

THE BASES OF OUR INSECURITY

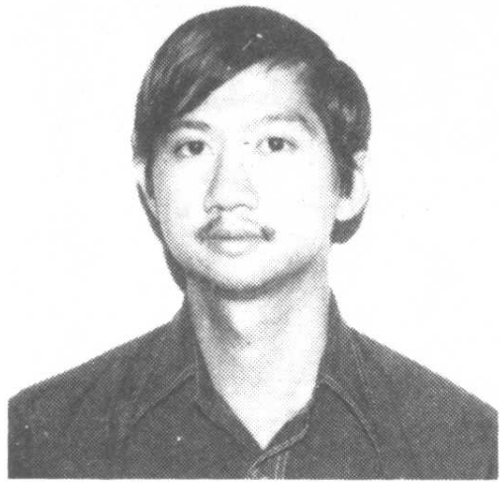
A Study of the US
Military Bases
in the Philippines

Roland G. Simbulan

SECOND EDITION

In their continuing struggle for true independence and democracy, the Filipino people have always been confronted in their own soil, with the largest arsenal of US military power in Southeast Asia – the American military bases. Today, these bases are still the most visible vestiges of colonialism in the Philippines.

In his study of these bases, Prof. Roland G. Simbulan consistently argues from the point of view of the Filipino people. The book documents the escalating US military involvement in Philippine affairs vis-a-vis the US bases especially as the bases function, directly or indirectly, to perpetuate our continuing underdevelopment. It documents the role of US military bases in the maintenance of US interests in the Philippines and their importance to American global strategy. It also shows the repercussions and implications of the US military presence in the Philippines, revealing the subservience of some Filipino leaders through their consent and connivance in the maintenance of US military bases.



Prof. Roland G. Simbulan teaches development studies courses and political economy at the University of the Philippines College of Arts and Sciences in Manila where he was former Chairman of its Division of Social Sciences (1982-85). He is a Fellow of the Third World Studies Center of the University of the Philippines and Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors of *Ibon* Databank, Philippines. At present, he is General Secretary of the United Teachers and Employees of the U.P. System, a national alliance of 8 major organizations of faculty, academic non-teaching and non-academic personnel in the University of the Philippines (UP) and National Executive Board Member of the Alliance of Concerned Teachers (ACT-Philippines). He has lectured widely not only in the Philippines, but also in Australia, New Zealand, Europe, Japan and Hong kong.

THE BASES OF OUR INSECURITY

**A Study of the US Military Bases
in the Philippines**

Second Edition

by Roland G. Simbulan

**Published by BALAI Fellowship, Inc.
Metro Manila, Philippines**

Copyright of Second Edition 1985
by Balai Fellowship Inc.
All rights reserved.

Published by BALAI Fellowship, Inc.
FMSG Bldg., 9 Balete Drive, Quezon City, Philippines

Cover design and lay-out by
Liza Azarcon, BALAI staff artist

First Printing: Society of St. Paul, October 1983
Second Printing: Buencamino Press, October 1985

ISBN 971-1008-009

For book orders write: BALAI
P.O. Box SM-366
Manila, Philippines

Author's Note for the Second Edition

Since the first edition of this book was published in late 1983, it has been read both by people who share my views and others who don't.

I feel well rewarded to be told that this book has played a role in bringing about a more informed debate on the bases issue in relation to the Philippine crisis.

The past two years I have spent continuously researching, writing and lecturing around the Philippines, the Asia-Pacific region and Europe, and in the process, deepening and unmasking additional evidence of the real issues that have for so long been kept from public view. The Second Edition includes updated tables and additional appendices which further substantiate the main thesis of this book.

It is my fervent hope that this Second Edition will help the Filipino people in advancing one step further the day towards national emancipation and final victory.

R.G.S.

Manila, Sept. 30, 1985.

CONTENTS

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	6
<i>Foreword by former Senator Lorenzo M. Tañada</i>	9
<i>Preface by Jose W. Diokno, Anti-Bases Coalition</i>	13
<i>A Note About Sources</i>	17
Introduction	21
1 Post-War US Foreign and Military Policy	29
2 Resources and US Economic Stake	59
3 Military Agreements with the US	74
4 Major US Military Facilities	113
5 The Role of the Bases	169
A. Counter-Insurgency and the US Bases	169
B. Springboards for Intervention	
into other Countries	191
6 The US Bases in a Nuclear Age	217
7 Military Assistance and the Bases	231
8 The Socio-Economic Costs	
of the Military Bases	251
Conclusion	271
Selected Bibliography	
on US Military Bases	
in the Philippines	286
Appendices:	
Documents Obtained	
Thru the Freedom of Information Act	290
National Security Study Directive:	
US Policy Towards the Philippines –	
Executive Summary	309
The US Nuclear Infrastructure	
in the Philippines	327
US Special Operations Forces	334

Acknowledgements

Writing a book is only made possible by the help of many other people.

Most if not all of the arguments here have been presented by the author in various lectures, symposia and informal discussions. Since it involved much interaction with audiences who deserve my appreciation for their questions, thoughts and suggestions, it is really a product of many minds. Its scope has been severely narrowed down to a critique of some elemental aspects of the issue. Serious and elaborate substantiation of the issue based on the strength of documented facts has also been undertaken.

Chapter 1 is a revised version of a lecture delivered before the Third World Studies Center at UP Diliman, Quezon City on March 12, 1981.

Chapter 2 was originally a speech on "The Role of US Bases in Philippine Underdevelopment" sponsored by the Supreme Student Council of the Central Luzon State University in Nueva Ecija on February 8, 1983.

Chapter 3 is a revised version of the speech on "The Military Bases Agreement" delivered before the Lyceum Honor Society (Lambda Sigma Kappa) at the Lyceum of the Philippines, Manila on February 23, 1983.

Chapter 4 is based on a lecture delivered in a seminar on "The US Foreign Military Assistance Support Structure: Implications for the Philippines" at the UP College of Public Administration, Manila on September 2, 1981; the section on Clark Air

Base was originally a lecture on "The Historical Development of Clark Air Base" delivered before the Angeles City Cultural and Historical Society, Angeles City on June 2, 1981.

Chapter 5 is a revised version of the speech "Emerging Trends and Implications of US Interventionism" delivered during the 18th National Press Congress of the College Editors' Guild of the Philippines at the BSP Camp, Capitol Hills, Cebu City on May 14, 1983.

Chapter 6 is a revised version of the speech before the Concerned Citizens of Olongapo/Zambales and the Central Luzon Broad Alliance, at the Columban College, Olongapo City, Zambales on November 30, 1982.

Chapter 7 is a revised version of the speech "Implications of Increased US Military Assistance" delivered before the Alliance of Citizens Towards Independence, Oneness and Nationalism (ACTION), at the Pope Pius Catholic Center, Manila on September 28, 1982.

Chapter 8 is based on the speech before the faculty and students of Meycauayan College, Meycauayan, Bulacan, on February 18, 1983.

I have profited from conversations with Boone Schirmer, Stephen Shalom, Sonny and Delia San Juan, Elmer Ordoñez, and countless friends during my two-year sojourn (1979-80) in the United States; also to Endo Yoichi of the Fussan Citizen's Movement, Mr. Sato of the Japan Buddha Sangha, Ben Watanabe of the National Union of General Workers of Japan and the staff of the Pacific Asia Resources Center (PARC) during my trips to Japan

in 1981 and early 1983; to former Senator Lorenzo Tañada, Sr. Christine Tan, Peps Cunanan and Roel Landingin.

I am also greatly indebted for the friendship and stimulating discussions with my colleagues of the "Thursday Club" at the Division of Social Sciences, UP College of Arts and Sciences-Manila. These discussions helped me a lot while I was preparing the manuscript.

Aloha Bautista typed the manuscript and she had to do a lot of overtime.

I am especially grateful to my wife, Chit, for her encouragement and support, and with whom I enjoyed a long and fruitful exchange of views on the issues treated in this book. At great cost to herself, she helped me edit the manuscript, for which I shall always be grateful.

Foreword

This foreword to Professor Roland Simbulan's book is written at an extremely critical moment in our nation's history due to the assassination of Senator Benigno S. Aquino, Jr.

There is a relationship which in context of this time, I would like to bring out – the problem of American military bases in the Philippines which was a concern uppermost in the late senator's mind over the last few years.

Among his last public acts of significance in the United States was his testimony in June 1983 before the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the US House Committee on Foreign Affairs. Not known in the past for open opposition to the American bases here, he finally declared before the Subcommittee:

All the weapons that the Marcos regime is acquiring will never be pointed at a foreign invader but will be used against Filipino freedom fighters struggling against dictatorship. . .

Why then should American taxpayer's money be spent to purchase weapons that would be used against Filipinos opposed to Marcos dictatorship? . .

By the terms of the Bases Agreement, the Marcos regime was granted a total of \$425 million – over five years – in security assistance consisting of \$125 million in grant military assistance and \$300 million in Foreign Military Sales and Credits. . .

Here lies the supreme irony. The Marcos dictatorship will be supplied with weapons on credit to be repaid over twenty years and the first payment to start ten years after delivery of the weapons. Supposing the coalition of forces now ranged against the regime succeed in toppling it, under the latest Bases Agreement, these victorious rebel forces will be obliged to pay for the weapons used to kill and eliminate them.

If the victorious forces refuse to pay for the weapons bought on credit – and they should by all moral standards – will this not be a time-bomb in any future post-Marcos Philippine-American relations?

Should America be identified as a weapon supplier of a repressive regime? For more than four decades, American teachers taught Filipinos to love freedom and die for it, if need be...

Because the Reagan administration has agreed to increase the military assistance to the Marcos regime in exchange for the continued access and unhampered use of the bases, the Anti-Bases Coalition, originally a handful of nationalist leaders, has now expanded its ranks to include even respected jurists and other civil leaders who heretofore were ambivalent on the bases question...

Aquino died for the very freedom he said America had taught Filipinos. Yet, American television interviews and commentaries following his death, notably that with former Assistant Secretary (for East Asian and Pacific Affairs) Richard Holbrooke, brought into stark relief the primordial reason underlying American interest in the Philippines: to hold on to the military bases at all costs and by any means – even at the cost of the freedom of the Filipino people, even by the means of a repressive dictatorship friendly to the United States.

Not that these television programs had uncovered anything new or previously unknown to those who have followed US policy towards the outside world, especially South and Central America, Greece, Iran and the Philippines, of course. Those programs only brought home to a much, much wider public what has been known to the concerned Filipinos for many years now. A great measure of what Ninoy Aquino has done for his country was to project this truth upon many more Filipinos than those who had recognized the truth earlier could have done over a much longer period of time.

With the dramatic awakening of the mass of our people to this truth and its related corollaries – the oppression and injustice perpetrated on our people at the altar, ultimately, of US interest – it is vital for us to strengthen our resolve to strive for true freedom, true independence and true democracy.

Professor Simbulan takes us one step further in the logical process by arguing, very persuasively, that the US interests even with reference to the bases are not wholly security interests, that is interests vis-a-vis the Soviet military threat, but *economic* interests, "big business" investments in the Philippines and in Southeast Asia.

One is tempted to ask other questions. Is the "Cold War" genuinely a conflict of ideologies only, or is it also one of economic systems and for economic supremacy and hegemony? Is this "war" exacerbated *deliberately* to force those nations who need not be involved – the "Third World" – into having to choose between "black" and "white" and

to prevent them from seeking out an alternative system that will be free of the undesirable because palpable harshness and inhumanity of either, yes, one should repeat, either alternative?

If Professor Simbulan's logic on these points do not move us, then perhaps the ultimate argument – the argument from terror – of nuclear disaster and the real danger it poses to our survival as a people as long as we allow American bases within our shores, will finally jolt our people out of their lethargy.

Irony of ironies indeed, the American bases, once conceived in defense of our security, have over time and events, become the bases of our profound insecurity.

LORENZO M. TAÑADA

Chairman Emeritus

Nuclear-Free Philippines Coalition
(NFPC)

Preface

The Philippines is an "independent" country that is not sovereign, a "democratic" country whose people are not free, a state that is not yet a nation, a rich land filled with poor people.

The roots of these cruel paradoxes lie in our colonial past and neo-colonial present. Nothing symbolizes that past and this present more vividly than the continued presence of US military bases in the land.

In 1933, the United States offered to recognize our independence on condition that we allow it to retain military bases on our land. Our people roundly rejected the offer – although even then there was apprehension about the growing Japanese menace to Asia. So the Philippine Independence Act of 1934, popularly known as the Tydings McDuffie Act, offered to recognize the independence of the Philippines by July 4, 1946, without the US retaining military bases. The people accepted the Tydings-McDuffie Act and made it part of our 1935 Constitution.

Then came World War II. The Japanese menace became a reality. Japan successfully invaded the Philippines, despite the bases the US had here. In 1944, shortly before the US re-took the country from Japan, the US government exacted an agreement from the Philippine government in exile that it would retain its bases as a pre-condition to recognizing Philippine Independence. That condition, of course, violated both the Tydings-McDuffie Act and

the solemn promises of US President Franklin D. Roosevelt in behalf of his government. The Bases Agreement was finally signed on March 14, 1947. Since the Tydings-McDuffie Act had been approved by the people, and the Bases Agreement changed that law, the agreement required the people's approval. But it was never submitted to the people. And neither has any of its amendments, including the 1983 amendments that impliedly extend its term. The agreement, therefore, was illegal from the start.

Moreover, the bases had not been able to prevent the Japanese invasion of the country. And by 1947 Japan had been thoroughly defeated, so that the Philippines – and the United States, for that matter – were not in danger of any external attack. So the evident purpose of the bases was not and is not defense of the Philippines or of the United States, but to protect US power in and consolidate US dominance over Asia and the Middle East.

Since 1947, we have felt the adverse effects of the bases. Our sovereignty has been impaired by continuing US government interference in our internal affairs. Our moral fabric and social cohesion have been damaged by the conversion of the communities surrounding the bases into huge camp towns, where gambling, prostitution and vice abound; and smuggling of US PX goods has abetted both crime and a consumer mentality ill fitted for rational social and economic development. The bases have directly retarded our economic development by depriving the nation of the productive use of some 100,000 hectares of land and by pre-