces serves the imperialists and the local reactionaries and is actively a part of the low-intensity conflict scheme of the U.S.-Ramos regime.

### **PERFORMANCE RECORD OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT**

The performance record of the revolutionary movement led by the CPP on the question of ecology is clear. It has resolutely and militantly carried out the line of the new-democratic revolution through protracted people's war against the imperialists and the reactionaries. It has carried out the most vigorous struggles against all policies and actions which mean the exploitation, plunder and destruction of the human and natural resources of the country.

It has fiercely fought the enemy military campaigns undertaken to force the evacuation of the people from hinterlands and to clear the way for the agrocorporations, bureaucrats, landlords and loggers to grab their homesteads, the ancestral lands, the forest and other natural resources. It has been outstanding in struggling for the dismantling of the U.S. military bases and against the positioning of nuclear and chemical weapons of genocide in the Philip-



pinos. It carried out militant struggles against the World Bank-financed Chico River dam project, the Cellophil project, the Kawasaki sintering plant and the Bataan nuclear power plant project in the '70s and '80s.

The armed revolutionary movement has encouraged legal democratic mass organizations and sectoral and multisectoral alliances and organizations dedicated specifically to the protection of the environment to participate in the mobilization of the broad masses of the people against the destroyers, plunderers and polluters of the environment. Some of the organizations taking up the issue of ecology were initiated by CPP cadres but were eventually corrupted by "NGO" bureaucratism and foreign funding by imperialist and imperialist-related agencies.

The revolutionary movement has undertaken so many campaigns against programs and projects launched by the imperialists and local reactionaries to despoil the natural environment and grab the land and natural resources from the people. To make as complete a list as possible from 1968 to the present, every regional committee of the CPP has to make its own listing. In areas and roads under their control, the revolutionary forces have enforced the law of the people's democratic government. They have aroused, organized and mobilized the people to require mining companies to adopt antipollution measures and pay social compensation for damage these have caused or else close down; to combat the landgrabbing operations of agrocorporations and real estate speculators; and to scuttle several hydroelectric and other power generation projects which deprive the peasants and indigenous people of land without sufficient compensation and without provision for alternative sources of livelihood.

In recent times, the most outstanding policy adopted by the CPP is to impose a 25-year complete ban on logging for export. At the same time, this policy allows in certain areas limited logging, provided the logs are for domestic housing, other local end uses and local processing (including furniture making, plywood manufacturing, pulp and paper manufacturing). A campaign is now being undertaken to confiscate and prevent log exporting firms from using their logging equipment and facilities. At the same time, the



revolutionary forces promote reforestation and the development of livelihood projects to improve the social conditions of the people and provide alternative sources of livelihood for the logging workers displaced by the log ban.

The revolutionary forces do not merely talk about the issue of ecology. They take decisive actions and mobilize the people against the imperialists and the local reactionaries who rape the natural environment. These actions must extend to the banning of the programs and projects undertaken by seemingly voluntaristic but imperialist-funded "NGOs" and "POs" ostensibly to promote environmentalism but in fact to scout for natural resources for grabbing and exploitation by foreign monopoly firms at the expense of the peasants and indigenous people and to use the line of pro-imperialist environmentalism — within the context of the U.S.-sponsored low-intensity conflict — to attack the national democratic revolution.

Among the most absurd propositions made by these imperialist-funded "NGOs" are that peasants and indigenous people must be kept out of extensive areas of the country to be preserved as national parks under the pretext of maintaining biodiversity (as if humans are not part of the biosphere) and that extensive areas of the country must be classified and agreed upon by the NDFP and the GRP as "zones of peace and life" for the purpose of preventing the armed revolutionary movement from availing of these in the people's war.

The counterrevolutionaries fall silent on bombardments, arson, massacres, torture and other barbarities unleashed by the U.S.-Ramos regime upon the peasants and indigenous people in order to force them to evacuate and allow the foreign monopolies, bureaucrats and military officers to grab the land and natural resources for themselves. At the same time, they falsely claim that the regime has achieved "democratization" and "reduction of human rights violations" and that there is now "peace and stability" for the imperialists and the local reactionaries to freely exploit and ravage the country.

The issue of ecology is well taken up and covered by the Program of the People's Democratic Revolution. The broad masses of



the people led by the CPP resolutely and militantly fight for the conservation and wise utilization of natural resources for the purpose of self-reliant development against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The revolutionary line of the CPP is diametrically opposed to the dominant imperialist line running through the conferences on environment sponsored by the United Nations and by any of the three sectors of neocolonialism. These U.N. conferences on the environment try to obscure and cosmeticize the imperialist plunder of human and natural resources and attempt to harmonize the interests of the imperialists and the neocolonial client states in the first sector, the foreign monopoly firms and the local comprador big bourgeoisie in the second sector and the "NGOs" and "POs" of paid hacks in the "third sector".



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