

Jose Ma. Sison

**Peoples' Struggles
against Oppression and Exploitation
Selected Writings, 2009-2015**

Julieta de Lima, Editor

Volume 1: 2009-2010

Crisis Generates Resistance

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Contents

Author's Preface	1
ILPS Condemns Israeli Ground Invasion of Gaza and the Escalating Massacre of the Palestinian People	5
ILPS Denounces the Vile Record of Bush and Reminds Obama of the People's Outrage	7
Recalling Mang Ramoning, Dr. Ramon C. Sison	9
Beirut International Forum for Resistance, Anti-Imperialism, Solidarity between Peoples and Alternatives	15
ILPS Actively Supports January 29 General Strike of French People for Resistance, Anti-Imperialism, Solidarity between Peoples and Alternatives	17
What the People Can and Must Do about the Financial and Economic Crisis	19
I. Certain facts about the crisis	19
II. What people can and must do	25
III. Prospects	32
Remembering the First Quarter Storm	35
Condemn the Fascist Attacks on the Rights of the Italian People	39
Uphold the Militant Tradition of International Women's Day	41
Oppose the US Invasion and Occupation of Iraq, Demand Total, Immediate and Unconditional Withdrawal of US and other Foreign Forces of Aggression	45
Salient Points of the International Situation	49
Global financial and economic crisis	49
Sharpening of major contradictions in the world	53
The Filipino people's struggle in global context	57
Keep the Revolutionary Spirit Alive	59
On the Decision of the Dutch Prosecution to Dismiss the Case against Me	61
On the Dismissal of the Charge of Inciting Murder	63
Consolidate the People's Gains in the Electoral Struggle	69
On the Filipino People's Struggle for National Liberation, Democracy and Socialism	75

Strengthen the Alliance of the Peoples of the Cordillera	77
Support the Tamil People’s Struggle for National Self-Determination, Condemn the Genocidal Attacks by the Rajapaksa Regime	81
Tasks and Prospects of the Workers of the World amid the Global Financial and Economic Crisis	85
Need for a revolutionary party of the working class	86
The task of building the revolutionary party of the working class	90
Prospects of the international working class movement	94
Remarks at Victory Celebration and Launch of Two Volumes of my Writings in Amsterdam	97
In Honor of Crispin “Ka Bel” Beltran on his 1st Death Anniversary	101
Stop the Fake Constituent Assembly	105
Tribute to Comrade Wilson Baldonaza, Secretary General of Kilusang Mayo Uno	109
Continue the Great Tradition of the Progressive and Patriotic Youth	111
On the L’Aquila G8 Summit	113
Condemn “Operation Lalgarh” of the Bengali Government	119
On the Current Economic Crisis and the Struggle for Democracy and Socialism against Imperialist Globalization	121
Resist the Neoliberal Policy in Education	129
The decisive importance of education	129
Critique of imperialism	130
Struggle for a new and better world	133
A Call to Campaign for Livelihood and Social Justice	135
GRP Fails to Comply with JASIG and Continues to Impede NDFP Consultants	141
Resumption of Formal Talks Conditional on GRP Respect for and Compliance with JASIG	143
ILPS Condemns US-ROK Military Exercises Designed for Preemptive Nuclear Attack on DPRK	145
Oslo Meeting of GRP and NDFP Negotiating Panels May Be Preceded by Manila Meeting of their Respective Lawyers	149
ILPS Reiterates Condemnation of 9/11 and the US Global War of Terrorism	153

Crisis of Imperialism, Impact on the Philippines and Challenge to the Filipino Student Youth	157
Crisis of imperialism	157
Impact on the Philippine ruling system	158
Challenge to the Filipino student youth	159
Arroyo and Razon Proclaim End of GRP-NDFP Peace Negotiations	161
On People's War and Peace Negotiations	163
On the 2010 Presidential Elections	169
ILPS Condemns Abduction and Torture; Demands Immediate Release of Kobad Ghandy	173
On the ECFI Decision re Terrorist Blacklist	175
False Sense of Recovery at G-20 Summit in Pittsburgh	179
On the GRP-NDFP Peace Negotiations	187
On the 8th National Congress of BAYAN	191
On 10th Congress and 25th Anniversary Celebration of GABRIELA	197
Politics of Repression in the Philippines	201
History of repression and exploitation in the Philippines	201
Repression under the semicolonial and semifeudal system	203
Further repression in prospect and need for international solidarity	206
Uphold and Advance the Rights of Migrants and Refugees	209
Capitalist Crisis Makes Socialism Necessary	213
Role of the Communist Party of the Philippines in the Downfall of the Marcos Dictatorship	219
Strengthen Friendship and Cooperation	223
Land and Justice for the Peasants and Farmworkers of Hacienda Luisita	225
Carry Forward the Revolutionary Tradition of Kabataang Makabayan	231
The Structure of Reactionary Violence and Human Rights Violations in the Philippines	237
Structure of reactionary violence	237
On the Ampatuan massacre	238
On Trade and Climate Issues against WTO	241
International Anti-Imperialist Women's Conference in Montreal	247

End Monopoly Capitalism to Arrest Climate Change	249
Message of Solidarity and Support for the National Lakbayan in the Philippines	257
Help the People of Haiti Reject US Military Occupation	259
Significance of the First Quarter Storm of 1970	263
The National Democratic Revolution	
against so-called Neoliberal Education	267
The ruling social system and its education system	267
The national democratic revolution and the content of the cultural revolution	270
On Launching Volumes 3 and 4 of my Selected Writings	273
Tribute to Comrade Jake Abad	275
ILPS Condemns Arrest, Torture and Indignities, Demands Immediate Release of 43 Health Workers	277
Operation Green Hunt Must Be Stopped	279
Condolences to the Family of the Late Ambassador Norberto Basilio	281
ILPS Supports the Naga People in their Struggle for Self-Determination, Human Rights and Peace	283
Honoring Mang Apeng	285
Empower Communities to Assert their Rights	289
Outstanding Fighter in People's Struggles for Revolutionary Change	291
Appeal for Permanent Residence at the Hearing of the Case before the District Court of Zutphen, Administrative Law Sector	293
Appreciation for ILPS and Defend Committee and Denunciation of False Allegations	297
On the 2010 Elections	299
Wholehearted Solidarity with the Farmworkers of Hacienda Luisita and All Supporters	305
On the Year of Rice Action against the 50th Year of the International Rice Research Institute	307
Solidarity Message to the Asian Peasant Coalition Caravan	309
On Aquino and Villar	311

On the 2010 Presidential Elections	317
Strengthen Unity for Genuine Land Reform	321
Intensify the Struggles of the Proletariat and Peoples against Imperialism and Reaction	325
Crisis of global capitalism continues to worsen	325
The proletariat and peoples of the world resist	329
The Facts against Psywar Intrigues	333
On the Aftermath of the 2010 Elections	337
ILPS Condemns the Israeli Barbaric Attack on the Freedom Flotilla Carrying Humanitarian Aid to Gaza	343
On the Launching of <i>Ka Bel: The Life and Struggle of Crispin Beltran</i>	345
On the incoming Aquino Regime	347
On Election by Preprogramming and other Matters related to Aquino	351
On Noynoy Aquino and related Issues	353
On Current Concerns and Prospects regarding the Aquino Regime	361
Tribute to Comrade Beato Lacaba	377
Unforgettable Years as English Major	379
The struggle between the liberals and the religio-sectarians	379
My share of controversies	382
Debt of gratitude to the English department and the UP	385
The Incubation of Activism in the University of the Philippines	389



Author's Preface

I am elated that the International Network for Philippine Studies is publishing a new book series of my writings under the general title *Peoples' Struggle against Oppression and Exploitation*, covering the period from 2009 to 2015.

The books in the series bring together the most significant articles, statements, messages and interviews that I have made from year to year in such capacities as Chairperson of the International League for Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), Founding Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines, Chief Political Consultant of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines in peace negotiations with the Manila government and Founding Chairman of Kabataang Makabayan.

By way of opening the new series, I now make the preface to Volume I, titled *Crisis Generates Resistance*. This covers the period from January 2009 to June 2010, when the Arroyo regime ended and the Aquino regime was inaugurated. The book reflects the Filipino people's resistance to the Arroyo regime and to the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system, whose rottenness is well manifested by naked puppetry, ruthless plunder, impoverishment of the people and atrocities under Oplan Bantay Laya within the framework of the US global war of terror.

The book presents the people's resistance on a global scale amidst the total bankruptcy of neoliberal economic policy, the ever worsening crisis of monopoly capitalism and the relentless wars of aggression unleashed by US imperialism and its NATO and Zionist subalterns. It describes a global situation in which the US mortgage meltdown of 2008 unfolds quickly in 2009 and 2010 as a global financial and economic crisis. Bank bailouts in trillions of US dollars and summits of imperialist powers cannot solve the crisis, which is comparable in scale and severity to the Great Depression that broke out in 1929 and led to World War II.

Since its inception in 1970-80, the neoliberal economic policy pushed by the US has generated a series of crises leading to the crisis of 2008, hitting the very centers of global capitalism. My paper at the Forum on the Global Economic and Financial Crisis at De Balie in Amsterdam on January 30, 2008 traces the development of the crisis and proposes what the people can and must do about the crisis.

Crisis Generates Resistance

The US and other capitalist powers used to boast of the full restoration of capitalism in China and Russia as the final death blow to the socialist cause. But in fact the increase of imperialist powers on the world scene has helped to intensify plunder, state terrorism, inter-imperialist contradictions and wars of aggression. The people of the world are suffering more oppression and exploitation and are being driven to resist their oppressors and exploiters. The proletarian revolutionaries of today are leading the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle towards the goal of socialism.

The need to uphold and emphasize the role of revolutionary parties of the working class to lead the mass movement of all oppressed and exploited working classes and sectors of various nationalities is very urgent. Attention is given to the workers, peasants, women, youth, indigenous peoples and national minorities and migrant workers that have flowed out of the underdeveloped countries to the developed ones.

The direction of the people's struggle is set by the demands for national liberation, democracy and socialism against the crisis of monopoly capitalism and the destruction of the environment. The unbridled imperialist plunder of human and natural resources, the ruthless repression of the people and the recurrent wars of aggression have set the stage for the resurgence of the anti-imperialist and socialist movements.

As ILPS Chairperson, I pay much attention to global events and issues. I describe the status and trends of imperialist domination, crisis and wars and the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles of the people of the world towards to goal of socialism. And as the CPP Founding Chairman and the NDFP Chief Political Consultant in peace negotiations, I often speak up on the Filipino people's suffering under foreign and feudal domination and their struggle for national liberation and democracy.

I adhere consistently to the people's demand for a new democratic revolution and hold to account the reactionary regime in the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines for puppetry to imperialism, exploitativeness, corruption and brutal violations of human rights. I take all opportunities to encourage the people to wage all possible and necessary forms of struggle. The people's war for national and social liberation is necessitated and justified by prior systematic use of state violence by the exploiting classes.

At the same time, I continue to support and assist the peace negotiations between the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and the Manila government. I stand for the national and democratic rights of the Filipino people. I serve them in demanding basic social, economic and political reforms in order to address the roots of the ongoing civil war and lay the basis for a just and lasting peace.

I agree with the NDFP proposal for an immediate truce and alliance between the contending sides of the civil war in order to confront the common problems and common adversaries of the Filipino nation. All that is needed is a joint declaration of common intent to end foreign and feudal domination, while the comprehensive agreements are being worked out at an accelerated pace.

The book contains not only my expressions of basic principles and critique of imperialism and local reaction but also the reflections of my personal share of the Filipino people's suffering and struggle. Contrary to the propaganda of the imperialists and reactionaries that I am comfortably safe from hardships and oppression, I have been subjected to ceaseless vilification, assassination attempts, terrorist listing, false murder charges and detention in the Netherlands,

The current volume carries some articles referring to my legal victories against false accusations. I comment on the dismissal of the false charges of murder by the Dutch prosecution office on March 31, 2009 and likewise on the removal of my name from the EU terrorist list by the European Court of First Instance on September 30, 2009.

I celebrate with the Filipino people how the national democratic movement of the youth was conceived and incubated in the Diliman campus of the University of the Philippines from 1959 onwards and how the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and Diliman Commune of 1971 laid the ground for the nationwide revolutionary resistance against the Marcos fascist dictatorship until this was overthrown in 1986.

I always extend the Red salute to the revolutionary martyrs and heroes who fight and die in the battlefield in order to defend and advance the people's democratic revolution. I pay tribute to a number of Filipino patriots and revolutionaries who passed away in the period covered by the book. Among them are Crispin Beltran, Wilson Baldonaza, Beato Lacaba and Jake Abad. I also pay tribute to my eldest brother Dr. Ramon C. Sison who participated in the struggle of the US-based Filipinos against the Marcos dictatorship. This tribute can give you a glimpse at my family relations.

Crisis Generates Resistance

Further, I pay tribute to friends within the reactionary government who somehow contributed to the people's movement for national independence and democracy. I refer to Ambassador Norberto Basilio, who was a co-founder of Kabataang Makabayan and who remained loyal to the movement. I also refer to the late Governor Jose V. Yap who persevered in exploring peace negotiations between the Manila government and the NDFP and in realizing with the NDFP The Hague Joint Declaration and subsequent major agreements, up to the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law.

I hope that the book can be enlightening, informative and interesting to readers. I would be satisfied if somehow and to some extent it helps to increase their knowledge and to widen and deepen their understanding of the current suffering and struggles of the people in my homeland and the world at large.

Jose Maria Sison
Utrecht, The Netherlands
October 24, 2015

ILPS Condemns Israeli Ground Invasion of Gaza and the Escalating Massacre of the Palestinian People¹

January 4, 2009

Since December 27, 2008, the US-supported Zionist Israel has carried out a war of aggression against the Palestinian people in Gaza. It has launched air strikes by F-16 jet planes and Apache helicopters and artillery shelling by naval vessels in order to massacre hundreds and injure thousands of Palestinians in Gaza and destroy their homes, mosques, schools, public buildings, oil depots, power plants, water facilities and other infrastructure.

The massacre of the Palestinian people and the destruction of their public and private properties are being rapidly escalated with the ground invasion of Gaza by thousands of Israeli troops and tanks since yesterday evening. The aggressors have interdicted food and medicine supplies. They have destroyed all the sources of fuel and power and have thus disabled vehicles and the hospitals. They have killed Palestinian medical personnel and have prevented ambulances from reaching the victims of aerial bombardments, shelling by naval artillery and strafing by ground forces.

The US imperialists are hellbent on letting the Zionists wreak death and destruction on the Palestinian people without limit and with complete impunity. They have publicly incited the Zionists to escalate their aggression and have blocked every effort in the UN Security Council to pass a ceasefire resolution and to stop the carnage. Together with the Zionists in Israel, they want nothing less than the complete surrender and subjugation of the Palestinian people in Gaza and in the whole of Palestine.

US imperialism is being consistent and true to its evil nature. It has supplied Israel with all the military, political and economic resources to wage aggression repeatedly against the Palestinian people since 1948, occupy Palestine and drive away millions of Palestinians from

¹ Statement issued as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

Crisis Generates Resistance

their homeland. The US has used Israel as the bridgehead of US imperialist hegemony in the Middle East and as the platform for threatening and blackmailing countries in the region, making them military and political clients and controlling the oil resources.

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, reiterate in the strongest terms our condemnation of the US-supported war of aggression against the Palestinian people in Gaza and once more declare our solidarity with and support for the entire Palestinian people in their resistance against Zionist Israel and its US imperialist master.

In this regard, we also criticize and condemn those governments in the Middle East that collaborate with the US in supporting Israel directly and indirectly, delivering the oil resources of the region to the US oil giants and suppressing the resistance of the Palestinian, Arab and other peoples in the Middle East. It is a shame that the overwhelming number of Arab people are prevented by their governments from extending the most effective support to the Palestinian people.

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, stand in solidarity with the Palestinian, Arab and other peoples of the world in the struggle against US imperialism and Israeli Zionism. Once more we call on all member-organizations and allies of the ILPS to initiate as well as join protest mass actions and other activities that express and gather militant support for the resistance of the Palestinian and Arab peoples against US imperialism and Israeli Zionism.

★ ★ ★

ILPS Denounces the Vile Record of Bush and Reminds Obama of the People's Outrage²

January 13, 2009

The International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) denounces as totally reprehensible the desperate attempts of the outgoing chief-tain of US imperialism, George W. Bush, to define his own eight-year record as less vile than what it has been.

He admits as one of his mistakes his premature proclamation of "mission accomplished" less than two months after the full-scale US invasion of Iraq in 2003. He considers as mere disappointment that no weapons of mass destruction were found to validate what had been in the first place a deliberate lie and mere pretext for the US war of aggression.

George W. Bush vainly tries to evade the fact that he is the biggest war criminal in contemporary times. He is culpable for the biggest kind of terrorism, which is the war of aggression. This has resulted in the massacre and wounding of millions of Iraqi civilians, the destruction of the social infrastructure and US control of the Iraqi oil and other economic resources.

The 9/11 attack, which killed close to 3,000 people, was heinous on its own evil account. But it pales in comparison to the far more monstrous murderous proportions of the Bush crime of aggression. The howling success of the Bush regime lies in manipulating the 9/11 attack and the wars of aggression against Iraq and Afghanistan to override the frauds that made Bush "win" two presidential elections.

George W. Bush also makes a futile attempt to evade the fact that he is most culpable for the current financial and economic crisis that has swept the US and the entire world capitalist system. He tries to minimize his culpability by saying that he inherited a recession which resulted from the bursting of the "hightech bubble" in 2,000 and that he generated many months of economic growth before the "housing

² Statement issued as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

bubble” started to burst in 2006 and lead to the mortgage meltdown and the current level of the crisis.

To bring about the present gravity of the crisis, Bush has been responsible for enlarging the US national debt at a dizzying rate and raising it to the highest historic level, for incurring the highest trade and budgetary deficits, for letting US financial and nonfinancial corporations run wild in speculation and for pushing down the wage level further and then overburdening the American families with loans for housing, cars, daily consumption and school enrolment.

In addition to the financial and economic crisis and the two wars of aggression, Bush must be confronted with many crimes that have been committed in the name of a “global war of terror.” These include the curtailment of democratic rights in the US and abroad, the use of extrajudicial killings, acts of so-called rendition, illegal detention and torture, arbitrary “terrorist” labeling of progressive forces and leaders, the corruption in war-related contracts and US military interventions and sponsorship of state terrorism in the Philippines and elsewhere.

The ILPS reminds the incoming chieftain of US imperialism of the breadth and depth of the outrage of the American people and the people of the world over so many crimes perpetrated by Bush and his accomplices. Letting these criminals enjoy impunity and letting the consequences of their crimes persist under the blanket of bipartisanship can only undermine the credibility of the Obama regime and its ability to cope with the overwhelming troubles passed on to it by the outgoing regime.

★ ★ ★

Recalling Mang Ramoning, Dr. Ramon C. Sison³

January 13, 2009

My parents always called my eldest brother, Dr. Ramon C. Sison, Ramoning to show endearment.

We, the younger siblings, called him Mang Ramoning. Only before strangers would we formally call him Ramon or Mang Ramon.

He was supposed to be the informally adopted son of my father's sister Doña Rosario S. de Pilar. But I recall that he was often in our house at the town center of Cabugao or in our evacuation house during the Japanese occupation. He enjoyed having two homes and two sets of parents. Up to the time that he finished his medical degree at the University of the Philippines, he had the privilege of having two sources of financial allowance.

My earliest pleasant recollection of him was that he could play very well several musical instruments, including the piano, the violin, guitar, the trumpet and harmonica. He would impress everyone in our parlor or in family gatherings by playing one instrument after another or a combination of two or three instruments. We used to call him the one-man orchestra. He was also well known for his drawings and carvings. He would display these things on the table of our father.

My recollection of the unpleasant was when he caught me taking a puff from my father's cigar and compelled me to take more puffs until I became dizzy and threw up. Since then, I had hated the smell of tobacco. I surmised in later years that he was trying to teach me a lesson so that I would hate tobacco and not smoke. The lesson was effective for a long while because I started to smoke quite late, at the age of twenty nine. It is ironic though that Mang Ramoning also became fond of smoking. We did not know then that on our mother's side we had a predisposition to lung cancer in our senior years.

Mang Ramoning was ten years older than me. For that reason, it seemed like he was always running far ahead of me. I was still in Cabugao when he was already in Manila for his high school at the

³ Read at the funeral services for Dr. Ramon C. Sison by his son Dr. Reuven F. Sison on behalf of his uncle Prof. Jose Maria Sison.

Crisis Generates Resistance

Ateneo de Manila. Then I caught up with him and with my other elder siblings in Manila and we lived together under the care of our eldest sister Corazon when I took my high school and early years of university education. Then Mang Ramoning and three other siblings would go to the US for graduate studies not on Fulbright or Smith-Mundt but on the Serrano-Sison family scholarship. I recall my parents arranging the dollar allocations for them in the 1950s.

I drew certain advantages from Mang Ramoning's having entered the Ateneo de Manila ahead of me. Before I took the entrance examination, he tutored me on how to handle the IQ test. He saw that being valedictorian of the Cabugao elementary school I had no problem with English grammar and arithmetic but he thought that I might be confounded by the IQ test which was the main part of the entrance examination. His tutoring was successful because I topped the entrance examination.

Next project of his was to straighten out my Cabugao accent in English. He was not impressed that I had been the top declaimer of my class in Cabugao. So he gave me pronunciation drills every day for some two weeks. When I failed to pronounce a word correctly, after three attempts, he would thump the table.

He was delighted or amused when I was taking painting lessons seriously. I made use of his books on figure drawing and still life. But when I tried my hand at abstract painting, he scolded me for doing so without first mastering the basics. He said that Picasso had to excel first in the academy before venturing into abstract art. He never pressed me to take piano lessons like the rest of our siblings. He knew that I had always run away from the piano lessons when I was in grade school.

Mang Ramoning had the reputation of being very successful at courting girls in his high school and college years. That is because he was handsome, taking the best features from our parents. And he was highly intelligent. But most important of all he played jazz and classical music and he could draw portraits. With his music, he could win the heart not only of the girl but the hearts of her parents. His portraiture of the girl was the most irresistible. I think that Manang Charito can attest to that fact.

As far as academic studies were concerned, Mang Ramoning and I had a mutual admiration for each other for normally getting into the honors' list of the dean. But we also recognized each other's erratic

side. We could excel in many subjects but get mediocre marks in a few others. We also liked to play truant or skip classes. While in high school I got into trouble by exceeding 30 days of absences. While in medical school, Mang Ramoning was threatened with dismissal for exceeding the allowable limit of absences. At any rate, we never failed in any subject because we always availed of the notes of classmates.

Our mutual admiration of each other for academic and professional achievements became even more pronounced in the long run. I stood in awe of him when he went through postdoctoral studies and cancer research at the Georgetown Medical Center and the Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center and became a diplomate in pathology. He was also proud of me when I finished my Bachelor of Arts in English with honors. He took the trouble of getting my pins and certificates from the US headquarters of the Phi Kappa Phi and the Pi Gamma Mu honor societies.

During the times that Mang Ramoning visited the Philippines and The Netherlands, he would narrate to me how he succeeded with his professional practice in the Mid-West and earned enough to buy a house in Beverly Hills, invest in a restaurant, a beach house in Malibu and other properties.

He became an official of the Kaiser hospital system. He was happy to have been appointed by then Governor Jerry Brown to the California medical board of examiners. He was also thrilled about being a doctors' doctor in the US army medical corps and reaching the rank of full colonel.

But what seemed to be far more exciting to him than his medical accomplishments was his becoming a Hollywood actor in a number of major films. That is not surprising at all to me. He was fond of associating with showbiz people even while he was in Manila. I recall Rosa Rosal and other movie actors coming to our apartment in Manila to practice some music with him. I recall that it was a sensation in the family and in our hometown when he appeared in a Filipino film as a trumpeteer.

I think that Mang Ramoning was far more accomplished as a musician than as a movie actor or as a stage actor. His playing of the piano and the violin was of concert quality in jazz or in classical music. He associated and jammed with the best Filipino musicians of his generation. He was a close friend of the conductor and violinist Redentor Romero. As far as I know, he was never a soloist in any classical

Crisis Generates Resistance

concert but he was often part of a symphony orchestra, usually playing a string instrument.

As a piano jazz player, he was superb in providing the intermission numbers in community and professional gatherings. I remember vividly when during his first visit to me in Utrecht we went to a piano bar to listen to a Filipino pianist-singer who was billed by the management as the best from Asia. He and the Filipino artist talked shop during the latter's break. Then Mang Ramoning took over the piano and delighted the customers.

In the early 1990s, he and Mang Charito came to visit us in The Netherlands in time for the Van Gogh centennial. While we looked at the Van Gogh paintings, he gave a running interpretation of these. He told me that Van Gogh rebelled against the fine portraiture of the rich merchants and that there was an element of social criticism in making the poor potato eaters look like dogs. He declared that upon retirement he would concentrate on painting more than ever before. When he became the chief inspector of all US military hospitals in Germany, he also visited me a number of times in Utrecht.

I consider as his most important visits to me those he made in the early 1980s when I was imprisoned by the Marcos fascist dictatorship. On his first visit, he told me about the good situation of my children abroad. His visit also served to start breaching the solitary confinement I was in. Before visiting me, he had a brief fruitless talk with Marcos arranged by a relative who was a police general. This relative told Mang Ramoning that I actually had no problem if I agreed to accept a government position. I responded by saying that I would outlast and outlive Marcos.

The second time that Mang Ramoning visited me in prison was in 1982 on the occasion of celebrating his silver wedding anniversary with Manang Charito and the united front baptism of my son Jasm. Both events were officiated by Cardinal Sin in the same morning. My mother had requested Cardinal Sin. She had been acquainted with him since my arrest in 1977 upon the introduction of Archbishop Juan Sison who was a close friend of Cardinal Sin.

After my release from prison, Mang Ramoning took the lead in the family to accept and pursue the offer of the American Civil Liberties Union to file a case against Ferdinand E. Marcos and others for human rights violations, particularly for my torture and for the disappearance

of Mang Paquito⁴. Together with other individual and class plaintiffs, we won the case against Marcos in the US judicial system. But unfortunately, the Philippine government has prevented up to now the indemnification of the victims of human rights violations and has misappropriated the money from the Swiss bank accounts of Marcos.

After he retired from medical practice in 2001, Mang Ramoning gained more time for painting, playing music, writing the history of Cabugao, bringing his grandchildren to school and fetching them, dancing the tango, writing a funny alternative history of this dance and cleaning his swimming pool as a frequent form of physical exercise. Among his paintings were those of the Cabugao church, the public primary school, the old municipio, the ancestral mansion, our parents and grandfather and my poem "The Guerrilla Is Like a Poet."

Although he could play several musical instruments quite well, Mang Ramoning did not sing. Only Johnny Carson could trust him in 1986 to sing on TV in a parody of the dictator Marcos. Mang Ramoning was probably amused when I sent to him the computer discs of my amateur singing in 2004. I asked him to provide the piano accompaniment for the songs that I sang without any accompanying musical instrument. He complied. I also heard that he reproduced the CDs and distributed the copies to relatives in California.

Mang Ramoning's history of Cabugao reads like the history of the intermarrying principalia families of the Azcuetas, Sollers, Sisons and Serranos because they have dominated the politics and economy of Cabugao since Spanish colonial times. Nevertheless, the history mentions other prominent natives of Cabugao and covers the most significant events, including the battles of Diego Silang and Gabriela Silang in the environs of the town, the Philippine revolution against Spanish colonialism, the war of resistance against US aggression and the Japanese fascist occupation.

Finally, some people might be curious enough to ask whether I got along well with Mang Ramoning and why. Definitely, I got along well with him for several reasons. We loved each other as blood brothers. I was proud of him as he was proud of me. We respected each other as

⁴ Francisco C. Sison, the author's elder brother who was an economist in the Presidential Economic Staff of the dictator Marcos and was involuntarily disappeared together with his driver on May 21, 1971 upon the order of Marcos on suspicion of secretly helping the author who was then the chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Crisis Generates Resistance

members of a family that values intellectual and professional achievement. We also respected each other's ideas and views on important Philippine and international issues. We often concurred because he was open-minded and progressive even if he was not a Marxist like me. He showed concern for my children and to Julie and me when I was in prison and whenever I was in danger in the Philippines and abroad. We are quite alike in having a sense of humor and in enjoying whatever main or subsidiary work we do.

★ ★ ★

Beirut International Forum for Resistance, Anti-Imperialism, Solidarity between Peoples and Alternatives⁵

January 16, 2009

On behalf of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), I convey the warmest and most militant greetings of solidarity to the organizers and participants of the Beirut International Forum for Resistance, Anti-imperialism, Solidarity Between Peoples and Alternatives to be held on January 16-18, 2009.

You are holding this forum at a most propitious time. The US-instigated policies of "neoliberal globalization" and "war on terror" are unraveling. The financial and economic crisis of monopoly capitalism is deepening and generating social and political turmoil on a global scale.

Today, the worst of economic conditions since the Great Depression have arisen. The broad masses of the people of the world, especially those living in Asia, Africa and Latin America, are suffering from this global crisis.

The US-instigated global war of terror has escalated the oppression of the people of the world. It has generated repression and fascism by imperialist and puppet states, acts of military intervention and massive wars of aggression as in Iraq and Afghanistan.

In this war of terror, the US has blacklisted and subjected to various forms of attack states invoking national independence, national liberation movements, revolutionary communist parties and progressive organizations and leaders. These attacks include economic sanctions, subversion, nuclear blackmail, bombardments and wars of aggression.

However, the US aggressors, their imperialist allies and puppets find themselves sinking in quagmires in Iraq and Afghanistan. The US-backed Zionist state of Israel which is currently carrying out

⁵ Message of solidarity delivered as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

a barbaric war in Gaza is facing the determined resistance of the Palestinian people and vigorous condemnation by the entire people of the world.

The grave problems faced by the imperialists and their puppets and the growing resistance of the people are excellent conditions for strengthening the anti-imperialist and progressive democratic movement the world over. The people are clamoring for revolutionary change. They are fighting for a new and better world.

The Beirut International Forum for Resistance, Anti-imperialism, Solidarity Between Peoples and Alternatives offers an excellent opportunity for strengthening the unity of all forces that are fighting imperialism and all forms of reaction. ILPS salutes the organizers and participants of this very important gathering of anti-imperialists and progressive democrats from around the world and wishes them great success.

Down with imperialism and all reaction!

Advance the peoples' struggles for freedom, democracy and social liberation!

Long live international solidarity!

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ILPS Actively Supports January 29 General Strike of French People for Resistance, Anti-Imperialism, Solidarity between Peoples and Alternatives⁶

January 28, 2009

The International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) actively supports the general strike to be mounted in France starting January 29 by private and public sector workers, including those from schools, hospitals, national TV and radio, and the postal services; train-drivers, supermarket employees, teachers, university lecturers, researchers, high school students, psychiatrists, health workers, judges, lawyers, magistrates, journalists, helicopter pilots, air traffic controllers, staff from the French stock exchange, bank staff, ski-lift operators, the unemployed and pensioners. We commend the major French unions CGT, CFDT, FO, FSU, CFE-CGC, CFTC, UNSA and SUD⁷ for coming together and calling for this strike.

We are in solidarity with the striking French people in condemning the neoconservative Sarkozy government for enforcing job cuts, prioritizing protection of company executives' pay, and other measures of "neoliberal" globalization disastrous to their lives and which only worsen the global economic supercrisis. We join them in calling for

⁶ Statement issued as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the ILPS.

⁷ CGT in English is General Confederation of Labor (Confederacion generale du travail); CFDT is French Democratic Confederation of Labor (Confederacion francaise democratique du travail); FO is Workers' Force (Force ouvrier); FSU is Federazione sindacale unitaire (federation of public service unions); CFE-CGC is the French Confederation of Management-General Confederation of Executives (Confederacion francaise de l'encadrement-Confederacion generale des cadres); CFTC is the French Confederation of Christian Workers (Confederacion francaise des travailleurs chretien); UNSA is the National Union of Autonomous Unions (Union nationale des syndicats authonomes); and SUD or Solidaires is the Unitarian Democratic Solidarity (Solidaires unitaires democratique).

Crisis Generates Resistance

job security, wage hikes, reduction of inequalities, and better working conditions.

The breadth of the French people's strike highlights the severe isolation of the Sarkozy regime from the French people for taking actions that worsen the exploitation and oppression of the broad masses of France.

The French mass strike energizes the current high tide of global resistance against the US-led imperialist counterrevolution whose general policies of neoliberal globalization and war of terror have precisely engendered the current global economic depression, now the worst in history. From the United States, Canada, UK, Iceland, Greece, Palestine, Iraq, India, the Philippines and now France, and alongside governments in Cuba, Venezuela, Ecuador, Iran, and Nepal assertive of their national rights, peoples across the globe are taking to the streets and fighting imperialism and its reactionary allies and programs. In rising crescendo, the peoples of the world are crying out for a new world of true social progress, justice, peace and equality. The ILPS is foursquare with the oppressed peoples of the earth in raising anti-imperialist consciousness, organizing themselves and taking direct concerted action towards this most-cherished aspiration of mankind.

We urge all our members, their organizations and their friends to organize solidarity actions with the mass strike in France, and work to resist as well the ravages of neoliberal globalization and the war of terror in their own countries.

Long live the working people of France!

Junk "neoliberal" globalization and the global war of terror!

Condemn imperialist rule as the root cause of the worst economic crisis in history!

★ ★ ★

What the People Can and Must Do about the Financial and Economic Crisis⁸

**Contribution to the Forum on the Global and Financial Crisis
on January 30, 2009 at De Balie, Amsterdam**

It is of utmost importance for the working class and the rest of the people exploited by the system of monopoly capitalism to discuss and clarify to themselves what they can and must do about the current grave financial and economic crisis. They are necessarily concerned about being ceaselessly victimized by the monopoly bourgeoisie, extending from the extraction of surplus value in the process of production to the complexities of capital overaccumulation and abuses of finance capital.

In this connection, I wish to point out certain facts in order to show in a comprehensive and profound way how the current grave crisis has come about and how the working class and the rest of the people have been exploited and oppressed on a global scale, especially in the last three decades under the signboard of “neoliberal globalization.” Consequently, it becomes easier to discuss what the people can and must do about the crisis in terms of raising their consciousness, organizing and mobilizing themselves for making protests and demands in order to bring about the necessary social change for the better.

I. Certain facts about the crisis

We must counter the onesided, narrow, fragmentary and short-sighted explanations of the crisis in the US and on a global scale. These have been made by the industrial and financial magnates, their political agents, their academics and publicists in order to obfuscate the origin and development of the crisis, to continue the misrepresentation of monopoly capitalism as “free market” capitalism, to continue making the most out of the mess in the system of greed and to confound and confuse the people.

⁸ Paper read as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the International League of Peoples’ Struggle.

Crisis Generates Resistance

1. Whatever is the dominant policy stress of the imperialist state and the monopoly bourgeoisie, whether the policy is called Keynesian or neoliberal, it is in the very nature of monopoly capitalism to exploit and alienate the working class from what it produces, maximize the extraction of surplus value, raise the organic composition of capital and accumulate and overaccumulate both the productive and finance capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie, especially the financial oligarchy. Pressing down the wage level cuts down effective demand and results in the crisis of overproduction. Raising the organic composition of capital in order to increase productivity and competitiveness results in the tendency of the profit rate to fall. The recurrent and worsening rounds of boom and bust and recessions have been temporarily overcome by heavy doses of debt financing. The overall decline of US industrial production since the mid-1970s has been accompanied by an unprecedented financialization of the US economy. But ultimately the overaccumulation of capital (especially through the overvaluing of assets, the multiplication and spiralling of derivatives and the generation of fictitious capital through unregulated credit expansion for the purpose of monopoly control and speculation) leads to super-large financial and economic crisis, like the Great Depression and what now portends to be the Greater Depression.

2. The so-called neoliberal or “free market” policy stress has been significantly distinct from the previous so-called Keynesian policy stress a) in unbridling and letting loose naked self-interest or greed of the monopoly bourgeoisie as the driving force of the economy; b) in blaming as the cause of the problem of stagflation the rising wage level and social spending by the US government in the 1945-75 period, instead of the recurrent crisis of overproduction, the overaccumulation of capital and the demand-pull inflationary effect of military spending (the arms race, overseas deployment of US military forces and the wars in Korea and Indochina); c) in seeking to make more capital and profit-making opportunities available to the monopoly bourgeoisie through the denationalization of the neocolonial economies, privatization of public assets, trade and investment liberalization and deregulation or removal of restraints on abusing the working people, the environment and the financial system; and d) in accelerating the centralization and concentration of capital (especially in the form of finance capital) in the US and a few other centers of global capitalism.

What the People Can and Must Do about the Financial and Economic Crisis

3. The monopoly bourgeoisie in the US and other imperialist countries has successfully waged a class struggle against the working class by using the imperialist state to attack the trade union and other democratic rights, to press down wages and erode hard-won social benefits, cut back on social spending and to deliver taxpayer money to the monopoly firms in the form of overpriced contracts in military production and continuous supply of fuel and other raw materials for strategic stockpiles, direct and indirect subsidies and insurance for overseas investments. At the productive base of society, the state guarantees the legal property right of the monopoly bourgeoisie in order to maintain the exploitative relations of production and provides the laws and coercive apparatuses to keep the working class under control. Even as it misrepresents itself as “free market” capitalism, monopoly capitalism has always used the state for purposes of exploitation and oppression. As the partner of private monopoly capitalism, state monopoly capitalism takes more forms than state ownership of enterprises, even as nationalization is a form that may become conspicuous in time of severe crisis.

4. In accumulating and overaccumulating capital, the US monopoly bourgeoisie has not been satisfied with the extraction of surplus value in the process of production, the privilege of tax cuts and grabbing of taxpayer money, access to the bank deposits and pension funds of the workers, expansion of credit and money supply in relation to deposits, the creation of derivatives that speculate on fluctuations in the stock, bond and currency markets and taking of superprofits on cheap commodities and debt service from the economic hinterland of the world. After inveigling millions of worker and middle class families to buy into the “hightech bubble” in 1995-2000 and making them lose their savings, the US imperialist state and the monopoly bourgeoisie drew the American households to the “housing bubble” from 2002 onwards at teaser interest rates at the beginning. This would promote an unprecedented level of consumerism based on the artificially rising housing values and further consumer credit (in addition to housing equity loans, auto loans, credit cards and so on). The “housing bubble” complemented the so-called military Keynesianism of Bush, which pumped the US military-industrial complex but not the entire economy in terms of increased demand, employment and production. The new bubble was one more and a bigger device to fleece the American working class and ultimately to securitize debts, especially

Crisis Generates Resistance

bad mortgages, and generate the most arcane forms of derivatives, like the collateralized debt obligations, asset-backed securities, credit default swaps and structured investment vehicles.

5. The imperialist state looks like it is violating its dogma of “free market” or “state non-intervention” in using public funds to bail out the largest private banks, investment houses, mortgage companies, insurance companies and some key productive enterprises like the Big Three of US car production. But in the first place, such a dogma is a slogan of pretence. It is completely untrue that the imperialist state is going “socialist” when it uses taxpayer money for private corporate bailouts. Forms of state monopoly capitalism should not be mistaken for socialism. In times of big crisis like the Great Depression and the current grave crisis, the monopoly bourgeoisie deliberately avails of monopoly state capitalism to bail out the distressed monopoly firms and to assist the stronger firms to absorb the failing firms. Bush, Bernanke of the Federal Reserve Board and Paulson of the US Treasury Department cooked up with their Wall Street confreres the scheme of bailing out the banks with taxpayer money to the flagrant detriment of Main Street.

6. The purpose of the scheme is simply to pump prime the assets of the big banks and other financial corporations, allow them to dump the toxic assets and hope in vain that they thaw out the credit freeze and resume lending operational capital to producer firms. But would such producer firms take further credit for production under the depressed conditions of the crisis of overproduction? The scheme is anti-worker, anti-people and anti-socialist. The imperialist state and the monopoly bourgeoisie are not as interested in bailing out the workers from mass layoffs, home foreclosures, loss of pensions and other social benefits and other disasters as bailing out first the financial and industrial giants. Obama’s so-called stimulus package of USD 850 billion can provide temporary jobs only to a small part of the rising numbers of unemployed. It is a poor afterthought in terms of tardiness and smallness in relation to the trillions of dollars already deployed for the bailout of the financial giants since 2007. It is starkly clear that the bailout funds for the Big Three is anti-worker because it is preconditioned by the reduction of wages and benefits for the workers.

7. The highest US authorities in the outgoing and incoming administrations admit that the current financial and economic crisis will not blow away in one or two years. It can last for as long as ten years or

What the People Can and Must Do about the Financial and Economic Crisis

even more. The gravity of the crisis can be deduced from the enormity and significance of the debts incurred by the US government, the private corporations and American households. All these debts are beyond the capacity of the debtors to pay back. To collect the debt payments and/or write off the debts would deflate and further depress the economy. The US national debt has soared because of budgetary and trade deficits. The budgetary deficit involves a huge amount of debt service, the tax cuts for the corporations and the wealthy and heavy military spending. The trade deficit involves the outsourcing of consumer goods and the decline of US manufacturing for export (except big industrial items and agricultural surpluses) since the 1970s. The use of US treasury bonds and taxpayer money to bail out the US financial and nonfinancial giants aggravates the crisis. Not only the financial corporations are in trouble with huge amounts of bad mortgages and other bad debts and worthless paper assets, the nonfinancial corporations are also in a big financial mess as shares of stocks and corporate bonds lose their value and the loss of effective demand and lack of sufficient fiscal stimulus stagnate and depress industrial production, the basic service sector and the real economy as a whole. The American households are losing jobs and homes by the millions and have savings of close to zero.

8. The current global financial and economic crisis has dramatically spread from the US to the rest of the world for several reasons. The US is the center of the world capitalist system. It has imposed the policy of “neoliberal globalization” on its imperialist allies and the less developed countries. It has subordinated veritably the whole world through bilateral and multilateral economic and trade relations and through its control of the Group of 8, the OECD, IMF, World Bank, WTO and other international agencies. The US is where both productive and finance capital have been most concentrated. It is the principal destination of foreign direct investments. It has been described as the engine of global economic growth and the biggest consumer market. Its currency is practically the world’s reserve currency. It has become the world’s biggest debtor, ceaselessly printing dollars and selling stocks and bonds to foreign entities. It absorbs the biggest bulk of the exports of the other imperialist countries, the so-called emerging markets and the oil-exporting and raw-material producing countries of the world. China, India and other so-called emerging markets are now in a severe crisis due to the international credit crunch and reduced US demand

Crisis Generates Resistance

for their exports. The general run of third world countries which export nothing more than raw materials and some semimanufactures are the most devastated by the drying up of international credit and by the fall in US demand for their exports.

9. In contrast to its longrunning arrogance and practice of setting the line for its allies, the US was at a loss on how to solve the global financial and economic crisis during the recent G-20 Summit. Bush prated about preserving “free market” capitalism. But the declaration of the summit encouraged all the participants to adopt whatever monetary and fiscal measures they deemed best. Discredited and with extremely limited resources, the IMF could not be referred to as a rallying point. Neither could the World Bank because no country would provide it with capital. And of course, the WTO is still bogged down in failure to resolve outstanding issues in the Doha round of talks. These are now overtaken by the current crisis. Countries that used to be lectured to by the US, like France, Russia, China, India and Brazil took their turns in lecturing to Bush. The financial and economic relations between the US and China, which are supposed to be the biggest global partners, are now increasingly unstable. The sweat shops on the eastern coast of China, owned largely by foreign investors and producing consumer goods for the US market, are closing down or reducing production and throwing out tens of millions of people out of their jobs. The US and foreign exchange holdings of China are vulnerable to capital flight and the value of US treasury bonds and corporate securities in the hands of China can evaporate as fast as the US proceeds to further enlarge its national debt and keep the interest rate at close to zero for the purpose of reviving the US credit system.

10. The broad masses of the people, especially the workers and peasants, suffer from the global financial and economic crisis in terms of reduced employment and income, the deterioration of their living conditions and intensification of exploitation and oppression. The crisis has resulted in widespread social discontent and unrest. It is generating the people’s resistance in the imperialist countries, in the so-called emerging markets and former revisionist-ruled countries and in all the third world countries. For the people’s resistance in any country to be resolute and effective in confronting imperialism and reaction and in seeking reforms and social revolution, there has to be a revolutionary party of the working class to lead both the organized and spontaneous masses. For several decades, the imperialists and

What the People Can and Must Do about the Financial and Economic Crisis

their reactionary allies have launched offensives to destroy or weaken the working class parties and the progressive trade unions and other mass organizations. But now the gravity and long duration of the current financial and economic crisis opens excellent opportunities for the progressive forces and movements of people for national liberation, democracy and socialism to grow in strength and advance.

II. What people can and must do

What the people can and must do about the global financial and economic crisis ranges from seeking relief, recovery and reforms within the imperialist-dominated world capitalist system to the most fundamental criticism of this system and raising the demand and undertaking the actions for revolutionary change towards socialism.

When I speak of reforms within the system, I do not mean harking back to the misappropriation of the term by the dishonest purveyors of “free market” capitalism who use it against the basic rights and interests of the working people in the industrial capitalist countries and in the less developed countries. At the moment, key bourgeois political and economic authorities are swinging back to the Keynesian general theory of equilibrium and the management of effective demand through fiscal measures.

As far as I am concerned, reforms within the framework of Marxist political economy can be undertaken to serve the immediate demands of the working people for employment, decent income, better working and living conditions and the availability of basic social services, even as the long-term goal of the people’s revolutionary movement is to replace the system of monopoly capitalism with the socialist system.

To take an important phrase from the *Communist Manifesto*, the battle for democracy must be won whether the popular movement for socialism be in the imperialist countries or in the far less developed countries dominated by imperialism. The consciousness, organization and mobilization of the broad masses of the people must be raised to a level high enough to effect basic reforms immediately and social revolution in the long run.

In the industrial capitalist countries, the economic basis for socialism exists. But the monopoly bourgeoisie never gives up its political and economic power voluntarily. It uses its state power to impose fascist rule if the persuasive and deceptive role of the bourgeois political

Crisis Generates Resistance

parties fails to mislead the people and stabilize the system. Thus, the battle for democracy must be won against the potential or actual rise of fascism and the use of imperialist war by the monopoly bourgeoisie to regiment the people. In this regard, we recall the Great Depression, the rise of fascism and World War II.

In the far less developed countries, where there are still large vestiges of feudalism, winning the battle for democracy involves not only upholding, defending and promoting the collective and individual rights of the people, especially civil and political liberties, but also addressing substantively the demand for national industrial development, the peasant clamor for land reform and engaging the peasant masses in the new democratic revolution led by the working class as the long-term agent for socialist revolution and construction.

1. Information and education campaigns

Whatever significant degree of social change is called for in the short term or in the long run, the people must comprehend their problematic situation and the possible and necessary solutions that must be carried out with their conscious, organized and militant participation. In this regard, the working class parties and mass organizations of various exploited classes and sectors must engage in information and educational campaigns.

The current global financial and economic crisis cannot be comprehensively and profoundly understood by those who analyze it from the narrow viewpoint of those who wish to preserve the system of monopoly capitalism. They are like frogs in the well. Those who continue the Marxist and Leninist tradition of critiquing the political economy of capitalism and monopoly capitalism have a clear advantage as they have an overview of the inhuman and anti-labor character of the US and world capitalist system and the need to strive for the socialist system.

Research and analysis of the exploitative roots and development of the current global financial and economic crisis must be undertaken for the purpose of drawing up programs and declarations of political action. These must also take into account the impact and implications of the global financial and economic crisis on the global political crisis as manifested in the intensification of the major contradictions in the world.

What the People Can and Must Do about the Financial and Economic Crisis

The working class parties and mass organizations can add to their accumulated knowledge the analysis and advice of experts of political economy and international politics who truly understand the crisis comprehensively and profoundly. In this connection, there is now a rising demand for the Marxist critique of the capitalist political economy, the Leninist critique of monopoly capitalism and the theory of state and revolution.

This is a time of discredit and embarrassment to those bourgeois economists who have followed the path of Milton Friedman and the Chicago School, to those neoconservatives who believed in strengthening US global hegemony by spreading the regime of “free market” and “neoliberalism” with the leverage of US military superiority and to those neo-Kautskyite globalists who peddle the notion of supra-imperialism as a benign industrializing force.

The crisis has served to negate in the most telling way all the prior propaganda done by the monopoly bourgeoisie to hype the dogma of the “free market” through the dominant mass media, the schools, the think tanks, political parties and the nongovernmental organizations bound by the rule of civility in obeisance to the bourgeois state and big business. The working class party, the mass organizations and the broad masses of the people must carry out information and education campaigns as counter-offensive to the ideological, political, economic and military offensives of imperialism and reaction.

Social investigation must be undertaken among the people in order to learn from them how they are being afflicted by the crisis, what are their most pressing demands and what they are capable of doing to confront the crisis and bring their social movement forward. The social investigation can be of varying scales, from the basic level of local communities and work places to the national level. The purpose of social investigation is for the working class parties and mass organizations to learn from the people what must be done in order to arouse, organize and mobilize them.

There are various forms and ways of carrying out campaigns of information and education. These include the conferences, forums and seminars where the political activists and the experts can learn from each other and the mass meetings and rallies for expressing protest and demands and spreading wide the demand for social change and gauging at every given time how many people are being drawn to the mass movement. The working class parties and mass organizations

Crisis Generates Resistance

can avail of the electronic media as a cheap and fast way of generating and accelerating the campaign of information and education.

2. Organizational campaigns

In the industrial capitalist countries, the monopoly bourgeoisie manages to stay as the ruling class and control the state for its own purposes, whether there is a duopoly of the Republican and Democratic parties as in the presidential form of government of the United States or an oligopoly of parties as in the parliamentary forms of Europe and Japan. There are variations among the the so-called mainstream parties but they are all within the predetermined framework or confines of the monopoly capitalist state system. In the semifeudal neocolonies, the joint ruling classes of the big compradors and landlords likewise maintain a variety of political parties to conjure the illusion of democracy. These parties are required to stay within the bounds of the big comprador-landlord political system.

The ruling bourgeois class can tolerate a working class party if it does not challenge the state system of bourgeois rule and seeks reforms exclusively within the framework of bourgeois law and order. It takes every effort to induce and persuade a working class party to stay within the bounds of bourgeois rule. But when the working class party seeks to supplant its class rule with that of the working class in order to establish an anti-imperialist or socialist state, the bourgeois state does not hesitate to use its coercive apparatuses to malign and suppress the working class party.

At any rate, there is the need for a working class party to lead the people in seeking basic reforms within the bourgeois political system or in seeking to replace this with the socialist system. Basic social reforms as well as social revolution are not possible without the working class party that is capable of leading the organized and unorganized masses. Without such a working class party, the big bourgeoisie continues to rule society unchallenged and unhampered through the political parties which it uses for preserving the system, for intra-class and intra-systemic competition for political power among the bourgeois factions and for warding off any political party that seeks to overthrow bourgeois rule.

There must be a trustworthy working class party committed to the propagation and realization of the program of social change and

What the People Can and Must Do about the Financial and Economic Crisis

capable of leading the broad masses of the people, especially the working people. Such a party is best relied upon for confronting the global financial and economic crisis and solving the problems for the benefit of the people and with their active participation. Without a working class party, the bourgeois parties would prevail over the working people who are unorganized and spontaneous or who are limited to mass organizations.

In carrying out organizational campaigns in the face of the current grave financial and economic crisis, efforts must be resolutely undertaken to build a genuine working class party that surpasses the bourgeois laborite, reformist social democratic or revisionist communist parties. Building such a working class party is quite challenging because of the long running attempts of the monopoly bourgeoisie to stigmatize as “terrorist” revolutionary forces that call for national liberation, democracy and socialism. But the current crisis conditions are favorable for building such a party.

The trade unions and other mass organizations must be built in order to uphold, defend and promote the rights and interests of the exploited classes and sectors of society. In the industrial capitalist countries, the most important are the mass organizations of workers, migrant workers, immigrants, the various nationalities, youth, women, the professionals and cultural workers. In the semifeudal neocolonies, the most important are the mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, the intelligentsia and the minorities. These classes or sectors are adversely affected by the crisis in particular ways.

The class and sectoral mass organizations must further form multi-class and multisectoral federations and alliances in order to underscore common interests and build political unity cumulatively and progressively. The genuine working class party offers to them as guide its general line and program of action, encourages their political and organizational initiatives and thereby wins their abiding support. Mass organizations with different ideological, political and religious affinities can form formal and informal alliances to pursue common courses of action on the basis of consensus and coordination.

Within a country, mass formations can be established and developed at various levels, from the basic level through intermediate levels to the national level. These mass formations can in turn become components of similar formations at the international level. The International League of Peoples’ Struggle has been working hard to build its national

Crisis Generates Resistance

chapters and its global region committees. It is a form of international alliance but is ever ready and willing to form broader alliances along the anti-imperialist and democratic line of people's struggle.

3. Mass mobilizations

In connection with information and educational campaigns and organizational campaigns, the broad masses of the people in their millions must be mobilized to denounce the exploitative and oppressive character of the system of monopoly capitalism, now sharper and more destructive than ever before, and to demand social, economic and political changes, ranging from basic reforms to the fundamental revolutionary transformation of society.

The battle for democracy must be carried out according to the objective and subjective conditions obtaining. The legal forms of struggle must be carried out where these are possible and to whatever extent possible. The full spectrum of human rights, civil, political, social, economic and cultural, must be upheld, defended and advanced for the benefit of the exploited and oppressed people. The people must be able to act accordingly as the socioeconomic crisis results in political crisis and the forces and agents of monopoly capitalism malign and try to discredit democratic protest as unlawful rebellion or even as terrorism and thus justify increased political repression.

In countries where the ruling classes engage in state terrorism and/or imperialism engages in wars of aggression and military intervention, the people have the sovereign right to mobilize themselves for all forms of resistance, including revolutionary armed struggle. At the moment, legal mass movements and revolutionary armed struggles are going on and advancing in several countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, where the people are the most oppressed and exploited. The current severity of the global financial and economic crisis, the exacerbation of exploitation and oppression, the blatant political repression or naked state terrorism and the imperialist wars of aggression impel the people to wage armed revolution.

To become most effective in making protests and demands, the mass movement for social change must be based at the level of the local communities, the factories, farms, schools and churches. It is indestructible when there are dedicated activists of the working class party and the mass organizations who are deeply rooted among the

What the People Can and Must Do about the Financial and Economic Crisis

toiling masses and who arouse, organize and mobilize them at the basic level. This fact is well demonstrated in cases where the most vicious campaigns of deception cannot sway the people against the progressive mass movement as well as in cases where the counterrevolutionary state carries out a campaign of military and police suppression but fails to defeat or weaken the revolutionary mass movement of the people.

When the mass movement is well-established at the basic level, especially among the working people, then it can easily build and support the organs of leadership and organizational effectivity at various levels, up to the national level. It can mobilize significantly large and effective numbers of people at the centers of the towns, districts, provinces, regions and the capital of the country. The higher levels of leadership and organization and the lower levels can interact to drive the mass movement forward according to the general political line.

Anti-imperialist and democratic mass movements are well-rooted in many countries. These have become interconnected with their counterparts within global regions. The cohesion and coordination of the mass movements within a global region can be effected through conferences, seminars, forums, a standing regional committee and timely consultations.

The formation of global region committees and organizations does not always have to precede the formation of the international organization. An international organization can be formed by calling for the participation of people's organizations based in various countries. The International League of Peoples' Struggle was first established as an international organization and subsequently called on its member-organizations to form national chapters before pushing in earnest the formation of the global region committees and organizations.

At the moment, there are several international formations or combinations of people's organizations. These can be consensus-based formal and informal alliances. They can make declarations and agreements of anti-imperialist solidarity, mutual support and cooperation. We are witness to the growing unity, cooperation and coordination of these international organizations in carrying out mass mobilizations to oppose the vile policies and acts of imperialism and reaction and call for a new and better world of greater freedom, democracy, development, social justice, healthy environment and peace.

III. Prospects

The current financial and economic crisis is far from over in the US and in the world. The bursting of the bubbles in housing, bank credit, the stock market and derivatives has not yet run its full course and continues to deflate values in trillions of dollars due to debt deleveraging in the trillions. The bubble in derivatives has been the biggest in the entire history of capitalism and is estimated to range from 500 trillion to a quadrillion dollars on a global scale. The corporate bond bubble among the giant industrial firms is expected to burst in a big way within this year. So is the bubble in US treasury bonds that has rapidly inflated due to the bank bailouts in the trillions.

The real economy is bound to be further afflicted by bankruptcies, drastic production cutbacks, decline of employment and incomes and the further loss of effective demand. The accumulation of debt financing by governments and private corporations in so many decades is cascading and collapsing on entire economies. The Keynesian stimulus packages of the US and other governments are puny and restricted by the persistent neoliberal policy bias and the ever insistent demands of the financial and nonfinancial corporations to be the first served with the bailouts.

Let us recall that the pumppriming fiscal measures adopted by Roosevelt under the New Deal did not really solve the Great Depression and stabilize the US economy. These measures would counter now and then the depressed conditions only to be pushed back by “free market” arguments against deficit spending in a period of lower tax collection. It was large-scale civil and military production related to World War II that finally stimulated the US economy.

There is good reason to be wary of Obama’s kind of top economic advisers like Volcker, Rubin and Summers and his top appointees to the US Treasury Department (Geithner), the US Securities and Exchange Commission (Schapiro), the Commodity Futures Trading Commission (Gensler) and so on. These are exponents of unregulated “free market” capitalism, especially Summers and Geithner who were instrumental in pushing the Financial Services Modernization Act and the Modernization of Commodity Futures Act during the time of Clinton in 1999. Geithner is a dyed-in-the-wool factotum of Wall Street, like his former bosses Bernanke and Paulson. It is highly probable that the glittering Obama promises of stimulating the economy the New Deal/

What the People Can and Must Do about the Financial and Economic Crisis

Keynesian way would be squashed under the pressures of unwieldy bipartisanship and the persistence of the neoliberal policy bias.

The US policymakers under the Obama administration have already indicated that they will continue to chant the slogan of “free market” capitalism, retain as much as they can a high level of deregulation favoring the financial and industrial giants and carry out a number of measures to reverse the industrial decline of the US. These measures include Keynesian pumppriming (like public works, expansion of social services and green energy projects), military production and taking back some of the manufacturing of consumer goods conceded previously to US allies.

The current financial and economic crisis is grave enough to threaten and undermine the position of the US as the No. 1 economic and military power. But the decline of the US as the unquestioned No. 1 imperialist power will not occur rapidly on a straight line. The other imperialist powers have also taken a big hit as a result of hewing to the line of “neoliberal globalization.” This is well illustrated in a current cynical joke among Washington insiders, Republican and Democratic, that the financial crisis would have been far worse for the US had it not succeeded in exporting the toxic financial products to Europe, Japan and elsewhere. The US is still in a position to adopt self-serving policies to slow down its decline and further beggar its own imperialist allies and neocolonial underlings.

However, such policies will be very harmful to other countries and the people of the world and will provoke them to react and adopt their own policies. The currents of multipolarization will thus become stronger. In fact, the struggle among the imperialist powers for a redivision of the world in terms of political hegemony and economic territory (sources of cheap raw materials and cheap labor, markets and fields of investment) will become more intense. The adverse effects of the crisis on the so-called emerging markets and the general run of raw material-exporting countries in the third world are leading to social and political turmoil.

The severity and dire implications of the global economic crisis push the imperialist powers to intensify aggression and military intervention and accelerate their preparations for war. The trend of US-instigated aggressive wars has conspicuously risen since the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the global recession that hit Japan the hardest. Since its economic slowdown at the turn of the century, the US has

Crisis Generates Resistance

become even more aggressive with the so-called global war on terror as a convenient pretext to pumpprime the military industrial complex as well as further expand and consolidate its global hegemony.

The NATO allies of the US, notably Germany and France, have been less enthusiastic in supporting US military campaigns and programs such as in Iraq and elsewhere in the Middle East and in the former Soviet bloc countries. Russia is wary of the US and NATO policies and track record of expansion and aggression and have formed with China and some Central Asian states the military alliances Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO).

No one can accurately predict how long the global financial and economic crisis will persist and how the imperialist powers can solve or aggravate it. But there is ample ground and ample time for the working class, the mass organizations and the broad masses of the people to further strengthen themselves against the onslaughts of monopoly capitalism and all reaction and carry out mass movements to make demands for basic social reforms in all countries and to wage revolutionary struggles in an ever increasing number of countries.

At any rate, the Greater Depression is still looming ahead. There will be more widespread social and political turmoil in various countries of the world. Wars of aggression and military intervention are on the horizon. The most effective counter to this is the ceaseless consolidation and expansion of the revolutionary mass movements for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

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Remembering the First Quarter Storm

Inspirational Message to the Cultural Forum⁹

January 31, 2009

I am deeply thankful that Bishop Felixberto Calang, Chairperson of INPEACE, has honored me with the invitation to give an inspirational message to the Cultural Forum entitled “Remembering the First Quarter Storm: Four Decades of the People’s Movement for National Liberation.”

I have great appreciation for the Initiatives for Peace in Mindanao, the Sisters’ Association in Mindanao, Kasimbayan and Bagong Alyansang Makabayan-Northern Mindanao for conjoining to organize this forum and to manifest the high and broad significance of the FQS to the entire Filipino people.

Your main speaker Bonifacio Ilagan is well chosen. He is one of the most distinguished leaders of the FQS and he has been outstanding in adhering to the revolutionary spirit and principles of the FQS, in promoting the FQS as a beacon to the continuing struggle of the people for national and social liberation and in developing the arts in the service of the people.

The FQS was an unprecedented event in Philippine history in terms of significance, scale, intensity and consequences. It was a crucial turning point in the people’s movement for national liberation and democracy. It confronted the drive of the Marcos regime to aggravate and deepen the oppression and exploitation of the people by the evil triad of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The best and brightest sons and daughters of the nation participated in the FQS. The more the reactionary state unleashed violence against them, the more the masses of youth and people became resolute and militant in standing up and fighting for national and democratic rights.

The FQS was centered in Manila, the seat of reactionary power. But it spread the revolutionary message to the entire nation in an

⁹ Statement issued as Founding Chairman of Kabataang Makabayan and the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Crisis Generates Resistance

immediate and lasting way. In response to the escalation of violence by the Marcos regime, it urged the broad masses of the people to fight back with the call, "Makibaka, huwag matakot!" Against the rising trend of state terrorism or fascism, it raised the battlecry, "Digmang Bayan ang Sagot sa Batas Militar".

The FQS generated a sustained popular movement upholding national independence and democratic rights, demanding national industrial development and genuine land reform, promoting a national, scientific and mass culture and espousing international solidarity of peoples against imperialism and all reaction and for justice, peace and development.

Many of those who directly participated in the FQS and those who were inspired by it became the most conscious and the most energetic militants in a wide array of patriotic and progressive formations, including the revolutionary party of the working class, the Christians for National Liberation, the progressive sections of institutions and the sectoral mass organizations and multisectoral alliances of the workers, peasants, youth, women, professionals and national minorities.

Since the occurrence of the FQS, all those who have been molded and inspired by it have been a significant driving force in the sustained resistance of the people to the anti-national and anti-democratic policies of the Marcos regime and the 14-year reign of fascist terror, in the mass movement that eventually caused the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship and in the continuing opposition to the persistence of anti-national and anti-democratic policies under the post-Marcos regimes.

The memory and spirit of the FQS and its consequences in the people's struggle for national liberation and democracy continue to live on and grow in strength. But all of us must always consciously cherish the FQS in our hearts and minds, lest it be taken for granted and pass into oblivion. It is fine to celebrate the FQS in the entire year before and in the entire year after its 40th anniversary.

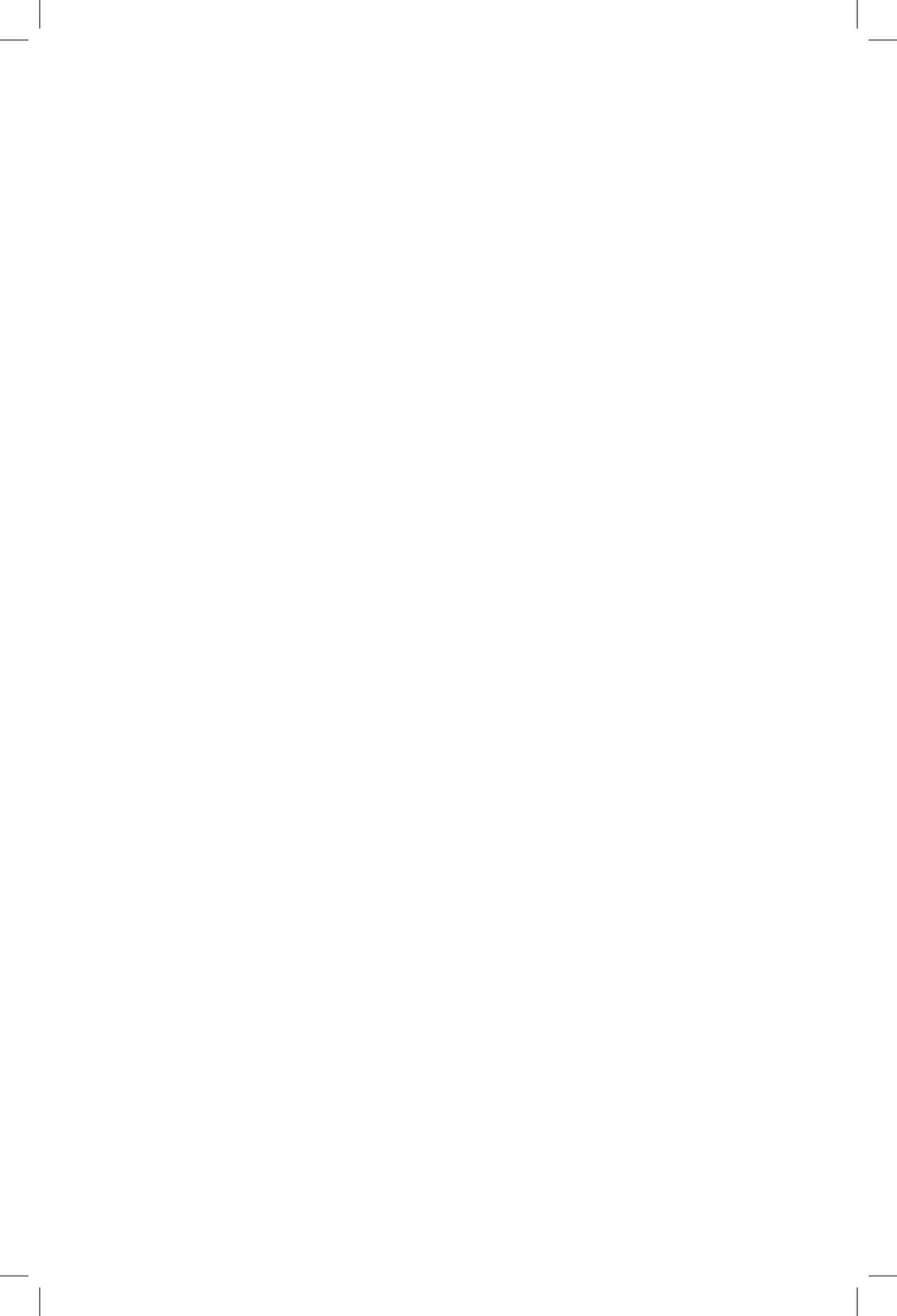
I call on the present mass activists, the church people, the lawyers, educators and other professionals to draw inspiration from the FQS. Let us emulate the FQS participants in their eagerness to learn the history and the basic problems of the Filipino people, in grasping the need to continue the Philippine revolution and carry out the new democratic revolution and in fighting courageously and tenaciously for the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people.

Remembering the First Quarter Storm

We are confronted today by problems far worse than those during the time of Marcos. The semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society has persisted. The problems of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism have been aggravated and deepened by the US-instigated policy of “neoliberal” globalization, which has accelerated superprofit-taking, and the policy of “global war on terror,” which has stirred up state terrorism, US military intervention and imperialist wars of aggression.

Now, an unprecedented global financial and economic crisis, generated from the US, has descended upon the frail preindustrial semifeudal economy of the Philippines. The broad masses of the people are suffering acutely from the depressed economic and social conditions and from the escalating campaigns of state terrorism by the Arroyo puppet regime. We must draw from the FQS the fighting spirit, the principles and the methods of generating resistance in the national and provincial capitals and on a nationwide scale in both urban and rural areas.

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Condemn the Fascist Attacks on the Rights of the Italian People¹⁰

ILPS Solidarity Message to ASP and CARC Leaders¹¹

February 2, 2009

The International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) condemns in the strongest terms the attacks on January 27 carried out by the Italian political police in Massa against Marco Lenzone, member of the National Committee of ASP, and Raffaello Petri, Secretary of the CARC Party, in a Tuscan department and extends its militant solidarity to the two comrades who were merely exercising their right to tell the truth about the genocidal war being carried out by the Zionists in Gaza and the repression by the Turkish regime against the Kurdish people.

Under Berlusconi, the Italian bourgeois state has turned more and more to employing fascist methods to attack progressive Left personalities and organizations. It is employing all means, from filing of fraudulent legal cases to using brute force to intimidate and suppress its political opponents.

We fully support the ASP and CARC in their denunciation of the hypocrisy of the Italian bourgeois parties and institutions that commemorate Nazi and Fascist extermination camps while keeping silent on the atrocities being committed by the Zionists against the Palestinian people and by the repressive Turkish regime against the Kurdish people.

The examples shown by the two comrades will surely inspire the exploited and oppressed people to courageously stand up for the truth and fight for their rights and interests.

We call on all democratic forces and freedom-loving people of the world to condemn this latest fascist attack on the rights of the Italian

¹⁰ Statement issued as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the ILPS.

¹¹ ASP stands for Association for Proletarian Solidarity (Associazione de Solidarieta Proletaria) and CARC stands for Committees to Support Resistance – for Communism (Comitati di Appoggio alla Resistenza – per il Comunismo).

Crisis Generates Resistance

people under the reactionary Berlusconi regime and express solidarity to the two comrades and all progressive forces in Italy fighting for the interests of the exploited and the oppressed people.

Militant solidarity to Marco Lenzone and Raffaello Petri!

Down with the right-wing Berlusconi regime!

Long live international solidarity!

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Uphold the Militant Tradition of International Women's Day¹²

March 8, 2009

In solidarity and with utmost joy, the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) joins today the celebration of women in general and their revolutionary struggle for emancipation and liberation from imperialism, feudalism and patriarchalism. We remember and honor millions of women who trailblazed and paved the path for the women's liberation movement.

Women have fought long and hard to protect their families, communities and peoples. In various periods in world history there have been women who led their people in fighting despotic rulers and invaders. Some examples are the heroic struggles of the Vietnamese Trung sisters in 39 AD, the Philippines' Gabriela Silang in 1763 and the women in the Paris Commune and Petrograd uprising.

We commemorate today the historic ties between the women's movement and the proletarian movement for the very concept of a day celebrating women and women's militant internationalism originated from the working class movement.

Women, such as Clara Zetkin, Alexandra Kollontai and Rosa Luxembourg, have inspired others to the indispensable and imperative role of women in the struggle against imperialism, feudalism and patriarchy.

Especially at this time when the US imperialists have perverted the noble cause of women's emancipation against feudal patriarchy and so-called Muslim fundamentalism to justify invasion, occupation and wars of aggression, women need to reaffirm the militant and revolutionary traditions of their movement.

Reducing women's liberation to simply a matter of individual rights or a trivialized gender war against the opposite sex, US-led imperialism seeks to hide the fact that its definition of equality is no more than the right to be as exploited and oppressed as the next propertyless person or as being mere sex object of male chauvinism and prurience.

¹² Statement issued as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

US-led imperialism pretends to be an advocate of women's rights while transforming them into chattel for multinational corporations and commodity for the labor and sex markets. US-led imperialism proposes to bring "democratic rights" to women even as it maintains by brute force, in alliance with local reactionaries, economies that create an endless supply of impoverished women to exploit in their own homes or in sweatshops.

Under global capitalism, women comprise 75% of 1.3 billion who subsist on less than \$1 per day. Majority of the 800 million impoverished and hungry are women and children even though women produce 60% of the world's food supply. In the developed countries, women's benefits—from health care to overtime pay—are under assault by corporate management.

Governments are also cutting social benefits, reducing pregnancy leaves and welfare support. Even within the United States itself, hard-won women's rights and welfare are eroded and eradicated to satisfy the lust for power and profits of monopoly and capitalists and the ruling classes.

Western nations, while reaping profits off underpaid migrant labor, enact xenophobic laws. To stifle protests against such unjust laws, the same governments pass legislation restrictive of rights and freedoms such as the Patriot Act that enable them to repress immigrants.

Roughly 50% of the world's migrants are women. Hence, the irony that these same governments that stoke anti-immigrant sentiments tolerate disguised forms of trafficking—i.e., official programs for importing workers and the mail-order bride system, to mention but two.

This is the world that women's number one enemy, imperialism, has created for womankind: a world of oppression and exploitation of entire nations, the working people and women, a world of intolerable suffering and relentless violence unleashed by the imperialists and their minions.

But imperialism, feudalism and patriarchalism are facing the growing strength and active resistance of a determined women's liberation movement. All over the world, women are involved in different forms of struggle as they carry their fight in the picket lines and trade unions, street demonstrations, parliaments and urban centers and engage in people's war for liberation. To the women who must try to survive in this world of darkness, the revolutionary traditions of March 8 are both illuminating and enlightening. Let women assert their rights to

Uphold the Militant Tradition of International Women's Day

those traditions and act in concert with their revolutionary brothers to change the world. Let them forge a strong women's anti-imperialist front and solidarity the world over.

The International League of Peoples' Struggle is more than ever resolved to promote the crucially important role and initiative of the women and women's organizations within and outside the League in advancing and realizing their own distinct demands as women, cooperating with the menfolk as equal partners and contributing to the general movement for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all reaction.

Long live the women of the world!

Persevere in the struggle against imperialism and reaction!

Raise high the banner of the women's liberation movement!

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Oppose the US Invasion and Occupation of Iraq, Demand Total, Immediate and Unconditional Withdrawal of US and other Foreign Forces of Aggression¹³

March 20, 2009

After six years of brutal occupation following the widely condemned US-led invasion of Iraq in March 2003, the US government has found itself more isolated than ever before. The people of the world are outraged that at a horrendous cost the US has committed the worst form of terrorism, the crime of aggression, in order reduce Iraq to a puppet state, take control over its oil resources and establish permanent US military bases on Iraqi territory.

More than one million Iraqis have been killed, including hundreds of thousands of civilians, by US bombs, missiles and shells deliberately rained on non-military targets including neighborhoods, hotels and hospitals. Five million Iraqis have been displaced from their homes, seeking shelter in refugee centers within Iraq and in neighboring countries. The Iraqi infrastructure is in shambles despite billions in reconstruction contracts cornered by US firms (including Halliburton, which US Vice President Cheney has favored and continued to receive compensation from.)

At least 4,200 US soldiers have been killed and more than 45,000 wounded in Iraq since the March 2003 invasion. In Afghanistan, more than 620 US soldiers have been killed and more than 2,300 wounded since the October 2002 invasion of Afghanistan.

The US has spent more than US\$ 600 billion on the war in Iraq and more than US\$ 200 billion in Afghanistan. The US Congressional Budget Office estimates that the Iraq and Afghanistan wars would cost US taxpayers up to US\$ 2.4 trillion projected up to 2017, including interest payments for debts incurred to finance the wars. Other more

¹³ Statement issued as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

Crisis Generates Resistance

comprehensive estimates show that the financial cost will run up to far more than US\$ 3 trillion.

The US has absolutely no justification for its invasion of Iraq. This blatant violation of the charter of the United Nations is shamelessly based on patent lies. The claim about the link between Saddam and Osama bin Laden was unfounded and the “high-quality intelligence” purportedly proving that Iraq possessed and threatened to use weapons of mass destruction against the US was proven to be pure fabrication.

The majority of American people themselves have expressed their outrage at the crimes of the US, particularly the Bush regime, against the Iraqi people by repeatedly holding massive protest demonstrations demanding US withdrawal from Iraq and the impeachment or prosecution of Bush and Cheney as war criminals. As presidential candidate, Barack Obama declared that the US war in Iraq “should never have been authorized and never been waged,” and promised to withdraw US troops from Iraq within 16 months of assuming office. In a lame last-ditch attempt to feign innocence by admitting to a lesser and already undeniable offense, Bush said a month before stepping out of office, “The biggest regret of all the presidency was to have been the intelligence failure in Iraq.”

But the people of the world, the Americans included, cannot be deceived. While the slick orator candidate Obama appeared to offer a different US course in Iraq, he made it clear even then that the US shall continue to use its military superiority to the hilt to promote US geopolitical and economic interests and consolidate its global hegemony, under the pretext of waging a borderless “war on terrorism.” Soon after his election, President Obama unequivocally signaled that US global and regional military strategy remain unchanged by holding over Bush’ Defense Secretary Gates, Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Admiral Michael Mullen, General Raymond Odierno, the US field commander in Iraq, and General David Petraeus, head of the US Central Command and architect of the “surge” in Iraq.

Indeed, President Obama announced only last February 27, a timetable for withdrawing 100,000 troops from Iraq by end of August 2010. But he quickly picked up US military doublespeak by declaring that by then “our combat mission in Iraq will end” even as 35-50,000 troops, mostly Special Operations Forces, will remain in Iraq for “training, equipping and advising Iraqi security forces, conducting targeted

counterterrorism missions, and protecting our ongoing civilian military efforts within Iraq.” (US military doctrine since 1998 has categorized these as “stability operations” as distinguished from “combat operations” but at the same time emphasize that stability operations are undertaken under very volatile situations that could quickly shift from non-combat to combat, and should thus be planned, prepared for and undertaken with the same procedures and considerations as a combat operation.)

Moreover, the withdrawn troops will not be necessarily sent back home as the majority of Americans hope for and demand. At least 20,000 will be redeployed to Afghanistan, Pakistan and other areas where the Obama government may find a greater need for military presence and activity. No sooner had he assumed office when Obama made good in Pakistan his declaration that the US will continue to strike unilaterally against “confirmed targets” anywhere there are terrorists even without the knowledge or approval of the host government if the latter fails to take appropriate action.

Worse, Obama completely reversed his assessment of the Iraq war in the same speech where he announced the timetable for troop withdrawal when he told the US marines at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, “You have fought against tyranny and disorder.... You have bled for your best friends and for unknown Iraqis. And you have borne an enormous burden for your fellow citizens, while extending a precious opportunity to the people of Iraq,” apparently referring to “democratic elections” under the tutelage of the US occupation army. Obama won instant acclaim for this from the Republican Party and other right-wingers, with *The Wall Street Journal* calling this speech “Obama’s Bush Vindication.”

The Iraqi people continue to wage and intensify their just revolutionary armed struggle for national liberation against US imperialism and its craven Iraqi puppets. Daily, they inflict losses and weaken the foreign aggressor and puppet forces as they frustrate and defeat US domination and plunder in their country. The day will come when they will drive out the foreign troops from their land and again hold their destiny in their own hands.

The ILPS stands in solidarity with and support the Iraqi people in their revolutionary struggle for national liberation and joins all freedom-loving and democratic forces in supporting this just and heroic struggle. We call on all the peoples of the world to mark the sixth

Crisis Generates Resistance

anniversary of the US-led invasion of Iraq by opposing the continuing US aggression in Iraq and demanding the total, immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all US and other foreign military forces from Iraq.

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Salient Points of the International Situation¹⁴

Address to the 3rd Congress of BAYAN USA, Los Angeles, California, USA

March 28, 2009

We, the International Coordinating Committee and the entirety of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), convey militant greetings of anti-imperialist solidarity to ILPS member-organization BAYAN-USA, to its leadership, its member-organizations and all the delegates to its Third Congress.

We congratulate all of you for your accumulated and current political and organizational accomplishments in the service of the Filipino communities in the USA and the entire Filipino people who are struggling for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords in the Philippines.

We take this opportunity to express best wishes to the Filipino women who are participating in this congress and are all set to hold tomorrow the founding assembly of Gabriela-USA. This consolidation of women's organizations is a further strengthening of BAYAN-USA and the national democratic movement of Filipinos in the US.

My assignment is to present to you the international situation. Within the time allotted, I can give you some salient points. We can further discuss these in the open forum.

Global financial and economic crisis

As the reality shows, the dogma of the free market is a big lie of monopoly capitalism. The US-instigated policy of neoliberal globalization has unraveled. It has not at all solved the problem of the chronic tendency of monopoly capitalism to stagnate and go into recurrent

¹⁴ Address delivered as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

and ever worsening cycles of boom and bust. It has led to the worst financial and economic crisis since the Great Depression.

Even if called a recession by some, the current crisis has already reached the depth, duration and direction of a depression, far beyond the definition of a recession as a fall of the GDP in two consecutive quarters. The financial markets have drastically fallen and continue to plunge further despite the trillions of dollars already poured out as bailout for the giant investment and commercial banks and other financial institutions since 2007. The real economy has deteriorated rapidly as a consequence of the financial collapse.

The crisis of overproduction and that of capital overaccumulation in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie, especially the finance oligarchy, are wreaking havoc on the lives of the people. In the tens of millions, the people in the US who belong to the working class and middle class have lost their jobs due to plant closures and retrenchment; their homes due to the mortgage meltdown and mass layoffs; their pension funds and savings due to the series of bubbles and investment scams; and their social benefits which have in the first place been reduced and rendered inadequate over the decades.

The current grave crisis has been three decades in the making and cannot be solved in the short or medium term. It will run for a much longer period of time. It comes from the accumulation and extreme aggravation of the fundamental problems characteristic of monopoly capitalism in a series of worsening crises since the adoption of the policy of neoliberal globalization

The US monopoly bourgeoisie has adopted this policy on the notion that the phenomenon of stagflation of the 1970s was due to rising wage levels and government social spending and not due to such problems as the inherent tendency of monopoly capitalism to overproduce and stagnate; the economic recovery of war-ravaged Europe and Japan; US market concessions to anti-communist allies; and the demand-pull inflation generated by heavy spending on military production, overseas deployment of US military forces and wars of aggression in Korea and Indochina.

The US policymakers have negated the New Deal of Roosevelt, Keynesianism and even the Samuelson notion of mixing state intervention and free enterprise. They have upheld the notion that inflation is prevented and economic growth is promoted by pushing down wage levels, cutting back on government social spending and letting

the monopoly bourgeoisie accumulate more capital and make bigger profits. The job of the federal authorities is supposedly to simply manipulate the interest rates and the money supply and leave the market to self-regulation

The policy of neoliberal globalization involves trade and investment liberalization; privatization of public assets; deregulation of financial markets and lifting of social safeguards regarding the exploitation of the workers, women, children and the environment; and the denationalization of the underdeveloped economies. In any case of serious crisis, the job of federal authorities is supposedly to simply helicopter the money and to pour it on the problem. There is supposed to be no problem that cannot be solved by adjusting the interest rate and expanding the money supply and credit.

But ultimately there is a limit to debt financing. Beyond that limit is the grave financial crisis that has burst out in the US and spread to the rest of the world like a plague. The debts of the US government, the financial and nonfinancial corporations and the households have reached unsustainable or unrepayable levels and are causing the financial and economic system to implode.

The US national debt has become overly large and unsustainable because of the mounting interest payments for the US securities in the hands of foreign creditors; because of the ever growing trade deficits arising from the outsourcing of consumer manufactures in cheap labor countries and the scheme to press down wage levels within the US; and because of the budgetary deficits arising from the growth of the parasitic bureaucracy and military expenditures for weapons development and production, global deployment of US military forces and the wars of aggression in the Balkans, Iraq and Afghanistan.

The giant financial and nonfinancial corporations have connived in piling up US corporate debt to the most unbearable levels. They have been responsible for the financialization of the US economy and the overaccumulation of finance capital in the hands of a few. They engage in the unbridled creation of money, credit and derivatives, the wanton issuance of corporate bonds, the overvaluation of the assets of the monopoly bourgeoisie, the making of financial bubbles and manipulation of the stock and housing markets to rob the working class and middle class of their savings.

In addition to being subjected to the massive replacement of regular jobs with part-time jobs and the lowering of wage and income levels,

Crisis Generates Resistance

the US households have been victimized by various forms of debt financing. They are bound to loans for housing, cars, student tuition and consumption in general through the credit card. The worst scam ever inflicted systematically on the majority of US households is in connection with the housing bubble. They were inveigled to go into mortgage contracts at teaser rates and then into high consumption upon the temporary rise of housing values from 2002 to 2005. This scam has been far more devastating to US households than the high tech bubble from 1995 to 2000 when 40 percent of them bought into the stock market. At the moment, US households have savings close to zero and the pension funds in 401-K have been ravaged.

Depending on practically the same bureaucrats who are agents of Wall Street, the Bush regime and the current Obama regime have moved on the same track of bailing out first of all the giant banks with public money supposedly to deal with the bad loans and thaw out the credit freeze. The banks have used the money only to pump their assets but have not resumed lending in any big way mainly because the producer firms of any size are not borrowing to produce more in a situation of glut relative to dwindled demand. The Big 3 in car production have received public money as bailout. But they have proceeded anyway to lay off workers and reduce production after requiring the unions to accept lower wages and less benefits.

The Obama regime has hyped as bailout for the working class trifling amounts in relation to the actual needs and in comparison to the trillions of dollars already delivered to the big banks and other financial institutions since 2007. Such bailout is sham because it comes too late and too little and is actually for the benefit of the private corporations. There are no adequate and effective relief measures for the millions of people who have lost their jobs, homes, savings and social benefits.

There is actually no program of job creation despite much touting about projects in infrastructure, green energy, expanded health care and other social services to be undertaken within the budgetary frame of various departments of government, supposedly to stimulate demand and production. The limited funds for the projects are slated to be funneled to and filtered by the profitmaking and labor cost-cutting private corporations. There is yet nothing like the emergency jobs program of the Work Projects Administration of the 1930s which, by the way, could not really overcome the Great Depression.

The persistent neoliberal bias of the US monopoly bourgeoisie, especially the financial oligarchy and the Democratic and Republican duopoly, prevents economic recovery in the US within a few years' time. There is no comprehensive plan to revive production and reemploy the millions of workers who have been laid off. As the US economy slides further into the Greater Depression, the world capitalist system follows. Nevertheless, there would be further adverse consequences for other countries were the US to revive its manufacturing capacity for export and cut down its imports from China, Japan, Europe and others in order to overcome its huge trade deficit and foreign debt.

Sharpening of major contradictions in the world

Within the US, the monopoly bourgeoisie has successfully carried out a fierce class struggle to exploit and oppress the working class, together with the rest of the people. It has babbled about being against state intervention in the economy. But in fact it has used the state to impose the policy of neoliberal globalization on the economy and society and to press down wage levels and cut back on social spending.

It has used legislation, court decisions and the law-enforcement agencies to attack the trade union and democratic rights of the working class. It has also used the mass media, schools and other persuasive means to discredit, undermine and weaken the working class movement. It has exploited and oppressed the working class in bringing about the current grave financial and economic crisis. Now, it is raising the level of exploitation and oppression as it invokes the crisis to take more and more public money and blocks the public sector from adopting and implementing a comprehensive economic plan to revive production and generate stable jobs.

The contradiction between the US monopoly bourgeoisie and the working class is sharpening as the crisis deepens and worsens. Subjected to rapidly rising levels of unemployment, homelessness and various forms of social deprivation, the working class is impelled to fight back, assert its democratic rights, reject the inhuman system of capitalism and aim for socialism.

Social discontent is already sweeping the US. It is bound to burst out in the form of concerted mass actions to demand jobs and real solutions to the crisis and to protest the pouring of public money for the bailout of the monopoly banks and firms and for continuing the

Crisis Generates Resistance

US wars of aggression and various forms of military intervention. The monopoly bourgeoisie is bound to repress the mass movement and to try deceiving the people about the roots of the crisis with the slogans of chauvinism, racism, anti-terrorism and warmongering. But this time conditions are favorable not only for advancing the progressive mass movement but also for building the party that aims for socialism.

In the other imperialist countries, engulfed by the crisis that has spread from its US epicenter, the contradiction between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the working class has sharpened even more dramatically than in the US. The ruling parties and coalitions that have closely followed the US-instigated policy of neoliberal globalization—are now the target of widespread mass actions, including nationwide workers' strikes and protest actions by the people in general. The rising sentiment of the people has turned favorable to parties that denounce monopoly capitalism and call for socialism. Karl Marx is gaining popularity.

The US is thoroughly discredited as the instigator of a failed global economic policy, as an extremely overborrowing country, as a purveyor of financial toxins and as an imperialist superpower that is militarily arrogant and aggressive but running short of financial resources. The IMF has also become ineffective as a US tool because it is practically bankrupt and has to beg for funds from several sources other than the US. The conspicuous financial and economic weakening of the US hegemon has emboldened other imperialist powers like Russia, France and Germany, to openly criticize its longstanding dominance and to demand multilateral relations on an equal footing in matters of the economy, finance, trade and security.

Among the imperialist powers, the trend of multipolarization is visibly growing. Contradictions are in fact sharpening and generating a struggle for a redivision of the world. Several other imperialist powers resent the propensity of the US to engage in overborrowing, to have a stranglehold over sources of fossil fuel and other strategic materials, markets and fields of investments and to monopolize the spoils of so-called free trade and wars of aggression.

To try solving the financial and economic crisis in their respective countries, the imperialist powers are inclined to pursue the strategy of using temporary jobs and relief measures to stimulate demand, absorb the existing inventory of goods and ultimately to revive and expand national production that generates stable jobs. The trend is

thus set for the intensification of inter-imperialist economic competition and political rivalry. It is too difficult or even impossible for the US to wrest back its unquestioned economic and political dominance as either in the period from 1945 to 1975 or the more recent period of neoliberal globalization

Hearing the slogan of Buy America in connection with the US plan to overcome the current crisis, Europe and Japan as well as China, the biggest supplier of cheap consumer manufactures to the US, are worried about the drastic reduction of US imports and have expressed fears about the danger of protectionism. China the top newly-emergent market has been hit hard by the bankruptcy and closure of the export-oriented sweatshops and private construction projects. Social unrest there is growing due to the deteriorating economic situation and rampant bureaucratic corruption.

Aside from the drastic fall in demand for its exports, China has expressed its worry over the bubble in US treasury bonds and the US ultimately devaluing the US currency in order to promote its exports and cut down the US foreign debt. At the same time, China has reduced its imports faster than its exports have fallen, thus still showing a trade surplus. On the other hand, the US is worried about China's economic and diplomatic activities that veer away from the US policy in East Asia, Central Asia, Middle East and Africa. In the Asia-Pacific region, the Philippines is very much involved in or affected by the policies and activities of the US, China, Japan, North and South Korea, ASEAN and Australia.

The peoples and nations oppressed by foreign monopoly capitalism and the local reactionaries in the underdeveloped and retrogressive countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe suffer most from the economic and social devastation wrought by the current financial and economic crisis. The overwhelming majority of them are dependent on raw material exports. Only a few of them export some consumer semimanufactures and some basic industrial products.

The demand for all these exports have abruptly fallen. At the same time, the unprecedented global credit crunch makes it difficult for the underdeveloped countries to cover their chronic trade and current account deficits, import necessities and service their accumulated foreign debt. The imperialist countries are repatriating or barring migrant workers and thus reducing the remittances of such workers to their underdeveloped home countries.

Crisis Generates Resistance

The economies of the underdeveloped countries are far more depressed than ever before.

The rate of unemployment is rapidly rising. Incomes of the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata are falling. The prices of basic commodities are rising. Social services are deteriorating or dwindling for the working people. The imperialists and the local exploiting classes have become ever more oppressive and exploitative.

In most of the underdeveloped countries, the local rulers have become even more servile to the imperialists and exceeded previous levels of corruption and brutality, as in the case of the US-directed Arroyo regime. In certain countries, however, the patriotic and progressive forces and the broad masses of the people motivate and enable the governments to stand for national independence and general welfare against imperialism and the worst reactionaries.

The broad masses of the people suffer from the terrible crisis and the escalating levels of oppression and exploitation. They are waging various forms of struggle for national liberation and democracy against the imperialists and the local exploiting classes. Protest mass actions demanding national and social liberation are sweeping entire countries and continents. The people are waging the fiercest forms of resistance against aggression and occupation, as in Iraq, Afghanistan and Palestine. Armed national liberation movements are growing in strength and advancing in an ever increasing number of countries. The Maoist parties are exemplary in leading people's wars and winning victories.

US imperialism is already anticipating the upsurge of people's resistance on a global scale. Speaking before the US Senate select committee on intelligence last month, the director of national intelligence retired Admiral Dennis Blair warned that the deepening economic crisis posed the greatest danger to the stability and security of the world capitalist system and that it could trigger a return to the violent extremism of the 1920s and 1930s. Wall Street has brought about the crisis that is pushing state terrorism and imperialist war as well as inciting the people of the world to wage revolution.

The Filipino people's struggle in global context

I hope that my brief presentation can help you comprehend not only the international situation as such but also the struggle of the Filipino people for national liberation and democracy in the context of the international situation. The Filipino people in their homeland as well as the Filipino communities in the US and other foreign countries are severely affected by the current financial and economic crisis.

We in the ICC of the ILPS call on BAYAN USA to intensify its efforts in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the Filipinos in the US in order to uphold, defend and promote their rights and interests and to support the struggle of the people in the motherland for national liberation and democracy.

We urge you to contribute to the common struggle of the people of the world against imperialism and reaction and advance international solidarity, mutual support and cooperation in fighting for a new and better world of greater freedom, democracy, social justice, all-round development and peace.

Mabuhay ang BAYAN-USA! (Long live BAYAN-USA!)

Isulong ang pakikibaka para sa pambansang kalayaan at demokrasya! (Advance the struggle for national freedom and democracy!)

Ibagsak ang imperialismong US at rehimeng Arroyo! (Down with Imperialism and the US-Arroyo regime!)

Mabuhay ang lahat ng kababayan sa US! (Long live all our compatriots in the US!)

Mabuhay ang sambayanang Pilipino! (Long live the Filipino people!)

★ ★ ★



Keep the Revolutionary Spirit Alive¹⁵

Message of Solidarity to FQSM on its Third Congress

March 28, 2009

As founding chairperson of Kabataang Makabayan, which played a key role in the First Quarter Storm of 1970, as well as current chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), I wish to convey the most militant greetings of solidarity to the officers and members of the First Quarter Storm Movement (FQSM) on the occasion of its Third Congress.

I congratulate you for having made significant educational, political and organizational advances from year to year since your founding congress. You have kept alive the revolutionary spirit, the principles and historic acts of the great mass of activists in the First Quarter Storm of 1970.

You have raised high the red banner of the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy against the triad evils of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. You have been outstanding in taking up longstanding issues as well as new ones. In this regard, you have done well in initiating projects and activities as well as in joining the concerted mass actions against the oppressors and exploiters of the people.

You have organized on a nationwide scale the activists and sympathizers who are proud to have contributed to the First Quarter Storm and who have remained loyal to the just revolutionary cause of the people. You have not only kept your mature ranks in the active service of the people but you have also conscientiously linked yourself with younger generations of activists in order to inspire, educate and militate them with the legacy of the First Quarter Storm and with your continuing example.

I have read the final drafts of the two important documents which are to be processed and approved by the Third Congress. The Orientation of the First Quarter Storm Movement is comprehensive and precise in

¹⁵ Speech delivered as Founding Chairman of Kabataang Makabayan and Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

Crisis Generates Resistance

giving the historical background, the rationale, the importance, role, components and methods of the FQSM. The Three-Year Program of the FQSM (2009-2012) clearly sets forth the main tasks and specific tasks to be carried out.

Having read these final drafts, I am confident that the Third Congress will be successful in paving the way for the First Quarter Storm Movement to reach a new and higher level of development in terms of patriotic and progressive consciousness, political effectiveness and organizational strength. Knowing the dedication and abilities of the officers and members, I am certain that the FQSM will become ever stronger in the years ahead in the course of struggle against the US-Arroyo regime and succeeding regimes of the same kind.

It is of great importance and urgent necessity that the First Quarter Storm Movement strengthen itself in an all-round way and raise the level of its cooperation with all patriotic and progressive forces in advancing the national democratic movement at this time when the crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and that of the world capitalist system are worsening at a rapid rate and extreme depth unprecedented since the Great Depression. The crisis ensues from the super-exploitative character of monopoly capitalism and the unraveling of the policy of neoliberal globalization

At this time of severe crisis, the broad masses of the people undergo suffering more terrible than ever before because the imperialists and local reactionaries escalate oppression and exploitation. But the crisis goads the people to wage resistance, exposes the rottenness and internal contradictions of the ruling system and makes the ruling classes incapable of ruling in the old way. The conditions become more fertile than ever before for the patriotic and progressive forces of the people to grow in strength and advance on the road of revolutionary change.

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On the Decision of the Dutch Prosecution to Dismiss the Case against Me

March 31, 2009

I am very happy that, because of insufficient legal and convincing evidence, the Public Prosecution Service of the Dutch government has decided to dismiss the case against me concerning the deaths of two security consultants and military assets of the Philippine reactionary government.

I have always been confident that the case would eventually be dismissed because in the first place I am innocent of the allegation. Moreover, the Dutch courts have previously made a series of decisions to release me from detention because of insufficient evidence and the political context of the case against me. The decision of the Dutch Public Prosecution Service to drop the case is long overdue and much delayed.

I am glad that the false charge against me has not prospered in the Dutch judicial system despite the pressure of the Philippine and US political authorities and the accommodation of these by the Dutch political authorities. The Dutch Public Prosecution Service is absurd for insinuating in its press release that a “wall of fear” has deterred witnesses from testifying against me.

On the contrary, the Philippine political and military authorities fabricated the false charge and provided a whole bunch of false witnesses against me. The Dutch Court of Appeals no less said that it is doubtful if I can avail of my right to get my own witnesses and cross-examine the witnesses of the other side because of the political context of the case.

I take this opportunity to thank once more all the people and organized forces worldwide who have supported me in my time of need against the false charge. For my successful legal defense, I congratulate and thank all my Dutch and Filipino lawyers, including Michiel Pestman as lead, Victor Koppe and Suus Hopman of the Bohler, Franken, Koppe & Wijngaarden law firm, Prof. Ties Prakken

Crisis Generates Resistance

as consultant, Dundar Gurses of Schoolplein Advocaten and former UN Judge Romeo T. Capulong, Rachel F. Pastores and Amylyn Sato of the Public Interest Law Center.

We are now considering what further legal action to take in order to seek full justice and demand compensation for the legal costs and the moral and material damages inflicted on me. I presume that together with their lawyers, the chairperson and members of the Negotiating Panel of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP), their consultants and staffers, are considering similar legal action in relation to the simultaneous raids and seizure of properties carried out against them by the Dutch police at the time of my arrest on August 27, 2007.

Consequent to the dismissal of the case I hope for the following to develop:

1. The Dutch Public Prosecution Service should prosecute those involved in the assassination attempts against me in the years 1991-2001. In this regard, I have filed a court case against the prosecution for failing to prosecute those who tried to assassinate me in The Netherlands.

2. The Dutch government should respect my rights and should have my name removed from the “terrorist list” of the Council of the European Union in order to make amends for the injustices it has done to me in my asylum case, in the “terrorist” listing and in the false charge of murder by repeatedly using false charges supplied by the Philippine reactionary government.

3. The dismissal of the case against me enables me to have more time to work for the peace negotiations between the GRP and the NDFP in my capacity as NDFP chief political consultant. I am determined to work for a just and lasting peace in the Philippines on the basis of agreements on social, economic and political reforms that address the roots of the armed conflict.

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On the Dismissal of the Charge of Inciting Murder

Email interview by Alexander Martin Remollino, *Bulatlat Online Magazine*

April 1, 2009

AMR: Congratulations on the dismissal of the case against you in the Dutch courts! I wish you further success in the legal battles that you are still fighting.

JMS: Thank you very much.

AMR: I have used the press statement you sent for the breaking news story which is now posted at Bulatlat. Now I would like to interview you on this subject for the Bulatlat issue of Saturday, April 4. I am thus sending you a few questions, which are:

1. How did the charge of inciting murder affect you and your work, both as NDFP chief political consultant and as ILPS chairperson?

JMS: It took away time, attention and resources that I should have devoted to my work as NDFP chief political consultant and ILPS chairperson. I was detained for a while and vexed for a long while by the refusal of the prosecutor to heed the decision of the examining judge to terminate the investigation. I had to pay attention to my legal defense and had to have frequent consultations with my Dutch and Filipino lawyers. I was subjected to character assassination. I suffered moral and material damages. My wife Julie had to borrow money to pay for the costs of my legal defense.

2. What made you confident of the eventual dismissal of the case?

JMS: I was confident because of several reasons. First of all, I had nothing to do with the killing of the security consultants and military assets Kintanar and Tabara. Secondly, I had excellent Dutch and Filipino lawyers who undertook my legal defense. Thirdly, I had the abundant support of the people and organized forces worldwide.

There was no real incriminating evidence against me because of my innocence. On the other hand, my Filipino lawyers Atty. Romeo T.

Crisis Generates Resistance

Capulong, Rachel F. Pastores and Amylyn Sato of the Public Interest Law Center collected more than enough evidence and witnesses in my legal defense.

Atty. Capulong wrote a memorandum pointing out that the Kintanar and Tabara incidents had been previously used as false specifications in the charge of rebellion against me and 50 others. The Philippine Supreme Court had ordered the dismissal of this charge in June 2007. The records of the police, prosecution and court in the city and region where the incidents occurred never included me as a suspect.

My Dutch lawyers Michiel Pestman as lead, Victor Koppe and Suus Hopman of the Bohler, Franken, Koppe and Wijngaarden law firm are topnotch in Dutch and international criminal law and had the prompt cooperation of my Filipino lawyers. They were also backed by the consultants Prof. Ties Prakken who is an authority on criminal law; Jan Fermon, my lead lawyer in my case against the “terrorist” blacklist; Bernard Tomlow who is the lawyer of the NDFP; and Dundar Gurses of the Schoolplein Advocaten.

I have enjoyed the solidarity and support of the people and organized forces in the Philippines, Netherlands and many other countries. Immediately after my arrest in August 2007, protest actions against Dutch embassies and consulates occurred in more than twenty cities of the world. The International DEFEND Committee, the International League of Peoples’ Struggle and all the progressive organizations of Filipinos in the Philippines and abroad cooperated in bringing about an international campaign to defend and support me.

3. Do you think the US, Philippine, and Dutch governments knew all along that they didn’t have a strong case against you, but pushed it anyway as a way of derailing you from your work for the NDFP Peace Panel and the ILPS?

JMS: The false charge of inciting murder was devised by the US, Philippine and Dutch governments more in order to fish evidence for the bigger false charge of terrorism against me and others in the NDFP Negotiating Panel than to derail me from my work for the panel and the ILPS. Of course, the false charges of murder and terrorism are both meant to pressure the entire panel towards capitulation in the peace negotiations with the Manila government.

The three governments have repeatedly used false charges against me in order to oppress me. They have a common position of waging

On the Dismissal of the Charge of Inciting Murder

a relentless ideological struggle against me. They have used false charges to block my application for political asylum and residence since 1988; to justify my inclusion in the so-called terrorist blacklist since 2002; and to arrest and detain me and conduct the raids in 2007.

They have collaborated in using the false charge of inciting murder as pretext for arresting me, raiding the NDF information office and homes of the members, consultants and staffers and seizing documents and personal properties. These were done as fishing expedition to seek evidence against all of us to back up the bigger false charge of terrorism.

As a consequence, the Dutch government and the Council of the European Union are maliciously claiming that the Dutch district and appellate courts that released me from pre-trial detention in the case of inciting murder have practically judged me as a “terrorist” by declaring that there are “indications” that I play a “prominent role” in the Communist Party of the Philippines which heads or is linked to the New People’s Army.

The non sequitur use of a passing statement in a court judgement in my favor on a charge of inciting murder is actually carried by the latest arguments of the Council of the European Union against my application for the removal of my name from the terrorist blacklist before the European Court of First Instance in Luxembourg.

4. How many assassination attempts were perpetrated against you from 1999 to 2001, and who perpetrated these?

JMS: In the period from 1999 to 2001, certain national police officials and their assets like Romulo Kintanar sent assassination teams twice to The Netherlands and made two or three attempts to assassinate me. Even the Dutch police team investigating the charge against me turned up some of the witnesses and documentary evidence validating my previous complaints against the assassination attempts.

But the Dutch public prosecution service has failed to prosecute those involved in the assassination attempts against me on Dutch soil. Thus, I have filed before the Dutch appellate court a complaint against the Dutch prosecution service since June 2008. If my complaint does not prosper in The Netherlands, I will have to pursue the case up to the level of the European Court on Human Rights in Strasbourg.

Crisis Generates Resistance

5. *Does the dismissal of the charge of inciting murder make you more optimistic about having your name stricken off the Council of the European Union's "terrorist list"?*

JMS: On April 30, 2009, there will be the final oral hearing before the European Court of First Instance in Luxembourg concerning my complaint against the Council of the European Union for continuing to put my name in the so-called terrorist blacklist. In view of the dismissal of the charge of inciting murder, I am optimistic that the European court will grant my demand for the removal of my name from the blacklist.

As I have earlier pointed out in this interview, the Dutch government and the Council of the European Union are trying to misappropriate and misuse the passing statement of the Dutch district and appellate courts that there are "indications" that I play a "prominent" role in the CPP which heads the NPA. But it is obvious from said court decisions and the dismissal of the charge of inciting murder that there is no conclusive proof that I am Armando Liwanag and that I am culpable for the actions of the NPA in the killing of the two military agents Kintanar and Tabara or any other incident.

On the basis of things taken during the raids of August 2007, there may be indications galore that I have some kind of connection to the CPP and other allied organizations of the NDFP, including the NPA. But that is entirely because of the circumstance that I am the chief political consultant of the NDFP panel negotiating peace with the Manila government. I receive and study documents of the NDFP and its allied organizations for the purpose of peace negotiations and not for the purpose of waging war or anything that may be deemed as "terrorism."

If from my arrest and the raids of August 2007 evidence was discovered that I had committed the crime of terrorism or some other serious crime, then the Dutch prosecution would have filed the appropriate charge against me. Under Dutch law, one may be accused of a certain crime and may be subsequently charged for another crime or other crimes in the course of investigation. But the pure and simple fact is that the Dutch prosecution service dismissed the murder charge and found no cause and no evidence for another charge.

6. *Aside from legal moves against the Dutch government, are you and Attorney Pestman also considering legal moves against the Philippine government?*

On the Dismissal of the Charge of Inciting Murder

JMS: Attorney Pestman and I have not yet considered any legal move against the Manila government. I can raise the matter to him when I see him next. And I can communicate with Atty. Romeo T. Capulong. In the meantime, I am pleased that BAYAN and other groups in the Philippines are calling the National Security Adviser Norberto Gonzales to task and want him to account for the misappropriation of public funds in fabricating false charges, false witnesses and false evidence against me.

The Arroyo regime has become utterly notorious throughout the world for using false charges to demonize its opponents and set them up either for arrest and detention or for abduction, torture and murder by death squads. The UN Alston report has exposed these grave human rights violations and has recommended the dissolution of the Inter-Agency Legal Action Group (IALAG). But still the human right violations are being committed with impunity. And IALAG persists.

The Arroyo regime fed the Dutch foreign and justice ministries and the Dutch police and prosecution with the false charge, false witnesses and false testimonies against me. But the Dutch public prosecution service has shamelessly proclaimed to the whole world in a press release that it cannot pursue the charge of inciting murder against me supposedly because it has run into a wall of fear preventing witnesses to testify against me.

That is a big lie. The wall of fear is definitely due to the brutal Arroyo regime and not due to me. No less than the Dutch Appellate Court declared in its judgement on my case in 2007 that there is a political context of unreliable witnesses against me and that it is doubtful whether I the defendant can get my own witnesses and cross-examine the witnesses against me in the Philippines.

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Consolidate the People's Gains in the Electoral Struggle¹⁶

Message of Solidarity to Makabayan on the Occasion of its Founding Assembly

April 16, 2009

Having been the chairman of the Preparatory Commission that founded in 1986 Partido ng Bayan, which the ultrareactionaries subsequently repressed, I am happy about the remarkable success of the progressive partylist groups in the 2001, 2004 and 2007 elections and their current initiative to establish the Makabayang Koalisyon ng Mamamayan or in brief Makabayan. I convey warmest greetings of solidarity to all of them, their national and regional officers, the personages and the hundreds of mass activists from various people's organizations that are now gathered in this founding assembly of Makabayan.

This is a historic occasion that signifies, particularly in the field of electoral struggle, a major advance of the people's movement for genuine national independence, democracy, social justice and all-round development. I commend and congratulate Bayan Muna, Anakpawis and Gabriela for initiating the building of Makabayan as basically a coalition of parties for uniting the broad masses of the people and mobilizing them for meaningful change in accordance with their national and democratic rights and interests.

The founding of Makabayan is timely. It comes as a consolidation of the achievements in electoral struggle of the progressive partylist groups and related mass organizations. It is a prompt preparation for the elections in 2010. It counters the schemes of the US-Arroyo regime to push charter change, to prolong the power of the Arroyo clique or to rig the 2010 elections in favor of the worst reactionaries. It contributes to the strengthening of the broad range of opposition forces against the detested regime.

¹⁶ Message delivered as Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

Crisis Generates Resistance

Makabayan is a formidable combination of patriotic and pro-people forces in comparison to the fractious state of the traditional political opposition. Even at this very moment, it can be described as the strongest opposition force in terms of being the most principled instrument of the people, having the most cogent patriotic and progressive platform, gathering the most dedicated and most active volunteers in the service of the people and enjoying the strongest and most reliable mass base on a nationwide scale.

At the core of Makabayan are the progressive partylist groups and their leaders and members who have proven their integrity and effectiveness in serving the people. They are in sharp contrast to the traditional politicians. They are well-tested in resisting the temptations of puppetry and corruption. They have been subjected to the most vicious forms of vilification and repression. They have prevailed over these and have become ever more determined to fight for the national and democratic rights and interests of the people.

Under the guidance of its Declaration of Unity and Rules of Organization, Makabayan is bound to grow ever stronger. Your principles and general program respond to the people's demand for the politics of fundamental change and substantial reforms, for good governance, for uplifting the poor, for pro-Filipino economic development, for saving the environment, for upholding national sovereignty and adopting an independent foreign policy, for defending the people's democratic rights, for promoting Philippine culture and for attaining justice and peace. Your cause is just and compelling.

In the face of the rotteness and much worsened crisis of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system, the theme of your founding assembly is of great importance and acute urgency: Pilipino para sa pagbabago! Pagbabago para sa Pilipino! This clarion call is well amplified by your proposed platform for the 2010 elections. You stand for the politics of change and reforms against the politics of the status quo and reaction. You have not only the general principles to guide you in the long run but also the concrete plans for serving the immediate needs and demands of the people, especially at this time when they are suffering extremely from oppression and exploitation.

The US-instigated policies of neoliberal globalization and global war of terror have brought about an unprecedented economic and political crisis on a global scale since the end of World War II. The Arroyo regime is despicable for having been subservient to such policies

Consolidate the People's Gains in the Electoral Struggle

and for having aggravated the rottenness of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. We are now confronted by a socioeconomic and political crisis of unprecedented proportions since World War II.

The socioeconomic crisis is wreaking havoc on the lives of the broad masses of the people because of rapidly rising unemployment, sinking levels of income, soaring prices of basic commodities and services and other intolerable conditions. The political crisis is characterized by the ruling clique's vicious attacks on its intrasystemic rivals and on the broad masses of the people. The people are suffering escalating levels of exploitation and oppression. These drive the people to fight back and seek to change not only the current regime but the entire ruling system.

In my view, it is not possible to make a fundamental change of the ruling system through periodic elections under the rules set by the exploiting classes and their political agents. There are various forms of mass struggles for revolutionary change that can be carried out by the people. But the electoral form of mass struggle is important and necessary whenever it becomes possible for the patriotic and progressive forces to participate and push forward basic reforms that respond to the immediate needs and demands of the people.

The electoral form of struggle can be a major part of the movement to arouse, organize and mobilize the people to achieve immediate basic reforms or the ultimate aim of social revolution. There is no error of electoralism or parliamentarism when there is no foreclosing of other forms of struggle that the people have the sovereign right to adopt and wage. There is also no error of reformism when there is no pontification that the struggle for reforms is the sole option of the people.

Makabayan is inspired by high principles and must firmly adhere to them. But it must be flexible in policy in order to wage electoral struggle effectively. It is broad enough in having as mass base the toiling masses of workers and peasants, the middle social strata and major sectors such as the women, youth, the various types of professionals and the social activists in various concerns such as human rights, development, peace, environment and so on. But you must be ready to further broaden the united front formally or informally by availing of the cooperation of certain sections of the ruling classes in order to isolate and defeat the worst of the reactionaries at every given time.

Crisis Generates Resistance

As I have earlier pointed out, Makabayan is by itself a strong coalition in several respects. But it also has limitations. Its highly motivated activists and mass base may be strong in number and capabilities in certain areas but it may be less strong in other areas. Definitely, Makabayan does not yet have the financial and other material resources to field its own complete slate of national and local candidates. There is therefore a need for you to go into further bilateral and multilateral alliances with other entities, such as coalitions, parties, groups, personages and candidates.

On its own account, without going into any broader coalition, Makabayan can field some candidates for the Senate and many candidates for the House of Representatives and for local executive offices. But certainly broadening the coalition or alliance at the national level is necessary in order to co-determine the best possible presidential and vice presidential candidates and to ensure the victory of Makabayan-chosen candidates for the Senate. Broader regional, provincial, district and municipal alliances are also necessary in the choice of the best possible candidates for the House of Representatives and the executive offices from the level of governor downwards.

To be truly a political force advancing the politics of change and reforms, Makabayan should always be close to the people, especially to the toiling masses of workers and peasants, learning from them, trusting them and relying on them. By following such mass line, you can learn how best to engage in political education, increase your organized strength and mobilize the masses for denouncing the oppressive and exploitative character and policies of the reactionary government and demanding immediate basic social, economic, political and cultural reforms in the direction of fundamental social transformation.

Makabayan must always seek to empower the people and must do its best to represent and serve them in what is still a reactionary government under the control of the political agents of the exploiting classes. Substantial reforms are possible only when the patriotic and progressive elements from Makabayan and other enlightened groups in the government draw strength and support from the protests and demands of the mass movement and when the politicians of the status quo and reaction become increasingly discredited and isolated.

I wish your founding assembly the utmost success in deliberating and ratifying the basic documents, in assessing the current and potential strength of the coalition and its components, in exploring the arena

Consolidate the People's Gains in the Electoral Struggle

of the electoral struggle, in beginning to fill up your organizational structure and in inspiring your rapid growth and further alliances with other political forces. I am confident that Makabayan will carry forward the politics of change on a patriotic and progressive course and bring to a new and higher level the unity and fighting capabilities of the people for national and social liberation.

Long live Makabayan!

Carry forward the politics of change!

Long live the Filipino people!

★ ★ ★



On the Filipino People's Struggle for National Liberation, Democracy and Socialism¹⁷

April 18, 2009

I am deeply pleased to be informed that you are holding a forum in Vienna on the Filipino people's revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class.

I commend and congratulate you for holding this forum and I wish you the utmost success in your endeavor to raise the level of your consciousness about the revolutionary struggle in the Philippines and respond to the call for the formation of a solidarity committee in support of said struggle.

Because the character of the Philippine ruling system is semicolonial and semifeudal, the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces have rallied to the general line of new democratic revolution. This revolution is led by the working class and relies mainly on the basic alliance of the workers and peasants. It draws additional support from the urban petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie.

The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) is described as the advanced detachment of the working class. It is guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and aims to carry out socialist revolution upon the basic completion of the new democratic revolution. It commands the NPA in the revolutionary armed struggle. It leads the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, the organs of political power, the revolutionary mass organizations and the broad masses of the people.

The CPP and NPA have just celebrated their respective founding anniversaries last December 26 and March 29. Thus, I presume that you are acutely interested in their history and achievements in the revolutionary struggle. Indeed, they have accumulated brilliant victories of great historic significance. These have been possible because

¹⁷ Message delivered as Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

Crisis Generates Resistance

they serve the people, they unite and empower the people and they are cherished and supported by the people.

The crisis of the world capitalist system and that of the Philippine ruling system have become worse than in any period after World War II. The US-instigated policies of neoliberal globalization, state terrorism and aggressive war have wrought havoc on the lives of the people and continue to escalate oppression and exploitation. The Filipino people cannot tolerate their suffering and they are fighting back against imperialism and all reaction.

It is of great importance and acute urgency that you form a solidarity committee in support of the revolutionary struggle of the Filipino people. Such a committee can continuously undertake information and educational activities on the Philippines, bring together the organizations of Filipinos and their friends and carry out campaigns to raise moral and political support and concrete assistance for the Filipino people.

By carrying out their revolutionary struggle in the Philippines, the Filipino people contribute to the advance of the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of the world for national liberation, democracy and socialism. Filipinos in the Philippines and abroad can also find within their capability ways of giving concrete and direct support to the particular struggles of other peoples. Thus, they engage in well-rounded cooperation and mutual support in the spirit of revolutionary internationalism.

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Strengthen the Alliance of the Peoples of the Cordillera¹⁸

Message of Solidarity on Cordillera Day 2009

April 23, 2009

On behalf of the International Coordinating Committee and all member-organizations of the International League of Peoples' Struggle, I convey warmest greetings of solidarity to the Cordillera Peoples Alliance (CPA) and to the broad masses of the people in the region on the occasion of the 25th Cordillera Day on April 23 and 24.

In the spirit of international anti-imperialist solidarity, we solemnly commemorate with you the martyrdom of Ama Macliing Dulag who was murdered on the night of April 24, 1980 by the forces of imperialism and state terrorism for opposing the World Bank-financed Chico River Basin Hydroelectric Dam Project of the Marcos fascist dictatorship which sought to displace the indigenous people from their land, devastate their lives and culture and deliver the land, mineral, forest, water and other resources to foreign corporations and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

On that night, Dulag's colleague Pedro Dungoc survived the attack and subsequently joined the New People's Army. He made significant contributions to the development of people's war among the indigenous people until he died heroically as a Red fighter. We render the highest tribute to all martyrs and heroes who have made and continue to make the supreme sacrifice in the struggle of the peoples of the Cordillera for self-determination and regional autonomy, for ancestral rights to land and resources and for all other rights.

We, the ILPS, resolutely and vigorously support the people of the Cordillera in the struggle for all their rights within the context of national freedom and democracy for the Filipino people as well as within the scope of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), the

¹⁸ Message delivered as Chairperson of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966) and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

We salute and congratulate all of you in the CPA for your growing strength and cumulative achievements in upholding, defending and promoting the rights of the people of Cordillera against the exploitative and oppressive interests of the imperialists, the big comprador-landlords and the corrupt high bureaucrats currently headed by the Arroyo ruling clique. You continue to prevail over tremendous odds and vicious attacks against you by powerful adversaries because of your firm commitment, your courage, your hard work, your militant struggle and spirit of self-sacrifice in the service of the people.

We take pride in having the CPA as the lead organization for Commission 10 of the ILPS on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, National Minorities and Nationalities for Self-Determination and Decolonization Against Discrimination, Racism, and National Oppression by Imperialism and Local Reaction. You have brought into the ILPS your rich experience in successfully spearheading the struggle of the people of Cordillera and in promoting their relations of solidarity and mutual support with other peoples.

We appreciate that this year you are holding festive and meaningful celebrations of Cordillera Day through deliberative meetings and cultural activities in five different assembly points in Abra, Baguio and Benguet, Kalinga and Apayao, Ifugao and Mountain Province, instead of celebrating in only one assembly point for the entire region as in previous years. This new development manifests your growing capabilities. It allows more people in the entire region to participate in the celebrations and the various provinces to adopt their respective themes based on their specific conditions, problems and issues.

At the same time, all the specific themes are encompassed by the central theme: strengthen solidarity. Intensify the struggle for land, life and rights. This call for unity is at once a call for action. The people of Cordillera must stand up as one to confront the problems of exploitation and oppression that they suffer in the entire region and in every province. These problems arise from the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society. The solutions are available along the line of the people's struggle for national liberation and democracy.

Among the most pressing issues that the CPA must tackle are the relentless plunder of the ancestral land resources by foreign and local mining corporations; the escalating violations of human rights; the

Strengthen the Alliance of the Peoples of the Cordillera

assaults on the basic rights to livelihood and welfare; the scheme to amend the 1987 constitution for the benefit of the ruling clique and its imperialist masters; and the severe impact of the rapidly worsening crises of both the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system.

We are confident that the meetings of the CPA in the various provinces will yield resolutions and action plans that tackle the issues in very concrete terms and within the context of the central theme. Thus, the entirety and every part of the CPA will be able to arouse, organize and mobilize the people in protesting the iniquities, in raising demands and bringing the movement for national and social liberation to a new and higher level.

We hope that the CPA will continue to carry out its tasks successfully, grow in strength and advance further in the service of the people of Cordillera. The CPA and the people of Cordillera will continue to win greater victories because your cause is just and because you persevere in struggle. Your adversaries are stricken by a deepening crisis and are resisted by the people in your region, in the entire Philippines and entire world. You enjoy abundant support from the Filipino people and the people of the world.

The International League of Peoples' Struggle is grateful to you for your hard work and contributions in promoting and strengthening international solidarity along the anti-imperialist and democratic line by focusing on the upholding, defense and advancement of the rights of indigenous peoples, national minorities and nationalities for self-determination and decolonization against discrimination, racism, and national oppression by imperialism and local reaction.

Agbiag ti umili ti Cordillera! [Long live the people of Cordillera!]

Agbiag ti Cordillera Peoples Alliance! [Long live the Cordillera Peoples Alliance!]

Agbiag ti umili ti Pilipinas ken ti lubong! [Long live the people of the Philippines and the world!]





Support the Tamil People's Struggle for National Self-Determination, Condemn the Genocidal Attacks by the Rajapaksa Regime¹⁹

May 2, 2009

Reports coming out from Sri Lanka the past weeks have exposed a genocidal campaign and a massive humanitarian crisis unleashed by the Rajapaksa regime against the Tamil people. The so-called "final offensive" of the Sri Lankan army against the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) which has been applauded by many western imperialist governments has wantonly massacred tens of thousands of Tamil civilians, rendered hundreds of thousands homeless and herded in concentration camps.

Photos of dead and wounded men, women and children similar to those we have seen for years in the US wars of aggression on and occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan as well as in the Israeli invasion of Gaza last December have reached the outside world despite efforts by the Sri Lankan government to create a news blackout. The regime has taken great pains to keep out journalists and independent international agencies from the war front.

The reactionary Rajapaksa regime is rabidly whipping up Sinhalese chauvinism in order to carry out genocidal attacks against the Tamil people. The broad masses of the Tamil people have waged a heroic resistance. The Tamils in the diaspora and progressive organizations throughout the world have vigorously condemned the attacks and have called for a stop to the barbaric war being waged by the Sri Lankan reactionary army against the Tamil people.

The International League of Peoples' Struggle condemns the criminal use of chemical weapons, nerve gas, cluster bombs and other types of bombs and artillery fire by the Sri Lankan army against the Tamil people. Under the auspices of the US, the Sri Lankan regime

¹⁹ Statement issued as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS).

Crisis Generates Resistance

gets open political support from India and its military acquires its war materiel from Pakistan, a notorious military proxy of the US in the region. The blatant use of banned weapons constitutes a war crime under the Geneva conventions.

The displacement of hundreds of thousands of Tamil civilians is the direct result of the tactics of the Sri Lankan army under the direction of the defense chief Gotabhaya Rajapaksa who is President Mahinda Rajapaksa's brother. The reactionary army has bombed civilians even in the government designated "no-fire-zones" and has maliciously blamed the bombing on the LTTE supposedly to win sympathy from the international public.

The Rajapaksa regime is using US-inspired tactics of "base denial" operations. It seeks to physically separate the Tamil population from the LTTE guerrillas by falsely accusing the latter of holding the former as hostage and using genocidal weapons against the Tamil communities. It aims thereby to isolate the armed LTTE forces for encirclement and destruction by the presumed militarily superior Sri Lankan reactionary armed forces.

The civilian population are then herded into strategic hamlets where they are kept under inhuman conditions and subjected to close watch, witchhunt, torture and murder by the intelligence and combat services of the Sri Lankan military. The regime has carried out extrajudicial killings and employed torture against suspected LTTE members and supporters.

The Rajapaksa regime defends its brutal methods by saying that, "You can't expect all the normal things that happen in a normal society because the LTTE are not like that." This calls to mind the Bush's regime's defense of waterboarding and other torture methods against Al Qaeda suspects by tagging them as "illegal combatants." Gotabhaya Rajapaksa who carries dual citizenship, Sri Lankan and American, has often compared the war against the LTTE to the US "war on terror" against the so-called Islamist militants.

The International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) supports the Tamil people's just struggle for national liberation and democracy. They have the right to national self-determination, up to the right to secede from a chauvinist, oppressive and genocidal Sri Lankan state. They have the right to use all forms and means of struggle in order

Support the Tamil People's Struggle for National Self-Determination

to realize their national salvation and aspirations. We condemn in the strongest terms the ultrareactionary Rajapaksa regime.

We support the efforts of the Tamil émigré organizations and other progressive organizations in condemning the reactionary Sri Lankan regime for waging a war of genocide against the Tamil people. We denounce the support given to the reactionary Rajapaksa regime by India and western imperialist governments which feign concern for the hundreds of thousands of Tamil civilian refugees but at the same time brand the Tamil national liberation movement as terrorist and applaud the Sri Lankan army's brutal suppression campaign.

We call on all the member-organizations and allies of the ILPS, all other progressive organizations and the broad masses of the freedom-loving peoples of the world to support the Tamil people, condemn the atrocities being committed by the Sri Lankan government and exert pressure to stop its genocidal war against the Tamil people. We call on the international community to support the Tamil people in their struggle for national self-determination and democracy.

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Tasks and Prospects of the Workers of the World amid the Global Financial and Economic Crisis²⁰

Speech to the 25th International Solidarity Affair

May 4, 2009

On behalf of the International Coordinating Committee and member-organizations of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), I convey warmest greetings of solidarity to the Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU) and to all the delegations to the 25th KMU International Solidarity Affair (ISA).

We salute and congratulate the KMU for successfully holding the ISA every year since 1984 by gathering workers, trade unions, labor rights advocates, friends and supporters of the working class in Asia and the Pacific, Africa, Europe, North and Latin America.

We appreciate the institutionalization of the ISA as a venue for exchanging experiences and ideas and for developing cooperation and mutual support in campaigns for decent wages and labor rights against the exploitative and oppressive policies of monopoly capitalism and its agencies, like the IMF, World Bank and WTO.

We commend the KMU for having established the ISA under the harsh conditions of the US-directed Marcos fascist dictatorship. Precisely because of such conditions, the KMU organized the ISA in order to gather support from the workers of the world for the KMU and Filipino workers that the fascist regime was subjecting to the worst barbarities. But over the years the ISA has become a means for developing well-rounded international solidarity and cooperation among the workers of the world.

We join you in celebrating the 25 years of ISA and all the efforts of KMU and its partners in other countries in upholding, defending and promoting international solidarity of the workers for their rights and interests against imperialism and all reaction. It is fitting and proper

²⁰ Speech delivered as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

that the theme for this year's affair is the fighting slogan: "Resist Imperialist Crisis, Plunder and War."

I am pleased and honored to be able to contribute today to the development of the theme by discussing the topic assigned to me: the tasks and prospects of the workers of the world amidst the global financial and economic crisis. I am grateful that one speaker is assigned to dissect the global financial and economic crisis and another to present the intensifying militarism, fascism and war engendered by imperialism. I presume that their presentations lay the basis for my topic.

Need for a revolutionary party of the working class

Let me start my presentation by agreeing with the view that the essential task of raising the level of the international labor movement consists of advancing from making economic demands and protesting imperialist plunder and war to confronting the No.1 imperialist and terrorist power and developing unity, cooperation and coordination among the workers of the world in exposing and opposing imperialism.

An important requisite for such advance is to build a broad anti-imperialist united front of trade unions that oppose monopoly capitalism as the common enemy of the proletariat and all the oppressed peoples and nations. In this regard, you must foster common understanding and practical cooperation among trade unions around the world in order to intensify the campaigns against imperialist plunder and war and to strengthen the anti-imperialist movements in our respective countries and globally.

It is of great importance and urgent necessity that ISA serves as an instrument for developing the anti-imperialist position, carrying forward the victories in the international workers' movement against imperialism, fortifying the resolve to resist the chronic and worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and fostering the revolutionary aspirations of the working class for socialism.

I understand that, in keeping with the character of the KMU as a labor center and the ISA as a gathering of trade unionists, you do not dwell on the need for a revolutionary party of the proletariat and the task of building it. Let me have the honor and privilege of discussing these matters, relating the trade union movement to the party of the working class but without suggesting any change in the nonparty or mass character of the KMU and ISA.

Tasks and Prospects of the Workers of the World

From being a class in itself that arises from the need of the bourgeoisie to purchase and exploit labor power in industrial production, the working class becomes class conscious and coheres as a class for itself: at first in struggles for better wage and living conditions through the trade union movement and eventually in struggles for the conquest of political power through the revolutionary party of the proletariat. Such a party is needed to lead the trade union movement and other anti-imperialist mass movements in realizing the historic mission of the working class to build socialism and defeat imperialism and ultimately to bring humankind to the threshold of communism.

The revolutionary party of the proletariat is needed to struggle for such immediate demands as full employment, decent wages, social security, health protection and trade union rights, expose and oppose the root causes of poverty, racism, chauvinism, repression, aggression and environmental degradation and improve the economic, social, political, cultural and environmental conditions of the working class and the broad masses of the people in the direction of revolutionary change for socialism. The trade union movement weakens and the conditions of the working class deteriorate when the revolutionary party of the proletariat weakens, is coopted by the bourgeoisie or does not exist at all.

When we speak of the revolutionary party of the proletariat, we mean a party that truly belongs to the working class as the most productive and most progressive political force and aims for the realization of the historic mission of the working class to build socialism. It is a party that rejects confinement within the capitalist system as a permanent condition. It is determined to replace capitalism with socialism, to make the radical rupture with the exploitative tradition of private ownership of the means of production, to defeat monopoly capitalism and bring humankind to the threshold of a world without any exploiting class.

Definitely, we do not need a bourgeois laborite party, a social democratic party, a revisionist "communist" party nor any other brand of party that seeks to perpetuate the capitalist system and serves the narrow interests of imperialism and reaction. Neither do we need any party that proclaims itself the revolutionary party of the proletariat but does not arouse, organize and mobilize the workers and other toiling people for the fundamental social transformation. We need a party of the working class that leads the broad masses of the people in the new

Crisis Generates Resistance

democratic revolution with a socialist perspective in certain countries and the socialist revolution in other countries.

Together with the rest of the people, the working class and its revolutionary party must carry out the new democratic revolution in countries, which are in dire need of national liberation and democracy and of national industrialization and land reform. In the industrial capitalist countries, they must pursue the line of socialist revolution and be ready to fight for democracy against the use of chauvinism, racism, fascism and imperialist war by the monopoly bourgeoisie to suppress and derail the revolutionary movement for socialism.

The revolutionary party of the proletariat is an indispensable instrument for waging the people's struggles for immediate basic social reforms and for the long-term goal of building socialism. It concentrates the revolutionary ideas and political will of the working class as the leading class and charts the strategy and tactics for defeating the imperialists and reactionaries and for establishing the worker state or the worker-peasant state, as the circumstances require. It is not enough to have trade unions and other forms of mass organizations that amount to mere pressure groups within the confines of the exploitative ruling system.

In recent decades the monopoly bourgeoisie and the imperialist powers headed by the US have been successful in their anti-communist crusade and class struggle against socialism and the working class because of the emergence and growth of modern revisionism within the ruling communist and workers' parties, since the late 1950s in the case of the Soviet Union and since the late 1970s in the case of China. Together with other anti-worker currents, modern revisionism has resulted in the restoration of capitalism in socialist countries and has undermined and derailed the international working class movement for socialism.

Gladdened by the revisionist betrayal of socialism and the peaceful restoration of capitalism in socialist countries, the US and its imperialist allies have been emboldened to adopt since 1979 and thereabouts what has come to be known as the policy of "neoliberal globalization." They have decked out this policy as a solution to the problem of stagflation which they claim results from the stifling of the free market by state intervention and working class demands. They have used the policy to unleash an ideological, political and socioeconomic counteroffensive against the working class and the socialist cause.

They have obfuscated the extraction of surplus value and the maximization of private profit as the cause of the crisis of overproduction and the overaccumulation of capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie. Instead, they have put the blame on the working class for supposedly jacking up wage levels and social spending by government as the cause of stagflation and they have interpreted the capitalist restoration and economic decline in the revisionist-ruled states as the invalidation of socialism and the justification for the “free market” within every country and on a global scale.

Under the policy of “neoliberal globalization,” the imperialists and the reactionaries throughout the world have carried out a vicious class struggle against the working class. By various means within their power, they have pushed down the wage levels and cut back on government social spending. They have curtailed the trade union and other democratic rights of the workers. They have used the brute force of the state to suppress strikes and other concerted actions of the workers. They have also used the schools, the mass media, churches, think tanks and other weapons of mass deception to propagate the dogma of the “free market,” to discredit the socialist cause and the working class movement and to undermine the class consciousness of the workers themselves.

They have accelerated the concentration of both productive and finance capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie and have in the process inflicted the most intolerable forms of exploitation and oppression on the working people. But they have repeatedly outwitted themselves by pressing down the incomes of the working people and thus causing the crisis of overproduction. They have further outwitted themselves by generating ever bigger financial bubbles one after another under the illusion that the unbridled creation of fictitious capital can counter the tendency of the profit rate to fall upon the expansion of capitalist commodity production.

Right now, they cannot solve the crisis because they are obsessed with their neoliberal bias and know no bounds in bailing out the finance oligarchy and in imposing further financial burdens on the working people. They miss out on the need to undertake measures to stimulate demand and production by providing temporary jobs and other forms of relief to the working people on a timely and adequate basis.

We are in the situation of the worst global financial and economic crisis since the Great Depression. In fact, we are already in a global

Crisis Generates Resistance

state of depression and are moving towards the Greater Depression. The working class and the broad masses of the people are faced with the challenges of understanding the history and current severity of the crisis, carrying out protests against the imperialists and reactionaries and making demands for countering the crisis, adopting relief measures and reforms and, in the course of all these, aiming for the lasting solutions through revolutionary mass movement and social revolution.

The task of building the revolutionary party of the working class

The international workers movement and the international communist movement have weakened as a result of the growth of modern revisionism and the eventual full restoration of capitalism in the revisionist-ruled countries and the ruthless assaults on the democratic rights, wage levels and social benefits of the workers by the imperialist states and the monopoly bourgeoisie under the policy of “neoliberal globalization” and the slogan of “free market.”

Trade unions have weakened or dissolved as a result of the ruthless class war waged against the working class by the monopoly bourgeoisie in combination with the labor aristocracy, the reformists and the revisionists. Communist and workers parties afflicted by modern revisionism lost membership and political following, every time that they moved further to the Right. Since the 1989-91 period when the revisionist regimes disintegrated and the Soviet Union collapsed, the revisionist parties have either dissolved themselves or moved further to the Right and constituted themselves as “left social democratic” or neorevisionist parties.

The World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) was once the largest international labor center even after the formation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and also even after the splits related to the Sino-Soviet ideological debate (i.e., between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism). But it has declined drastically since the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc regimes. Many of its constituent unions have gone over to its former Cold War rival, the ICFTU. The WFTU still maintains a structure of several trade union internationals along defined industrial lines but focuses now on organizing regional federations of unions in the third world.

Tasks and Prospects of the Workers of the World

At the moment, there is neither a socialist state nor any communist or workers' party that serves as the widely accepted and effective rallying point for either the international communist movement or the international workers' movement. However, there are communist or workers parties related to various traditions and currents traceable to the ideological debates in the international communist movement since the 1960s around the issue of Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism. Such parties belong to various groupings that hold periodic conferences or seminars which adopt resolutions on various issues by consensus.

There is nothing like the Third Communist International, with the Bolshevik party as the most respected party and with congresses and an executive committee that made decisions to guide or direct communist and workers parties on a global scale. Since the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943, the principles of equality, independence, consensus, cooperation and mutual support have at best guided the relations among communist and workers' parties. Such principles have been underscored among parties that have opposed the line of modern revisionism spread by the Soviet party since 1956.

As of now, it may be said that there is an international communist movement insofar as there are communist and workers' parties that are engaged in revolutionary struggle in their respective countries under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism and in accordance with the concrete analysis of concrete conditions, that consider their efforts and accomplishments as contributions to the advance of the world proletarian revolution and that are ever willing to engage in common undertakings with comradely parties abroad in order to fight and defeat imperialism and all reaction.

The main task of the proletarian revolutionaries in every country is to build the revolutionary party of the working class. The parties that arise in various countries are the building blocks of the international communist movement. This movement shall rise to a new and higher level of development as a result of victories in the revolutionary struggle in various countries. Holding international conferences, seminars and forums among parties in order to exchange experiences and ideas, develop common understanding, make resolutions by consensus and agree on practical cooperation takes a secondary position to the revolutionary struggles of the communist parties in their respective countries.

Crisis Generates Resistance

The first among the tasks in building the revolutionary party of the working class is ideological building. Without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement and there can be no revolutionary party leading it. The theory of Marxism-Leninism is the accumulation of ideas and experiences of the international workers' and communist movement. It is the highest level so far achieved in developing the revolutionary consciousness of the working class. There is an element of modesty in calling Marxism-Leninism a theory because it is in fact a science that has revealed the laws of motion in capitalism and socialism and has repeatedly guided successful revolutionary practice.

The purpose of studying Marxism-Leninism in the course of ideological building is to apply the theory in understanding the history and current social circumstances and in carrying out revolution by the working class and the rest of the people. The theory encompasses the philosophy of dialectical and historical materialism, the political economy of capitalism and socialism, the role of classes in state and revolution, the strategy and tactics of the revolution and the history of the international communist movement.

It is not enough though to have a few party cadres and members with a high level of revolutionary consciousness and theoretical knowledge. The working class party needs to become a political force, capable of leading the broad masses of the people and gaining their participation and support in waging various forms of struggle and eventually in taking political power, which is indispensable for effecting social revolution. In this regard, it is necessary for the working class party to undertake social investigation and class analysis in order to grasp the basic character of society and to draw and carry out the corresponding general political line for waging the revolution.

Let us consider three clearly defined types of societies. If the society is semicolonial and semifeudal, the general line of the new democratic revolution needs to be carried out. If the society is industrial capitalist, the general line of socialist revolution needs to be carried out. If the society is already socialist, the general line is to carry out socialist revolution and construction for a whole historical epoch and continue the revolution under proletarian dictatorship in order to combat revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidate socialism.

In building the working class party politically, it is necessary to take the mass line, which is to learn from the masses what are their

conditions, needs and demands and to rely on them and trust them in mustering their own strength and undertaking the actions for achieving basic social reforms and social revolution. The cadres and members of the party must maintain intimate relations with the masses and must work resolutely and militantly to arouse, organize and mobilize them.

The party must build the trade unions and other mass organizations of the working people, women, youth, the professionals and other sectors of society. It must generate the mass movement through political campaigns on the most urgent as well as long-term social issues. It must engage in alliances in order to amplify the strength and influence of the progressive forces and isolate and defeat the enemy of the people at every given time. In waging legal forms of struggle, the party can develop forms of self-defense against state violence. In resisting extreme oppression or a war of aggression, the party can build a people's army as well as organs of political power for the purpose of social revolution.

To be able to carry out its gigantic political tasks, the working class party must build its own organizational strength. It is guided by the principle of democratic centralism. Democratic discussions are freely undertaken in the organizations and organs of the party. Decisions are made either by majority vote or consensus. The decision of a higher organ prevails over that of the lower organ because of the representation of a bigger number of party members and because of the need to concentrate and unify the will of the party for the purpose of social revolution.

The party needs to maintain and develop its working class character. It must recruit members mainly from the working class and require all recruits from the working people and the intelligentsia to take the stand, viewpoint and method of the working class, to cast away the anti-worker and anti-socialist influences of the bourgeoisie and adhere to the principles, line and policies of the party. The party must be deeply rooted among the masses, draw its members from the ranks of militants in the mass movement and must expand and deepen its organization on a nationwide scale.

Prospects of the international working class movement

Since the imposition of the policy of "neoliberal globalization," the current grave crisis of the world capitalist system has been in the

Crisis Generates Resistance

making for three decades through the recurrence and cumulative aggravation of the crisis of overproduction and overaccumulation of capital in the hands of the finance oligarchy in the US and other imperialist countries. The greed and violence of the monopoly bourgeoisie prevent the solution of the crisis in the short term or in the middle term.

The crisis will worsen and deepen for a long while. It is causing multipolarization of the imperialist powers and the intensification of the struggle for a redivision of the world. The intensification of economic competition and political rivalry among the imperialist powers will cause more social and political turmoil. It portends more imperialist wars of aggression despite all the current hype by the leaders of the imperialist countries to unite in solving the crisis in a peaceful and nonprotectionist way.

The crisis escalates the exploitation and oppression of the proletariat and people of the world. Thus, social discontent and unrest is spreading and intensifying. Their suffering impel the broad masses of the people to fight back. The crisis makes the conditions favorable for the upsurge of the revolutionary mass movement against imperialism and all reaction and for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

The prolonged duration and worsening of the crisis provide the progressive forces of the proletariat and people of the world the time and opportunity to arise and strengthen themselves ideologically, politically and organizationally. The progressive legal mass movements will certainly flourish on a global scale. The armed revolutionary movements will grow in strength where they already exist. They are bound to break out in more countries and in more global regions as the imperialists and the reactionaries become more rapacious and more violent than ever before.

The international workers' movement will certainly gain strength as the workers in both developed and underdeveloped countries fight for their rights and interests as a class and combine with the rest of the people in fighting for the common good against monopoly capitalism. They will raise high the banner of proletarian internationalism as they increase common understanding, international cooperation and mutual support and as they struggle against the monopoly bourgeoisie, the labor aristocracy and the currents of opportunism, reformism and revisionism.

The broad anti-imperialist movement of the people of the world will make great advances. The achievements already made by

anti-imperialist and democratic formations like the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) will become greater. Like the ISA, the ILPS is a nonparty or mass formation but certainly it recognizes the important role of the revolutionary parties of the proletariat. The anti-imperialist organizations and movements of the people will grow within particular countries and at the international level. The ILPS is prepared to strengthen its own forces as well to have broad alliance and cooperation with other forces.

Within a particular country, the progressive workers movement can become strong only when the revolutionary party of the working class leads the proletariat and the people. Such a party can become strong only if it bases itself on the strength of the progressive trade union movement and other mass movements. Also within a country, the broad anti-imperialist movement can become strong only when the revolutionary party of the working class leads the broad masses of the people. Such a party can become strong only if it is based on the broad anti-imperialist movement of the people.

The international movement of trade unions can become strong only if there is a strong international movement of communist and workers' parties. The international communist movement can become strong only if it is based on a strong international workers' movement. The broad anti-imperialist movement can become strong worldwide only if there is a strong international communist movement. Such an international movement of communist and workers' parties can become strong only if it is based on a strong anti-imperialist movement of people's organizations on a global scale.

The international communist movement will definitely become far stronger than now if once more a country of strategic importance or several countries would become socialist through revolutions led by communist and workers' parties. Before then the communist and workers parties can comprise the international communist movement only as they study the theory of Marxism-Leninism and apply this in their respective countries and as they develop common understanding and practical relations with other revolutionary parties of the proletariat in accordance with the principles of equality, independence, cooperation and mutual support.

Workers of all countries, unite!

Long live the International Solidarity Affair!

Down with imperialism and all reaction!

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Fight for national liberation, democracy and socialism!
Long live proletarian internationalism!

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Remarks at Victory Celebration and Launch of Two Volumes of my Writings in Amsterdam²¹

May 9, 2009

I am deeply pleased and honored that you are here in this gathering to celebrate the legal victory over the false charge of inciting the killing of military agents of the Philippine reactionary government and to participate in the launching of my two latest books, *For Justice, Socialism and Peace* and *For Democracy and Socialism Against Imperialist Globalization*.

I thank the International DEFEND Committee for organizing this event and Prof. Sivanandam Sivasegaram and Dr. Bert de Belder for agreeing to review Volumes I and II respectively.

I thank all the personages and organized forces in the International DEFEND Committee and all member-organizations of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) for having steadfastly supported me against false charges and other attempts to misrepresent me as a terrorist and a common criminal and thus to stigmatize and suppress me personally and the noble cause that I stand for, which is the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy.

In fact, the main objective of the imperialists and the reactionaries in the Philippines is to discredit and destroy the national democratic movement of the Filipino people by targeting me as the presumed personification of that movement. It is an honor and privilege to be thus targeted but of course it involves so many risks and difficulties.

The difficulties include being denied asylum despite recognition as a political refugee, being threatened with assassination, being blacklisted as a terrorist, being banned from earning a living, being subjected to false charges, being deprived of essential needs, being imprisoned, being prevented from traveling freely and other violations of human rights.

²¹ Remarks as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

Crisis Generates Resistance

I thank the Aklat ng Bayan for having decided to publish in four volumes the writings that I have done from 1991 to 2009. These volumes are meant to celebrate my age of seniority and my fifty years of revolutionary service to the Filipino people, particularly in their national democratic movement. We launch today for Europe the first two volumes. The two other volumes are forthcoming in a few months' time.

I take this opportunity to thank the entire Filipino people and all the patriotic and progressive forces in my country for having supported me and encouraged me to contribute what I can to the struggle for greater freedom, democracy, social justice, development and peace. I also thank all the peoples of the world and their progressive forces for having stood and acted in solidarity with the Filipino people in just struggles against imperialism and all reaction.

It is necessary to celebrate meaningful and substantial victories in order to inspire us further to exert greater efforts in order to achieve greater victories. In this connection, we must be vigilant against falling into complacency due to victories or due to a celebration of these. So long as they are oppressed and exploited, the Filipino people must wage ever more resolute and militant struggles against the oppressors and exploiters.

We celebrate now my victory in The Netherlands over the false charge of inciting murder. This victory is helpful to my complaint against my inclusion in the terrorist blacklist of the Council of the European Union and to the demand for removing my name from that blacklist. But the legal struggle before the European Court of Justice is still ongoing and likewise the political struggle beyond the court.

The Philippine reactionary government under the US-directed Arroyo ruling clique does not cease to fabricate false charges of political offenses and common crimes against me. The latest political stunt of the Arroyo regime and its armed minions is to put a prize of ten million pesos on my head and falsely accuse me of responsibility for the very crimes that they commit.

The regime is trying to scorn and attack the Alston report and recommendations by scapegoating progressive leaders, entire patriotic organizations and the victims themselves. The fabrication of false charges has become a major form of human rights violations and is calculated to facilitate the abduction, torture and murder of activists opposed to the regime.

Remarks at Victory Celebration and Launch of Two Volumes

The triad evils of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism continue to inflict terrible suffering on the Filipino people. This suffering has become more acute and intolerable as the US-instigated policy of “neoliberal globalization” has led to the most serious financial and economic crisis since the Great Depression. Social and political crisis and turmoil are now growing rapidly.

The Filipino people and the entire people of the world have no choice but to stand up and resist the escalation of oppression and exploitation. They must struggle relentlessly against imperialism and all reaction and achieve further victories for the cause of national liberation, democracy and socialism.

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In Honor of Crispin “Ka Bel” Beltran on his 1st Death Anniversary²²

May 20, 2009

The International League of Peoples’ Struggle (ILPS) wholeheartedly participates in honoring Crispin “Ka Bel” Beltran as a great leader of the toiling masses, sincere and patriotic servant of the people, on the occasion of the commemoration of his first death anniversary.

The member organizations of the ILPS join in the commemoration at Ka Bel’s tomb at AMMAN Park, in the parade to Manila, in the program at Plaza Miranda, in the fun run and photo exhibit, cultural presentation and other activities of various organizations until May 28.

We are happy that Ka Bel is being honored by the city of Manila with a marker at Plaza Miranda and the declaration of May 20 as Crispin Beltran Day. We hope that before his second death anniversary the book in his honor shall have been published and the building in his name and memory shall have been built in Quezon City.

The ILPS takes pride in having had Ka Bel as first chairperson. During his term, he pursued the anti-imperialist and democratic line of the people of the world against monopoly capitalism and all reaction. He had long and rich experience in the struggle of the toiling masses nationally and internationally.

Ka Bel had always been firm in his objective to free the toiling masses from oppression and exploitation. He devoted his mind and skills to advance this objective. He wished passionately that under the leadership of the working class national freedom, democracy and socialism would be achieved.

Let us always cherish and propagate Ka Bel’s exemplary life, spirit and deeds as a priceless legacy to inspire and guide the current and succeeding generations. Let us ensure every year and every day ways of preserving and enhancing Ka Bel’s legacy through study and action.

Ka Bel has broad relevance and influence. This is widespread among the impoverished classes. This extends to the middle social strata and even among the enlightened sections and elements of the

²² Statement issued as Chairperson of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

upper classes. All recognize him as a sincere and true defender of the rights and interests of the toiling masses and as a firm and heroic servant of the people.

He suffered vilification, threats to life, imprisonment and other tribulations and difficulties in the course of fierce of struggles during and after the Marcos fascist dictatorship. But these tempered and steeled him even more as a servant of the proletariat and the entire people. He proved so many times that he was not afraid of the oppressive and exploiting classes and their underlings.

He escaped from imprisonment during the time of the fascist dictatorship and he joined the armed struggle of the people in the countryside. He returned to the labor movement after the fall of Marcos. He was also with me in establishing the People's Party in 1986. With full courage, he led the KMU after the kidnapping, torture and murder of Rolando Olalia and his driver. Everyone admires Ka Bel because of his courageous and conscientious service to the people and his simple style of living until the end of his life.

He was an outstanding fighter for the rights and interests of the working class and the people. In the trade union movement, he became the union president of the taxi drivers and eventually the chairman of the largest Philippine labor center, the Kilusang Mayo Uno (May First Movement). He was in the forefront of strikes and other concerted activities of the working class as well as in the protest mass actions on vital issues in the so-called parliament of the streets.

He excelled as a member of Congress by pushing measures to uphold, defend and promote the rights and welfare of the toiling masses and by exposing the acts of treason, human rights violations and corruption of the Arroyo ruling clique. Thus, respected institutions accorded to him awards and honors. He received the award, Congressman of the Year for three consecutive years (2003-2004-2005) and thus became installed in the Hall of Fame. He was honored as the Filipino of the Year by the *Free Press* in 2005.

Not only in the Philippines but in the whole world, the people know the record of struggles, sacrifices and achievements of Ka Bel. Written in history are his contributions to the struggle of the working class to achieve a new and better world of greater freedom, democracy, social justice, progress and peace.

Long live the memory and legacy of Ka Bel!

In Honor of Crispin "Ka Bel" Beltran on his 1st Death Anniversary

Advance the new democratic revolution of the Filipino people!
Long live the anti-imperialist solidarity of humankind!

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Stop the Fake Constituent Assembly²³

Statement of Solidarity and Support for Mass Actions

June 9, 2009

On behalf of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) and in coordination with its Philippine Chapter, I convey the firmest solidarity with and support for the Filipino people and all the patriotic forces that are outraged by House Resolution 1109 and are determined to stop the fake constituent assembly of the congressional asses of the Arroyo regime.

The broad masses of the people have all the right to be indignant and exert every effort to thwart the "con-ass" scheme. The evil purpose of this machination is to perpetuate the Arroyo regime under the pretext of adopting a parliamentary system and make the most blatant anti-national and anti-democratic amendments to the 1987 constitution of the reactionary state. Anything goes once the "con-ass" fast break gets underway!

The congressional asses of the regime have announced that their main interest is to carry out constitutional amendments for letting foreign investors acquire ownership and control over all natural resources and economic enterprises to the extent of 100 percent and to sell out the economic sovereignty and national patrimony of the Filipino people.

The regime and its congressional asses seem to be oblivious of the economic and social devastation already wrought by so-called neoliberal globalization through denationalization, liberalization, privatization and deregulation in favor of the monopoly capitalists and their big comprador agents.

The regime and its congressional asses are also hellbent on having US and other foreign military forces unrestricted stay and operations in the Philippines and on doing away with the constitutional provisions against the basing of foreign military forces and nuclear, chemical, biological and other weapons of mass destruction.

²³ Statement issued as Chairperson of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

The Arroyo regime intends to remove the constitutional restraints on martial law, emergency rule and violations of human rights. It seeks to undercut the formal guarantees of civil and political liberties in the bill of rights. Driven by its desire to keep and enlarge its ill-gotten wealth and by its fear of future prosecution for corruption, the Arroyo ruling clique is obsessed with perpetuating itself in power, engaging in state terrorism and being propped up by US economic and military power.

The broad masses of the Filipino people are justly seething with anger over the evil scheme of “charter change” through “constituent assembly” monopolized by the congressional asses of the Arroyo regime. The broad united front of forces against the scheme includes the patriotic and progressive mass organizations of workers, peasants, urban poor, fisher folk, indigenous people, women and youth, the civic and professional associations, the religious institutions, the opposition parties, the anti-Arroyo government officials and the military and police officers.

I look forward to the success of the protest rallies at Ayala Avenue in Makati and other places on June 10 as the opening salvo for more massive and militant protest mass actions. Whatever is the degree of success at mass mobilization on Wednesday, the people and the broad united front must exert all efforts to increase the number, fervor and scale of participants in the further protest mass actions to be undertaken in the national capital region and in the entire country.

We must learn the best methods of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people from the most successful protest mass actions in recent Philippine history, including the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and the mass actions from 1970 to 1972, the anti-fascist mass campaign from 1983 to 1986, the funeral marches for Aquino in 1983 and for Olalia in 1986 and the mass uprisings of 1986 and 2001.

We must not be satisfied with only one big meeting away from the presidential palace. We must have several major assembly points, whose rallyists march to and converge on the big meeting that is relatively close to the palace and has the option to close in on it. Remember that in the 1986 overthrow of Marcos, when most of the BAYAN people were at EDSA, the people mostly from Kilusang Mayo Uno and the League of Filipino Students concentrated on Mendiola in order to ultimately break through the barricades.

Also in 2001 the incumbent president decided to call it quits when he saw tens of thousands of youth led by Anakbayan and the student

organizations marching from Edsa and nearing the palace. It is a favorable circumstance that several schools, colleges and universities are in the vicinity of the palace. Properly and effectively aroused and mobilized, the student masses cannot be stopped from occupying the streets, plazas and churchyards that are relatively close to the presidential palace.

It is not enough to have big mass actions only in the national capital region. It is necessary to have Lakbayans from Central and Southern Luzon. It is necessary to hold the mass actions nationwide in all provincial cities, capitals and major towns. And before the day of the big rally, it is necessary to hold build up rallies in particular communities, factories, farms, schools and parishes.

Because the people are faced with the hubris of a treasonous, corrupt and bloodthirsty regime, it is necessary to outstrip the successful protest actions and campaigns in recent Philippine history in terms of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people and persuading the military and police of the reactionary state to respect the democratic rights of the people, particularly the freedom of speech and assembly, and not to follow orders from above to inflict violence on the people and violate their human rights.

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Tribute to Comrade Wilson Baldonaza, Secretary General of Kilusang Mayo Uno²⁴

July 3, 2009

As Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee, I wish to express the deep sorrow and grief of the member-organizations of the International League of Peoples' Struggles in various countries and continents over the passing away of the outstanding Filipino patriot, labor leader and internationalist Comrade Wilson Baldonaza, Secretary General of Kilusang Mayo Uno (May First Movement).

We convey wholehearted condolences to his beloved wife, Ka Lily, and all his relatives and to all his comrades and friends in the working class movement and in the struggle of the Filipino people for national liberation and democracy against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Ka Wilson began his patriotic and progressive course by joining a militant youth organization when the Marcos regime was suppressing the mass movement and was preparing to impose a fascist dictatorship on the people. He persevered in the youth movement even as he subsequently worked as a security guard at the Manila Domestic Airport and then as a quality control employee at the Mabuhay Textile Mills.

Even under conditions of fascist repression, he was a conscientious and effective labor organizer and trainor. In 1985 he became vice-president and then president of the workers union at Mabuhay Textile Mills. He led successful strikes for workers' rights. He eventually became the secretary-general of the Valenzuela chapter of the Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (BAYAN) from 1987 to 1990.

He served as an educator and a project evaluator at the Ecumenical Institute for Labor Education and Research (EILER). Then he decided to go back to full-time work in organizing workers' unions under the Alliance of Nationalist and Genuine Labor Organizations (ANGLO), a KMU federation, and was elected as its president in 2002. In

²⁴ Statement issued as Chairperson of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

recognition of his high competence and long service to the working class, he was elected Secretary General of KMU at its 9th Congress in 2007.

Ka Wilson was firmly dedicated to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and people for national and social liberation. In this regard, he always strived to do his best in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the toiling masses and the rest of the people. He aspired for the realization of the national democratic and socialist stages of the Philippine revolution.

Ka Wilson was a proletarian internationalist. He propagated the teachings and achievements of the international working class movement. He cherished every occasion to stand in unity with workers of other countries during the annual International Solidarity Affair and during his travels abroad. He had no greater ambition than to contribute all he could to the advancement of the historic mission of the working class to build socialism and ultimately do away with class exploitation and oppression.

Ka Wilson was in militant solidarity with the broad anti-imperialist and democratic struggle of the people of the world. He did substantial work for the International League of Peoples' Struggle. He was the coordinator of Commission No. 5, which is concerned with the promotion of trade union and other democratic rights of the working class, the improvement of wage and living conditions against all forms of intensifying exploitation of labor and the destruction of working class organizations in their pursuit of the historic mission of fighting for social liberation.

We are sad that Ka Wilson left us at the age of 57. But we celebrate the fact that he lived an exemplary life of revolutionary commitment and arduous work. We are inspired by and learn from what he had accomplished.

Ka Wilson left to us a legacy that enriches our lives and those of future generations. This strengthens us in our struggle for greater freedom, democracy, social justice, development and peace. Ka Wilson lives on in our hearts and minds and in our relentless struggle for national and social liberation.



Continue the Great Tradition of the Progressive and Patriotic Youth

Message of Solidarity to the Alumni Association of KBPA²⁵

July 4, 2009

I hereby convey warmest greetings of solidarity to the officers and members of the University of the East Kapit-Bisig Party Alliance Alumni Association, Inc. (UEKBPAAAI) on the occasion of its 3rd General Assembly and Reunion.

I fervently hope that this occasion will achieve its purposes as set forth by the theme, "Further strengthen the UEKBPAAAI! Support the national democratic aspirations of the people! Uphold KBPA's principles and orientation!

You belong to the great tradition and continuing movement of patriotic and progressive youth who fight for national liberation and democracy against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It is a matter of honor and revolutionary commitment that you trace your awakening and activism to the Kapit-Bisig Party Alliance (KBPA).

I am aware that the KBPA has been the biggest alliance of students and student organizations in UE and has been in the forefront of the student mass movement since it was established in the early 80s as a student political party when the student councils were reinstated.

The KBPA is imbued with the same orientation and character as SAMASA of the Polytechnic University of the Philippines and formerly of UP (which is now renamed as STAND-UP). It has played an outstanding role in struggles against the exploitative and oppressive ruling system and in putting forward national and democratic demands.

I appreciate highly the establishment of the University of the East Kapit-Bisig Party Alliance Alumni Association, Inc. (UEKBPAAAI) in July 2006 to reunite the former members of the KPBA in order to advance the national democratic movement in whichever profession

²⁵ Message delivered as Founding Chairman of Kabataang Makabayan and Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

Crisis Generates Resistance

or field of activity they are in and in order to act as support group for the KBPA and the movement in general.

More than ever before the Filipino people and the Filipino youth need your active participation in the national democratic movement. You must continue to raise higher your fighting consciousness and become more determined than ever before in contributing whatever you can to arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people for their own national and social liberation.

We are faced today with an unprecedentedly severe and still worsening economic and social crisis of the worst capitalist system as a consequence of the inherent laws of capitalism and the policy of "neoliberal globalization." Even as the people of the world are already suffering from extreme and intolerable exploitation and oppression, the imperialist powers and the puppet regimes are shifting more and more the burden of crisis to the people and are unleashing state terrorism and wars of aggression.

The crisis of the world capitalist system and that of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system combine to inflict the worst forms of oppression and exploitation. The Arroyo regime knows no bounds for betraying the national sovereignty of the people, for serving the greed of imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords, for engaging in corruption and plunder and for violating human rights.

The regime keeps on aggravating the socioeconomic and political crisis of the ruling system and deserves to be ended by every possible means by the people. The current crisis conditions impose the worst forms of suffering on the people. At the same time, they drive the toiling masses of the people and the middle social strata to struggle for their just national and democratic rights and interests.

For your own sake and for our people, I urge you to contribute whatever you can to the advancement and ultimate victory of the national democratic movement.

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On the L'Aquila G8 Summit²⁶

July 6, 2009

Another catastrophe, this time manmade, descends upon earthquake-devastated L'Aquila this week as the leading imperialist heads of state convene the 35th G-8 Summit from July 8 to 10 in this central Italian city.

This year's summit departs from its usual format by inviting more than 30 other heads of state and international organizations to discuss a wider range of economic, political and security issues. This is a sign of the relative weakening of the leading imperialist powers as well as an attempt to divide and rule the rest of the G-192 nations. Nevertheless, the overall objective persists: to secure the interests of monopoly capital and stabilize the world capitalist system now being wracked by the most severe crisis since the Great Depression.

Even as the global depression deepens further, the G-8 leaders are expected to play up false indicators of recovery in order to buoy up speculative investors' confidence and revive the flow of credit. The finance oligarchy represented by the G-8 governments has consistently misrepresented the current capitalist crisis as a problem of liquidity that can be resolved by bailing out the biggest banks and failing financial institutions that are weighed down by toxic assets and debts. If at all done, any discussion of "systemic problems," is reduced to regulatory failure which can be easily addressed by adopting new "global standards" for financial regulation, such as the new charter on financial regulation being proposed by the summit host, Silvio Berlusconi.

All this is to deny that the capitalist system is fundamentally flawed and crisis-bound. Indeed, the G8 summit is scheduled to start discussions on "exit strategies" that would ensure the eventual phase-out of "emergency" fiscal and monetary measures that blatantly contradict the myth of neoliberalism except war spending. This is to forestall any attempt at instituting even a modest shift in the basic thrust of economic policies away from market liberalization which has greatly

²⁶ Statement issued as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

Crisis Generates Resistance

accelerated capital accumulation in the hands of the monopoly capitalist elite. The G-8 summiteers are blind to the fact that the crisis continues to deepen and worsen precisely because no determined measures have been taken to stimulate consumer demand by stemming unemployment, raising employment and reviving production.

As if engaged in a religious ritual or in comedic repetition, the G8 summit will again call for the speedy conclusion of the Doha Round of negotiations for global trade and investment liberalization as the way out of the current economic slump. In fact, the protectionist practices of the imperialist powers are increasing. The call for further liberalization is aimed at further shifting the burden of crisis to the working people, especially in the underdeveloped countries. These countries are bearing the main brunt of the crisis. For decades under the policy of "neoliberal globalization," their economies have been grossly distorted and degraded despite previous claims of growth, actually bloated by debt financing and consumption.

More than 30 countries are facing imminent balance of payments crises because new credit has dried up for third world countries that are chronically dependent on foreign capital inflows to pay for older debts, sustain imports from the advanced capitalist countries and paper over chronic deficits they incur as imperialist states plunder their economies. The tightening of international credit and the drastic fall in demand by imperialist countries for raw materials and semi-manufactured products have combined to depress and devastate the economies of the underdeveloped countries.

Global unemployment is expected to rise further and precarious forms of employment will spread even further as capitalists compete on the basis of reducing labor costs and intensifying their exploitation of workers. The number of undernourished is expected to rise at an accelerated rate as poor people lose their livelihoods and food systems are further captured by agrochemical and trading monopolies. Millions more are denied access to health, housing, education and basic services as state budgets are spent on bailing out big banks and other favored corporations.

The imperialist states are using both the economic crisis and climate change as pretext for channeling more public funds towards monopoly firms including energy corporations that seek to commercialize new technologies such as carbon capture and storage, "clean carbon," renewable energy and other techno-fixes with dubious ecological

integrity but with clear opportunities for monopoly profits. In line with this, the G8 leaders seek to remove barriers to trade for all “eco-friendly” goods and services via the WTO’s Doha Round so that their monopoly firms can gain control and rapidly expand their markets.

They are also pushing for a post-2012 climate protocol that would further obscure the historical and current responsibility of monopoly capitalists based in the industrialized countries for dumping greenhouse gasses into the atmosphere and polluting the environment in pursuit of superprofits. The G8 leaders are trumpeting the goal of limiting the average global temperature rise to no more than 2 degrees Celsius in order to appear committed to combating climate change. But they shift the burden of reducing actual emissions to underdeveloped countries like China and India where their multinational corporations locate their labor-intensive and pollution-intensive operations. They are also seeking to expand carbon trading and carbon offset schemes for this purpose as well as to create more opportunities for financial speculation and profit-taking for finance capitalists.

The G8 summit will take cognizance of the global food crisis only to use this as the rationale for more agri-trade liberalization and a new green revolution that favors multinational agrochemical corporations that monopolize the seeds, plant varieties, fertilizers and other farm inputs. This will lead to further dispossession of peasants, more unsustainable agricultural practices and greater food insecurity.

The plight of the people of Africa will once again be used to demonstrate the humanitarian pretenses of the G8 leaders. They will once again make pledges which they do not fulfil even as these are mere tokens and are meant to facilitate the imperialist expansion of capital. They have not met their pledges of cancelling a small part of Africa’s debt and providing trifling amounts of aid for realizing the so-called Millennium Development Goals.

They do not even consider cancelling the illegitimate debts of underdeveloped countries let alone acknowledge and provide restitution for centuries of imperialist plunder of the colonies and semicolonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Indeed, the imperialist states collude to exploit and oppress the African people and at the same time compete for control over Africa’s energy reserves, mines, other raw materials and agriculture.

This is the first G8 Summit for the new US President who has beguiled people with the promise of change. Yet Barack Obama clings

Crisis Generates Resistance

to the deceptive dogma of neoliberalism and is continuing the War of Terror previously carried out by Bush and the neoconservatives. With Iraqi oil now controlled by Anglo-American oil monopolies, the Obama administration has promised to withdraw US troops from Iraqi cities by June 30, 2009. Yet over a hundred thousand US troops remain on Iraqi soil in strategic military bases aside from over a hundred thousand private military contractors in the payroll of the US Pentagon. In fact, the US is building more military bases in the Iraqi countryside, indicating the US' intention of extending its occupation of Iraq well beyond the 2011 deadline for complete withdrawal.

In Afghanistan and Pakistan, the US is escalating its military campaigns against the Taliban and Al Qaeda, using drones purportedly to target armed militants but in fact massacring the civilian population and forcing their mass displacement. None of these atrocities—like war crimes by US-Israeli forces against the Palestinian people—will receive condemnation by the G8 leaders and will even be lauded as acts of counterterrorism, humanitarian conduct and democratization. Indeed, the G8 promotes aggressive wars and state terrorism. They are stepping up efforts at “terrorism prevention” by resorting to increased surveillance, cyber-intelligence, propaganda, recruitment and training of civilian-military operatives and repression, especially in areas where people's resistance is resurgent.

The G8 summiteers will insist on adding teeth to the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty which reserves the privilege of having huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons to the US, Britain, France, Russia and China. They condone the US occupation and nuclearization of South Korea but they raise hell about the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for exercising national sovereignty and self-defense in developing nuclear weapons and missiles. They are also perturbed with the nuclear energy program of Iran. But they are positively pleased with the nuclear weapons of Israel and they are reconciled with those of India and Pakistan.

US intervention is also on the rise in Latin America where US-inspired military adventures have recently targeted governments that are dramatically critical of or opposed to US hegemony. The generals who have ousted and ejected Honduran President Manuel Zelaya were all trained in the US-run School of the Americas (now named WHINSEC) and seem to have followed basically the same script used by the generals who attempted to oust Venezuelan President Hugo

Chavez in 2002 and the soldiers who kidnapped and ejected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide from Haiti in 2004. Nevertheless the US has been forced to distance itself from the coup plotters in Honduras after the entire Organization of American States roundly condemned the coup. Elsewhere in the region, US military intervention masquerades as operations against narcotics producers, traffickers or transnational organized crime syndicates.

The 35th G8 summit will once again be an occasion for the leading imperialist powers to unite behind their common determination to preserve and profit from the world capitalist system at the expense of the proletariat and peoples of the world. But the worsening socio-economic and political crisis in the world today is sharpening all major contradictions, including those between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations, between the working class and the monopoly bourgeoisie, and among the imperialist powers. Inter-imperialist rivalries are intensifying in terms of competition for captive markets, cheap labor, raw materials, fields of investment and spheres of influence.

The crisis of world capitalism is inflicting intolerable suffering on the broad masses of the people. Social discontent and people's resistance are widespread and deepgoing. Various forms of militant mass struggles have broken out in the industrial capitalist countries and in the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The people are fighting back against the escalating levels of exploitation, oppression, discrimination and all forms of social injustice.

The International League of Peoples' Struggles calls on all its member-organizations and other people's organizations in Italy, in all other member-states of the G-8 and throughout the world to conduct campaigns of information and mass protest actions against the G-8. Our campaigns must be resolute, militant and effective against imperialism and reformism. We encourage the broad masses of the people to further develop the revolutionary forces and mass movements to fight for the national and social liberation of the peoples of the world.

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Condemn “Operation Lalgarh” of the Bengali Government²⁷

ILPS Message to the Lalgarh Solidarity Convention

August 6, 2009

The International League of Peoples’ Struggle (ILPS) extends its most militant greetings of solidarity to the Lalgarh Solidarity Convention that has been organized by the Lalgarh Movement Solidarity Committee in support of the struggle of the people of Lalgarh-Jangalmahal for their livelihood and their democratic rights.

The ILPS firmly supports the just struggle of the people of Lalgarh-Jangalmahal against the pro-imperialist policies of the West Bengal government and its brutal repression of the people who are resisting such policies. The ILPS condemns “Operation Lalgarh” that is being unleashed by the West Bengal government mobilizing thousands of police and paramilitary forces against the people of Lalgarh-Jangalmahal.

The tribal people of Lalgarh-Jangalmahal have long suffered from the exploitation and oppression of the Indian ruling classes since colonial times. They have been repeatedly dispossessed of their lands and their livelihood. Now they are being brutally displaced to give way to a Special Economic Zone for big multinational corporations. Their resistance to such anti-people policies has been met with state terror.

The people of Lalgarh-Jangalmahal have not been cowed and have put up the People’s Committee Against Police Atrocities to demand justice for the victims of state repression. They have formed more than 1,000 village committees to strengthen their resistance. These people’s committees not only take care of the defense of the communities from the incursions of the police and CPM goons, they also carry out development work for the benefit of the people.

The courageous resistance of the people of Lalgarh-Jangalmahal has inspired progressive forces from other parts of India and from

²⁷ Solidarity statement issued as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

all over the world to give solidarity to their just struggle. An All-India Fact Finding Team which was organized by progressive forces in June 2009 to look into the atrocities being committed by the West Bengal government was prevented from reaching Lalgarh. The members of the fact-finding team were arrested, maltreated and detained. An international team of Amnesty International was also prevented from entering Lalgarh.

The ILPS fully supports the demands of the Lalgarh Solidarity Convention:

- Stop immediately the 'Lalgarh Operation,' against the tribal people of Lalgarh-Jangalmahal and call back all police-paramilitary forces from Lalgarh and nearby areas;
- The Central and State governments should initiate dialogue with the defiant people's movement of Lalgarh and accept their just demands;
- Provide due compensation to the affected people due to 'Operation Operation,' and punish those police officials responsible for violence, rape, looting and other crimes;
- Revoke all the cases unconditionally, which have been imposed upon the struggling people of Lalgarh and the members of the fact-finding teams;
- Repeal the draconian Act - Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA), 2008;
- Allow fact-finding and solidarity teams and journalists to enter the areas of Lalgarh-Jangalmahal.

The ILPS calls on all its member organizations and allies around the world to extend their solidarity and support to the struggle of the tribal people in Lalgarh-Jangalmahal by sending solidarity messages, conducting information campaigns and soliciting support for the people of Lalgarh-Jangalmahal, sending out action alerts and other forms of support.

Resist imperialist globalization and plunder!

Long live the courageous resistance of the people of Lalgarh-Jangalmahal!

Long live international solidarity!

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On the Current Economic Crisis and the Struggle for Democracy and Socialism against Imperialist Globalization²⁸

Interview by Steve Da Silva, Editor, BASICS Free Community Newsletter

August 9, 2009

On August 9, 2009, the BASICS Free Community Newsletter Editor Steve da Silva interviewed José Maria “Joma” Sison, the chief political consultant to the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, a founder of the central organizations of the revolutionary movement in the Philippines—namely, the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People’s Army—and the current Chairperson of the International League of Peoples’ Struggles, an alliance of more than 350 people’s organizations from more than 30 countries.

BASICS linked up with Joma at the NDFP office in Utrecht, Netherlands to talk about the current economic crisis and the international struggle for democracy and socialism against imperialist globalization. The following is an edited transcript of the interview.

BASICS: Joma, thank you for meeting with BASICS.

Joma: Thank you too for having me.

The past year has been witness to the unfolding of one of the gravest crises in the history of capitalism, and this coincides with the worsening of the capitalist world food crisis, military aggressions and occupations, and a scale of environmental destruction approaching catastrophic proportions. What are the economic roots of these crises and how can they be resolved?

²⁸ For more information about BASICS, visit their website <http://basicsnews.ca/>.

Crisis Generates Resistance

JMS: The current economic crisis comes after a series of worsening and deepening crises over the decades. The monopoly capitalists thought that they could overcome the phenomenon of “stagflation” of the 1970s by adopting the policies of neoliberal globalization. This means, simply, blaming the working class and social spending by governments for the phenomenon of “stagflation.” The monopoly bourgeoisie has carried out a fierce class struggle against the working class [in recent decades]. They have been cutting back wages and social spending for education, health, housing, and so on. But despite all these attempts to maximize profit by reducing the incomes of the working people, economic crisis has repeatedly emerged. The pressing down of the wage only exacerbates the crisis of overproduction in capitalism.

In capitalism, production is constantly expanding, especially with the adoption of higher technology and with “outsourcing,” which has made more goods available at cheaper prices by using the cheaper labour of oppressed countries. But if the policies are to reduce the incomes of the working people and to degrade the economies of so many countries in the world, then what happens is a constriction of the market. But the imperialists have been able to conceal this constriction of the market by using means devised by finance capitalism.

In the United States, we see heavy debt financing for households while workers are being thrown out of their regular jobs and are compelled to take on part-time jobs and have their incomes stagnate. But with the expansion of consumer credit—credit cards and with mortgages offered at teaser rates to working class people—the level of consumption in the US has kept up. But, as we are now seeing, debt financing could not go on forever.

The producer corporations and financial corporations have generated large funds by using bonds and all sorts of financial devices—such as derivatives in the financial world—and the state has also engaged in excessive borrowing to cover up the basic problems. So you have this borrowing to cover up the basics problems, and so it becomes a continuous process of trying to resolve the problem of overproduction by pressing down the real wages while using debt financing instruments to keep up consumption. But the accumulating debts could not go on forever—capitalism is not Santa Claus. At any time the interest rates can be reduced to encourage people to borrow, but there comes a time for raising the interest rates and demanding

On the Current Economic Crisis and the Struggle for Democracy and Socialism

payments, taking over properties, and in effect reducing the consumption of the people. These are some of the basic problems we see in the US, and the unemployment and under consumption in that country is affecting the whole world capitalist system. As the demand in the US is declining, the production in those countries to which it has been outsourced to is also declining.

Will the capitalists be able to resolve this crisis and the contradictions that it entails?

JMS: It is difficult or impossible for the capitalist system to reduce this problem to a manageable level. This crisis is going to worsen and deepen as the policymakers of the imperialist countries stick to neoliberalism. They are giving bailouts to the very financial corporations and banks that have caused the problem. There's not even the programs that were done under Roosevelt [in the 1930s] with the New Deal, generating jobs with the use of the work projects. But now public funds are being funneled to favored corporations so that they can cover their losses and wherever possible to continue making profits, and all this is being done at the expense of the public. The corporations are not even creating jobs with these funds. So what we see is the continuing rise of unemployment and the contraction of the market.

So if capitalist imperialism can't recover from such a crisis—or in any way that is peaceful or acceptable to the people—then the task of recovery seems to rest on the democratic, anti-imperialist, and revolutionary peoples of the world. What must be done by people who are struggling around the world? How can we build a different society, that doesn't contain these contradictions?

JMS: Well, the people have to organize themselves. But to enable the people to organize themselves, there must be systematic campaigns of information and education to let people know what are the causes of the crisis. By knowing the roots of the crisis the people can then think of the solutions. Real problems are solved through knowledge of the internal factors in a problem—the solution can only be found once the real problem has been identified. With an increased level of understanding of the crisis as a problem, then people will get organized.

Naturally, we must prioritize the working class, since it is the most progressive force in productive and political terms. It is the agency

Crisis Generates Resistance

for change up to socialism. But in the industrial capitalist countries, you also have the urban petty-bourgeoisie, which is a large class as well. They have to be organized. Those are the two basic classes to be organized.

But at the mass level, there is a real mix-up of ideas among the classes. The monopoly bourgeoisie makes it a point to deceive people by presenting monopoly capitalism with petty-bourgeois dressing: monopoly capitalism is described as “free enterprise” or “the free market.” That’s a big lie, no!?

When the workers and the petty-bourgeois are organized together, and when they understand the nature of the problems and are ready to fight and struggle, they will understand that what is to be done is revolutionary struggle.

What about in the majority of the countries in the world, in the semicolonized/neocolonized? What are the revolutionary class forces there and where in the world do we see these organized class forces making revolutionary struggle?

JMS: In many countries, the working class is in the minority and so there has to be consideration of the role of the peasantry. In countries like the Philippines, which is semifeudal, you have the peasantry as the majority class. Then there are also the intermediate social strata—those petty-bourgeois in character. In many countries, the workers, the peasants, and the petty-bourgeois comprise the basic forces of revolution. In the Philippines, these comprise the potential and real basic revolutionary forces against the big comprador agents of imperialism and the feudal lords.

So to look at the whole world, the industrial proletariat is still in the minority. The majority are still peasants. Only 20% of people in the world live in industrialized capitalist countries, while the other 80% remains underdeveloped.

Where in the world do we see these three basic forces of the semifeudal, semicolonial countries making revolution?

JMS: In addition to the Philippines, you have India and Colombia. In Nepal, there is a diversion towards parliamentary struggle. The Nepali Maoists are still trying to capitalize on what they gained through ten years of protracted peoples’ war [in the countryside], and they hope to be able to make a people’s uprising by testing the limits of the

On the Current Economic Crisis and the Struggle for Democracy and Socialism

parliamentary struggle and by discrediting their opponents through that process.

But overall you may say that the revolutionary potential as a result of the current crisis has not yet realized itself. The current conditions are so favorable to revolution. This crisis will run for at least ten years before there is any temporary reduction of the severity. In the absence of revolutionary struggles, the imperialists can manage to reduce the level of gravity of the crisis, even while the crisis remains grave and unresolved. The degradation of the economies of the world can go on and on. But there will come a time when the people will rise up. In fact, the Director of National Intelligence of the US, Admiral Dennis Blair, has already expressed fears that there may be a return to the violence of the 1920s and 1930s [when workers were rising up and fascism was being established to deal with them].

We must understand that there is a price to be paid for the betrayal of socialism by the revisionists [those so-called communists who led the great socialist countries back into capitalism]. Because of that betrayal it seems as if capitalism will go on forever and that socialism is hopeless. But now, with imperialists in total control of the world, you're going to have an escalation of this kind of economic crisis, with fascism and wars of aggression.

The world is becoming much tighter with more imperialist powers being added to the mix. There's Russia. Russia went from social-imperialism in the second half of the twentieth century to regular imperialism by the 1990s. And the same goes for China, which is itself aiming to become a major imperialist power. But if you look close at China it is still a poor country, with sweatshops on the eastern coast supplying consumer products to the US and other imperialist countries. If you look at the per capita GDP, China is not even in the top 100 countries.

History teaches us that the other major threat that looms in times of economic crisis is the threat of inter-imperialist war, or world war. The First World War and the Second World War broke out when the imperialists were in crisis and so decided to go to war with one other in order to redivide the colonies of the world. And with China and Russia asserting themselves more forcefully today...

JMS: That's right, the world is becoming tighter with the increase of imperialist powers and there is an intense competition and desire to redivide the world, as all of the imperialists struggle to have more

Crisis Generates Resistance

access to cheap labor and raw materials, markets, fields of investment, and fields of influence. The danger of war comes out of this contradiction.

Because of the powerful weapons that are in the hands of the imperialists, they first wage war against one another by proxy [or through their neocolonies]. The most effective counter to the possibility of world war—which runs the risk of nuclear war—is the rise of revolutionary civil wars. A nuclear superpower becomes paralyzed when the people themselves amass and prevent imperialists from using their nuclear weapons. But before we can have a coming to the brink of nuclear war, what we will see more and more, from year to year, is the intensification of inter-imperialist struggle through their proxy wars.

Let's talk about resistance and organizing, then, which is what is necessary in this time of crisis. Joma, you are the Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggles (ILPS). What is this organization and how can other people and people's organizations get involved?

JMS: Well, first of all, people should be aware of the main concerns of the ILPS. There are 18 main concerns of the ILPS, and they include: national and social liberation for all peoples of the world; economic development for underdeveloped countries; human rights; the cause of peace against imperialist war; the promotion of trade union rights; agrarian reform; women's rights; the rights of children; and so on. And of course, there is the problem of ecological destruction by the imperialist powers. There is no major issue that is not covered by the ILPS.

With all these concerns, all entities, be they organizations of whatever size, or still unorganized people, can come forward. Genuine mass organizations can join the ILPS. Currently unorganized people can join existing mass organizations. Or people can form organizations that dedicate themselves to becoming member organizations of the ILPS. Applications for membership can be found through the International Coordinating Committee on the ILPS website.

If in a country, there is already a national chapter of the ILPS, then mass organizations can file their applications with that chapter.

On the Current Economic Crisis and the Struggle for Democracy and Socialism

Why is this level of international level of coordination necessary for people's organizations?

JMS: The ILPS was conceived of in expectation of the worsening of the crisis of the world capitalist system. Even before 1999, when the formation of ILPS was announced, while the [anti-globalization protests of the] "Battle of Seattle" were going on, it was already seen that world capitalism was going to enter into grave crisis.

And while the anti-globalization has come and gone with its summit-hopping protests and rebellions, the ILPS has survived this period and has grown much larger, has it not?

JMS: Yes, we have grown from 240 organizations at our founding in 2001 to more than 350 organizations.

To conclude then Joma, do you have any final thoughts for the people struggling in Canada right now in this time of crisis? And I should also mention that this includes the indigenous peoples, who are setting an example of how to struggle and fight for their rights...

JMS: Yes, I wish that the people of Canada of various nationalities, and of course all the indigenous peoples, fight against imperialist globalization. They can play a very important role, because they are right next to the imperialist monster, the US, and of course that of the ruling class of Canada. The ruling classes in the US and Canada work together to oppress the people of the world and the people in their own countries. So I wish that progressive organizations would work hard and succeed in arousing, organizing, and mobilizing the people of Canada—of various nationalities and ethnicities—against monopoly capitalism and for democracy and socialism.

Well, Joma, thank you very much for meeting with BASICS Free Community Newsletter and Radio BASICS.

JMS: Thank you too.

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Resist the Neoliberal Policy in Education²⁹

**Keynote Address to the International Conference
on Education, Imperialism and Resistance,
Shih Hsin University, Taipei, Taiwan**

August 10, 2009

From the International Coordinating Committee and entirety of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), I convey warmest greetings of solidarity to all the educators and social activists now gathered. I express high appreciation to the ILPS Working Group on Teachers, Researchers and Other Educational Personnel for organizing this international conference on education, imperialism and resistance and to the International Center for Taiwan Social Studies for hosting it.

Thank you for affording me the honor and privilege of delivering this keynote address. The theme of your conference is urgent and of great importance to the educators, the youth and the people of the world. We need to underscore the decisive importance of education in the service of the people, to criticize and condemn the depredations of imperialism and all reaction and present the anti-imperialist and progressive perspectives of struggle for a new and better world. I keep in mind that the participants of this conference come from advanced industrial economies as well as from underdeveloped ones.

The decisive importance of education

The availability of formal education at the basic and higher levels to comparatively larger numbers of people differentiates the modern world of the bourgeoisie and working class from the ancient world of the slave masters and feudal lords. The wider extent of education is made possible by the larger amount of surplus product created by the modern forces of production and required by the greater need for

²⁹ Speech delivered as Chairperson of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

mass literacy, professional and technical skills to maintain as well as to advance the level of material and cultural development.

Every exploitative ruling class in modern society, be it the monopoly bourgeoisie in imperialist countries or the bourgeoisie in combination with the landlord class in the underdeveloped countries, always puts its class imprint on the character and content of education and lays stress on the preservation of the ruling system and continuing exploitation of the working people. In opposition, the revolutionary forces of the people lay stress on the transformative character and content of education for the purpose of national and social liberation, all-round development and the attainment of socialism.

In broad historical terms, capitalism has outlived its progressive character in opposition to feudalism in the industrial capitalist countries. It has reached the stage of monopoly capitalism or modern imperialism since the beginning of the 20th century. It has been responsible for ever worsening levels of economic and financial crisis, state repression, fascism, colonial and neocolonial domination, inter-imperialist global wars, wars of aggression against independent countries, damage to the environment and the use of the most backward forms of reaction, including racial, religious and gender biases.

Critique of imperialism

You are absolutely correct in declaring that imperialism is at the root of the suffering and misery of billions of people throughout the world. Indeed, imperialist banks and corporations reap superprofits from the exploitation of the working people in both imperialist and underdeveloped countries and do so far more in the latter countries. The gap between rich and poor countries is ever widening. Widespread poverty and unemployment are deliberately maintained in order to keep ever available a large pool of cheap labor for super-exploitation. Concomitantly, environmental destruction proceeds unabated for the same purpose of extracting superprofits.

In recent decades, it seemed as if capitalism and imperialism were perpetual and as if the cause of national liberation, people's democracy and socialism were hopeless in the face of the betrayal of socialism by the revisionists, the full-scale restoration of capitalism in revisionist-ruled countries and the imposition of neoliberal globalization on the world by the imperialist powers and their local puppets.

With Russia having shifted from social-imperialism to rejoin the ranks of the traditional imperialist powers and with China aiming and trying hard to be a major imperialist power, the contradictions within the world capitalist system have intensified, such as those between the imperialist powers and the people of the world, among the imperialist powers themselves and between the bourgeoisie and the working class in the imperialist countries.

The slogan of free market or neoliberal globalization stands for the systematic attack by the monopoly bourgeoisie on the working class and the rest of the people. It blames supposed wage inflation and social spending by government for the stagflation that surfaced in the imperialist countries in the 1970s and manifested the crisis of overproduction and the financial crisis in the imperialist economy. Since then, the imperialist countries headed by the US have gone on a rampage of pressing down the real wage level, cutting back on social spending for education, health and other social services and curtailing the rights and hard-earned social benefits of the working people.

The imperialist powers have pushed the underdeveloped countries to denationalize their economies, liberalise investments and trade in favor of the foreign monopolies, privatize state assets and social services and deregulate all previous restrictions on foreign monopoly capital and on the exploitation of the working people, women, children, migrants and the environment. The essence of the policy of neoliberal globalization is gobble-ization of the world by the monopoly banks and corporations. It unleashes the insatiable greed of the monopoly bourgeoisie.

Such monstrous policy has degraded and devastated education. Government spending for public education has been reduced. Teachers, researchers, and other education personnel suffer the consequences of stagnant and decreasing real salaries as these do not keep up with the rising costs of living. Large numbers of education personnel are laid off as governments close down schools and universities. As the academic and non-academic employees and the student masses become restive, they are subjected to repression by state authorities.

The imperialist powers keep on tightening their grip on education on a global scale. They use the WTO General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) to treat education as a commodity for profitmaking in the so-called free market and to push the privatization of public

Crisis Generates Resistance

schools at all levels. The purpose, content and conduct of teaching and research are made to serve the interests of the imperialist powers and local reactionaries. These factors of mis-education design and produce the curricula, study materials, education and research programs and institutional structures. They use the combination of schools, mass media and other means of information and education as tools of imperialist domination in the cultural field as well as in the socioeconomic and political fields.

The adoption of higher technology in combination with the pushing down of the incomes of the working people in order to maximize corporate profits have engendered a series of worsening crises of overproduction under the policy of neoliberal globalization. Every rise of production has been accompanied by the reduction of wage incomes and the shrinkage of the market. The attempt of monopoly capitalism to override the crisis of overproduction and the tendency of the profit rate to fall through massive doses of debt financing, the creation of financial bubbles and the financialization of the economy have served to aggravate the crisis.

We are now faced with the worst financial and economic crisis of the world capitalist system since the Great Depression. If we look at the drastic fall of economic growth, unemployment and trade on the global scale since the second half of 2007, we can say that the current crisis follows a trajectory which is already worse than the Great Depression. But the officials and propagandists of the US obfuscate the severity of the crisis by calling it euphemistically as the Great Recession and merely focusing on some temporary effects of the huge bank bailouts in the US.

The downward trend of the US economy continues. It is most evident in the rise of unemployment and the concomitant decline in consumption. The Obama regime continues the neoliberal bias of the Bush regime for bailing out the banks and feeding the greed of the finance oligarchy. The funds that are supposed to stimulate the economy are channeled to certain monopoly corporations that use them to make profits rather than to expand production, create jobs and revive consumer demand. The US will continue to generate crisis in the world capitalist system, worsen the conditions of the working people and even the middle social strata, cause political turmoil within the ruling systems and incite the people to wage all forms of resistance.

The worsening crisis of the world capitalist system leads to the escalation of state terrorism and wars of aggression. The imperialist powers continue to band together to shift the burden of the crisis to the working people and the underdeveloped countries. But the broad masses of the people are bound to fight back for national and social liberation. The imperialist powers become ever more driven by greed as the financial and economic crisis constrains their profitmaking. Their struggle for a redivision of the world is bound to intensify as they scramble for the sources of cheap labor and raw materials, markets, fields of investment and spheres of influence. The worsening crisis, the rise of fascism and the imperialist propensity for war are driving the workers and the rest of the people to fight back and move for a radical change of social system in various countries.

Struggle for a new and better world

To be able to fight for a new and better world, the people need to be aroused, organized and mobilized by the revolutionary party and progressive alliances in every country. In this regard, the revolutionary party analyses the global and domestic situation and sets forth the general program of action and the strategy and tactics. The people must be aroused through information and education work. They must be organized on the basis of class or sectoral affinity as well as on the basis of major social issues. They must be mobilized through mass campaigns and through sectoral and multisectoral alliances.

The teachers and researchers play a crucial role in the struggle of the people for a new and better world. They must develop and utilize knowledge and research against the imperialist domination of these and for the liberation of the people from national and class oppression, for the realization of democracy, for all-rounded development in the service of the people, for world peace and the protection of the environment. They must promote and realize a new type of education and culture that is anti-imperialist, scientific and pro-people.

It is of urgent necessity that the teachers and researchers put forward a critique of imperialist ideology. Such a critique is an important instrument for defining the targets and tasks in the struggle for a radical transformation of society. We must be able to confront imperialist globalization and its terrorist complement of state repression and wars of aggression. In this regard, we must be able to build ever stronger

Crisis Generates Resistance

the solidarity of the people of the world and advance their struggle to defend their rights and welfare, including the people's right to education, and advance in stages the struggle for a new and better world of greater freedom, justice, development and peace.

I am pleased to know that participants in this conference are urged to contribute to the critique of any aspect of imperialism and education and are encouraged to make interdisciplinary approaches to such concerns as access to education, the so-called neoliberal reforms in the education sector, the right to education and livelihood, the political economy of education, the politics and theories of knowledge, production and research, the impact of privatization and liberalization on educators and students and adverse effects of neoliberal reforms in education on societies.

The organizers of this conference guide well all the participants by setting forth certain tracks of discussion and calling for papers under each track. I look forward to the publication of the papers on education and imperialism, dealing with historical perspectives, the relation of imperialist globalization to the basic and higher levels of education and the relation of debt and so-called aid to education; to the papers on education and markets, dealing with the relations of education with industry and imperialist globalization, free trade agreements and transnational education; and to the papers on education, oppression and resistance, dealing with the relations of education to social movements, the cause of national liberation, the issues of race, ethnicity and gender and the rights and welfare of educators and related personnel.

The direction, scope and content of your conference are comprehensive and take up the most important issues and concerns. I wish you the utmost success. I am confident that your conference will be very successful not only in interpreting the world but also in proposing how to change it. Thank you.

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A Call to Campaign for Livelihood and Social Justice³⁰

August 11, 2009

Loss of livelihood is the most concrete and widespread impact of the current crisis of the world capitalist system on people's lives, both in the advanced capitalist countries as well as in the underdeveloped countries. Despite recent pronouncements from state officials and the business press that economic recovery is in sight, the global economy continues to tumble with the gross domestic product of the leading capitalist countries still contracting, consumer spending still in decline and unemployment still rising.

As the crisis continues to spread and job losses mount, worldwide unemployment is expected to rise to tens of billions by the end of the year as businesses shut down and capitalists retrench their labor force. This does not include the hundreds of millions of displaced workers and peasants especially in the poor and oppressed countries of the South who are forced to turn to marginal lands and waters in the countryside for their subsistence; eke out a precarious living in the so-called informal/underground economy; or migrate to other countries to work on low-paying and insecure jobs in the absence of better alternatives.

Women, migrant workers and youth are among the most vulnerable sectors in the population amidst the downturn as they are among the first to be laid-off or forced to accept poorer working conditions in order to retain jobs or get new ones. Capitalists force their workers to accept wage cuts, longer working hours, speed-up and short-term contracts in order to squeeze more profits. With the aid of state forces, capitalists bust unions or force them to concede past gains from collective bargaining. Monopoly capitalist firms are taking over huge tracts of land to set up plantations or special economic zones, adding to the millions of landless and jobless poor peasants throughout Asia.

Labor and community organizers and activists are threatened, harassed and even executed. State support for housing, education,

³⁰ This was a campaign to confront the G20 summit in Pittsburgh on September 24-25. Statement issued as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

Crisis Generates Resistance

health, pensions and other social services for the people are further cut back as taxpayers' money is doled out to the biggest banks and corporations. Migrant workers are also used as scapegoats of the jobs crisis; hence face increasing discrimination, xenophobia and racism.

This bleak landscape is not about to improve in the near future as the global depression deepens. Indeed, even the most optimistic officials who are predicting a recovery by next year taking the sham stance of prodding financial institutions to start lending again to producers in a glut situation admit that labor markets recover only four to five years after the economic recovery. This means that the additional social hardships brought about by the current global capitalist crisis will persist and only become a heavier burden on the shoulders of the toiling masses for many years to come.

Alongside the increase in joblessness worldwide are the worsening living conditions of the people. One in six people in the world are hungry; 17 infants under the age of five die every minute mostly due to preventable causes; half of all girls in the poorest countries have no access to primary education; half a million mothers will die at childbirth this year due to the lack of basic health services for the poor; and nearly a billion people live in urban slums where illness and death are rife.

These reprehensible conditions will worsen as the effects of the global economic crisis combine with the worsening food and ecological crisis confronting poor and oppressed communities as a result of the increasing control and exploitation of natural resources and the global commons (including the atmosphere, hydrosphere, lithosphere and biosphere) by monopoly capitalists for their superprofits.

Moreover, the ruling classes are now using the global crisis to channel trillions of taxpayers' money to line the pockets of the financial oligarchy, to resuscitate the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and push for more trade liberalization under the World Trade Organization and various free trade agreements. This means more of the same neoliberal globalization policies and financialization that have accelerated the overaccumulation of capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie and worsened the crisis of overproduction that is at the root of this new Great Depression.

In this context, there is a pressing need to develop, spread and raise the militancy of mass struggles for employment, land, decent incomes, better working and living conditions, and access to social

services while raising people's consciousness about the fundamental problems in the system of monopoly capitalism and the need for revolutionary social transformation.

Livelihood-related economic struggles have great potential for reinvigorating the mass movements today as it did during the Great Depression of the 1930s. They can certainly be maximized for arousing, organizing and mobilizing people to confront the global economic crisis through militant mass struggle. They also focus on the problems in the real economy (not just the financial sphere) and thus have greater potential in exposing the fundamental contradictions in the global capitalist system.

The opportunity is at hand for raising the political consciousness of the people about the need for radical social change and revolutionary struggle. This contrasts with existing international campaigns related to the global crisis which merely focus on reforming the international financial architecture—calling for various reforms in the Bretton Wood institutions, new regulatory mechanisms, plus debt cancellation, fiscal stimulus, etc. and are confined to NGO lobbying.

A mass campaign must be carried out to confront the economic crisis and demand livelihoods for social justice. This means asserting the right of all women and men to find decent and productive work that ensures their security and human dignity, but also work that is engaged in meeting social needs for the present and future generations, including access to food, education, health, housing and basic services for all. Such a demand expresses the basic unity between the interest of the working class and the people, and inspires broad-based struggle for a just, democratic, peaceful and sustainable world.

This is not the same as calling for emergency employment or even full employment in the Keynesian sense of the term. The latter upholds the primacy of capitalist-production and exchange while the state is given a remedial role, i.e. to fill in the gap due to market failures. Therefore it retains all the inherent contradictions and the exploitative character of capitalism. On the other hand, to demand socially productive work for all is to say that we need to move away from the grossly unjust and irrational economic system where production is for private profit even as the most basic needs of the vast majority of people remain unmet. Only a socially-planned economy can ensure that social production meets social needs.

Crisis Generates Resistance

The motive forces for such a mass campaign consist principally of workers (including the unemployed and the semiproletariat, migrant workers, urban poor communities, etc.); peasants especially those displaced or dispossessed of their means of production or access to resources; small entrepreneurs who are among those being squeezed by the current crisis; and other middle forces committed to the cause of social justice.

To raise the level of struggle from the economic to the political, we must always denounce the imperialist powers, their monopoly banks and firms and their puppet reactionary states for causing the global depression, massive unemployment and social injustice; we must fight every attempt of the oppressors and exploiters to suppress the campaign through the curtailment of our democratic rights; we must build the political strength of the working people and call for their empowerment; and we must aim for the realization of the goals of nation liberation, democracy and socialism.

The campaign's objectives can include the following:

1. condemn the imperialist banks and firms for the global depression and the loss of livelihoods and aggravation of social injustice;
2. spur large, numerous, widespread and vigorous mass struggles for decent work, land, housing, universal access to basic services;
3. oppose the attempts of the ruling classes to pass the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the working masses, appropriating the resources necessary for the survival of the vast majority;
4. expose the criminal neglect of governments and imperialist-controlled international institutions in violating the right to work and the basic needs of the people;
5. expose the injustice and irrationality of the monopoly capitalist system;
6. inspire international solidarity among the peoples from all countries to struggle for a fundamentally better world;
7. help expand and consolidate progressive mass organizations and people's movements across the globe fighting imperialism; and
8. intensify the struggle against the imperialist powers and their reactionary puppets in order to advance the cause of national and social liberation.

Campaigns should be undertaken to produce and disseminate educational materials and to launch mass actions for exposing and opposing how national governments, international financial institutions

A Call to Campaign for Livelihood and Social Justice

(IFIs), the WTO, the G20, and other imperialist instruments rob the people of their right to work and their right to life.

Community assemblies should be convened for the people to collectively identify unmet social needs, expose the criminal neglect of the government and formulate an alternative social agenda. Throughout the campaign, there must be study sessions, seminars, workshops at every possible venue on the workings of capitalism and developments in the imperialist-dominated international system.

Similar initiatives may be coordinated internationally through the ILPS, RESIST! and other campaign networks. A global labor/people's manifesto calling for livelihoods for Social Justice must be drawn up and used as an educational and campaign tool to reach out to workers and peoples, and encourage mass struggles in various countries throughout the world. Major international events and activities must be utilized for coming together for common actions.

The campaign can be launched during the G20 summit in September 24-25, 2009 to be held in Pittsburgh, USA. It is necessary to protest against the perpetrators of the crisis and their continuing agenda of exploitation and oppression, and to show that working people are united whatever our color, gender, nationality, religion or age to defend common interests. May 1st, 2010 can serve as one more high point of the campaign with build-up activities leading up to this date.

The campaign can extend beyond the aforementioned important events inasmuch as the global depression, the loss of livelihoods and social injustice shall persist and there shall be a continuing need for the broad masses of the people to wage resistance from one level to a new and higher level.

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GRP Fails to Comply with JASIG and Continues to Impede NDFP Consultants³¹

August 22, 2009

The Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) has rendered extremely difficult or even impossible the resumption of formal talks in the peace negotiations with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) by a series of deliberate acts to undermine and negate the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG).

The GRP has not complied with the JASIG and has not removed the impediments it has imposed on the fourteen NDFP consultants who are detained or who are subjects of warrants of arrest on the basis of trumped-up criminal charges.

The GRP has not fulfilled its June 15 commitment to expeditiously remove before the end of July the impediments on said consultants on the basis of precedents (using as model the expeditious release of Danilo Borjal in 1997) in accordance with the JASIG. More than two months have passed since June 15 and more than one month since July 17 when the GRP announced that it would respect and comply with JASIG.

The GRP is condemnable for refusing to release any detained NDFP consultant in accordance with JASIG and for maliciously limiting the liberty of Randall Echanis to six months and making him a hostaged consultant. It is also condemnable for issuing sham safe conduct passes that in fact incriminate and condemn Vicente Ladlad and Rafael Baylosis and that practically serve as their death warrant.

The concerned NDFP consultants and their lawyers have taken a position that they would rather debunk the false charges in court and thereby seek relief than submit themselves to the vicious impositions and incriminations by the militarists like Generals Eduardo Ermita and Avelino Razon who constantly maneuver to undermine and negate the JASIG and the entire GRP-NDFP peace negotiations.

³¹ Statement issued as NDFP Chief Political Consultant.

Crisis Generates Resistance

The fundamental problem on the GRP side is the lack of political will on the part of the GRP principal Gloria M. Arroyo to engage in serious peace negotiations with the NDFP. She tries to evade responsibility by letting one set of subordinates to posture as being for peace negotiations and another set to brazenly generate impediments.

Because of the deliberate and systematic failure of the GRP to remove the impediments on the concerned NDFP consultants, the resumption of formal talks cannot be held in August and probably can never be held in the remaining months of the Arroyo regime, unless a preliminary meeting is held to remove the aforesaid impediments before the formal talks.

Thus, the NDFP intends to propose to the GRP through the Norwegian government that a preparatory meeting between the GRP and NDFP sides with their respective lawyers be held within the first week of September in order to produce a written agreement that reaffirms the JASIG and stipulates the methods for complying with the JASIG and removing the GRP-made impediments on the NDFP consultants.

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Resumption of Formal Talks Conditional on GRP Respect for and Compliance with JASIG³²

August 29, 2009

It is still possible to resume the formal talks in the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations if the GRP respects and complies with the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG). As soon as possible, the GRP and NDFP negotiating panels, with their respective lawyers, should meet in Oslo in order to put in writing the most expeditious methods of removing the impediments on NDFP consultants.

This meeting has been proposed by the NDFP negotiating panel through the Norwegian government because the GRP has not fulfilled the following commitments it made last June 15:

1. To respect and comply with the JASIG and remove within the month of July the impediments imposed by the GRP on the NDFP consultants so that these consultants can participate in preparations for the Oslo meetings that were slated to start on August 28;

2. To let the lawyers of the GRP discuss and agree with the lawyers of the NDFP on the most expeditious methods of removing the impediments on the basis of precedents in the time of GRP President Ramos;

3. To use the expeditious release of Dan Borjal in 1997 to serve as the model for releasing detained NDFP consultants;

4. To withdraw all trumped-up charges used by the GRP to detain NDFP consultants and issue warrants of arrest against NDFP panelists, consultants and other JASIG-protected persons; and

5. To release immediately those detainees whose release was ordered as goodwill measures by Gloria M. Arroyo in 2001 and 2004.

The GRP has not respected and complied with the JASIG. Instead, the militarist clique of Executive Secretary Eduardo Ermita and OPAPP Secretary Avelino Razon have exerted their best efforts to undermine and negate the JASIG, to reinterpret it onesidedly and convert it into

³² Statement issued as Chief Political Consultant of the NDFP Negotiating Panel.

Crisis Generates Resistance

a tool of Oplan Bantay Laya, to generate further impediments and in brief to sabotage the peace process as a way of addressing the roots of the armed conflict and laying the basis for a just and lasting peace

The militarists defied the courts that ordered the release of Elizabeth Principe and for two weeks they tried to prevent her release. She was eventually released because of the clamor for her release by human rights organizations and many people. Then, the militarists claimed that they were responsible for her release.

They caused the issuance of a temporary release order of six months in a malicious maneuver to make Randall Echanis a hostaged consultant. They have issued sham safe conduct passes whose text incriminates Rafael Baylosis and Vicente Ladlad and serves as judgment of conviction and death warrants against them.

The GRP has not only deliberately made a zero compliance with the June 15 agreement but has further violated the JASIG and generated new impediments. So far the GRP has not shown any serious interest in resuming the formal talks. The Arroyo regime is preoccupied by serving the interests of foreign and domestic plunderers, wallowing in bureaucratic corruption and unleashing the most vicious forms of reactionary violence against the people and the revolutionary forces.

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ILPS Condemns US-ROK Military Exercises Designed for Preemptive Nuclear Attack on DPRK³³

August 31, 2009

The International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) joins the Korean people and other peaceloving peoples of the world in condemning the military exercises held recently by the United States and the Republic of Korea (ROK) from August 17 to 27. These exercises are designed to prepare preemptive US nuclear attack on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). They are insulting and provocative. They threaten the peaceloving people of the East Asian region.

The joint military exercises called "Ulji Freedom Guardian" involved the US-ROK Combined Forces Command. Participating in the maneuvers were the commands of army corps and fleet and flying corps of the South Korean armed forces and more than 56,000 troops and at least 10,000 US troops based in South Korea and overseas.

It simulated a new operational scenario "OPLAN 5027," practicing the rapid deployment of US troops, a break through the military demarcation line and incursions to the northern part of the Korean peninsula. The war games were larger in scale and longer in duration than those in previous years.

The thinly disguised provocations of the US such as the series of war games with its South Korean partner such as "Key Resolve," "Eagle," "Ulji Focus Lens," and others, together with importation of the latest types of military equipment, and the rapid increase of the air and navy attack forces threatens the people in the region and simulates an invasion of the north, the DPRK, up to its borders with the People's Republic of China

East Asia has the largest US military presence outside of Europe with 100,000 troops based in 180 military installations, including the US navy's largest and most strategically important overseas base at Yokosuka, Japan. The establishment and maintenance of these bases

³³ Statement issued as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

is complemented by access arrangements and “status of forces” agreements which, combined, give the US virtual basing rights in the host country.

The United States deployed nuclear weapons in South Korea in 1958. Since 1991 when it claimed to have withdrawn nuclear weapons from South Korean soil, the US has openly declared South Korea and Japan as being under the US nuclear umbrella. This admittedly consists of weapons deployed in the US mainland and offshore and carried by ballistic missile submarines deployed in the Pacific Ocean. The US has constantly made it known that it is capable of and ready to unleash these weapons of mass destruction against defiant states anytime.

We remember that the US is the sole state to have used the atomic bomb in an attack. It killed more than 220,000 people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki even though Japan had already made surrender overtures and was in fact ready to surrender. The US unleashed the atom bombs in order to demonstrate to the world its new nuclear might and make a show of force to impress the Soviet Union specifically.

To this day, the US has the largest verified stockpile of nuclear weapons of mass destruction. It has 2,126 operationally deployed strategic nuclear warheads out of approximately active 5,200 warheads in its total nuclear weapons stockpile. It has a total of 9,200 warheads, out of the more than 23,000 warheads that are intact in the arsenals of the nuclear powers, including Russia, United Kingdom, France, China and others.

While the US used its nuclear bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki to intimidate and blackmail the whole world into submission to its wishes, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) frustrated the US design and ended US monopoly of these weapons of mass destruction. This served as a deterrence on the US from using further its nuclear weapons of mass destruction. Subsequently, other countries, including Britain, France and China, were able to produce their own atomic weapons.

The imperialist states that possess nuclear weapons try to keep their advantage by denying other states the same weapons technology while ignoring calls to have genuine and complete nuclear disarmament in the world. The nuclear states use the issue of nonproliferation to intrude upon nations upholding their national sovereignty. Those states that invoke their national independence have been the targets

of various attacks including economic sanctions, nuclear blackmail and wars of aggression.

President Barack Obama has called for a new Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty with the Russians and urged ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty after several decades of the US stalling. Yet while it announces these moves, the US continues its programs to support India's nuclear research and condones Israel's nuclear weaponry. It has kept more than 2,000 nuclear warheads ready to deploy at any time from its sea- and land-based launching pads.

The US has kept its role as the world's biggest merchant of death as its foreign military sales agreements have jumped to nearly four times its 2005 levels in 2008. While keeping India and the US military-industrial complex happy with a new bilateral nuclear cooperation agreement between the two countries, the US arms Pakistan with F-16s, anti-tank missiles, howitzers and communications equipment. While hypocritically denouncing the DPRK with sanctions and cutting off its supply lines, it has increased its military sales to South Korea by nearly \$200 million bringing its total to around \$798 million.

It is no surprise then that the DPRK has been trying all possible and necessary ways of defending itself from aggression. For more than half a century, the US has imposed a military and economic blockade on the DPRK, positioned US nuclear weapons in South Korea and never ceased to beat its war drums against the DPRK. The DPRK's development and testing of its own nuclear bomb and missiles are a matter of self-defense and are within their prerogative as a sovereign nation. They are precisely their protection against US aggression and persistent US nuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

The ILPS joins the world's peoples in resolutely and militantly condemning and opposing the US imperialists' continuing use of nuclear blackmail as the US escalates its wars of aggression and military intervention through exercises such as Ulji Freedom Guardian. These exercises are hostile to the just demands and aspirations of the Korean people and other peace loving peoples of the world to establish a genuine peace mechanism on the Korean peninsula to replace the existing armistice agreement signed 57 years ago. Such a peace mechanism to eliminate a vestige of US cold war policies is needed not only for the reunification and peace of Korea but also for the peace and stability of northeast Asia, the whole of East Asia and the rest of the world.

Crisis Generates Resistance

The issues of nuclear disarmament and nuclear proliferation are inextricably linked. Without nuclear disarmament, nuclear proliferation will surely increase. Genuine regional security can be achieved in East Asia only if the US would pull out its troops and nuclear weapons from the region and allow truly equal relations among nations in the region to be established and further developed, without the interference of any Western power. It is the complete prohibition and destruction of all nuclear weapons, including those of the US, Russia, China and others, not just for selected states, that should be pursued. All nuclear weapons must be banned and entirely destroyed. A common agreement to this effect and no less must be immediately made by all nuclear-armed countries.

The ILPS calls on its member-organization and the entire people of the world to persevere in militant struggle against US imperialism. Already bogged down by a severe financial and economic crisis and by two costly wars of aggression, the US imperialism tends to become more aggressive, show off its military prowess and engage in nuclear blackmail in a futile attempt to intimidate the people of the world and discourage their resistance. But in fact the people of the world have become ever more determined to wage all forms of struggle against imperialism and all reaction and for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

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Oslo Meeting of GRP and NDFP Negotiating Panels May Be Preceded by Manila Meeting of their Respective Lawyers³⁴

September 1, 2009

Secretary Avelino Razon, presidential adviser on the peace process, is reported to have said that the lawyers of the Government of the Republic of Philippines (GRP) and National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) can meet first in the Philippines.

Indeed, they can to discuss legal possibilities, on the basis of precedents in the time of GRP president Fidel V. Ramos and his then secretary of justice Silvestre Bello III and in accordance with the June 15 agreement for GRP to comply with the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) and remove the impediments on NDFP consultants.

But there is no substitute for the soonest possible meeting of the GRP and NDFP negotiating panels, together with their respective lawyers, in Oslo because it is the panels that can make agreements in writing in order to ensure compliance with the JASIG. The previous June 15 agreement needs to be further firmed up in detail and in writing by the panels because the GRP has failed to comply with the JASIG.

Compliance by the GRP with JASIG is long overdue. The consultants of the NDFP and other JASIG-protected individuals have been subjected to extrajudicial killings, abductions, torture and indefinite incarceration on the basis of trumped-up charges of common crimes. Only a rotten political, judicial and legal system like that of GRP can allow these barbarities. Razon has been involved in these, especially when he was head of Task Force Usig and coordinated with the world infamous Inter-Agency for Legal Action Group (IALAG) whose abolition has been recommended by UN special rapporteur Philip Alston.

³⁴ Statement issued as Chief Political Consultant of the NDFP Negotiating Panel.

Crisis Generates Resistance

As regards the repeated intrigue of Razon that the revolutionary leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), New People's Army (NPA) and the NDFP is divided over the question of peace negotiations, he should read the August 31 CPP statement in *Ang Bayan* (www.philippinerevolution.net) declaring that the revolutionary leadership in the Philippines is 100 percent behind the NDFP negotiating panel, with Luis Jalandoni as the chairperson and myself as the chief political consultant.

As regards my lifestyle, it cannot go far beyond borrowed money for bare subsistence. It is incomparable to the sybaritic life of corrupt high bureaucrats and military top brass in the Philippines and to the likes of Gloria and Mike Arroyo who gorge on million peso banquets. I go only to modest potlucks and barbecue gatherings.

So much for the trivialities of Razon. De facto GRP president Gloria M. Arroyo impresses the world as lacking in the necessary leadership to pursue the peace negotiations. The US-directed militarists like Ermita and Razon control her in this matter and have made her to believe that they could destroy the armed revolution of the people before 2010 through the sheer military force of Oplan Bantay Laya or through tactics of pressure and deception for pushing the NDFP to submit and surrender to the GRP political and legal system.

Until now, the NDFP does not see that the Arroyo regime is seriously interested in peace negotiations as a way of addressing the roots of the civil war through agreements on basic social, economic and political reforms as the basis of a just and lasting peace. Accordingly, the CPP, NPA and NDFP are united and ready to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against any scheme or maneuver of the Arroyo regime. Indeed, the Filipino people have been pressing on the NPA to intensify tactical offensives on a nationwide scale.

Just as the Arroyo regime is most interested in destroying the armed revolution of the people, the revolutionary forces are resolutely and courageously pursuing the people's war for national liberation and democracy. Their armed strength has acquired the critical mass for accelerating the advance of the people's war and building more units of the NPA to cover 179 rural congressional districts in the next 2 or 3 years. The revolutionary forces plan to attain the strategic stalemate and finally the strategic offensive within the next ten years. The ever worsening crisis conditions of the world capitalist system and domestic

Oslo Meeting of GRP and NDFP Negotiating Panel

ruling system are favorable for waging revolution. The broad masses of the people are demanding revolutionary change.

The revolutionary forces are also looking at the possibility within the next ten years that patriotic and progressive forces arise within the ruling system and make serious negotiations with the NDFP for a great historic concord of national unity and peace to uphold, defend and advance national independence, democracy as empowerment of the people, economic development through national industrialization and land reform and a patriotic, scientific and democratic culture.

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ILPS Reiterates Condemnation of 9/11 and the US Global War of Terrorism³⁵

September 11, 2009

The International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) reiterates its condemnation of both the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks and the subsequent US-instigated so-called "global war on terrorism." The 9/11 attacks killed nearly 3,000 civilians. Far worse, the US has engaged in mega-terrorism involving the killing and wounding of millions of civilians, the systematic practice of abductions, torture, extrajudicial killing of suspects and other forms of human rights violations and the destruction of the social infrastructure in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan and elsewhere during the last eight years.

The American electorate repudiated the Republican party ticket in last year's US presidential elections. With varying degrees of awareness, the people held the Bush regime accountable for using 9/11 to unleash wars of aggression, militarism, state repression and war profiteering, all deceitfully cloaked as a "war on terrorism." Indeed, as pointed out in the Nuremberg trials, war of aggression is the biggest kind of terrorism because it kills millions of people.

Ironically, the US wars of aggression and the abrupt rise of US military spending have dismally failed to apprehend the perpetrators of 9/11 in a period far longer than the time it took to defeat the Axis Powers during World War II. In fact, US super-terrorism since 9/11 has bred the further spread of al-Qaeda and similar entities as the Abu Sayyaf and Jemiaah Islamiyah where these were previously smaller or even non-existent, as in Iraq.

The US-instigated "global war on terrorism" is in reality a global war of terrorism mounted by the world's sole superpower to grab far more concentrated economic and political power for the benefit of the monopolies in the military-industrial complex, high finance, energy, and agribusiness. These imperialist interests have reaped megaprofits since 9/11, to the detriment of the billions of working and middle-class people the world over.

³⁵ Statement issued as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

The bogus US war on terrorism under the notion of military Keynesianism has failed to shore up US monopoly capitalism from its worsening financial and economic crisis. On the contrary, it has contributed hugely to the generation of the financial bubble that collapsed in the last year of the Bush regime. The American people have suffered job losses, wage cuts, foreclosed homes, abrupt price hikes of foodstuffs and other basic commodities and services, eviscerated savings and pension funds, deteriorating levels of social services, social dislocation, repression and state brutality. The unemployed youth and colored people are being induced to join the military services and serve as the cannon fodder of US imperialism.

The current administration of Barack Obama has turned deaf and blind to the resounding people's clamor to end the US wars of aggression and undo the grave sociopolitical ills unleashed by the Bush regime on behalf of the monopolies, especially the finance oligarchy. It has not repudiated its predecessor's bogus war on terrorism but has endorsed and continued it. The Obama government has deliberately failed to prosecute Bush, Cheney and their accomplices for their war crimes, their brazen lies and deceptions, war profiteering, and megacorporate crime and corruption that fueled the worst economic and financial crisis since the Great Depression.

The Obama government tries to deceive the American people and the rest of the world by decking itself out as markedly different from the Bush regime, while in truth it continues the wars of aggression and occupation of foreign territories and escalate war spending and warmongering. It has proceeded with the unabated fortification of the global network of more than 750 US military bases garrisoning the globe, the most expensive and expansive of which are those in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan.

These hundreds of military bases are worth a staggering US\$658 billion and cover a total land area of almost 30 million acres. The US continues to expand the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the prime international military alliance it controls, to areas far beyond Europe, way into the vastnesses of Central and South Asia. The US is wantonly sowing the seeds of war in so many countries and global regions.

The Obama regime has combined extremely high military spending with the multitrillion dollar bailouts of the very financial super-monopolies that have generated the history's biggest economic bubbles.

These twin killer measures have brought the US and global economy to untold ruin. The millions upon millions of working and middle-class people have been made to bear the burden of ceaseless exploitation and crisis. Current official economic figures point to nearly 10 percent unemployment rate in the US alone, the highest in 26 years. The reality is far worse.

As the US continues to reel from its worst crisis in almost a century, it is increasingly disposed to foment ever more ruinous wars across the world as a recourse to solving its own unprecedented crisis. In combination with the Israeli Zionists, Obama is glibly combining war threats and diplomacy to pressure Iran. The US continues to generate military tensions and play off India and Pakistan as well as Iraq and Syria against each other in order to expand US interests. It is actively engaged in the subversion of governments assertive of national sovereignty, as it has successfully done recently in Honduras, and continues to do so in Venezuela, Cuba, Bolivia and elsewhere in Latin America.

In East Asia, the US continues to regard China as a large expansion area for US monopoly capital and as its main partner in the scheme of neoliberal globalization. At the same time, it seeks deliberately to undermine the national independence of China and the rule of the bureaucrat capitalists who still claim to be communists. It persists in blockading the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) economically and militarily, using nuclear blackmail and yet resenting the DPRK's assertion of national sovereignty and right to defend itself against nuclear threats. The US continues to station and beef up its military forces in the Philippines under the pretext of fighting in the "second front" of the so-called global war on terrorism.

The unbroken continuity of the Obama and Bush administrations in the global war of terrorism is a brazen betrayal of the American people and the rest of the world's peoples who have had enough of this deceptive monopoly profit-driven global and "endless" war under Bush. Peoples all over the globe have unmasked and continue to unmask the high deceit and are resisting with ever greater determination the intolerable suffering imposed on them by US imperialism and its craven allies. They are resolved to build a world of justice, freedom and democracy, all-round progress and international solidarity and peace.

The ILPS calls on its member organizations and allies to denounce the US manipulation of 9/11 for imperialist purposes and to mount timely mass actions to demand an end to the US-instigated global war

Crisis Generates Resistance

of terrorism, to oppose every war of aggression unleashed by the US and its allies, to seek justice and indemnification for the victims of the wars of aggression, to demand the prosecution of the war criminals and war profiteers under Bush and Obama and to fight for the pullout of US military forces from other countries and the dismantling of the worldwide network of US military bases.

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Crisis of Imperialism, Impact on the Philippines and Challenge to the Filipino Student Youth³⁶

Message to the League of Filipino Students

September 11, 2009

It is always an honor and privilege for me to convey warmest greetings of solidarity to the national officers, general membership and all chapters of the League of Filipino Students (LFS) on the occasion of its founding anniversary today.

As requested, I am glad to update you briefly on the crisis of imperialism in the economic, political, military and cultural fields, assess the impact of such crisis on the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines and challenge the LFS and entire student youth to continue advancing the struggle for national democracy.

Crisis of imperialism

The current crisis of imperialism is as grave as the Great Depression of the 1930s and is on the way to becoming worse in its scope, depth and duration. It is the result of an ever worsening crisis of overproduction and the constant drive of the monopoly bourgeoisie to extract superprofits and overaccumulate capital.

The economic and financial crisis is certain to deepen and worsen as the imperialist powers are driven to further exploit the working people and plunder the underdeveloped countries. Even as they continue to spout the slogan of free market globalization, the imperialist powers increasingly become protectionist and scramble for sources of cheap raw materials, captive markets, fields of investment and spheres of influence.

Political crisis and disorder are spreading and intensifying on a global scale. The imperialist powers headed by the US use the slogan

³⁶ Speech delivered as Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle and Founding Chairman of Kabataang Makabayan.

Crisis Generates Resistance

of anti-terrorism in generating wars of aggression, state terrorism, fascism, chauvinism, racism, religious bigotry and other forms of barbarism. But the working class and the broad masses of the people are waging various forms of resistance against imperialism and reaction and for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

The US is the epicenter of the crisis of the world capitalist system and is overextended due to its plundering and aggressive character. It is in the process of losing its position as the No. 1 imperialist power even as it remains the No. 1 enemy of the people of the world. The increase in the number of major capitalist powers due to the revisionist betrayal of socialism has led to what is termed as multipolarity, a euphemism for the intensifying inter-imperialist struggle for a redivision of the world.

The rise of new technology ought to improve socioeconomic conditions, expand the range of freedom and promote the cultural achievements of the people. But in the imperialist system, the new technology has led to increasingly severe crises of overproduction, to the further stifling of freedom for the working people, to cultural degradation and mass deception, to unprecedented destructiveness of imperialist wars and to the ruin of peoples and the environment.

Impact on the Philippine ruling system

The semicolonial and semifeudal character of the Philippine ruling system has been deepened and aggravated by the US-instigated policy of free market globalization and by the series of economic and financial crises of the world capitalist system during the last three decades. The current crisis of imperialism is further deepening and aggravating the crisis of the domestic ruling system.

The Philippine economy is preindustrial, agrarian and semifeudal in character. Under trade liberalization, it has lost sufficiency in rice and other types of food for domestic consumption because of dumping by other countries. It is dependent on the export of raw materials and reexport of low value-added semimanufactures. Constant trade and budgetary deficits have resulted in heavy foreign and domestic borrowings every year. Under current crisis conditions, the economy suffers from diminished foreign demand for its exports and reexports and from the tight global credit.

The Philippines is in a state of economic depression. Mass unemployment has become far worse than ever before. The low wages of workers are further being pressed down and so are the incomes of the middle social strata. Landlords are demanding higher rent from tenants. Prices of basic commodities are rising and so are the taxes and the service fees charged by the reactionary state. Social unrest is therefore building up and bursting out.

The Arroyo regime is hated by the people for its puppetry to imperialist interests, its unbridled corruption and its gross and systematic violation of human rights. It is extremely isolated and ripe for overthrow by the broad united front and the broad masses of the people. Fearful of losing power and facing demands for justice, it is exerting all efforts to weaken and suppress the broad legal opposition and the mass movement.

The struggle for power among the reactionary factions of the ruling classes of big compradors and landlords is more bitter and violent than ever before

But the anti-Arroyo reactionary factions have for the moment a preference for the electoral method of choosing which clique is next in line to serve the imperialists and the local exploiting classes, to get the lion's share of the spoils of office and suppress the resistance of the people. At any rate, the basic problems of the people persist and continues to strain the ability of the ruling system to contain them.

The Arroyo regime has been daydreaming that Oplan Bantay Laya, backed up by US military intervention under the so-called Visiting Forces Agreement, can destroy or reduce the revolutionary forces of the people to inconsequentiality. Instead, the revolutionary forces of the people have been growing in strength and advancing. The US imperialists and the Arroyo regime seem to forget that not even the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the presence of US military bases could destroy the still limited strength of the armed revolutionary movement.

Challenge to the Filipino student youth

Today the Filipino student youth suffer fast deteriorating living and study conditions. They face bleak prospects with regard to prompt and proper employment even if they were to finish their courses of study. They are constrained by conditions which victimize their parents and

Crisis Generates Resistance

themselves, especially if they come from the ranks of the working people and lower and middle social strata. Within the present ruling system, education is considered a commodity that is available only to those who can pay for it.

The private schools are dominant in the market, particularly at the secondary, vocational, tertiary and graduate levels. The public high schools and the state colleges and universities are charging ever higher tuition fees because the reactionary state does not appropriate enough public funds for education but appropriates the most funds for the servicing of the public debt, financing graft-ridden supply contracts and boosting the military, police and intelligence services.

The Filipino student youth are victims not only to the rising costs of living and study but also to the reactionary content of education or miseducation. They are systematically diverted from consciousness that is patriotic, scientific and people-oriented. Those who control the educational system, the mass media and other institutions seek to alienate them from the people's demand for national independence, democracy, social justice, development and international solidarity and peace against imperialism and all reaction.

The League of Filipino Students and the entire Filipino student youth are more than ever challenged to arouse, organize and mobilize themselves and join the rest of the Filipino people in continuing the struggle for national liberation and democracy against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. We urge you to exert all efforts at changing not only the US-directed Arroyo regime but the entire rotten ruling system.

Our struggle must break the chains of our economic, social, political and cultural captivity. We must uphold the national sovereignty of the Filipino people, empower the working people in a new type of democracy, develop the economy through national industrialization and land reform, promote a national, scientific and democratic type of culture and education and contribute to the building of a new and better world, free from imperialism and all reaction.

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Arroyo and Razon Proclaim End of GRP-NDFP Peace Negotiations³⁷

September 17, 2009

In their most recent statements, the de facto president Gloria M. Arroyo and her OPAPP secretary Avelino Razon Jr. have paid lip service to peace negotiations between the Government of the Philippines (GRP) and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) only to proclaim the end of peace negotiations and blame the NDFP for their own malicious action.

Despite the extremely hostile pronouncements of Arroyo and Razon, the NDFP Negotiating Panel continues to seek the resumption of formal talks in the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and demand respect for and compliance with the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) and all other bilateral agreements made since 1992.

At the same time, the NDFP is acutely aware of the fact that GRP is hellbent on seeking the destruction and pacification of the revolutionary movement of the people mainly through the military force of Oplan Bantay Laya and secondarily through psywar pretenses at wishing peace negotiations. The GRP has shown its malevolent scheme in the following ways:

1. It does not want to give up its policy and practice of using false charges of common crimes to demonize, harass, abduct, detain, torture and murder suspected revolutionaries, social activists and the NDFP panelists, consultants, staffers and other JASIG-protected people. It is thus incapable of respecting and complying with the JASIG and the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL).

2. It wants to prevent the negotiation of social, economic and political reforms in accordance with the substantive agenda set forth by The Hague Joint Declaration and the Joint Agreement on the Sequence, Formation and Operationalization of the Reciprocal Working Committees. It does not wish the peace negotiations to be a

³⁷ Statement issued as Chief Political Consultant of the NDFP Negotiating Panel.

Crisis Generates Resistance

way of addressing the roots of the armed conflict and laying the basis for a just and lasting peace through basic reforms.

3. It wants to front load the end of hostilities, which is the fourth and last item in the agenda, so that it can actually destroy the peace negotiations as a way of bringing about basic reforms for the benefit of the people. It is obsessed with imposing the framework of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration simply to pacify the people and perpetuate the rotten ruling system of oppression and exploitation.

By all indications, the Arroyo regime does not want the resumption of formal talks in the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations, unless it realizes immediately its malevolent scheme and attain its malicious objectives against the Filipino people and their struggle for national liberation and democracy.

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On People's War and Peace Negotiations

Interview by Roselle Valerio, *Liberation International*

September 20, 2009

1. *Thank you for granting this interview in your capacity as the chief political consultant of the negotiating panel of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP). I would like to ask some questions about the status and prospects of the people's war and the peace negotiations of the NDFP with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP). But first let me ask you about your personal situation in exile as a political refugee?*

JMS: I am taking seriously and enjoying my role as chief political consultant of the NDFP negotiating panel and as chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle. I do a lot of research, writing and speaking before various types of audiences. I manage to speak through skype, Yahoo Messenger and other video-conferencing methods to audiences in the US and other countries which refuse to give me visa.

I am on the terrorist blacklist of the European Union and other governments and I have been detained on false charges supplied by the Arroyo regime. I am banned from paid employment and I am deprived of social benefits. I have to borrow money in order to survive. However, my detractors misrepresent me as living it up whenever they get hold of pictures of me enjoying the company of compatriots and friends in social gatherings.

2. *Will the Arroyo regime be able to destroy or reduce the New People's Army (NPA) into inconsequentiality before the middle of next year?*

JMS: No. Even the top officials and military officers of the regime admit that they cannot destroy the NPA. The intensity, frequency and wide scale of the NPA tactical offensives belie the claims of military success by the most rabid psywar officers of the regime. The regime is worried about the worsening crisis and the rising strength of the NPA and other revolutionary forces of the people.

Crisis Generates Resistance

3. *Why has the Arroyo failed in its military objective of defeating the NPA?*

JMS: The regime's anti-people policy of subservience to foreign interests, its big comprador-landlord character, its bureaucratic corruption and gross human rights violations drive the people to wage armed revolution.

The ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system fuels the people's war. The toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata suffer mass unemployment, lower incomes, soaring prices of basic commodities, more expensive social services and other grave difficulties.

Following the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), the NPA has successfully pursued the general line of new democratic revolution through protracted people's war and is at the moment carrying out an intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an ever widening and deepening mass base.

4. *In your recent interview with the Wall Street Journal, you said that there are about 6,000 fighters of the New People's Army. Is that all the armed strength of the NPA?*

JMS: I said that the NPA should have at least 6,000 Red fighters with automatic rifles because as early as 1986 their number was already 6,100. I said this precisely to contradict the varying estimates of NPA strength of 4,800 to 5,200 by the reactionary armed forces. I also pointed out that the number of NPA fighters never reached 25,000 in the 1980s.

The revolutionary movement does not publicize the exact number of NPA fighters armed with automatic rifles. But I dare say that the NPA armed strength is far more than 6,000. And it is not limited to the thousands of Red fighters with automatic rifles. They are augmented by tens of thousands of members of the people's militia and the hundreds of thousands of members of the self-defense units of mass organizations in nearly 10,000 barangays of the country.

5. *Aside from armed struggle, how else does the NPA build its political strength ?*

JMS: It is a matter of public knowledge that the NPA draws political strength from the people by arousing, organizing and mobilizing them along the line of the new democratic revolution and by serving them

in every possible and necessary way. In very concrete and immediate terms, the NPA draws strength from the revolutionary mass organizations, the organs of political power and allied forces. These arise and grow due to the work of the CPP, NPA and NDFP.

6. On the basis of information available to you as NDFP chief political consultant, what is your view or evaluation of the plans of the CPP leadership to advance the people's war?

JMS: From what I read in CPP publications, it is logical for the CPP to aim for expanding the current number of guerrilla fronts to more than 170 or enough to cover every rural congressional district within the next few years.

Fulfilling the political and military requirements for such an expansion would certainly mean a great advance of the people's war and would lay the basis for a possible strategic stalemate or even a strategic offensive within the next ten years.

7. If the CPP is aiming for a great advance in the people's war, why does it allow the NDFP to engage in peace negotiations with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP)? Isn't there a self-contradiction in this regard?

JMS: I don't think that there is a self-contradiction. The peace negotiations arise precisely because of the people's war. At whatever rate the peace negotiations run, the GRP seeks to destroy the armed revolutionary movement of the people and the revolutionary forces defend themselves and advance the people's war.

The peace negotiations provide the revolutionary forces the opportunity to broadcast their just cause of struggle for national liberation and democracy and explore possibilities of basic social, economic and political reforms. Even on the eve of complete revolutionary victory, the revolutionary forces can engage in peace negotiations in order to facilitate the victory.

8. What are the chances for the resumption of formal talks in the peace negotiations before GMA steps down in 2010? What can be accomplished before then?

JMS: The Arroyo regime has refused to respect and comply with the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG). It continues to use false criminal charges to abduct, detain, torture

Crisis Generates Resistance

and murder NDFP panelists, consultants, staffers and other JASIG-protected people. Moreover, it seeks to undermine and scrap the JASIG and all other bilateral agreements of the GRP and NDFP since 1992.

It regards the peace negotiations as a minor adjunct of Oplan Bantay Laya. It wishes to pacify the revolutionary movement of the people through military force and deception in peace negotiations. It is obsessed with imposing the framework of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration on the NDFP. It also wishes to frontload the issue of ending the hostilities and evade the prior issues of social, economic and political reforms in the substantive agenda of the peace negotiations.

If only the regime would agree to resume the formal talks and comply with the obligations stipulated by previous agreements, it is still possible to go a significant way towards a comprehensive agreement on social and economic reforms and to improve the human rights situation in the Philippines. But the regime is obviously determined to go down in Philippine history as a hated regime of unmitigated puppetry to US imperialism, unbridled corruption and gross and systematic human rights violations.

9. Do you think that the next administration would be willing to negotiate with the NDFP?

JMS: I believe so. The crisis of the ruling system shall have become worse. More than ever the people would be demanding peace negotiations even as they demand the advance of the revolutionary movement, especially because the peace negotiations have not as yet yielded substantial reforms for their benefit. The people clamor for basic reforms to realize a just and lasting peace, be it through people's war and/or peace negotiations.

10. Is it possible that the NPA and the people's war would someday become so strong that those in GRP would choose to negotiate peace more seriously than now?

JMS: Just as it is possible for the revolutionary movement of the people to win complete victory in the next ten years, it is also possible for patriotic and progressive sections in the reactionary government to seek peace negotiations and accept a historic concord of national unity and just peace against foreign and feudal domination.

On People's War and Peace Negotiations

Such historic concord should uphold, defend and advance national independence, democracy through empowerment of the working people, social justice, development through national industrialization and land reform, a national, scientific and mass culture and international solidarity for peace and development.

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On the 2010 Presidential Elections³⁸

Interview by Jingjing Romero

September 22, 2009

1. What are your five fearless forecasts for the 2010 elections?

JMS: Let me use the presidential contest as the main point of reference. First, the elections will be held, contrary to fears that they will not be held. Second, Arroyo will not dare to cause failure of elections and continue in power. Third, the elections will not be clean and will be characterized by dirty tricks from the Arroyo clique and the military. Fourth, they will be mainly a contest of personalities and money and not a single presidential candidate will dare to make any fundamental criticism of US domination and the local exploiting classes. And fifth, the winning presidential candidate is unlikely to change the US-controlled rotten system of big compradors and landlords.

2. Do you have an unsolicited advice for each of the presidential candidates?

JMS: I have an unsolicited advice for all and each of them. Strive to cast away the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society. Undertand the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy, seek serious peace negotiations with the revolutionary forces through the NDFP and address the roots of the civil war by forging agreements on basic social, economic and political reforms. Fight for a new Philippines that is truly independent, democratic, just, progressive and peaceful.

Advocate the following: 1) defense of national sovereignty and national independence against foreign control of the economy and the military; 2) democratic empowerment of the toiling masses of worker and peasants and respect for the civil and political rights of the people; 3) economic development and social justice through national industrialization and land reform; 4) promotion of a patriotic, scientific and democratic system of education and culture; and 5) a foreign policy of

³⁸ Unpublished interview submitted to the *Philippine Daily Inquirer*.

Crisis Generates Resistance

international solidarity for peace and development against imperialism and all reaction.

3. What are the five pressing issues that should be the priority of the next administration?

JMS: The next administration should pay priority attention to the following five issues: First, terminate the unequal treaties and arrangements that keep the Philippines in neocolonial bondage to the US and other foreign powers economically, militarily, politically and culturally. Second, stop human rights violations, punish the human rights violators and open new ways for the workers and peasants to acquire and exercise political power. Third, carry out Filipino-owned industrialization and land reform, punish the corrupt bureaucrats and seize their ill-gotten wealth. Fourth, expand public education, health and other social services for the benefit of the people. Fifth, embark on a new foreign policy independent of US control and dictation and friendly to neighboring countries.

4. How do you see the country six years from now, if Erap, Noynoy, Manny Villar or Chiz Escudero wins?

JMS: As I have pointed out earlier, in answer to your first question, it is unlikely that the next president or new administration will change the basic character of the ruling system. It is very likely that the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society will be aggravated and deepened in the next six years. Up to now, not one of the presidential candidates has shown a comprehensive and profound view of the rotten character and basic ills of society and has not presented any program of action that would make a fundamental change of the situation for the national and social liberation of the people. Compared to the other election-related political formations, the Koalisyonang Makabayan has presented the best program of meaningful change and has excellent senatorial candidates who can win with sheer mass support. But it does not have the financial means to field its own presidential candidate.

All the presidential candidates only make shallow and fragmentary denunciations of the Arroyo regime mainly about bad government and corruption and try to present themselves as the new conductors of good governance and palliative measures. They ignore the ruinous effects of the US-dictated policy of neoliberal globalization and the

gross and systematic human rights violations under the US global war of terror against the people. They are preoccupied with making glossy appearances, primping up in a personality contest and scoring better in the poll surveys. With this kind of candidates, we can expect the country to be in a far worse situation in the next six years.

5. On a scale of 1 to 10, how do you score PGMA's governance?

JMS: GMA has a failing mark of far lower than positive 1. The condition of the people is far worse now than when she took the reins of reactionary power in 2001. She has aggravated and deepened the exploited and oppressed condition of the people.

6. What are the five sins of her regime?

JMS: First, puppetry to US imperialism by following the disastrous policies of neoliberal globalization and war on terrorism. Foreign monopoly interests have been allowed to further tighten their grip on the Philippine economy and keep it dependent on the export of raw materials and low-value reexports of semimanufactures. The US military forces have been allowed to become further entrenched on Philippine soil under the Visiting Forces Agreement and under the pretext of combating terrorism.

Second, intensified exploitation of the workers and peasants and even the middle social strata. The economy is in shambles. The real unemployment rate is extremely high. Incomes have sunk while prices of basic commodities soar. The tax burden has become far heavier for the people, while the foreign companies and local exploiters engage in tax evasion and bringing out capital. The economy is depressed and social services are deteriorating. The burden of crisis weighs heavily on the people.

Third, unbridled corruption. GMA herself, her family and her retinue of favored high bureaucrats and top military officers (the entire Arroyo ruling clique) are involved in so many corruption scandals. They flaunt their ill-gotten wealth both in the Philippines and abroad. They have accumulated their wealth by getting kickbacks in all kinds of contracts favoring foreign monopoly interests and the local exploiting classes.

Fourth, state terrorism. Gross and systematic human rights violations have been committed in order to suppress the people's clamor for national liberation, democracy, social justice and development. Unarmed social activists have been abducted, tortured and murdered.

Crisis Generates Resistance

The rural and urban poor have been forced out of their land and homes to favor foreign and local exploiters. The rise of state terrorism under the Arroyo regime is in line with the US-instigated global war of terror.

Fifth, massive fraud, scamming and lying. The Arroyo clique has been in power due to the electoral fraud in 2004. The scams made in favor of foreign and local exploiting interests and the human rights violations by the state are described in glittering terms while the regime engages in the most vicious campaigns of slander and demonization against the legal opposition and the revolutionary forces.

7. What factors shall compel you to come home for good?

JMS: The complete victory of the people's revolutionary movement for national liberation and democracy is foreseeable in the next ten years. In lesser time, it is also possible to attain a just and lasting peace through peace negotiations and comprehensive agreements on basic social, economic and political reforms. In the meantime, I help to attain a just and lasting peace in my capacity as chief political consultant of the NDFP negotiating panel.

Although at the moment the presidential candidates in general appear uninterested in peace negotiations, it is possible that someday, because of the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system and the growing strength of the revolutionary movement, the patriotic and progressive section of the GRP would be amenable to having a historic concord with the NDFP for a just and lasting peace through basic economic and social reforms.

8. What is your message to the Filipino people?

JMS: I urge the Filipino people to fight ever more resolutely and militantly for their national and democratic rights. Only through our struggle as a self-respecting people can we achieve national and social liberation and build a new and better Philippines. The people must take their destiny in their own hands and make a Philippines that is truly independent, democratic, prosperous, socially just, progressive and peaceful.

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ILPS Condemns Abduction and Torture; Demands Immediate Release of Kobad Ghandy³⁹

September 27, 2009

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, vigorously condemn the abduction, torture and continued illegal detention of Indian political leader Kobad Ghandy. We demand his immediate release from prison as a matter of justice because of the gross violations of his fundamental human rights.

Since his youth, Kobad Ghandy has resolutely and militantly upheld, defended and promoted the Indian people's revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy against imperialism and the Indian exploiting classes. He is a steadfast advocate of the historic mission of the working class to build socialism and the international solidarity of peoples against imperialism.

Whatever are his ideological and political ideas, he is guaranteed by the International Bill of Rights and by the bill of rights in the Indian constitution well-defined inviolable human rights, particularly civil and political rights, against illegal arrest and detention and against all forms of torture. The gross violations of his fundamental human rights justify his immediate release.

Contrary to the claims of the police that he was arrested on September 21, Kobad Ghandy was abducted on September 17, kept under illegal detention for four days and tortured for three days and three nights in the course of interrogation in a safe house. Moreover, he was deprived of his medicine and medical treatment for life-threatening health problems.

We support the campaign of the Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners (CRPP) in spreading information about the circumstances of Kobad Ghandy's abduction and torture, in preventing further harm to his person and in seeking his immediate release. We join the CPPR in making the following urgent demands:

³⁹ Statement issued as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

1. Provide immediate medical care to Kobad Ghandy for all his health problems including kidney, cardiac and prostate cancer.

2. Allow him the prescribed diet and safe/boiled water, as provided in the hospitals.

3. Stop all attempts to transfer him to other states under false charges which will endanger his life.

4. Allow a team of specialist doctors to immediately examine and continuously monitor his health condition.

5. Stop all attempts to put him under the illegal narco-analysis which would endanger his life.

6. Shift him to a cell which is not overcrowded.

7. Provide him with reading and writing materials.

8. Recognize his status as Political Prisoner.

We call on all member-organizations and allies of the ILPS throughout the world to demand not only the improvement of the conditions of Kobad Ghandy's imprisonment but most importantly his immediate release as a matter of justice because of the gross violations of his fundamental human rights.

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On the ECFI Decision re Terrorist Blacklist

Interview by Alexander Martin Remollino, *Bulatlat Online Magazine*

October 2, 2009

Once again, congratulations on your major legal victory! I watched your press conference through livestream and have also read your press statement, as well as that of the International DEFEND Committee.

Beyond the legal aspect which took prominence at the press conference, I would like to go into some depth regarding the implications of the European Court of First Instance (ECFI) decision on your work and personal life. I thus have a few questions for you.

1. How does it feel to be finally stricken off the EU list of “foreign terrorists”?

JMS: Of course, I am elated. The legal victory means that I have prevailed over some great suffering for a long while. For more than seven years, the EU terrorist blacklist was used not only to freeze my modest bank account but to violate many of my basic human rights. My social benefits (living allowance, health insurance, housing and old age pension) were terminated. I was banned from gainful employment and from rendering professional services with remuneration. I was prevented from legal admission as refugee and from the grant of residence permit. My right to travel was curtailed. I was demonized and stigmatized as a “terrorist.” Hatred was thus incited against me by governments and other reactionary forces, endangering my life and limb and attacking my honor and reputation.

2. What are your plans, in terms of taking legal steps—if any—in the wake of the ECFI decision?

JMS: The ECFI decision properly concentrates on annulling the unjust acts of the Council of the European Union and thus automatically removing my name from the EU terrorist list and unfreezing my

Crisis Generates Resistance

bank account and allowing me to engage in financial transactions. Having decided on the substantive issues in my case, the ECFI will open a new stage of hearings to determine the legal costs and compensation that must be paid by the Council of the EU to my lawyers and myself. My lawyers will use the ECFI decision as the basis for claiming back all my unpaid social benefits, for enabling me to render professional services, for securing my residence permit and travel documents and for claiming moral and material damages.

3. How do you think the ECFI decision will impact on your work as ILPS chairman?

JMS: I shall be able to function more freely and efficiently as ILPS chairperson. I shall not be hampered by the curtailment of my rights and by so many kinds of impediments. My residence and living and working conditions will be stabilized. I shall probably be able to pay my financial debts to other people and become less bothered and less constrained by economic difficulties due to lack of employment and social benefits. I shall be able to travel freely and have normal interactions with academic colleagues and social activists of the ILPS in Europe and elsewhere, except the US and some other countries where I am still blacklisted.

4. Do you think the ECFI decision will have any implications on the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and your participation in these?

JMS: Certainly, the ECFI decision has positive implications and consequences in relation to the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and to my participation as chief political consultant of the NDFP Negotiating Panel. I shall be able to move and act far more freely than before in promoting, clarifying the issues and assisting in the peace negotiations. Previously, there was so much hassle in getting the laissez passer and the return visa before I could go to Oslo. The ECFI decision removes restraints on my travel and thus enable me to perform my role as chief political consultant of the NDFP much more effectively than before.

5. Would you, in principle, also consider this a victory against the US and Philippine governments?

JMS: Yes, of course. I have scored a significant victory and prevailed over the malicious intent and purposes of the US and Philippine

governments. Together with the Dutch government, they were most responsible for putting me in the EU blacklist. They did so in order to demonize and stigmatize me personally as well as the entire national democratic movement of the Filipino people. They also did so in order to put me and the entire NDFP Negotiating Panel under duress. They had the malicious intent of pressuring the NDFP towards capitulation and pacification. They wanted to lay aside the people's demand for basic social, economic and political reforms as the way to establish a just and lasting peace.

6. What do you think are the key factors that brought about this victory of yours?

JMS: First of all, the fact has always been so obvious to all fair-minded persons and to the people of the world that I am not a terrorist and that since my release from the fascist prison in 1986 I have devoted myself to academic lectures, writing and social activism, all in the spirit of serving the people. Second, the people of the world, numerous organizations and allies of the ILPS and International DEFEND Committee and even respected personages and institutions like Dick Marty of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and Amnesty International have supported me in my just struggle against the inclusion of my name in the EU terrorist blacklist. Third, I have an excellent international battery of topnotch lawyers, including Jan Fermon of Belgium as lead lawyer, Romeo T, Capulong of the Philippines, Eberhard Schultz and Wolfgang Kaleck of Germany, Antoine Comte of France and Dundar Gurses of The Netherlands.

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False Sense of Recovery at G-20 Summit in Pittsburgh⁴⁰

October 3, 2009

The leaders of the imperialist powers and the world's other big economies concluded their G-20 summit in Pittsburgh, USA and declared the capitalist world economy on the path to recovery. They praised themselves for arresting economic decline and stabilizing financial markets, and for starting a reform process towards "strong, sustained and balanced growth in the 21st century." Again they asserted that the crisis was only due to reckless and irresponsible financial behaviour. Since steps have begun to be taken to rein these in they reiterated the promise that capitalism will bring development to billions of people in the world.

But these are all self-serving declarations diverting from the profit-driven laws of motion of capitalism and the gross reality of how billions of working people around the world are oppressed and exploited, denied real development, and driven into deeper suffering and backwardness. The global economy and the people are still in deep and acute crisis. Financial and industrial profits have momentarily risen in relation to their steep declines since last year—but this is only because of the unprecedented state bailouts of monopoly capital, cost-cutting in the form of massive lay-offs and squeezing more surplus from the employed workforce.

Global output continues to contract, factories are still closing, millions of jobs are still being lost, millions are losing their homes, and family incomes and welfare continue to plunge. Conservative estimates are that the intensified crisis will see 50-100 million additional jobless aside from increasing the number of "working poor" to some 1.4 billion worldwide. This additional misery is on top of how even before 2008 there were already—again by conservative estimates—some 3.1 billion people poor, two billion without access to clean water, one billion going hungry every day, and 200 million outright jobless. Every year

⁴⁰ Statement issued as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

Crisis Generates Resistance

around 25 million people were already dying from curable diseases and 500,000 mothers dying during pregnancy and childbirth.

The touted beginnings of recovery are in any case a false dawn. They are largely hype to try and promote investor confidence and the illusion of market stability. The estimated US\$10.8 trillion worth of stimulus so far are financed by soaring government debt which ominously creates problems in the near future. The US federal government alone already has US\$11.8 trillion in debt even as it faces a deficit of US\$1.8 trillion just for 2009 and trillion-dollar-plus deficits every year for at least the next decade.

Desperate fiscal stimulus programs are everywhere driving huge public deficits in the major imperialist powers. They are for instance to the order of 13.5% of gross domestic product (GDP) in the US, 11.6% in the UK, 7.4% in France and 10.3% in Japan—the highest seen since the Second World War. Even China's vaunted economy and accumulated finance are at their limits. These are dangerous conditions for the people. At the very least the people will see education, health, housing and welfare services cut to give way to massive public debt service. But also very alarming is the menace of widespread defaults and financial meltdown with no more possibility of further state-driven bailouts.

The G-20 declared their agenda to be coordinating policies for economic recovery, financial regulatory reform, and charting a course for high, sustainable and balanced global growth. In reality they are seeking ways to secure monopoly capital's profits in the wake of the world capitalist system's deepest global depression in nearly a century. The leaders tend to be preoccupied with using state power and public finance to generate bigger bubbles for the benefit of the monopoly bourgeoisie, especially the finance oligarchy. They have united on further shifting the burden of the crisis to the people of the world,

The G-20's members include the United States of America (US), United Kingdom (UK), Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and Russia—the members of the G-8—with China, India, Indonesia, South Korea, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Turkey and Australia. They account for 80% of world trade, 85% of the world economy and two-thirds of the global population. Also involved are the heads of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB) and World Trade Organization (WTO).

The imperialist powers have made headway in their efforts to advance their self-interest at the expense of the world's workers, peasants, fisherfolk, urban poor, indigenous peoples, women and youth. The summit concluded with the leaders agreeing to expand the G-20's role and making it more central to international economic policy-making. The US in particular has pushed for the IMF and WB to have a greater and resurgent role in advancing the imperialist agenda, especially in the over 170 underdeveloped countries outside the G-20.

When the G-20 was set up after the so-called Asian financial crisis in 1999, it was mainly a forum for finance ministers and central bankers. The intensification of the current global crisis last year however has seen the G-20 become conspicuously active with the world's big powers aiming for a new way to craft global economic policies. Its first ever summit with heads of state was held in Washington in November 2008, followed by another in London in April 2009 and then this just concluded one. The scheduled summits in Canada in June 2010 and Korea in November 2010 will mean an unprecedented five top-tier meetings within just two years.

The international financial institutions (IFIs) are being rejuvenated to give imperialism more teeth in enforcing their will. The IMF has been formally tasked with 'monitoring' economic policies, especially of countries outside the inner circle of imperialist powers, and over US\$500 billion has been added to its resources for imposing conditionalities. The WB and other regional development banks are meanwhile expected to become more aggressive in pushing the 'free market' and corporate plunder under cover of 'development' issues such as climate change, clean and renewable energy, and food security. Imperialism's increasing attention to the global climate crisis and the food crisis is ominous and the capitalist drive for profits will only worsen these crises.

The G-20 is also seeking to increase the perceived legitimacy of the IMF and WB through supposed reforms such as increasing a little the persistently minority voting shares distributed to under-represented countries like China. This puny adjustment is calculated to enhance the long-discredited interference of the aforesaid institutions in the underdeveloped countries and to conceal the overwhelming control by the imperialist powers. Among all the big powers, the US has the sole veto power and greatest control over the IMF and the WB.

Crisis Generates Resistance

The G-20 is not and can never be about radically overhauling the world and national economies in order to meet the needs of the people. It cannot but persist with peddling “free market globalization” to misrepresent monopoly capitalism and the illusion that opening up to foreign investment and trade are the keys to domestic growth and development. There certainly are such new catch phrases as seeking a “balanced and inclusive” global economy with “multiple poles” of growth. But these are only the latest rationalizations for prying open domestic energy, natural resource and infrastructure sectors, for promoting profit-seeking monopoly interests, and for pushing so-called regional integration.

There has also been the ritualistic expression of commitment to free trade and open markets and in particular to trade liberalization through a conclusion to the WTO’s Doha Round of talks. Yet the imperialist powers as ever remain two-faced and push for opening up the backward economies while taking for themselves as much trade and financial protectionist measures as they deem necessary. In any case, although the WTO remains a key instrument for imperialist economic aggression the US appears to have somewhat less enthusiasm for it because it is faced with demands by major member states that it cannot meet and because it can use bilateral and regional trade agreements

The G-20 cannot but recognize the worst aberrations and excesses of capitalism’s irrational and destructive financial system. The leaders have made much of trying to curb these through tougher financial supervision, discouraging excessive leverage and risk-taking, regulating derivatives trading and policing tax havens. But the deadline they set for themselves is 2010 or later, confirming the lack of real commitment to rein in finance capital.

In any case, even if they adopt new regulations, these cannot solve the deep-seated economic and financial crisis. The history of capitalism has seen that seeming unity and discipline always eventually give way to the intrinsic compulsion for profit and inter-imperialist competition through any and all means possible.

It is likewise with the destructive competition between the major capitalist economies. The G-20’s call for “coordinated policies” and evening out the “lopsided global growth model” acknowledges how countries will advance their interests as they see fit even if these exacerbate the intrinsic anarchy of the system. Monopoly capital will invariably always seek to boost profits using the entire range of

economic powers of states including their budgets, exchange rates, monetary and debt policies.

Self-interest sets limits to such supposed “coordination” and hastens the onset of new and worse episodes of crisis. Indeed it is even likely that the inevitable failure to coordinate will be used as justification for retaliatory protectionism and economic policy countermanceuvering. The civility during the G-20 summit barely hides the intensifying rivalries and competition for the world’s finite raw materials, cheap labor, markets and areas of investment. The struggle for a redivision of the world among the imperialist powers is being sharpened by the worsening global economic and financial crisis.

The deteriorating social and economic conditions of the world’s working people over the last decades and the even more severe decline since last year expose how world capitalism is fundamentally flawed. The foundations for a world economy that promotes the well-being of the people have to be built. This cannot happen through the world capitalist system, the G-20 or any mechanism controlled by the imperialist powers such as the IMF, WB and WTO. If anything, these schemes for intervention and influence have to be done away with.

The G20 leaders are now foolishly talking about “exit strategies” from pseudo-Keynesian stimulus spending and a return to neoliberal reliance on “private sources of demand.” The G-20 seeks a return to the most unbridled and brazen forms of capitalist exploitation and plunder that have brought about the current grave crisis. On the other hand, the people of the world are driven by the crisis to assert their sovereignty in crafting development, and investment and trade policies, and in regulating capital flows in their favor. The only acceptable reform of the global financial system is one that supports domestic industrial development, that is not designed to drain backward economies of scarce capital, that cancels burdensome debt and that promotes development-oriented trade on equal terms with other countries.

Our economies must serve the needs of the people and not be geared merely towards generating profits for monopoly capital. In the capitalist countries, jobs must be created, incomes increased and consumption revived rather than bailouts poured out to the monopoly bourgeoisie. Production must be restored based on expanding the people’s incomes and capacity to consume and on sustaining this by keeping them productive in a well-balanced economy. In the vast number of backward countries the struggle remains to develop national

Crisis Generates Resistance

economies, involving the balanced development of both industry and agriculture. At the same time, the basic demand for social and economic justice must be met in terms of fair and decent wages, land reform, food self-reliance, adequate livelihood, social benefits and expanded social services.

The mass protests leading up to and during the G-20 summit that breached the fences of iron and steel underscore the extent of social discontent and readiness of the people to fight against exploitation, oppression, discrimination and all forms of social injustice. A week before the summit there was the “National March for Jobs” in Pittsburgh with thousands of workers, healthcare activists, unemployed and homeless from across the US.

The International League of Peoples’ Struggle (ILPS) congratulates the mass mobilizations against the G-20 in Pittsburgh led by the US-based alliance of grassroots organizations Bail-Out the People Movement (BOPM). BOPM marched and sponsored “A Global Week of Solidarity with the Unemployed” which included protestors camping out in a make-shift tent city dubbed “Bail-Out the Jobless, a Tent City dedicated to the Unemployed, the Homeless, the Hungry, and the Poor of the World.” Also noteworthy were mass actions at US embassies and national workers’ conferences on the G-20, such as in the Philippines and elsewhere. Mass protests such as these are among those giving the greatest hope for fundamental social change.

As the crisis of the world capitalist system worsens, we can expect ever larger and more militant forms of popular resistance. It is important to keep on conducting campaigns of education and information on the G-20 and the entire scheme of monopoly capitalism against the people of the world. We must build on our achievements in mass mobilization and we must further develop our political and organizational strength in preparation for mass actions in the next summits in Canada in June 2010 and Korea in November 2010.

As the imperialist powers are redoubling their efforts to preserve global capitalism, then more so must the people become ever more resolute and effective in waging militant anti-imperialist struggles for greater freedom, democracy, social justice, development and international solidarity and peace. The progressive mass movements and revolutionary forces of the people of the world are steadily gaining strength in the struggles for national and social liberation and are

False Sense of Recovery at G-20 Summit

making advances towards the ultimate goal of liberating mankind from imperialism and all reaction.

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On the GRP-NDFP Peace Negotiations

Interview by J. M. Ragaza, *Philippine Collegian*

October 10, 2009

1. I am a feature writer of the Philippine Collegian, the official student publication of UP Diliman, and a legislative researcher for Kabataan Partylist. I would like to ask a few questions about the gains, problems and prospects of the peace negotiations between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines. Can you briefly narrate the history of the peace negotiations between the NDFP and the GRP? When did it start? Who initiated it?

JMS: When Cory Aquino became president in 1986, she offered ceasefire talks with the NDFP. A ceasefire agreement was made in November 1986 as a prelude to further agreement on the substantive agenda of peace negotiations. Following the Mendiola massacre of peasants, Aquino scrapped the ceasefire agreement in February 1986 and unsheathed the sword of war.

When she was beset by grave socioeconomic and political problems in 1989, she sent then Rep. Jose Yap to The Netherlands to explore the possibility of peace negotiations. When Ramos became president in 1992, he sent a GRP delegation headed by Yap to meet with the NDFP delegation headed by Luis Jalandoni in The Hague. The two delegations agreed on the framework of peace negotiations, as embodied in The Hague Declaration.

The peace negotiations formally opened in Brussels only in 1995 after the forging of the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG), the Ground Rules of Panel Meetings and the Joint Agreement on the Sequence, Formation and Operationalization of the Reciprocal Working Committees.

2. What is the objective of peace negotiations between the government and the NDFP? Why do you think that the government is participating in such talks despite its obvious bias against the Left? On the other hand, why is the Left engaging in peace talks when its criticism of the current government is that it is there to perpetuate

Crisis Generates Resistance

itself in power and uphold its economic and political interests? What are NDFP's gains in these peace negotiations?

JMS: There are peace negotiations precisely because there is armed conflict. As stated clearly in The Hague Joint Declaration, the objective of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations is to address the roots of the armed conflict and lay the basis for a just and lasting peace through basic social, economic and political reforms.

The GRP engages in peace negotiations because it is besieged by the crisis of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system and the growing strength of the people's armed revolution. It tries to use the peace negotiations as supplement and complement to its brutal policy of armed counterrevolution and systematic violation of human rights.

The NDFP participates in the peace negotiations in order to put forward and broadcast the demand of the people and revolutionary forces for national liberation and democracy, the empowerment of the working people, national industrialization and land reform, a patriotic, scientific and mass culture and independent foreign policy. If the NDFP does not engage in peace negotiations, it will become more easy for the GRP to pretend that it is for peace and blame the revolutionary forces for the civil war in the Philippines.

So far the NDFP has succeeded in pushing the GRP to be a party to the Comprehensive Agreement of Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law. But of course, the GRP has not complied with its obligations but has become far more brutal than before in violating human rights. The agreement has become a standard for the NDFP to expose and oppose the gross and systematic violations of human rights by the GRP.

3. Can you briefly describe how a peace talk is conducted? What are the steps undertaken by both parties before entering into negotiations? Are there preconditions (both in principle and in process) on both parts before engaging in peace talks?

JMS: Before the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations formally opened in 1995, there were the exploratory and preliminary talks which resulted in joint agreements on the common objective, the mutually acceptable principles, the substantive agenda, the sequence of issues to be negotiated, the ground rules of panel meetings, the safety and immunity guarantees and so on.

The GRP and the NDFP have their respective ideological, political and socioeconomic principles and systems. Peace negotiations between them would be impossible if one side imposes its principles and system on the other side. The Hague Joint Declaration stipulates that the two negotiating parties are guided by mutually acceptable principles of national sovereignty, democracy and social justice but no precondition shall be imposed by one side on the other that would negate the character and purpose of peace negotiations.

4. In principle, why is it that the government should be the one to bring the rebel forces to the negotiating table?

JMS: It is not the GRP that has brought the revolutionary forces to the negotiating table. It has sued for peace negotiations precisely because it is stricken by crisis and is worried about the growing strength of the revolutionary movement. The NDFP has decided to engage in peace negotiations after weighing the advantages and disadvantages for the people and revolutionary cause under conditions where there are peace negotiations and where there are none.

5. What are the limitations of peace talks?

JMS: Peace talks cannot accomplish for any side more than what it has in the balance of forces in the battlefield. But there are examples in history and there are possibilities in which two warring parties can decide to go into a truce and alliance against a common enemy. The NDFP is open to the possibility that someday patriotic and progressive forces within the GRP would agree to a truce and alliance in order to fight for national liberation and democracy against imperialism and the worst of local reaction.

6. In a speech, former Senator Tañada once said that the government seems to prefer resorting to endless dialogue because it is neither prepared nor ready to undertake concrete reforms that address substantive social issues. Does it still hold true today (Arroyo regime)? Why?

JMS: What former Senator Tañada said is true. So far, there is yet no leadership in the GRP that has the will to make agreements with the NDFP on basic social, economic and political reforms. The top leaders of the GRP are servile to US imperialism and to the interests of the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class. However,

Crisis Generates Resistance

the Arroyo regime is notorious not for endless dialogue but for having paralyzed and sabotaged the peace negotiations for so many years, for more than 90 percent of the time from 2001 to the present.

7. Why is the NDFP still participating in peace talks after so many years? What are the prospects of peace talks given the current political and economic situation?

JMS: The NDFP has engaged in peace negotiations for so long since 1992 to gain experience and learn how to move in and out of peace negotiations. It has maintained its revolutionary integrity and has broadcast its revolutionary principles and policies domestically and internationally in the course of peace negotiations.

It is very unlikely that something positive and substantial for the people will arise from peace negotiations during the remaining months of the Arroyo regime. But the NDFP is not opposed to peace negotiations because it continues to foresee a future situation in which the crisis of the ruling system will be far worse than now and a new combination of patriotic and progressive forces will arise, gain the upperhand and move against imperialism and local reaction.

8. Finally, what do you think is the government's notion of peace? How about the NDFP's?

JMS: The GRP's notion of peace under the Arroyo regime is the pacification of the people and the revolutionary forces through military suppression and psywar and their capitulation to their oppressors and exploiters in the rotten semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

The NDFP's concept of peace is a just and lasting one because it satisfies the people's demand for national liberation and democracy and is founded on basic social, economic and political reforms.

A just and lasting peace is possible in the Philippines if national sovereignty is upheld against imperialist interests, if there is genuine democracy through the empowerment of the workers, peasants and the middle class, if there is economic development through national industrialization and land reform, if a patriotic, scientific and mass system of education and culture is promoted and if an independent foreign policy for world peace and development is pursued.

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On the 8th National Congress of BAYAN⁴¹

October 23, 2009

We of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) welcome wholeheartedly the holding of the Eighth National Congress of Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (BAYAN). On this special occasion, we express our solidarity with the leadership and member-organizations of BAYAN and all the national sectoral and chapter delegates, including those from BAYAN-USA and BAYAN-CANADA and the BAYAN desks in Japan and Hong Kong.

We are proud of BAYAN as the strongest formation in the Philippine chapter of the ILPS. We salute BAYAN for being the most comprehensive and largest alliance of class, sectoral and issue-based forces that pursue the general line of struggle for genuine national independence and democracy against imperialism and local reaction.

It includes the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata, the women, the youth and various types of professionals and the advocates of human rights, social reforms, just peace, healthy environment and other causes. It has a comprehensive range of capabilities. It can rally the people to confront the most powerful adversaries, to surmount the social disasters as well as the natural disasters that these aggravate and to fight and work for a new and better Philippines.

We congratulate you for all your victories in building your strength and in serving the people. We join you in anticipating that the congress will succeed in assessing and evaluating the five-year work of BAYAN from 2004 to 2009 and will be able to set forth the political and organizational tasks of rebuilding and strengthening the regional and provincial formations, which have borne the main brunt of fascist attacks.

We share with you the hope that the congress will pave the way for a meaningful and bountiful celebration of the 25th anniversary of the founding of BAYAN as the main alliance of patriotic and progressive

⁴¹ Message issued as Chairperson of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

forces and as a powerful center of the national democratic movement in the Philippines.

We live today under the harsh conditions of the worst crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system since the end of World War II. The broad masses of the people are undergoing terrible suffering. At the same time, they are being driven to wage struggles against their oppressors and exploiters.

The crisis conditions are favorable for BAYAN to arouse, organize and mobilize the Filipino people to fight for their own national and democratic rights and interests against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. We must seize every moment to expand and consolidate the organized forces for the national and social liberation of the people.

The global financial and economic crisis continues to worsen, contrary to the claims of recovery by the G-20. The imperialist states cling to the dogma of "free market" globalization and providing public funds to bail out the big banks and the big firms in the military-industrial complex that in the first place made the crisis. Thus, the imperialists cannot solve the crisis but aggravate it and are generating new financial bubbles.

The crisis relentlessly attacks the working people. The monopolies extract superprofits by further cutting down wage incomes and engaging in mass layoffs. Thus, mass consumption and the market continue to contract. The imperialist powers always try to pass the burden of crisis to the underdeveloped countries. They use the crisis to further cheapen the exports of these countries, seize the natural resources, expand the market and field of investments for monopoly firms and impose a heavier debt burden on the people.

The imperialist powers headed by the US persist in their global war of terror against the people of the world. Together with puppet regimes, they use state terrorism to suppress the people and wage wars of aggression against countries assertive of their independence. They presume that they can overcome the crisis, their protectionist tendency and their struggle for a redivision of the world by escalating the oppression and exploitation of the people of the world

The oppressed peoples and nations are more determined than ever before to wage revolutionary struggles for national liberation and democracy and look forward to a socialist future. The working class in imperialist countries and elsewhere is pressed hard by the

crisis to fight for immediate anti-imperialist and democratic goals and to perform its historic role of bringing about and building socialism.

Under the weight of the global financial and economic crisis, the crisis of the long-rotten semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system is accelerated and deepened. Philippine exports of raw materials and low value-added semimanufactures have shrunk. Overseas contract workers are in less demand and remit less earnings to the country. Foreign credit has become scarce while the interest payments and amortization of the accumulated debt are unbearable. Even as the economy is depressed, the Arroyo regime keeps on increasing the people's tax burden and is using the tax revenues mainly for debt service, military expenditures and graft-ridden projects and programs.

Subservience to the US-dictated policy of "neoliberal globalization" has prevented national industrialization and land reform and has ruined agricultural production for domestic consumption. The export-oriented and import-dependent enterprises are either closing down or reducing production. The rate of unemployment has risen steeply. The income levels of the working people and middle class have gone down abruptly and yet the prices of basic commodities and services are soaring.

The broad masses of the people are in dire economic straits. Social unrest is widespread and rising in intensity. The revolutionary forces of the people are growing in strength and advancing. The socioeconomic crisis is fueling the political crisis of the ruling system. The contradictions among the competing political factions of the ruling classes of big compradors and landlords are intensifying and becoming more bitter and violent as the ruling clique strains to monopolize the spoils of power and as the opposition is quick to expose corruption and other wrongdoings.

The Arroyo regime has long unleashed state terrorism and perpetrated systematic and gross violations of human rights in a vain attempt to suppress the growing armed revolutionary movement and intimidate the broad range of legal opposition forces, including the reactionary ones and the progressive ones spearheaded by BAYAN. The regime has been emboldened to commit the most despicable barbarities under Oplan Bantay Laya by the US-directed global war of terrorism. It has allowed the deployment of US military forces on Philippine territory under the Visiting Forces Agreement.

The campaigns of military and police suppression of the workers, peasants and national minorities and the abduction, torture and

Crisis Generates Resistance

extrajudicial killing of social activists by the regime have served even more to incite the broad masses of the people to wage various forms of resistance and to isolate the regime internationally, thanks to the help of human rights organizations, overseas Filipino communities and solidarity organizations. The plan of the regime to defeat or reduce the revolutionary movement to inconsequentiality has utterly failed, as proven by the growing tactical offensives of the people's army nationwide.

The National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) has engaged in peace negotiations with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) for many years. But the GRP has paralyzed these negotiations for more than 95 percent of the time by trying to put aside the negotiations on social, economic and political reforms and to maneuver the NDFP towards capitulation and pacification within the framework of disarming and demobilizing the people's army and preserving the semicolonial and semifeudal system of oppression and exploitation.

The Arroyo ruling clique has given up the scheme to amend the 1987 constitution in order to adopt a parliamentary system and keep itself in power. While the 2010 elections are in sight, there are fears of the opposition that the ruling clique will cause a breakdown of the automated system of the elections, declare a failure of elections and run a caretaker government.

It is more likely that the Arroyo ruling clique will favor its own slate of candidates under the banner of Lakas-KAMPI and will put side bets on one more presidential and on lower-position candidates who belong to other parties in a scheme to get their support for the nonprosecution and condonation of Arroyo, her family and cronies for their crimes of plunder and human rights violations. The ruling clique is worried that the candidates of its own party would lose and is preparing to engage in massive fraud in the elections.

Until now, the presidential candidates or political parties of the reactionary classes present themselves as rivals in a personality-based popularity contest. Those on the opposition side merely claim to be for good governance against the regime's record of corruption, incompetence and repression. They have not put forward comprehensive political statements or political programs that present the basic political, socioeconomic, cultural and ecological problems of the people and offer the basic reforms to be undertaken.

The patriotic and progressive forces of the people like BAYAN and its member-organizations can take the moral high ground and clarify what are the principles and policies that ought to be adopted and implemented in serving the people. Makabayan as the people's democratic coalition and the progressive partylist groups are the forces that directly engage in the electoral struggle by fielding candidates, slating them and campaigning for them.

Even if not registered by the Comelec, Makabayan is an effective electoral alliance distinctive for having a clear program and a large active mass base. It is formidable in a political landscape in which there is a big but discredited ruling reactionary party and too many small reactionary opposition parties. It can play the highly significant role of selecting and endorsing the candidates that take up the national and democratic rights of the people and, at the same, encouraging and rallying the people to support and elect such candidates.

All the patriotic and progressive forces of the people must wilfully and vigorously make the following demands in the course of the mass movement, including the electoral campaign: uphold national independence against the dominance and dictates of the imperialist powers headed by the US; realize democracy through the empowerment of the working people and respect for human rights; develop the economy through national industrialization and land reform; promote a national, scientific and mass culture; protect the environment from imperialist plunder and destruction; and pursue an independent foreign policy for world peace and development.

These demands must be elaborated and expressed in full against the concrete factors and conditions that are inimical to the rights and interests of the people. We must do away with the unequal treaties, agreements and arrangements in economic, political, military and cultural terms. We must end the system and processes that exclude and oppress the working people. We must put a stop to the plundering of our human and natural resources by the foreign monopolies, the big compradors and landlords. We must repudiate the ideas and patterns of behavior arising from imperialist and feudal culture. We must ban the imperialist and local reactionary ravagers of the environment. We must oppose the imperialist powers, their global plundering and aggressive wars.

BAYAN must do its best to take up the basic demands of the people and the burning issues of the day. Without any respite, it must arouse,

Crisis Generates Resistance

organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people to fight for their national and democratic rights and interests. You and the people must overcome the violence and deception that the adversary unleashes to stop, derail or limit what you can accomplish towards a fundamental change of society. From the struggle itself, you and the people learn how to solve problems, hurdle the obstacles, gain strength and advance.

We of the ILPS wish your congress the utmost success. May you succeed in summing up your experience, identifying strengths to enhance and weaknesses and difficulties to overcome and setting forth the tasks that will bring you to a new and higher level of unity, all-round strength and militant service to the people. We look forward to further significant victories of BAYAN on time for its 25th founding anniversary and in all the years to come.

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On 10th Congress and 25th Anniversary Celebration of GABRIELA⁴²

October 24, 2009

On behalf of the International Coordinating Committee and all member-organizations of the International League of Peoples' Struggle, I wish to express warmest greetings of solidarity to GABRIELA on the occasion of its 10th National Congress on October 25-27, 2009 and the celebration of its 25th founding anniversary on 28 October in conjunction with the national Filipino women's day of action.

We salute and congratulate the leadership of GABRIELA as an alliance and all the allied women's organizations, institutions, desks and programs in the Philippines as well as the overseas chapters and support groups for all their achievements in advancing the cause of women's liberation in line with the the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

GABRIELA was born in the very crucible of the struggle against the US-directed Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1984, exactly when the people's struggle was peaking towards the overthrow of the hated regime. Since then, in twenty five years of militant struggle, GABRIELA has gained rich experience, has grown significantly in strength and has become the most outstanding patriotic and progressive women's formation in the Philippines.

We appreciate you for reviewing the history of GABRIELA in order to understand the struggles, hard work and sacrifices needed to bring about victories from year to year. We commend you for your renewed resolve to raise higher your capacity for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the women along the national democratic line.

We are glad that you are responding to the challenges posed by the rapid worsening of the intertwined crises of the world capitalist system and the domestic semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system of big compradors and landlords. The US-instigated policy of "free market" globalization has accelerated the accumulation and centralization in

⁴² Message delivered as Chairperson of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

a few imperialist countries and has resulted in the worst financial and economic crisis since the Great Depression.

The Philippine economy is laid prostrate by its agrarian and semifeudal character and by the Arroyo regime's subservience to US economic policy dictates. It has long been deprived of industrial development and land reform and even its agricultural production for domestic consumption has been severely damaged. The global crisis has reduced the demand for the Philippine export of raw materials, semimanufactures and contract workers. Foreign debt service is expanding and yet new foreign credit is contracting.

The broad masses of the people in the world are undergoing acute suffering from mass layoffs, depressed incomes, soaring prices of basic commodities and services, increasing rent and homelessness, the breakdown of social services and other social ills. Women and children of the toiling masses of workers and peasants are suffering the main brunt of the economic and social crisis. Most of those who belong to the middle class are also undergoing serious difficulties.

Social discontent is widespread and deepgoing. In response to the protests and just demands of the people, the US-directed Arroyo regime has engaged in the systematic and gross violation of human rights. Under the pretext of combating terrorism, it has engaged in state terrorism and has collaborated with US military forces in carrying out military intervention and violating the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Philippines. The US and the Arroyo regime are inciting the people to wage armed revolution.

We welcome the three-year General Program of Action that you intend to promulgate. We support all the seven points in this program:

1. Fight the plunder and military intervention being carried out by the US with the collaboration of the puppet government.
2. Expose and oppose the "charter change" and other schemes that seek to increase the control and exploitation of the country by the US and the local exploiting classes.
3. Resist all forms of violence against women and invigorate the campaign for upholding the rights, welfare and dignity of women.
4. Consolidate the victories of the women's movement in the electoral struggle and raise this struggle to a new and higher level through the Gabriela Women's Party and the drive to increase the voices of women in both houses of Congress.
5. Uphold and carry forward the rights and welfare of children.

On 10th Congress and 25th Anniversary Celebration of GABRIELA

6. Expand the membership of the GABRIELA chapters and raise the organizational capabilities at every level.

7. Further carry forward and invigorate the work of GABRIELA among the overseas Filipino women and in the international women's movement.

We wish GABRIELA the utmost success in its 10th National Congress and in its celebration of its 25th founding anniversary. May these meaningful events inspire the further advance of GABRIELA. We wish you all the best in carrying out your program of action. We hope that this will bring about a new and higher level of political and organizational strength of GABRIELA in fighting for the rights and interests of Filipino women and the entire Filipino people along the national democratic line of struggle.

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Politics of Repression in the Philippines⁴³

October 31, 2009

I thank the International Committee Against Disappearances, IBON Europe and the Filipino Refugees in the Netherlands for inviting me to give a brief background on the politics of repression in the Philippines.

It is an honor and privilege for me to speak on the same occasion with Edith Burgos and Jayel Burgos, whose beloved Jonas Burgos has been a victim of forced disappearance by the military forces of the Arroyo regime.

I have always admired the late Jose Burgos and his entire family for their high sense of patriotism and devotion to democracy. I am happy to provide the general historical, socioeconomic and political background to Edith's presentation of the current human rights situation in the Philippines and Jayel's of the Free Jonas Movement.

History of repression and exploitation in the Philippines

The Filipino people have long suffered a history of repression and exploitation. They went through more than three centuries of colonial rule by Spain, from the 16th to the 19th century. After they won national independence in 1898, the US unleashed an imperialist war of aggression to conquer the Philippines. It imposed a new colonial rule and laid out a semifeudal economy. In 1946 it established a puppet state to rule the current semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

Those who have wielded political power in several stages of Philippines history have repressed the Filipino people not merely for the pleasure of intimidating, imprisoning, torturing and killing people but for such coldblooded reasons as the accumulation of private wealth through exploitation and all the social and cultural gratifications that wealth brings.

Spanish colonialism reached the Philippines initially in search of gold and spices. It was on a long-term pursuit of sheer plunder upon the impulse of European mercantile capitalism. In addition to the

⁴³ Speech delivered at the Forum on Enforced Disappearances as Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

Crisis Generates Resistance

dispossession and proletarianization of the peasants of Europe, colonialism was a major method of the primitive accumulation of capital. The Spanish colonizers employed divide and rule tactics and repressed the Filipino people in order to maintain a colonial and feudal system.

The most brutal forms of suppression were applied on the people who opposed the system or any its aspects. Even when blood was not being shed, exploitation was a daily and more widespread form of violence to people who were required to render forced labor, pay feudal rent and give religious tribute. Ultimately, the Filipino people developed a national consciousness and a revolutionary unity of purpose, fought for national independence and won the first bourgeois democratic revolution of the old type in the whole of Asia.

Unfortunately, the US intervened and launched a war of aggression against the Filipino people. It killed 1.5 million Filipinos from 1899 to 1913 in order to impose a colonial and semifeudal system on the Philippines. The new colonial system of US monopoly capitalism involved a method of exploitation in which direct and indirect investments were made by US banks and corporations in a limited number of modern enterprises in order to facilitate the export of raw materials and the extraction of superprofits.

In the entire period of direct colonial rule, the US adopted and implemented repressive policies against the growing working class, against the peasant masses who demanded land reform and against the entire Filipino people who clamored for genuine, immediate and full independence. The US imperialists and their local reactionary allies became more repressive as the Communist Party, the revolutionary party of the working classes, emerged in 1930 and challenged the ruling system.

Another imperialist power, that of Japan, took over the Philippines from 1942 to 1945 and exacted a toll of one million deaths on the Filipinos in barbarous acts of repression. At the same time, the conditions of World War II and the Japanese occupation gave rise to the armed revolutionary movement of the people led by the merger party of the Communist and Socialist parties in certain regions.

In reconquering the Philippines from Japan, the US wrought heavy destruction on Filipino lives and property. Soon after landing troops on Philippine soil in late 1944, it sought to destroy the revolutionary forces of the people that had run ahead in liberating Central Luzon.

At any rate, the revolutionary forces and people held on to their arms and demanded national liberation and democracy for the Philippines.

Repression under the semicolonial and semifeudal system

The US granted a bogus kind of independence to the Philippines and established a puppet state in 1946. Since then, the Philippines has been a semicolonial and semifeudal country. The US conceded to the politicians and bureaucrats of the big compradors and landlords the responsibility for national administration. But it retained its dominant economic and military power as well as political and cultural sway through unequal treaties, agreements and arrangements.

The US has continued to rule the Philippines but this time indirectly through the local reactionary classes. Factions of the political representatives of these classes have taken turns in administering the puppet republic at first through the duopoly of the Liberal and Nacionalista parties from 1945 to 1972, then through the monopoly of political power by the fascist party, Kilusang Bagong Lipunan, from 1972 to 1986 and currently through the multiplicity of reactionary parties and coalitions.

Whichever of these parties has taken the reins of national administration, it has been subservient to the interests of US monopoly capitalism and the local exploiting classes. It goes to any length to repress the patriotic and progressive forces and mass movement of the people for national liberation and democracy. It collaborates closely with the US in undertaking repression.

The US has the biggest interest and the most decisive say in the policy-making and planning of repression in the Philippines. It provides indoctrination, strategic direction, officer training and military equipment to the apparatuses of repression. The military and police forces are beholden to the US. Up to 1992, they were controlled by the US military forces in huge US military bases that existed in the Philippines.

Even after their military bases were dismantled in 1992, the US military forces have continued to control the forces of repression in the Philippines. They have done so from their military bases in Japan, South Korea, Guam and Australia. They cover the Philippines with satellites, air patrols and naval patrols. They control the Philippine radar and sonar system. They have military stations in Philippine military camps as well as advisors, trainers, assets and units embedded in Philippine military and police offices and units.

Crisis Generates Resistance

The US used the regimes of Roxas, Quirino and Magsaysay to attack and destroy the revolutionary forces of the Filipino people from 1946 to 1957. The backbone of the armed revolutionary movement was strategically broken in the years 1950 to 1952, with more than 10,000 mass activists and cadres tortured and murdered by the military. As this movement subsided, the US and the local reactionaries became even more repressive and enacted the Anti-Subversion Law in 1957 in order to destroy any remnant, extension or successor of the old merger party of the Communist and Socialist parties.

However, the chronic crisis of the Philippine ruling system continued to worsen during the regimes of Garcia, Macapagal and Marcos from 1957 to the end of the 1960s. The proletarian revolutionaries revived the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal mass movement among the workers, peasants and the youth. The puppet regimes tried to suppress the mass movement. Instead, this grew in strength and led to the founding of the new Communist Party of the Philippines in 1968 and the New People's Army in 1969.

Under the instigation of the US, the Marcos regime decided to declare martial law and impose a fascist dictatorship on the Philippines in 1972 in the vain hope of destroying the CPP and NPA. In fourteen years from 1972 to 1986, the military and police arbitrarily arrested and detained hundreds of thousands of people, tortured more than a hundred thousand, murdered tens of thousands of people and displaced more than 5 million people.

In the human rights case against Marcos in the US court system, nearly 10,000 cases of disappearances, torture and extrajudicial killings were documented and proven. But justice and indemnification for the victims of human rights violations have been elusive in the Philippines. Not a single military or police officer has been punished for any of the human rights violations.

The US and the local reactionaries have maintained the system of impunity for the perpetrators of repression, from the level of Marcos to the master sergeant in the army. They decided in 1986 to drop Marcos and stop the blatant autocracy only because he had failed to suppress the revolutionary movement and also because he put the entire system at risk by having his political rival Aquino assassinated in 1983.

Further, they made sure that the post-Marcos regimes would continue the repression of the Filipino people even without martial law in order to maintain the system of exploitation by the multinational banks

and firms and the local big compradors and landlords. The apparatuses of repression and their officers remained intact and continued to engage in human rights violations against the people, the legal democratic forces and the revolutionary forces.

The widow of Aquino became the president and put up a liberal democratic facade to her reactionary regime. After consolidating her ruling position and pretending to seek a peace agreement with the revolutionary movement, she unsheathed the sword of war and repression under Oplan Lintang Bitag and under the US-dictated doctrine of low intensity conflict against the revolutionary forces and the people. The subsequent regimes of Ramos, Estrada and Arroyo would have their respective national operational plans and also seek to suppress the revolutionary movement despite short periods of lip service to the need for peace negotiations.

What we are confronted with today in the Philippines under the Arroyo regime is state terrorism under Oplan Bantay Laya inspired by the US global war of terror and backed up by increased US military supplies and by the permanent deployment of US interventionist troops under the Visiting Forces Agreement. The US and the local reactionaries in the Philippines make the pretense of combating terrorism but they are in fact the ones perpetrating terrorism through the gross and systematic violation of human rights.

Oplan Bantay Laya has involved 1,093 documented cases of extrajudicial killings, 209 of forced disappearances, hundreds of those detained on trumped-up charges, more than a thousand victims of torture, and hundreds of thousands of victims of forced evacuation. The reactionary military forces are escalating their gross and systematic violation of human rights as they follow the impossible order of the Arroyo regime to destroy or reduce the armed revolutionary movement to inconsequentiality before June 2010.

The Arroyo regime has become notorious throughout the world for the abduction, torture and extrajudicial killing of unarmed social activists, including workers, peasants, women, youth, priests and pastors, human rights advocates and journalists. The violators of human rights set up their victims by making false charges of terrorism, rebellion and murder and putting them on the list of the enemies of the state or the order of battle. Then the abductions, torture and extrajudicial killings follow.

Crisis Generates Resistance

Still further the psywar machinery of the reactionary armed forces spreads lies that the victims have committed offenses against the revolutionary movement and have therefore been victimized by their own comrades. The level of criminal cunning and malice of the perpetrators of human rights violations under the Arroyo regime surpasses that under the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

Further repression in prospect and need for international solidarity

The current crisis of the world capitalist system is the worst since the Great Depression. It will continue to worsen in the years to come because the imperialist powers are not solving it but are aggravating it by using public money to bail out the big banks and corporations and raise profits on their balance sheets and not to revive the economy and increase employment. The imperialist powers and their puppets are promoting chauvinism, racism and fascism and are increasingly using state repression and unleashing wars of aggression in order to overcome the resistance of peoples and national liberation movements.

The crisis of the Philippine ruling system will continue to worsen due to its internal weaknesses and the global economic crisis. For decades, the US-directed policy of neoliberal globalization has further aggravated and deepened the underdeveloped preindustrial and agrarian character of the Philippine economy. The demand for Philippine raw-material and semimanufactured exports has gone down. Debt service is increasing and yet new credit is decreasing.

Social discontent is widespread and intense among the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata due to the rising mass unemployment, the sinking real incomes, the soaring prices of basic commodities and services, the growing tax burden, the lack or inadequacy of social services and other socioeconomic problems. The rulers in the Philippines do not solve these problems but increasingly unleash violence to suppress the people's protests and demands for respect for their rights and improvement of their social conditions.

The US and the local reactionaries are shifting the burden of crisis to the working people. As they exploit the people more, they repress the people more in seeking to preempt or stop resistance. The broad masses of the Filipino people are capable of fighting for their rights

Politics of Repression in the Philippines

and interests. But they also need the solidarity and support of the people of the world to fight the imperialist powers most effectively.

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Uphold and Advance the Rights of Migrants and Refugees⁴⁴

Message of Solidarity to the Second International Assembly of Migrants and Refugees (IAMR), Athens, Greece

November 1-4, 2009

On behalf of the International Coordinating Committee and all member-organizations of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), I convey warmest greetings of solidarity to all the distinguished guests and participants in the Second International Assembly of Migrants and Refugees (IAMR).

We congratulate the International Migrants Alliance (IMA), Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants, IBON International, Migrante International, Migrante Europe, ATIK-Germany, Union of Working People of Greece, the Network of Migrants and Refugees Social Support and other entities for their successful cooperation in bringing about this assembly.

In accordance with its Charter, the ILPS resolutely and vigorously joins and supports all endeavors to uphold, defend and promote the rights and welfare of migrants and refugees along the line of anti-imperialist and democratic struggle. Thus, the ILPS, its Commission No. 16 and its member-organizations concerned with migrants and refugees have consistently acted to bring about the founding of the IMA in Hongkong and the holding of the First IAMR in Manila last year and now the Second IAMR.

As in your previous assembly, you confront the government-led Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) and the Civil Society Organizations (CSO) meeting. You continue to expose migration as the result and furtherance of super-exploitation and underdevelopment in impoverished countries and you oppose the prettification of migration as an instrument of development under the auspices of the US-dictated policy of neoliberal globalization

⁴⁴ Message delivered as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

It is necessary to present the worsening situation of the migrant workers and refugees and to underscore the issues arising from their plight and just demand for the respect and promotion of their rights and welfare and for the protection of the most vulnerable among them, the undocumented migrant workers and refugees.

We welcome and endorse the theme of your assembly, uphold and advance the rights of migrants and refugees against exploitation, war and discriminatory laws, amidst the global economic crisis! Oppose fortress Europe and the EU Return Directive! We are confident that with determination and hard work you can accomplish all the objectives of the assembly.

In bringing to the fore the urgent issues and challenges facing migrants and refugees all over the world, you must take the anti-imperialist and democratic line in laying bare the exploitativeness and oppressiveness of the world capitalist system and in setting forth your tasks.

Greed, plunder, deceit and violence characterize the entire history of capitalism and monopoly capitalism and are on the rampage with flimsy disguise in the current global economic crisis, the worst since the Great Depression. You must consider the impact of this crisis on migrants and on the women migrant workers.

The odds against them are tremendous and greater challenges are ahead of them because the crisis is sure to worsen further. The migrants, refugees and their advocates must be prepared for greater struggles ahead. The imperialist powers headed by the US have failed to solve the crisis but have instead aggravated it by using public money to bail out and raise the profits of the banks and the big corporations but not to revive the real economy and improve the employment situation. The recovery touted by the imperialists has been aptly called jobless recovery.

Labor rights, especially those of migrant labor, have been eroded and will continue to be eroded. Relations of migrants with unions and social movements are being assailed. The rights of refugees are being violated and their plight is worsening. The undocumented migrant workers are being criminalized in fortress Europe. The monopoly bourgeoisie is unleashing their special operatives to whip up racism, discrimination, xenophobia and fascism. These evil trends are emboldened under the US-directed global war of terror. State repression and fascist attacks are on the rise.

Uphold and Advance the Rights of Migrants and Refugees

The GFMD is a tool of monopoly capitalist deception. It is staged by the imperialist states and their puppet states to glorify the exploitation of migrant labor and the practice of modern slavery. These so-called receiving and sending states persist in peddling the myth of free market globalization and subject the working people and the unemployed intelligentsia to conditions that compel them to migrate, cheapen their labor and deprive them of their rights so as to permit their utmost exploitation.

The global phenomenon of large-scale displacement of people, migrant workers and refugees is a recurrence, extension and magnification of the dispossession and displacement of people in the primitive accumulation of capital in the history of capitalism but this time without the possibility of the underdeveloped countries developing into industrialized ones.

In previous decades, the earnings of the migrant workers have been used merely to cover trade deficits and support government and private consumption spending in the puppet states and fuel profit making by foreign and comprador corporations. In the current crisis, the migrant workers are worse off as they are being laid off, receive less real income, are further discriminated against and scapegoated for the crisis of the monopoly capitalist system and the rising unemployment and worsening conditions of the host people.

After benefiting for so long from the labor of migrants and refugees, the European Union is imposing a growing number of draconian laws and measures against them. The most notorious of these is the EU Return Directive. In this regard, you must challenge the claims of the EU to being an open and humanist society.

It is an urgent task for you to expand and strengthen the International Migrants Alliance (IMA) as a militant and progressive alliance of organizations of migrants and refugees, and advocates of migrants' rights. You must struggle for the political empowerment of the migrants and refugees. They must participate in confronting and overcoming policies and practices inimical to them.

You must develop a broad international advocacy network that will continuously hold states and official multilateral bodies accountable for problems, issues and concerns affecting migrants and refugees. You must be critical of the policies and actions of the United Nations and other international official bodies that are contrary to or fail to uphold and advance the rights and welfare of migrants and refugees.

Crisis Generates Resistance

You must adopt and carry out a program of action and campaigns around general and specific issues on migrants rights and welfare. You must draw lessons from your experience and build on successful campaigns for the rights and welfare of migrants and refugees. You must develop an educational program of action to increase your capabilities to arouse, organize and mobilize migrants, refugees and advocates.

We stand with you and support you in defending and advancing the democratic and basic human rights of migrants and refugees, in opposing GFMD and the malevolent forces behind it, in fighting for national development against foreign exploitation, unemployment and poverty, in demanding the creation of jobs at home and the end of forced migration and in resisting the EU Return Directive and all other oppressive laws.

We are with you in calling for the revival of the real economy through full employment and better incomes of the working people and not through the mere bailout of the banks and giant corporations, in rallying the migrants, advocates and all working people against oppression and exploitation and in building the people's international solidarity against the imperialist system and its rapacious policy of neoliberal globalization

We are confident that the plenary discussions, workshops, street mobilizations, bazaar, cultural solidarity activities, networking and most especially sharing of experiences and action plans during the Second IAMR will be enlightening, instructive and enjoyable for the migrants, refugees and advocates in attendance. We hope that through the Second IAMR you will be able to renew your resolve and reinvigorate yourselves to fight for the rights and welfare of the migrants and refugees.

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Capitalist Crisis Makes Socialism Necessary⁴⁵

Statement on the 20th Anniversary of the Fall of the Berlin Wall

November 9, 2009

Since the fall of the Berlin wall on November 9, 1989, the world capitalist system has sunk deeper into crisis. It is now undergoing its most severe crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s, with some commentators calling the present crisis “the Greater Depression” in terms of its effects on the jobs and livelihood of the workers and peoples of the world.

After emerging as the world’s sole superpower in the wake of the collapse of the former Soviet Union, the US itself is wracked by a severe crisis and is further plunging the world with it. The imperialists and their propagandists perorate on how value and value-creation in the economies of the socialist states and then the modern revisionist regimes were distorted by the state bureaucracy.

Now all the countries of the world in varying degrees are reeling from a crisis driven by unbridled private greed under the slogan of “free market globalization” involving the fantastic accumulation of immense wealth by the financial oligarchy and monopoly capitalists through unrelenting super-exploitation of the working people, financial manipulation and the berserk generation of fictitious capital.

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the social conditions of the workers and peoples of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union have plummeted under the conditions of unbridled capitalist exploitation, oppression and violence. Poverty levels have risen due to massive unemployment and depressed incomes. Inflation has been cutting down the value of wages, pensions and savings.

State investment in production and job creation has been significantly reduced. Public allotment to education and other social services

⁴⁵ Statement issued as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the International League of Peoples’ Struggle.

Crisis Generates Resistance

has plummeted. The educated have difficulties finding work and illiteracy is spreading. The workers' and peoples' health have taken a beating, causing severe malnutrition, stunting growth among the youth and shortening the average life span of people.

The number of children living in the streets and left to fend for themselves in these very cold countries has multiplied. The suicide rate has grown among them by significant percentages. The situation of the street children and society at large is being further aggravated by the current financial and economic crisis.

The anger and discontent of the workers and peoples of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union are becoming manifest in different ways. Parties of the Left are becoming popular and are gaining strength in national elections. The workers and people are speaking out against the accelerated escalation of exploitation, oppression and violence of the big bourgeoisie.

Survey after survey shows that the people feel they are plunging deeper into poverty and that they are increasingly disillusioned and angry with capitalism and its unfulfilled promises. With the onslaught of the current economic and financial crisis, there is rising interest in and study of Marxist and progressive writings. The imperialists and the local ruling classes are responding to this by deflecting the workers and peoples from the class struggle and anti-imperialist solidarity by promoting divisions and hatred based on chauvinism, racism, ethnocentrism and religious bigotry.

The Comecon is gone. But all the former revisionist-ruled countries are now in the tight grip of the US-controlled world capitalist system and are caught up in the turmoil of the gravest economic crisis since the Great Depression. The crisis is whipping up fascism and aggressive wars. The room for inter-imperialist competition has become more cramped and more intense, with Russia and China joining in as big power players.

The Warsaw Pact is gone. But the NATO has been expanded as to include the former revisionist-ruled countries in Eastern Europe, reaching the borders of Russia. Most of the former revisionist-ruled countries are potential hotbeds of fascist repression and wars of aggression as already indicated by the violent disintegration of Yugoslavia by a series of wars instigated by the imperialists and by wars involving Chechnya and Georgia. Mercenary forces from the former revisionist-ruled

countries have been deployed by the NATO to distant lands like Iraq and Afghanistan.

The crisis of monopoly capitalism has brought ever-greater suffering among the workers and peoples of the world. The imperialist-controlled multilateral agencies underestimate world hunger when they report that only 1 billion people go hungry out of the more than six billion human population. They say that this is the largest number of people going hungry in history, and the same number of people suffer from malnutrition.

This situation is bound to get worse, as world economic output is predicted to decrease this year, the first time since World War II. The contraction of employment is estimated to last for another eight years. The number of people living on less than \$2 per day will increase by hundreds of millions. Decreasing demand for consumer goods, semi-manufactures and raw materials impacts heavily on millions of workers and peasants in neocolonial economies.

The workers and peoples of the world are waging various legal and illegal forms of organized action to protest the anti-people policies of imperialism. International gatherings of the monopoly capitalists, the finance oligarchy, and heads of imperialist states have become occasions for mass protests by indignant workers and peoples in the meeting areas and in various countries. Countries assertive of national independence are exposing and lambasting the dictates and impositions of imperialism.

Armed revolutions for national liberation and democracy are continuing and gaining strength in the Philippines, Colombia, India, Peru and Turkey. The peoples of Iraq and Afghanistan are waging armed resistance against the US occupation and colonization of their countries. The armed forms of struggle are bound to grow in strength and advance as a result of the intensification of the crisis of monopoly capitalism.

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the workers and peoples of Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union and the world have undergone ever worsening economic and social conditions. They see monopoly capitalism as an evil and bankrupt system that is destroying the world's productive forces and is inflicting immense suffering on the people.

Monopoly capitalism is igniting the people's desire for socialism. So long as imperialist oppression and exploitation persist, the people fight for national and social liberation. It is farthest from the truth that

Crisis Generates Resistance

monopoly capitalism is the end of history. The utter bankruptcy of monopoly capitalism and its descent to ever more barbarous forms of plunder and aggression drive the people to fight for their rights and for a bright socialist future.

The workers and peoples of the world are called upon to persevere in the struggle for genuine socialism and against monopoly capitalism that is now in the throes of its worst crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s. The crisis of the world capitalist system makes socialism necessary for humankind.

Contrary to the claims of the imperialists and their propagandists that socialism fell in 1989, the fall of the Berlin Wall has actually meant the collapse of the modern revisionist regimes in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and the completion of the restoration of capitalism. It is the end result of the revisionist betrayal of socialism started by Khrushchov in 1956 and completed by Gorbachov in the years of 1989-91.

The history of socialist countries from the Bolshevik victory of 1917 up to 1956, and from the founding of the People's Republic of China up to 1976 shows great leaps in the advancement of the social, economic, political, cultural and defense situations of the workers and peoples of those countries. The poverty, hunger, joblessness, and the cruelties of exploitation and oppression before the victory of the socialist revolution were overcome. The great victories in socialist construction and revolution were achieved despite imperialist wars of aggression and economic and military blockades and subversion.

The rise of modern revisionism in socialist countries and elsewhere reversed all the great achievements of socialism. Advances in the situation of the workers and peoples were slowly but surely eroded, and pre-revolutionary forms of exploitation, oppression and violence were restored. Together with criminal syndicates in the so-called free market, the modern revisionist big bourgeoisie grew fat on bureaucratic corruption and enjoyed the lifestyles of the rich and famous, while the workers and peoples suffered from the decrease in food, jobs, savings and social services.

As workers and peoples grew restive and began clamoring for reforms, the ruling revisionist regimes imposed severe political repression. In Eastern Europe, and in East Germany especially, this condition fueled the mass protests that brought about the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The revisionist regimes in Eastern Europe and the former

Soviet Union peacefully gave up power and gave way to the legalization of their bureaucratic loot, the barefaced restoration of capitalism and the blatant privatization of state assets.

Since Nikita Khrushchov's reign in the Soviet Union, genuine proletarian revolutionaries the world over have called the ruling regimes in the Soviet Union and its satellite states in Eastern Europe as modern revisionists, who mouth socialism but practice capitalism. They have predicted that it will not take long before capitalism reveals itself barefaced in these countries.

The fall of the Wall has shown how accurate are their predictions. The modern revisionists in these countries have since exposed themselves as pseudo-communists and anti-communists. It is modern revisionism, not socialism, which fell with the Berlin Wall and delivered the workers and peoples of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe into the even more predatory and violent rule of barefaced capitalism. The revisionists had earlier undermined, eroded and destroyed socialism.

Since 1989 up to the present, imperialism and its well-paid propagandists in the mass media and academe have tirelessly repeated their line on the fall of the Berlin Wall. They have misrepresented the revisionist regimes as socialist and boasted that their fall meant the futility of socialism and the end of history with capitalism and liberal democracy.

They have touted the jump from the frying pan of revisionist-ruled state monopoly capitalism to the flames of barefaced capitalism as the beginning of development and democracy. But the imperialist powers are incomparable in discrediting monopoly capitalism through their unbridled plunder and wars of aggression and the recurrent and increasingly severe crisis.

The workers and peoples of the world are subjected to ever-increasing exploitation, oppression and violence and are impelled to wage resistance, seek national and social liberation and aim for the attainment of socialism. The present crisis, which has been generated by the US-directed policy of neoliberal "globalization" in the last three decades, incites the people to struggle for socialism.

The world capitalist system continues to sink deeper into crisis. It is devastating jobs and livelihood of the workers and peoples of the world. The profuse use of public funds to bail out the big banks and corporations in the military industrial complex is building bigger

Crisis Generates Resistance

bubbles than ever before. These are bound to burst and cause a steeper fall in the crisis.

The US and its imperialist allies have generated the global financial and economic crisis, have plunged the world into a state of economic depression and have aggravated and deepened the conditions for state terrorism and aggressive wars.

The combination of state monopoly capitalism and monopoly capitalism in imperialist countries is responsible for the unprecedentedly greatest devastation of productive forces through the most rapacious forms of private profit-taking and private accumulation, including the wanton creation of fictitious capital.

We are in the era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution. Further economic crisis, social disorder, state terrorism and imperialist wars of aggression are in prospect. These are the objective conditions for the rise of revolutionary movements for national and social liberation led by the working class.

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Role of the Communist Party of the Philippines in the Downfall of the Marcos Dictatorship

Interview by Hiyasmin Saturay

November 10, 2009

My History research investigation requires me to write a 4,000 word essay on a focused historical topic using primary sources. I chose to assess the role of the Communist Party of the Philippines in the downfall of the Marcos dictatorship. I am going to do this by investigating and analyzing data from various sources such as Party publications, history books and articles from the Martial law period, and this interview. I am going to assess the Party's role by looking at the causes of martial law, its implications, the Party's actions against it, and other factors that led to the ultimate downfall of the dictatorship.

If you have some questions about the interview, just send me an email. Please answer as freely as you can. Salamat po! [Thank you!]

Question: In effect of the declaration of martial law, there were many restrictions on freedom of assembly. How did the declaration of martial law affect the party and how did the Party respond to this?

JMS: Even before the declaration of martial law in 1972, the Communist Party of the Philippines was already being suppressed under the Anti-Subversion Law of 1957. But of course, suppression of the party became far worse under martial law which imposed a fascist dictatorship on the Philippines for 14 years, from 1972 to 1986.

Anyone suspected as a communist and anyone who was arbitrarily accused as communist could be arrested, detained, tortured or even extrajudicially killed. The freedom of assembly and other fundamental rights were not only restricted but were grossly violated on a wide scale. Under the pretext of hunting down communists and suppressing rebellion, the fascist dictatorship banned all opposition parties and legal democratic mass organizations, especially those that advocated

Crisis Generates Resistance

national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

Even as the CPP had been accustomed to operating underground, it faced serious difficulties because anyone and any organization suspected of being communist or being in alliance with the CPP was targeted for brutal suppression. The CPP responded by leading and organizing the urban revolutionary underground and shifting the officers and members of targeted organizations to the countryside; and by intensifying and expanding the people's war.

How much support did the party get from the masses? In what forms is this support? How was it obtained?

JMS: The CPP obtained great mass support from the people, especially the workers and peasants. It grew from being a small and weak party to a far bigger and stronger one in 14 years of the fascist dictatorship which the people hated and wanted to overthrow. The people were eager to participate in and support the people's war.

The support from a wide a range of people was in the form of joining the underground mass organizations and providing food, shelter, money, arms, printing materials, medicine and other supplies to the cadres of the underground and the Red fighters of the New People's Army (NPA).

The CPP obtained such support by having underground mass organizations of workers, peasants, youth, women, professionals and other sectors of society, by building the CPP and the NPA on nationwide scale, by establishing local organs of democratic political power and winning allies through the National Democratic Front (NDF).

What is the Party's relationship with mass organizations? What is the role that the Party plays within the mass organizations? What are the results of their work?

JMS: The CPP is at the leadership and at the core of the revolutionary mass organizations. Being at the leadership means setting the general line of struggle for national liberation and democracy, providing the organizational guidelines and giving full play to the initiative of the mass organizations according to their class or sectoral characteristics. Being at the core of the mass organizations means recruiting CPP members and building the CPP within the mass organizations at every level (national, regional, provincial, district, municipal and village).

Role of the CPP in the Downfall of the Marcos Dictatorship

Within the mass organizations, the CPP acts as the revolutionary hard core and undertakes political education and organization work for the expansion and consolidation of the mass organization. The work of the CPP within the mass organizations results in raising the level of revolutionary consciousness among the members of the mass organizations, in expanding and consolidating the mass organizations and in mobilizing more and more people in campaigns of social benefit to the people and in campaigns of struggle against the enemy.

What was the nature of the work of the New People's Army during martial law?

JMS: The main character of the work of the NPA is to fight the enemy and arouse, organize and mobilize the people for this purpose. In this regard, the NPA had several interrelated functions: politico-military training, combat or fighting, mass work, cultural work, health work and production.

Politico-military training was for NPA units as well as for the people's militia and the self-defense units of mass organizations. Combat (ambushes, raids and arrests) were carried by the NPA with the support of the people. Mass work by the NPA included all forms of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people for their own social benefit and for struggle against the enemy.

Cultural work means creative work and cultural performances to inspire, enlighten and entertain the people along the revolutionary line of struggle on various issues. Health work promoted disease prevention, delivery of health and medical services and the training of local health workers. Production was done by the NPA to provide for its own needs and to assist the families of the Party cadres and Red fighters.

What kinds of work did you do for the Party during martial law?

I was the chairman of the Central Committee of the CPP, chairman of the Military Commission and political commissar of the NPA and editor-in-chief and then political director of *Ang Bayan*, the central publication of the CPP. Aside from performing these leading functions, I did various kinds of work like many other comrades did at the basic level.

I was an instructor in the Party school and in politico-military training in the NPA. I taught not only political ideas to NPA recruits but also military tactics and techniques. I participated in the work of social investigation and various forms of mass work at the village level. I

Crisis Generates Resistance

spoke before mass meetings. I wrote position papers, press statements and articles. I participated in the work of proofreading and in reproducing materials by mimeograph.

If you have any more information that you want to add, please feel free to do so.

JMS: You can use as further resources the biographies, *The Philippine Revolution: The Leader's View*, coauthored with Dr. Rainer Werning and *At Home in the World: Portrait of a Filipino Revolutionary*, coauthored with Ninotchka Rosca.

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Strengthen Friendship and Cooperation⁴⁶

Message of Solidarity to the German-Filipino Friendship Association

November 14, 2009

On behalf of the International Network for Philippine Studies, I wish to express warmest greetings of solidarity to the German-Filipino Friendship Association on the occasion of its bi-annual assembly. We highly appreciate the time-tested and fruitful partnership of the GFF with Kapatiran in developing the solidarity and mutual support of the German and Filipino peoples through concrete forms of cooperation.

We congratulate you for your achievements in the exchange of visitors and delegations and the sharing of information and experiences which have brought about programs and projects which are beneficial to the people and promote the spirit of internationalism.

Right now, you have as guests a delegation of union leaders from the Philippines. Through them, we wish to express our admiration for your continuous support and assistance to the struggle of the Filipino auto workers for their fundamental rights and general welfare.

We commend your commitment and continuing efforts to collect donations in the form of cash and used clothing and other goods that can help in the relief and rehabilitation of the flood victims in the Philippines. Your worker guests happen to come from Southern Tagalog, the region most devastated by the floods. They can tell you about the suffering and needs of the people.

We wish the GFF to grow in strength from year to year and achieve further successes in promoting the friendship and cooperation of the German and Filipino peoples and in supporting their joint and independent struggles for greater freedom, democracy, social justice, all-round progress and world peace.

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⁴⁶ Message delivered as Chairman of the International Network for Philippine Studies.



Land and Justice for the Peasants and Farmworkers of Hacienda Luisita⁴⁷

November 16, 2009

Today, the working people of the world are launching various forms of protest actions to mark the International Day of Action against Trade Union Repression. This provides a meaningful context for commemorating and protesting the massacre of striking peasants and farmworkers in Hacienda Luisita in Tarlac province in the Philippines in 2004. The working people of Hacienda Luisita exemplify the plight and struggle of the working people of semicolonial and semifeudal countries, who still comprise the majority of the world's population.

Hacienda Luisita is the vast 6,000-hectare tract of land in Central Luzon owned by the wealthy and powerful Cojuangco family to which former Pres. Corazon "Cory" Aquino belonged. It stands as a bulwark of feudal and semifeudal exploitation and oppression within the context of the world capitalist system. It demonstrates how the big comprador-landlords exploit the working people and wield state power to oppress them. It exposes as a sham the so-called "comprehensive agrarian reform program" that the Aquino ruling clique had launched since the 1980s.

Earlier the Cojuangco family bought Hacienda Luisita from the Spanish Tabacalera corporation with a loan from the government in the 1950s. The loan was granted with the provision that a major portion of the land (2,000 hectares) would be distributed later on to the peasants, within the frame of the government's "land reform" program.

The Cojuangco family not only failed to distribute the designated portion of the land, it maneuvered to keep it and used violence to suppress those who demanded land reform. In 1985, a trial court ruled that the land should be distributed to the peasants, but 1986 saw the ascent of Aquino to the presidency. The Aquino regime crafted an agrarian reform program which was riddled with so many exemptions, including one called the Stock Distribution Option (SDO) that was used to exempt Luisita from land distribution.

⁴⁷ Message issued by the Office of the Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

Crisis Generates Resistance

In this context, we can fully appreciate the significance of the strike launched by Luisita peasants and farmworkers in November 2004. They were protesting the P9.50 take-home pay per day at the hacienda—a result of the Stock Distribution Option scheme hatched by the Cojuangcos and the landlord class to gain legal exemption from the fake agrarian reform program being implemented by the government. They were also protesting the dismissal of 300 workers from the hacienda's sugar refinery, an act intended to bust the local union which was then becoming militant.

Before and during their strike, the peasants and farmworkers of Luisita—with the active support of patriotic and progressive mass organizations and alliances throughout the country, and with the help of alternative media—won the attention and sympathy of the working people of the country and the world. Many among the urban petty-bourgeoisie in the Philippines were shocked to learn about concrete forms of feudal exploitation and oppression that were persisting in the countryside. The working people of the Philippines and the world applauded and encouraged the working people of Luisita.

The Cojuangcos, the big comprador-landlord classes, and the reactionary state were all shamed by the justness of the calls of the Luisita peasants and farmworkers. They reacted swiftly and viciously to the strike. Patricia Sto. Tomas, then-labor secretary of the US-backed regime of Mrs. Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, issued an Assumption of Jurisdiction order on the issue, ordering the strikers to go back to work and authorizing the deployment of military and police forces to dismantle the strike. Gen. Hermogenes Esperon, Jr., who was widely believed to have been promoted to his post for helping Mrs. Arroyo cheat in the 2004 elections, was the military's chief of staff.

The military and police forces went to the hacienda, bringing tanks, tear gas, and high-powered rifles. The Luisita peasants and farmworkers stood their ground. With their unity and militancy, they repelled various attempts at breaking the strike. Thousands of workers, peasants and farmworkers, together with their womenfolk, locked arms and pushed away with their bodies the military and police who were armed with shields. After reaching the ground, canisters of tear gas thrown by the military were immediately covered with soil. A farmer, speaking to the military, summed up their spirit: "Since you are already killing us, we might as well die fighting." These could only have aroused fear and panic in the hearts of the oppressors.

Land and Justice for the Peasants and Farmworkers of Hacienda Luisita

In the afternoon of November 16, 2004, after the strikers promised in a negotiation with military and police officials to lay down the pieces of wood they were holding for defending themselves and to defend the strike with just their bodies, the military and police forces opened fire. A few minutes of gunfire left Jhaivie Basilio, Adriano Caballero, Jhune David, Jesus Laza, Juancho Sanchez, Jaime Pastidio and Jessie Valdez seriously wounded. Some of them could have lived had not the hospitals in Cojuangco-dominated Tarlac refused to admit wounded victims from the hacienda. Calling for land to the tillers, they died fighting for the just cause of the peasants and farmworkers of Luisita and the country.

The owners of the hacienda, the reactionary government and the bourgeois mass media tried to spread the canard that it was the Luisita farmers and farmworkers who started the violence and that it was fighters of the New People's Army who started the shooting. Their propaganda could not stand up to the truth of the audio-visual evidence taken by progressive filmmakers who covered the strike. The bursts of gunfire came from the ranks of the military and the police. Subsequently, death squads of the military went on a spree killing strike leaders and supporters, including a bishop and a city councilor.

While the touters of the reactionary justice system in the Philippines often cite the adage that "justice delayed is justice denied," justice has clearly been delayed and has been denied to the peasants and farmworkers of Hacienda Luisita. Five years after the massacre, no one has been punished for the crime. There are many victims, but none of the criminal perpetrators is imprisoned. Investigation of the cases has been proceeding at snail pace, and the only significant development is that de facto president Arroyo, her labor secretary Sto. Tomas and the military butcher Esperon have been removed from the list of those charged. The ones remaining on the sham charge sheet are the police and military officers who tested positive in paraffin tests. But they are scot free and biding their time.

The power of the labor secretary to issue Assumption of Jurisdiction (AJ) orders remains in place—despite the graphic demonstration of its lethal consequences for working people. After the massacre, the labor secretary issued AJ orders for numerous workplaces in Central Luzon, thus facilitating the militarization of that region. Since it was approved as part of the Labor Code in 1989, the AJ has been used as license to suppress workers' actions in workplaces throughout the

Crisis Generates Resistance

country. It is being imposed even before a strike is initiated—when collective bargaining negotiations end in deadlock or when notices of strike are filed before the government.

Pressured by the strike and the widespread condemnation of the massacre locally and internationally, the Presidential Agrarian Reform Council (PARC), in December 2005, revoked the Stock Distribution Option (SDO) scheme being implemented in the hacienda and placed the lands previously under the SDO into the “compulsory coverage” scheme of the government’s agrarian reform program. The Hacienda Luisita management, losing no time, filed for a Temporary Restraining Order in January 2006 against the resolution. In June 2006, the Supreme Court issued a TRO and ordered the PARC and the Department of Agrarian Reform to implement the revocation of the SDO.

Seeing the opportunity in this deadlock, and knowing that waiting for government intervention will get them nowhere, the peasants and farmworkers of the hacienda took the initiative and launched their “kampanyang bungkal” or campaign to till, which called on all working people of the hacienda to plant crops that are necessary for everyday nourishment, such as rice and vegetables, and can be sold for added income, such as fruits. With the participation of more than a thousand families, the hacienda land, which used to showcase sugarcane, now boasts of golden fields of rice. The campaign caused an improvement in the lives and livelihood of the working people of Luisita.

The Cojuangco family, however, has not given up on the fight to own the land. Last December 2008, emboldened by the passage of a law extending the government’s anti-peasant agrarian reform program—which still contained the SDO as one of the (non-)distribution schemes—the Hacienda Luisita management issued a memorandum to the peasants tilling the 2,000-hectare portion of the hacienda ordering them to stop using the lands for whatever purpose. After a public clamor directed at Sen. Benigno “Noy” Aquino III—a member of the Cojuangco family who’s running in the 2010 presidential elections—the Hacienda Luisita management was forced to backtrack.

Now, the Hacienda Luisita management is carrying out what it calls an “enlistment” of peasants who would become the “beneficiaries” of agrarian reform in the hacienda—as if it were the authorized body to implement agrarian reform in that area and as if it were authorized to do so despite the TRO. It is complaining of “illegal tillers” encroaching

Land and Justice for the Peasants and Farmworkers of Hacienda Luisita

upon the hacienda, but who are actually the working people of Luisita. It is also undertaking land-use conversion schemes in various parts of the land. The creation of a vast highway that passes through the hacienda is being seen as an opportunity to increase the value of hacienda land and an opening to commercial uses of portions of the hacienda.

Five years after the massacre, the struggle of the Luisita peasants and farmworkers for justice, including the junking of the Assumption of Jurisdiction power of the labor secretary, and land continues. They deserve the full support of the working people of the Philippines and the whole world. We hope that our International Day of Action against Trade Union Repression and the fifth anniversary of the Hacienda Luisita massacre will be an occasion for working people everywhere to discuss and raise the issues of trade union repression in their work places and countries. We should not allow trade union repression to weaken our ranks and spirit. It should goad us to fight back and gain strength through struggle.

We have to continue and intensify our struggle not just against trade union repression but also against the forms of feudal and semifeudal exploitation which are aligned with the world capitalist system. Let us keep in mind that monopoly capitalist control of global agriculture and the food system has now created a global famine afflicting over a billion people for the first time in world history.

The struggle of the Luisita peasants and farmworkers is instructive. It is only through the militant struggle of working people that they can gain strength and aim for their national and social liberation. We may win victories in our struggle for reforms within the present world capitalist system but these will continue to be at risk until we, the people of the world, are strong enough to overthrow the exploiters and oppressors.





Carry Forward the Revolutionary Tradition of Kabataang Makabayan⁴⁸

Address to the KM on its 45th Founding Anniversary

November 25, 2009

It is a great honor for me to have been the founding chairman of Kabataang Makabayan (Patriotic or People's Youth). And it is my pleasure to talk to you about KM on the occasion of its 45th founding anniversary.

The KM was founded on November 30, 1964, the birth anniversary of the great worker and founder of the Katipunan, Andres Bonifacio. Since the beginning, the KM has been dedicated to the just cause of continuing the revolutionary struggle of the Filipino youth and people for national liberation and democracy against foreign and feudal domination.

The Filipino people are proud for being the very first nation in Asia to fight and defeat a Western colonial power, specifically Spain. But unfortunately, a modern imperialist power, the United States, intervened and launched a war of aggression against the Filipino people to destroy the Philippine republic and kill 1.5 million Filipinos in order to recolonize and occupy the Philippines. To this date, the US continues to dominate the Philippines through the local exploiting classes and their political agents.

The KM has inherited the rich revolutionary tradition of the Filipino people in fighting against Spanish colonialism for more than three centuries, in defending their national sovereignty against the US war of aggression, in resisting the colonial power of the US and the Japanese fascist invasion during World War II and in carrying out a people's war against the semicolonial and semifeudal system under the US and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

Since the beginning, Kabataang Makabayan has been determined to carry out a national democratic revolution under the class leadership of the working class in the global era of modern imperialism and

⁴⁸ Message delivered as Founding Chairman of the Kabataang Makabayan.

Crisis Generates Resistance

proletarian revolution. This new type of national democratic revolution is meant to overcome the weaknesses and failures of the bourgeois leadership in the old democratic revolution of 1896.

The KM has assumed the task of assisting the working class in carrying out a new democratic revolution on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance, with the augmentation of further alliances with the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie against the big comprador-landlords and their foreign masters. Under certain circumstances, the united front is further broadened against the narrowed enemy force.

The KM is conscious of the fact that, in Philippine history and current circumstances, the Filipino youth have been at the forefront with every upsurge of the Philippine revolution. This is not surprising because the youth are receptive to revolutionary ideas, they tend to rebel against the reactionary system, they are energetic and are willing to contribute their time, effort and abilities to a just cause.

The KM did not drop from the sky. It emerged in response to the extreme reaction and rabid anti-communism that followed the defeat of the old people's army and the armed revolutionary movement of the people in the early 1950s. It arose from the concrete conditions of sharpening oppression and exploitation of the Filipino youth and people from the early 1960s onwards.

The KM is a comprehensive youth organization of the students and the young workers, peasants and professionals. The student component of what would become the KM took shape in the late 1950s in the form of study circles on the Philippine revolution and Marxism-Leninism under the auspices of the Student Cultural Association of the University of the Philippines (SCAUP). The university study circles arose ahead of the youth contingents from the working class, peasantry and the professionals.

After a decade of intense reaction since 1950, the first protest mass action with an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal character occurred on March 15, 1961 upon the initiative of the SCAUP in a united front with other campus organizations. Five thousand students literally scuttled a hearing of the Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities (CAFA) of the reactionary congress conducting a witchhunt against UP faculty members and students who had written anti-imperialist and anti-feudal articles.

As a result of the anti-CAFA mass action, I was removed from my teaching fellowship in the UP. But I gained time to do further

Carry Forward the Revolutionary Tradition of Kabataang Makabayan

revolutionary student organizing in several universities in a clandestine way and encouraged the formation of progressive student organizations on a national scale. I went to Jakarta to study the Indonesian language and observe the strong mass movement there during the first half of 1962. When I returned home in the second half of 1962, I joined the trade union movement and the Worker's Party. In both I was assigned to do research and education work.

As vice chairman for education of the Workers' Party, I organized seminars for trade unionists from several major labor federations and big independent unions. Then, I established the youth department of the Workers' Party. This would become the source of young workers for KM. I wrote articles on land reform and from early 1963 gave refresher courses to peasant leaders and veteran fighters of the old people's army. They recommended their children and other young relatives to become members of the KM at the preparatory phase of its founding starting at the beginning of 1964.

The young professionals that had been the first to join the KM came from the ranks of teachers. Eventually, they came from the various professions because they had become progressive while they were still students. It is not surprising therefore that in the succeeding years the progressive mass movement would have activists from the ranks of health professionals, lawyers, scientists, engineers, artists, cultural workers and other professionals.

After its founding in 1964, the KM became a training school for activists in the national democratic movement for the purpose of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the youth in the schools, factories, farms, communities and offices. The schools for national democracy were instituted at various levels of the KM and in various spheres of work. The emphasis was on training young cadres for the trade union and peasant movement and students and young teachers for rapid nationwide expansion of the KM.

The KM became outstanding in mobilizing the youth in mass protest actions against the unequal treaties with the US in the economic and military fields, against new dictates by the US in every field, against the killing of Filipinos in US military bases, against the puppetry of the reactionary regime, against the big compradors and landlords, against oppressive and exploitative school authorities and against the US war of aggression in Vietnam and elsewhere.

Crisis Generates Resistance

The KM became the largest militant youth organization. Its members had a high level of political education and training for the advance of the national democratic movement. Thus it became a major part of the Workers' Party in 1964 and then its successor the Socialist Party of the Philippines (SPP) in 1966. It also became the major part of the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism (MAN), a national united front formation in 1966. I became the general secretary of SPP and MAN because of the well-rounded political and organizational strength of the KM.

At the core of Kabataang Makabayan were proletarian revolutionary cadres, who had become members of the old merger party of the Communist and Socialist parties (OMPCSP) since 1962 and who from year to year became dissatisfied with the growing current of modern revisionism. From 1964 onwards, the proletarian revolutionaries increased and outnumbered the old members of the old merger party. They demanded a rectification movement to criticize the major errors and shortcomings of the old merger party since the 1930s.

The Lava revisionist renegades opposed the rectification movement and sought to expel the proletarian revolutionaries. The young proletarian revolutionaries and their senior comrades separated from the Lava revisionist renegades in April 1967, intensified the rectification movement and began preparations for the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on December 26, 1968.

The newly-reestablished CPP benefited from the nationwide and grassroots organizing of the KM among the workers and peasants, youth, women and professionals. The proletarian revolutionaries linked up with their counterparts in the old people's army, repudiated the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique and formed the New People's Army on March 29, 1969.

The KM became an even larger and more effective assistant of the working class and the CPP when the protest mass actions that had been intensifying since 1969 peaked in the First Quarter Storm of 1970. This involved the weekly mass actions of 50,000 to 100,000 people in Metro Manila and spread to many provincial cities and capitals. It provided thousands of KM recruits on a national scale and led to the strengthening of KM regional and provincial committees and KM chapters at the grassroots level.

Carry Forward the Revolutionary Tradition of Kabataang Makabayan

But at that time, Marcos became ever more determined to impose a fascist dictatorship on the Filipino people. He engineered the Plaza Miranda bombing in order to suspend the writ of habeas corpus and start suppressing the KM and other progressive mass organizations on August 21, 1971. Subsequently, he declared martial law on September 21, 1972 to suppress the entire range of opposition.

Since 1971, when its national and regional offices were raided and some of its leaders were arrested, the KM had made a systematic retreat from the aboveground level of mass struggle. It organized the underground in Metro Manila and other cities to provide immediate safety for the known KM activists and to prepare their systematic distribution to the guerrilla zones in the countryside and to underground work in other cities where they were not known to the enemy and could find support.

The KM played a key role in the Filipino people's struggle against the Marcos dictatorship. It was the broadcaster of the revolutionary message and organizational seeds. It supplied cadres and mass activists for the expansion of all revolutionary forces, including the CPP, the NPA, the mass organizations, the organs of political power and the alliances. Wherever they went to perform their revolutionary duties, the KM cadres and activists were tempered further as revolutionaries and developed others to become revolutionaries.

Many KM cadres and activists became martyrs for the revolutionary cause but many more prevailed over tremendous odds and assumed higher responsibilities in the revolutionary movement. After the fall of the Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1986, the KM could have chosen to surface, pursue the legal forms of struggle and benefit from the prestige of having fought valiantly and effectively against the fascist dictatorship. But it decided to stay underground and perform the role of the Communist Youth League and be a key member of the National Democratic Front.

The Kabataang Makabayan continues to carry out the tasks of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the Filipino youth in line with the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy. It provides ideological, political and organizational training to the mass activists to become advanced; and the advanced mass activists to become proletarian revolutionaries and subsequently full-fledged members of the CPP. It deploys personnel with a high level of revolutionary consciousness, competence and militancy to all kinds of work

Crisis Generates Resistance

demanded by the revolutionary movement in the political, economic, military, cultural and other fields.

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The Structure of Reactionary Violence and Human Rights Violations in the Philippines⁴⁹

November 27, 2009

The International Coordinating Committee and all member-organizations of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) condemn with all their moral conviction and strength the monstrous massacre of at least 57 people, including many women and children, 29 journalists and two human rights lawyers, in Ampatuan, Maguindanao last November 23, 2009.

Structure of reactionary violence

The abominable crime against humanity was perpetrated by the private army of the Ampatuan ruling clan in collaboration with units of the Philippine National Police (PNP) and the Philippine Army (PA). The private army consists of armed units designated as Civilian Armed Force Geographical Units (CAFGU) and Civilian Volunteers Organization (CVO), subsidized by public funds and operating as auxiliary paramilitary units of the PNP and PA.

The Ampatuans are governors of both Maguindanao and the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). Among the family members are a cabinet undersecretary, congressmen and several town mayors. They have maintained their dominant warlord status because they are aligned with the Arroyo regime and have delivered to it large numbers of fraudulent votes in the 2004 and 2007 reactionary elections. Thus, they are allowed to oppress and exploit the people and crush with armed force any opposition.

But it is not enough to see only the relationship of the Arroyo ruling clique and the Ampatuan ruling clan in Maguindanao or even the rotten and violent character of the entire oppressive ruling system in the Philippines. The official designation and government financing of the Ampatuan private army as CVO and CAFGU paramilitary auxiliaries

⁴⁹ Statement issued as Chairperson of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

of the PNP and PA are in line with the national internal security plan called Oplan Bantay Laya. This has been designed and directed by the US under its global war of terror policy.

The structure of reactionary violence and human rights violations in the Philippines has several levels, including those of the US, the puppet Manila-based government and the local tyrants like the Ampatuans. The US has been the most culpable for whipping up state terrorism and vigilantism by local tyrants and by army and police commanders under the pretext of combating communists and Muslims who are unjustly labeled as terrorists.

The US is the imperialist master that has dictated upon the Arroyo regime to adopt and implement Oplan Bantay Laya and use the regular armed forces, the police and the paramilitary forces of the Ampatuan type to suppress the national and democratic rights of the people. Along the way, the puppets use their armed power to intimidate and kill their intrasystemic political rivals.

The US has provided the doctrine of warfare against the people and supplied the military equipment and training and other wherewithals of the reign of terror. It has embedded advisors, trainers and operatives within the reactionary armed forces and has deployed its own units in Mindanao and elsewhere to ensure puppet obedience to its imperialist dictates.

Together with the Manila-based puppet government, local tyrants like the Ampatuans and all their military, police and paramilitary minions, the US is culpable and condemnable for pushing state terrorism and the gross and systematic human rights violations and emboldening the human rights violators to commit their crimes with impunity under the pretext of combating terrorism.

On the Ampatuan massacre

In a land that is familiar to violence by foreign aggressors and local tyrants, the recent massacre of at least 57 people in Ampatuan municipality, Maguindanao Province, Philippines still managed to shock and outrage the Filipino people as well as the rest of the world.

A convoy of journalists, lawyers and women relatives of Esmael Mangudadatu, a local politician contesting the governorship of Maguindanao Province, were en route to file registration papers for the May 2010 elections on the morning of November 23, 2009 when

they were abducted and executed by over 100 gunmen. Twenty-four of the victims were women, some of whose bodies were later found mutilated. At least 28 journalists were also killed in the attack which the Reporters without Borders described as the worst loss of life in the history of journalism.

The perpetrators were allegedly led by Andal Ampatuan Jr., the Mayor of a nearby town and son of the incumbent Governor of Maguindanao, who was being groomed to take over his father's position. He was assisted by senior police officials, local police and paramilitary forces who function as a private army of the Ampatuan clan. A backhoe registered to the provincial government was even on hand to bury the victims in pre-dug common graves.

Clearly the Ampatuans consider themselves untouchable because of their loyal ties to the incumbent President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo who has deliberately created a climate of impunity for human rights violators and mass murderers in the Philippines. Since her ascent to power in 2001, over 800 extrajudicial killings have been committed in the country, including 51 incidents of massacres victimizing a total of 255 persons. Not one has been punished for these vilest of crimes.

In the case of the Ampatuan massacre, it took four days before the principal suspect was taken into custody and only after intense public outcry for justice. The Arroyo government's initial response was to declare a state of emergency in the province which would be enforced, of course, by the local state apparatus controlled by the Ampatuans.

The Ampatuan clan is a prime example of feudal-fascist warlords who are coddled and nurtured by the national ruling clique in order to secure their hold over local populations and resources. The Ampatuans are among the most loyal vassals of the Arroyo ruling clique and responsible for orchestrating the electoral fraud in the region through which Arroyo has kept herself in power.

It was Arroyo who gave the Ampatuan clan the authority to recruit and arm civilians to assist in fighting "insurgents" in the region. As a result, the Ampatuans now have a 500-strong army, which includes 200 special armed civilian auxiliary forces, as well as entire regular military and police units assigned to ensure the security of the clan members.

These local warlords and their "armies," particularly in Mindanao, are not only interwoven with the national security apparatus of the ruling classes, they are also backed by the US imperialist state which has

Crisis Generates Resistance

a special interest in Mindanao. The US military considers Mindanao strategic for its force projection in this part of the world. It maintains military facilities in the island in direct violation of the Philippine Constitution. It has conducted at least seven military exercises in Mindanao since 2001, poured millions of military aid and has trained local security forces to enhance “inter-operability” with US troops.

The USAID has funded tens of millions of dollars worth of infrastructure projects throughout the region to support US military operations and US investors there. To accomplish their objective of securing strategic resources, facilities and suppressing revolutionary and democratic challenges to US interests in the region, the US necessarily works with the local state apparatus and allies with feudal-fascist rulers such as the Ampatuans.

Given the intimate ties of the Ampatuans and other fascist criminals with the US-Arroyo regime, there is no reason to expect that any fact-finding body or investigation initiated by the corrupt, oppressive and brutal government will be credible or will bring justice to the victims of massacres and other human rights violations in the Philippines.

The ILPS calls on all freedom-loving peoples of the world to denounce the Ampatuan Massacre and all other extrajudicial killings in the Philippines, to demand an independent probe of these killings; and condemn the Arroyo government for coddling mass murderers and human rights violators.

Stop the killings!

End impunity!

Justice now!

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On Trade and Climate Issues against WTO⁵⁰

November 30, 2009

November 30, 2009 marks the 10th anniversary of the Battle of Seattle. We remember this for shutting down the World Trade Organization's (WTO) Ministerial Meeting through militant street protests and mass mobilizations by indignant workers, farmers, students and peoples from various countries.

The Battle of Seattle followed the People's Assembly against the WTO, in which as keynote speaker I delivered on November 28, 1999 a comprehensive address criticizing and condemning imperialist globalization and calling for people's resistance and I announced the work of the International Initiative Committee to form the International League of Peoples' Struggle. The denial of permit to the Rally-March of the aforesaid assembly resulted in a protest picket that served as prelude to the protest marches, which led further to the Battle of Seattle.

Since then, monopoly capitalists have attempted to push imperialist globalization even further through new rounds of the WTO as well as bilateral or regional "free trade" pacts. But people's resistance has blockaded the WTO at each turn protesting the Ministerial meetings in Doha (2001), Cancun (2003) and Hong Kong (2005)—with the vital participation of members of the International League of Peoples' Struggles.

The 7th WTO Ministerial meeting to be held on November 30 to December 2, 2009 in Geneva is the latest attempt by monopoly capitalists to revive the Doha Round of trade talks, and this time with an increased sense of desperation. Through the WTO, monopoly capitalists, the finance oligarchy, and heads of imperialist states are trying to hoodwink poor and indebted countries into further opening up their economies to surplus goods and capital from the advanced industrial capitalist countries.

They vainly hope that by exporting more goods to other countries, gaining access to cheaper raw materials and exploiting cheaper labor,

⁵⁰ Statement issued as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

Crisis Generates Resistance

they can overcome the gravest crisis that has wracked the world capitalist system since the 1930s. But rather than resolve the crisis, they will only worsen the global crisis of overproduction and the destruction of productive forces especially in poor and oppressed countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean.

Agribusiness monopolies, for example, want expanded agreements on agriculture that would allow them to continue dumping their highly subsidized products on poor countries while opposing the introduction even only of token measures of protection for food and other goods to which these countries are most sensitive.

Meanwhile the imperialist states have increased rather than reduced or eliminated the agricultural subsidies that they provide to the monopoly firms that supply seeds, farm inputs and machinery, and control trading. This exacerbates the global overproduction of agricultural commodities and destroys the livelihood of millions of peasants and small farmers in the third world who cannot compete against these global giants.

Smallholders with limited access to land, water, modern inputs, credit, post-harvest facilities, and other farm support become suppliers of agribusiness corporations or agricultural workers. Either way they face declining incomes and greater insecurity as a growing share of farm income is appropriated by local landlords, traders, usurers and global agribusiness giants that monopolize farm inputs and international trade.

Local big landlords, comprador capitalists and foreign financial speculators are taking over millions of hectares of land and forests to plant biofuel sources or to convert to special economic zones and commercial centers. This is exacerbating food insecurity and hunger and poverty on an unprecedented scale.

Fisheries are also under threat by the WTO since the imperialist states are insisting on reducing tariffs for the entire fisheries sector. This will accelerate the depletion of marine resources and the displacement of fisherfolk and coastal communities whose livelihood depend on these resources, especially when combined with unequal Fisheries Access Agreements through which the heavily subsidised industrial fishing fleets from imperialist countries gain access to the territorial waters of poor countries which are already over-fished.

In the manufacturing industries, imperialist states are pushing for the imposition of steep additional tariff cuts on manufactured goods

entering third world countries and introduce new rules which would prevent the use of tariffs to protect strategic or infant industries in the latter. On the other hand, these same imperialist states are increasing their own applied tariffs as a way of saving industrial monopolies from going bust in the midst of the global depression.

Even bourgeois economists warn that this will result in more bankruptcies, lay-offs and deindustrialization in poor countries. It will also drastically reduce revenues for social spending and public investment.

Imperialist states are dangling the prospect of liberalizing the entry of workers from poor countries suffering from chronic unemployment in exchange for the liberalized entry of transnational corporations (TNCs) in key services sectors, such as financial services, energy, and telecommunications. This paves the way for greater foreign monopoly capitalist control over strategic sectors such as mass media and utilities.

The monopoly bourgeoisie of the leading imperialist countries are using the current global financial, food and climate crisis as the justification for an early conclusion of the Doha Round. In fact, the WTO is one of the principal instruments by which the monopoly bourgeoisie has enforced policies that engender and continue to worsen these crises.

WTO rules prevent countries from adopting new financial regulations that restrict the operations of “financial service suppliers.” They do not allow the banning of fictitious financial products such as derivatives, and they do not allow restrictions on the size or form of financial firms (not even to reduce systemic financial risk). In short, the WTO bars regulations that put limits on the predatory practices of finance capital and on the inflation of financial bubbles that precipitate financial crises.

The WTO integrates more farmers and agricultural output into the global market. The more food production is oriented towards serving foreign markets rather than domestic needs, the more transnational corporations—commodity traders, food processors, and global retailers—increase their stranglehold over the global food system; and the more food becomes inaccessible to those who need it the most. It is precisely the monopoly capitalist control of global agriculture and the food system that has spread the global famine now afflicting over a billion people in the world.

Crisis Generates Resistance

Likewise, trade liberalization encourages the growth of energy-intensive industries, the expansion of chemical-intensive corporate farms and increases the extraction and burning of fossil fuels; deforestation; and other major drivers of global warming. WTO rules also prevent governments from adopting environmental and social regulations that restrict the operations and profits of monopoly capitalist firms including measures aimed at reducing greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions.

The liberalization of trade in so-called climate-friendly goods and services is being hyped up as a means of mitigating climate change. In fact, TNCs which supply these goods merely want to use a new WTO agreement to widen their market access and at the same time strengthen and extend their monopoly patents over technologies which hardly make a dent on aggregate GHG emissions. Biotech firms are now stockpiling patents on what they claim to be climate-resilient crops which they hope to market widely with the aid of the WTO.

The imperialist states within the WTO unite on passing the burden of coping with these crises to the working classes, especially those in the poor and oppressed countries. However, inter-imperialist competition is also at play inside the WTO as each of the advanced capitalist countries resorts to increasing protectionist measures.

Such protectionist measures include domestic subsidies that form part of stimulus programs and trade barriers limiting market access for exporters from other countries in the hope of reviving their own domestic economies. This is the reason why even third world governments representing comprador elite interests have so far refused to acquiesce to imperialist demands for more market opening.

This accounts for the ambivalence of imperialist spokespersons who, after using every multilateral gathering of imperialist states and major economies this past year to call for the earliest possible conclusion of the Doha Round, are now saying this December's Ministerial meeting would just be a stock-taking exercise rather than a negotiation.

At the same time, this may be a bluff to further divide the ranks of poor countries and goad the governments of some of the latter to concede a few key demands in order to have a basis for negotiations. This was already the tendency displayed by India's comprador ruling class during the WTO's mini-ministerial meeting held in New Delhi last October.

It becomes more imperative for peoples' movements not to be complacent and to be vigilant and militant about the future of the WTO's Doha Round and the neoliberal project in general. After serving their interests well for the last three decades, monopoly capitalists are not about to give up neoliberalism anytime soon.

But history is against them. The rottenness of the monopoly capitalist system itself, not just the neoliberal project, is laid bare by the grave crises devastating the people and the planet today. More than ever, it is imperative that we not only push back the expansion of the WTO and other imperialist instrumentalities, but to fight for their outright dismantling.

It is high time that we call for the building of a new international economic and political order that is premised on equitable and mutually beneficial relations among nations and oriented towards the fulfilment of social needs rather than private profit and the private accumulation of capital.

As the monopoly bourgeoisie tries to preserve its wealth and power, the more resolute the people should become in waging militant struggles for greater freedom, democracy, social justice, development and world peace. The progressive mass movements and revolutionary forces of the people of the world will surely gain strength and advance in the struggles for national and social liberation against imperialism and all reaction.

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International Anti-Imperialist Women's Conference in Montreal⁵¹

December 5, 2009

The International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) welcomes the initiative of the members of the Commission on Women to organize an international conference of women with the theme: "For a Militant Global Women's Movement in the 21st Century" Celebrating the Centennial of International Women's Day. The Conference will be held in Montreal, Canada in August 2010.

The call for this Conference was made at the session of Workshop on Concern No. 7 organized by the ILPS Commission on Women, during the Third International Assembly (TIA) of the ILPS held in Hong Kong in June 2008. In the resolution of Workshop 7, one of the specific actions called for an International Conference of women to commemorate the centennial of International Toiling Women's Day on March 8, 2010. The International Conference shall lead to the formation of an anti-imperialist global women's formation, the International Women's Alliance.

The purpose of the conference is to assess the achievements, shortcomings and setbacks of the worldwide women's rights movement during the last 100 years, honor the pioneers and trailblazers of the struggle for women's rights and liberation, and to draw up an action plan for developing and advancing the women's rights movement, starting with the formation of a global anti-imperialist women's alliance.

Previous to that, in June 2005, the ILPS, during an International Coordinating Committee (ICC) meeting, supported the concept of a women's anti-imperialist league.

We invite other member-organizations of the Commission on Women to join the International Initiative Committee, being spearheaded by Gabriela, Philippines and Women of Diverse Origins, Canada. They will keep you informed of developments and details of this Conference.

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⁵¹ Announcement issued as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the ILPS.



End Monopoly Capitalism to Arrest Climate Change⁵²

December 7, 2009

Human societies have created the bases of our survival, sustenance and advancement through the use of our natural resources in production beginning with rudimentary tools and developing with rising levels of science and technology. Yet at no time in history has environmental destruction been systematically brought about in most parts of the world.

The people of the world face today poverty, economic wars and environmental crises. They are confronted by monopoly capitalism with an escalating, more rapacious and vicious campaign of plunder. This aggravates the already devastated and polluted natural environment.

The massive dumping of greenhouse gases (GHG) in the atmosphere by the operations of monopoly capitalist firms in the energy industries, manufacturing, transportation, industrial agriculture, mining, construction and such other processes is now generating climatic changes causing massive devastation and loss of human lives around the world.

The unprecedented rise in GHG emissions coincided with the onset of the capitalist system at the industrial revolution and its attendant intensive use of machines, fossil fuels for transportation and energy. The anarchic, wasteful and pollutive capitalist production for profit has pushed our world to the brink of destruction. Under a system where profit is the primary objective of social production, the environment and our ecosystems are reduced to being sources of raw materials and dumping grounds of toxic wastes.

Plunder and pollution of the environment have made victims of poor communities many times over. These are the same communities that are also the most vulnerable to environmental backlashes, which come in the form of floods, droughts and other occurrences triggered or

⁵² Statement issued by the Office of the Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle on the Copenhagen climate conference 2009 or the 15th session of the Conference of the Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).

Crisis Generates Resistance

heightened by the prevailing imbalances in the ecosystem. Women and children shoulder the greater cost of these circumstances because of wider risks to their health, and added complications to their productive and reproductive functions.

The trend of rapid environmental changes both at the global and national level is expected to bring about even more massive devastation and loss of human lives in the future. It is clear from the 2007 Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) Fourth Assessment Report, and subsequent studies, that warming of the climate system is unequivocal, as is now evident from observations of increases in global average air and ocean temperatures, widespread melting of snow and ice, and rising global average sea levels.

The increase in global surface temperature has made the past decade and a half the warmest years since the 1850s. An increase of 0.75 degrees Celsius in the past century was observed all over the world. Rates of sea level increase have leaped from an average of 1.8 mm annually (from 1961) to 3.1 mm/yr (from 1996). The rate of ice cover shrinkage in the Arctic was observed to be 2.7% per decade--more than doubling in summer to 7.4%. Recently, the Northwest passage was clear throughout the Arctic circle. Increased incidence of intense tropical cyclones and sea level rise has been observed putting coastal areas at risk.

The climate has been altered by changes in greenhouse gases (GHGs), aerosols, land-cover and solar radiation input. It was clear in the 2007 Nobel Peace Prize winning report of the IPCC that GHGs have increased due to human activities with an increase of 70% in the last 3 decades. CO₂ emissions have increased 80% in the same period.

Even as global warming has already brought extreme negative impact on livelihood and survival, especially on vulnerable communities, "free market" globalization policies have opened up the rest of the world to the unhampered entry, control and exploitation of raw natural resources and people by monopoly capitalist banks and firms. Atrocious campaigns and wars of aggression have been waged especially by the US monopoly capitalists to expand economic territory and gain direct or tighter control of land and natural resources.

Systematic and unabated deforestation through rampant industrial logging has multiplied at ever increasing rates. The destruction of the world's forests has also led to the conversion of agricultural plantations

for export-oriented crops, farms for cattle raising or monoculture tree plantations. The relentless extraction of mineral ores and wanton destruction by multinational mining corporations in Asia Pacific, Latin America and African countries naturally endowed with rich mineral deposits persists leaving their wake massive environmental destruction and pollution, widespread landlessness and displacement, loss of livelihood, distortion of local culture, and rampant human rights violations to the peoples of these regions.

Asia, which holds more than half of the world's population, has less than 36% of the world's water resources and almost half of the population in developing countries are exposed to polluted water sources. The contamination of air, water and land brought about by products and production processes mainly from the industrial and manufacturing plants of multinational corporations (MNCs) continue. These large-scale factories remain the top contributors of significant pollutants such as toxic and hazardous wastes in the world.

More and more underdeveloped countries (including India and China) have also become major dumping grounds for the wastes of industrial countries. The dumping of toxic and hazardous wastes are mounting and alarming. Additionally, chemicals and obsolete technologies proven to be harmful to the environment and/or human health and that are already banned in the industrial countries are continually foisted on underdeveloped countries.

The occupation of Iraq by the US (and the 'Coalition of the Willing') has given the latter direct control over the vast oil resources of Iraq and has consolidated US domination over the world's oil resources. After toppling the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, the US has gained more political foothold in Central Asia and South Asia and further access to the oil and gas resources in these parts of the world. The US launched its "second front against terrorism" targeting the Philippines, Indonesia and Southeast Asia— a region known for its oil, natural gas and other natural resources. It has unceasingly undermined the government of Venezuela, which has the biggest oil resources in Latin America and is continuously expanding its influence in other Latin American countries (Colombia) and several African countries to tap potential oil and other mineral resources.

Foreign direct investments in energy all over the world are increasing and control over these resources are transferred from nations to a few energy companies. Even the technologies needed for the use

Crisis Generates Resistance

of alternative energy in solar and wind are limited to industrialized countries. The drive for biofuels has raised concerns over its long-term sustainability and actual impact on climate change. Large tracts of forests have been lost in Brazil, Malaysia and Indonesia due to conversion of forests to oil-palm plantations and more biofuel plantations have been earmarked in other countries like the Philippines.

The recent wars of aggression of the US and its allies have not only increased the production, sale and use weapons of mass destruction but have also caused the massive destruction and contamination of human property, health and environment (i.e., use of depleted uranium, etc.) in the Balkans, Afghanistan, Iraq and other war-ravaged countries. Forest clearings and land conversions necessitated by continued military exercises in different parts of the world led by the US pollute the environment and the destruction of natural habitats. Toxic wastes from current and previous US military bases continue to wreak ecological havoc in the surrounding areas. US military joint exercises bring with them not only direct US military aggression but the dangerous weapons and waste from these activities.

The United States is currently the number one producer of GHGs, emitting more than 28% of all the historical GHGs emitted since 1840 worldwide. About 84% of US GHG emissions arise from the petroleum related energy and electrical power sectors. The US is also the biggest processor and unregulated user of oil and petroleum products all over the world.

Yet the US government has refused to sign the Kyoto Protocol, an international treaty signed by 169 countries which aims to reduce global levels of carbon dioxide and five other GHG emissions by 5.2% from their 1990 levels. It is also the US that remains adamant in refusing to commit to long-term and rapid reductions of emissions in the ongoing negotiations for new commitments under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in Copenhagen.

Primary emitter countries such as the US and other G8 countries have the principal responsibility to change their production activities and consumption of energy for genuinely sustainable solutions to the ecological crisis. At the same time, they must also bear the cost of reducing GHGs and building the capacity of vulnerable communities in poor countries to withstand climate change impacts which they have caused. Developing countries still require adequate energy and infrastructure for the basic needs and social development of their

people, hence, should not be denied genuine sustainable development and must not be forced to carry the burden of meeting carbon emission reduction targets for the world while industrialized countries refuse to do so.

Instead of pursuing comprehensive mitigation of their emissions by engaging in changes in social production, industrialized countries use carbon offset mechanisms and emissions trading projects that offload the burden of carbon mitigation and reduction towards developing countries. These distort development activities in these countries while maintaining the unsustainable patterns of consumption and production activities of industrialized countries. The so-called clean development mechanisms (CDM) and carbon trading effectively marketize carbon emissions and essentially shuffles around responsibility to curb emissions.

International financial institutions (IFIs) such as the World Bank (WB) and other regional banks are becoming more aggressive in pushing for “free market” and business-friendly false solutions to climate change related problems. Programs such as the Climate Investment Fund of the WB do not differ from their previous so-called development projects that have violated human rights, displaced communities, destroyed the environment and supported militarization in the past. These initiatives of the IFIs also give them leverage to influence the outcome of the UNFCCC negotiations in Copenhagen to provide new opportunities for profitmaking by monopoly capitalist firms that take advantage of the climate crisis.

These include proposals such as massive geo-engineering solutions that do not address the root cause of the emissions and instead push untested and unproven but potentially profitable technologies without due consideration of their ecological and social consequences. On the other hand, personal and individual reduction of carbon emissions such as shifts to compact fluorescent light bulbs, switching to biodegradable products are mere token responses and shortsighted if they are not framed within larger political and economic conditions which have vastly accelerated the rate of global warming. In any case, poor communities would not have the capacity to engage in these actions unless their immediate economic and social problems are first addressed.

Indeed, climate change already aggravates other environmental problems that poor communities have to face as a result of imperialist

Crisis Generates Resistance

globalization's ever increasing destruction of our ecosystems. It is no longer a question that human activity has produced dangerous climate interference but on how to avoid catastrophic effects that could affect more than half of the world's population that are most vulnerable to climate change. Industrialized countries should commit to real targets and not shift the burden to underdeveloped countries. The capacity of local communities to respond to disasters should be strengthened. Community-based disaster response, monitoring and mitigation should be undertaken and livelihood should be provided for those who are vulnerable to climate change impacts.

Great advances have been made in information technology, robotics, genetics, agriculture, and medicine, yet are not being applied towards solving fundamental problems of humankind, such as the breakdown of health systems, famine and hunger, ecological destruction, and social decay and disintegration. Instead, unbridled monopoly capitalist globalization has opened up third world resources for the use of TNCs extracting raw materials while leaving their pollution and emissions to the host communities.

The rapid destruction of the environment is a direct result of the rapid, unchecked appropriation of the world's resources for the benefit of a few. Increased pressure for the quest for wealth places increased pressure on the environment and environmental destruction. The poor, who are most vulnerable, are subjected to these environmental impacts while trying to provide subsistence level production for themselves. Existing environmental and social problems aggravated by global warming will not abate until the plunder of the world for monopoly capital's greed for profits ends.

In order to preserve the world's intrinsic and practical value for human development, we need to fundamentally reorient production and consumption based on human needs rather than for the boundless accumulation of profit for a few. Society must take collective control of productive resources to meet the needs of sustainable social development and avoid overproduction, overconsumption and overexploitation of people and the environment which are inevitable under the prevailing monopoly capitalist system.

We have seen how communities throughout the world have remained resolute and determined to struggle for their rights and defend their natural resources because it is not only their present but also their future at stake. The oppressed peoples and nations

End Monopoly Capitalism to Arrest Climate Change

are more determined than ever before to wage revolutionary struggles for national liberation and democracy and look forward to this socialist future. As the imperialist powers scramble to preserve global capitalism, we, the people, must struggle harder and be more effective in waging militant anti-imperialist struggles for greater freedom, democracy, social justice, development, ecological sustainability, solidarity and peace.

To arrest climate change, we need to put an end to this systematic plunder of the environment for the superprofits of corporations in industrialized countries. To arrest climate change, we need to organize and defend our future against this parasitic and moribund system. To arrest climate change, we need to end monopoly capital's dominance over our lives and build a socialist future.

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Message of Solidarity and Support for the National Lakbayan in the Philippines⁵³

January 17, 2010

We of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) are in firm solidarity with Anakpawis (Toiling Masses) and Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (Peasant Movement of the Philippines) in carrying out the National Lakbayan (caravan and long march) for Land and Justice from the southern and northern regions of the Philippines to the national capital in ten days, from January 12 to 22.

We applaud and congratulate you for resolutely and militantly organizing this unique mass undertaking which traverses more than 1,000 kilometers. We are elated that this mass mobilization has started from the south in Davao City on January 12 and from the north in Tarlac city on January 16.

We strongly support the broad masses of the people, especially the peasants, farmworkers and fisherfolk, who are involved in this historic event. We eagerly await the convergence of the caravans and long marchers in front of the Department of Agrarian Reform on January 21 and the march to Mendiola, near the presidential palace, on January 22. We agree with all your objectives.

It is just to demand genuine land reform and the free distribution of land to the tillers as the solution to the land problem. Land reform must be realized on the strength of the peasant movement and for the purpose of attaining the economic, social and political liberation of the peasant masses. It must not be limited to the confines of reactionary legislation.

The so-called Agrarian Reform Program Extension with Reforms (CARPER) is essentially intended to dampen the peasant demand for land and preserve the feudal and semifeudal forms of exploitation. As in previous bogus land reform programs, CARPER retains the same loopholes and tricks for the landlords to prevent or evade land reform.

It is necessary to bring to national and international attention the local struggles for land and take up the most outstanding cases of

⁵³ Message issued as Chairperson of ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

land accumulation and landgrabbing at the expense of the peasants and the farmworkers. The people want to know more about the land greed, rapacity and brutality of certain landlord families that dominate the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

Two major presidential candidates, Benigno Conjuangco-Aquino III and Gilberto Cojuangco-Teodoro belong to the same big comprador-landlord clan which owns vast haciendas in Tarlac, Pangasinan, Isabela, Negros, Caraga, Palawan and elsewhere in the country. The land question must be in the agenda of the current electoral struggle. The progressive parties and candidates who espouse land reform deserve support.

It is necessary to expose, oppose and frustrate the escalating militarization of the countryside under the Oplan Bantay Laya of the US-Arroyo regime. The gross and systematic human rights violations perpetrated by the regime are instigated and provided with logistics by US imperialism, especially under its policy of global war of terrorism. The official military, police and paramilitary forces collaborate with the private armies and gangs of foreign monopoly enterprises, the big compradors and landlords.

In their struggle against the imperialists and the local reactionaries, the toiling masses of workers and peasants must engage the active support of the middle social strata and middle forces of Philippine society. It is necessary to heighten the unity of the broad masses of the people and intensify their militant struggle against the rotten ruling system and the rapidly worsening socioeconomic and political crisis.

We the International League of Peoples' Struggle support the broad masses of the Filipino people in their struggle for national independence and empowerment of the toiling masses, development through national industrialization and land reform, social justice, a national, scientific and mass culture and international solidarity against imperialism and war.

We are determined to coordinate the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles of the Filipino people with those of all other peoples of the world in order to help raise to a new and higher level the struggle of humankind for greater freedom, democracy, all-round development, social justice and world peace.

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Help the People of Haiti Reject US Military Occupation⁵⁴

January 24, 2010

On January 12, 2010, a magnitude 7 earthquake shook the Caribbean nation of Haiti, its epicenter hitting west of the capital Port-au-Prince. The quake and its numerous aftershocks have wrought death and injury to a huge number of people and catastrophic damage to their homes and other vital infrastructures.

Current estimates put the death toll to at least 110,000, with some estimates saying that up to 200,000 have been killed. About 75,000 have already been buried in mass graves but tens of thousands still remain buried in collapsed buildings in the capital. Health facilities are overwhelmed by more than 250,000 wounded, with shortages of medical personnel and supplies hampering efforts to treat them. Estimates indicate that more than 2 million people have been rendered homeless and billions of dollars worth of public and private infrastructure have been devastated.

The people of Haiti are undergoing incalculably great suffering. We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) convey our deepest sympathies to the Haitian people for their loss and express our most heartfelt recognition of their plight. We join the people of the world in lending our wholehearted support to help ease their suffering and call on our member-organizations and allies to extend immediate rescue and relief support to the victims in Haiti.

In the face of the devastation, the people of Haiti have had to rely on themselves and have shown heroism in helping each other as they go through the rubble, digging with their hands and puny tools to pull out what they can of the victims, both survivors and dead. With hardly any government or international aid support effectively reaching them on the ground despite the speed of information and hype of international disaster response, the people have had to rely on themselves for getting much needed water and emergency supplies.

We salute the Haitian people for helping each other. We also praise the various private organizations and institutions who have been able

⁵⁴ Statement issued as Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

Crisis Generates Resistance

to extend whatever help on an international scale. At the same time, we direct our strongest denunciation against the US government for deploying military forces in Haiti instead of the personnel of US civilian agencies that are trained and equipped for rescue and relief aid.

The US government's first prolonged reaction to the earthquake was to send in the US Marines and the Army's 82nd Airborne Division. This is the notorious force unit that had invaded Vietnam, the neighboring Dominican Republic in 1965, Grenada in 1984, Haiti in 1994 and Afghanistan. Under the preposterous pretext of providing security to the devastated nation, the US landed and deployed armed soldiers instead of civil rescue personnel and equipment, water and food.

The US military took control of the airport and blocked private relief organizations in order to make way for the flights carrying soldiers and military cargo in the crucial first week after the earthquake. Professional rescue teams from many countries were compelled to stay in neighboring Dominican Republic or elsewhere, because they were not given landing slots.

A French plane, carrying a fully-equipped field hospital, was prevented from landing by the US military. The aircraft of the UN World Food Programme was also blocked from landing food, medicine and water for three days, because the US gave priority to flights ferrying US troops and equipment and evacuating Americans and other westerners. On 18 January, a US military spokesperson admitted that they have distributed a measly 15,000 liters of water and 14,000 meal packs. And they had done so chiefly through air drops, prompting the people to complain, "We are not animals!"

More than ever, the earthquake disaster in Haiti exposes the social vulnerability and devastation caused by two centuries of colonial slavery, debt bondage and modern imperialism. The capability of the people of Haiti to surmount the dire results of such a natural disaster has been undermined and debilitated by manmade disasters inflicted by foreign debt, US military interventions and occupation, and US-imposed "free market" policies.

Haiti is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere where 80% of the population live in poverty. At its peak in 2008, the country's total foreign debt was at US\$1.4 billion, about 40% of its GNP. It has been spending more on debt service than on medical services to the people. Worse, about 80% of the debt was incurred during the corrupt dictatorships of François and Jean-Claude Duvalier. Ruling under the

Help the People of Haiti Reject US Military Occupation

strings of the US government, the Duvaliers plundered and repressed Haiti, stashing millions of dollars in their private bank accounts abroad.

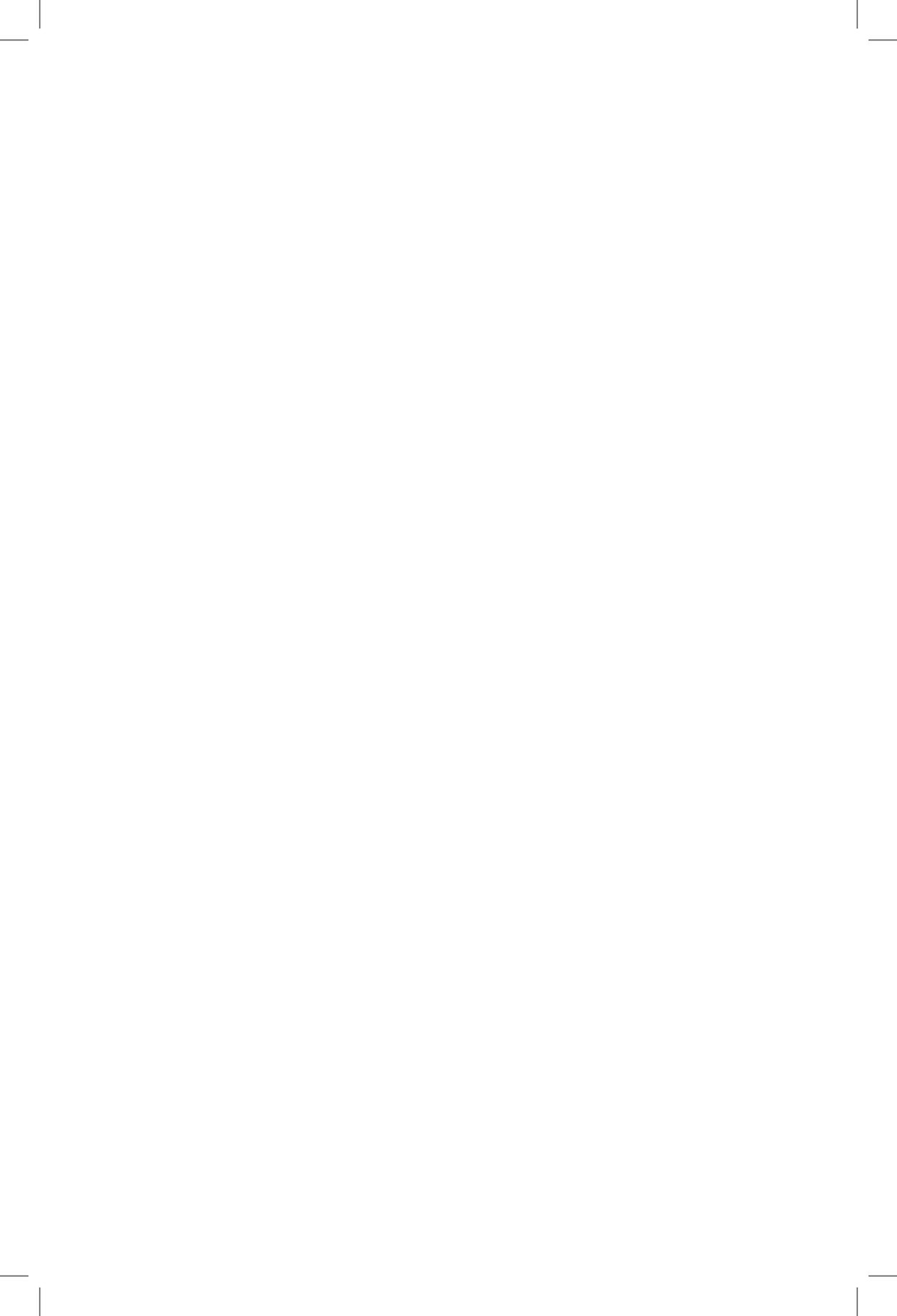
Haiti is currently occupied by UN troops and controlled by a puppet government installed after the US military kidnapped democratically-elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 2004. Decades of “structural adjustment” programs, under the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, have robbed the nation of the capacity to provide social services, produce enough food from the land and develop national industries. Since the late 1970s, these US-dictated programs have ejected tens of thousands of small farmers from the land and driven them to the overcrowded urban slums. A nation previously self-sufficient in grains and sugar is now importing rice and sugar, chiefly from the US.

It is utterly absurd and perverse for the US to invoke security as pretext for landing its military forces on a country which has long been laid prostrate by imperialist plunder and which has just been devastated by the earthquake. Natural disasters have become one of the major pretexts for US military intervention and occupation in various parts of the world. It is the dastardly policy of the US government all over the world to militarize its every pretense at aid and relief assistance, to gain extraterritorial rights and to make propaganda for the acceptance of its military forces.

The ILPS calls on its member-organizations, its allies and the people of the world to extend their solidarity and support for the people of Haiti. Emergency support and relief activities by non-military organizations must be given full play, to help ease the suffering of those most affected. Long-term rehabilitation of Haiti must eventually be mapped out together with the Haitian people, in conjunction with respect for their national sovereignty and self-government.

The ILPS reiterates its call for the withdrawal of all US and other foreign military forces. We call on the American people to demand an end to US military occupation and intervention in Haiti and help reverse the course of US-Haiti relations. We can best help Haiti recover from the devastation of the January 12 earthquake by supporting the Haitian people’s struggle for national self-determination against foreign military occupation and economic plunder.

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Significance of the First Quarter Storm of 1970⁵⁵

Statement in Celebration of its 40th Anniversary

January 25, 2010

We are happy to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the First Quarter Storm of 1970. This was the series of protest mass actions, which began on January 25, 1970 and continued up to March of 1970. It is chronicled by Jose F. Lacaba's *Days of Disquiet and Nights of Rage* and commented upon by Amado Guerrero's *First Quarter Storm of 1970*.

At the beginning, ten thousand students, urban poor youth, workers and peasants massed in front of Congress in order to express themselves against the anti-national and anti-democratic policies of the Marcos regime and against the excessive spending of public money to reelect Marcos as president.

Their peaceful demonstration was brutally attacked by the police with truncheon and gunfire upon the signal of Marcos himself after delivering his "state of the nation address." The demonstrators fought back for several hours with bare fists, wooden handles of placards and stones.

Undaunted by state brutality, the Kabataang Makabayan and other organizations of the youth and working people formed the Movement for a Democratic Philippines (MDP). They conducted build up rallies in communities, schools and factories and then launched people's marches from different points of Metro Manila in order to converge on the focal points of reactionary power.

Tens of thousands of people joined and converged on the presidential palace on January 30, 1970. Some of the demonstrators seized a firetruck and rammed it through the gates of the palace and others made bonfires with their torches. Marcos became even more angered and openly threatened the declaration of martial in order to discourage

⁵⁵ Statement issued as Founding Chairman of Kabataang Makabayan and Founding Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Crisis Generates Resistance

further mass protests. But the proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary core of the MDP stood fast on continuing them.

From week to week, the level of propaganda and agitation, organizational work and mass mobilization rose. Fifty thousand to 100,000 joined each of the marches and rallies, while other people lined the streets to cheer the marchers and give food and water to them. The columns of marchers converged on plazas near the presidential palace or the US embassy.

The First Quarter Storm of 1970 caught the attention of the people on a national and international scale. It inspired the youth and working people in the provincial capitals and cities to rise up and carry out protest actions against US imperialism and the local reactionaries and demand national liberation and democracy.

The First Quarter Storm of 1970 was the highest point of the legal democratic mass movement for national liberation and democracy before the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in 1971 and the declaration of martial law in 1972. It put forward the patriotic and progressive demands of the people against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

It resounded with the fighting slogans, *Makibaka, Huwag Matakot! Digmang bayan ang sagot sa martial law!* [Fight, fear not! People's war is the answer to martial law.] It raised the fighting spirit of the broad masses of the people against the US-directed Marcos regime and against the repeated threats of the regime to declare martial law. It pushed the organized forces of the national democratic movement to accelerate their political and organizational work among the people.

The First Quarter Storm of 1970 was an unprecedented peak in the advance of the cultural revolution of the new democratic type, which called for a national, scientific and mass culture with the framework of the people's democratic revolution led by the working class. It was the product of a decade-long work of ideological and political work among the students and other youth and among the working people by the young proletarian revolutionaries.

It further generated and reinvigorated a new wave of study and mass work among the youth along the line of new democratic revolution. Schools for national democracy were organized and conducted in all offices of *Kabataang Makabayan*, on campuses, in the vicinity of factories, in communities and in all types of public places. Cultural works

Significance of the First Quarter Storm of 1970

were created and presented to the youth and people in order to raise higher the level of their revolutionary consciousness and militance.

The First Quarter Storm of 1970 resulted in the political education of great numbers of people and their recruitment into the Kabataang Makabayan and other types of mass organizations. On the basis of the rapidly growing mass movement, hundreds and then thousands of mass activists were educated and recruited to become members of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP).

Consequent to the First Quarter Storm of 1970, the Kabataang Makabayan became a stronger engine for developing mass activists among the students and intelligentsia and among the young workers and peasants on a nationwide scale, for building revolutionary trade unions and for sending the educated youth and workers to the countryside for service in the New People's Army and in the rural communities.

The First Quarter Storm of 1970 was the key to the accelerated growth of legal mass organizations and such revolutionary forces as the CPP, NPA and the main components of what would become the National Democratic Front. When the Marcos regime imposed martial law and fascist dictatorship on the country, the revolutionary forces and people were more determined than ever to wage protracted people's war along the national democratic line.

We should never forget the First Quarter Storm of 1970 as a major node in the development of the new democratic revolution in the Philippines. The achievements of the Philippine revolution since 1970 would not have been possible without this storm. We owe to it the emergence and development of so many cadres and mass activists and the growth of the revolutionary forces on a nationwide scale.

We must celebrate the great significance and continuing relevance of this historic event. We must renew our resolve to carry forward the Filipino people's democratic revolution against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. We must undertake certain activities to raise the level of revolutionary consciousness and fighting capabilities in the next three months and further on.

We must step up the study movement and cultural work along the line of the new democratic revolution. We must enlighten and arouse the people by using all media of information, education and artistic expression. We must recruit more people into the patriotic and progressive mass organizations, especially those of the workers, peasants,

Crisis Generates Resistance

women and youth. We must mobilize a far greater number of people to engage in various forms of struggle against the US-Arroyo regime and the entire semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

We face today the worst crisis of the world capitalist system since the 1930s because of the US-instigated policies of “neoliberal” globalization and imperialist aggression and terrorism. The broad masses of the people suffer conditions of exploitation and oppression far worse than four decades ago. These intolerable conditions drive the people and the revolutionary forces to fight more resolutely and militantly for their national and democratic rights and interests.

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The National Democratic Revolution against so-called Neoliberal Education⁵⁶

Sharing of Views with the Center for Nationalist Studies

January 29, 2010

I gladly congratulate the Center for Nationalist Studies on the occasion of its 28th anniversary as an organization of students of the University of the Philippines in Diliman. Noteworthy is your promotion of a patriotic, scientific and mass educational system against the current anti-national, commercialized and reactionary system.

I salute your achievements in propagating the patriotic and progressive consciousness and struggle for the rights and welfare of the students and the people. It is fitting that you should continue and further enhance your programs and campaign to study, organize and mobilize.

Thank you for your invitation for me to share with you my views on how the national democratic revolution can strip so-called neoliberal education. I am honored to participate in a series of lectures with the theme "Combat neoliberalism."

The national democratic revolution aims to combat and dismantle neoliberal education not merely as a particular stream, but as the overall pro-imperialist, anti-scientific and anti-democratic system of education, and further on not merely this educational system but the entire ruling semicolonial and semifeudal system

I propose to present first the problem of the rotten ruling social system, next, the entire system of education and last, in particular, neoliberal education. Afterwards, I shall present the national democratic revolution and the system of patriotic, scientific and mass education as the solution.

The ruling social system and its education system

The ruling system in the Philippines is semicolonial and semifeudal. Politically, the system is semicolonial. Although on paper it is

⁵⁶ Original message in Filipino issued as Chairman of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

Crisis Generates Resistance

independent, in fact the puppet state remains under US imperialist control. In socioeconomic terms, the system is semifeudal. It is controlled by the big compradors and landlords servile to foreign monopoly capitalists, led by the United States.

For more than three centuries, the Philippines was a Spanish colony. The country was directly administered by a foreign power. The Filipino people freed themselves through armed revolution in 1898. But the United States intervened and crushed the revolutionary government and movement and took over direct administration and colonized the Philippines until Japan attacked and conquered the country from 1942 to 1945.

After wresting the Philippines from its kindred imperialist and colonial power Japan, the United States made the pretense of granting independence to the Philippines in 1946 and passed the national government to its puppet politicians of big compradors and landlords. Beforehand, the US ensured its control over the Philippine economy, the repressive apparatus of the state, the educational and cultural system and other major aspects of Philippine society.

At the very beginning of colonization, the US determined the semifeudal character of the Philippines. It superimposed monopoly capitalism on domestic feudalism and collaborated with the local exploiting classes in exploiting the Filipino people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants. The US used some direct investments, taxation and borrowings of the colonial government to facilitate and accelerate the exchange of raw materials from the Philippines and finished products from the US.

This type of economy necessitated a system of education wider than the one during the Spanish colonial regime in order to produce more literate business entrepreneurs, professionals, bureaucrats and employees. The so-called Thomasites came and so-called "pensionados" were also sent to study in the US.

On a national scale, a public school system from primary and elementary, high school and college was built. The US imperialists even boasted that they would teach democracy and Christianity to the Filipinos so that they would learn to govern themselves.

In fact, the Americans just wanted to control the minds of the people they colonized and produce the personnel for their businesses and for colonial administration. Modern imperialism needed more staff with formal education than the old colonialism needed for pure plunder.

The National Democratic Revolution against so-called Neoliberal Education

As in the economy imperialism was superimposed on feudalism, in education pro-imperialist education was superimposed on the feudal and religious education being propagated by the religious. For a long time, most private schools were the property of the Catholic church and its religious orders.

Among the public schools, the philosophy of liberalism was imposed as the official ideology. This is different from the revolutionary liberalism of the French revolution, the American revolution and Philippine revolution of 1896. It is not only conservative and counterrevolutionary liberalism of the Gironde or Burke type but bourgeois-monopolist disguised as petty bourgeois existence and thinking.

The slogan “free market place of ideas” became commonplace in the University of the Philippines as did “free market place of goods” in the economy. The ideas, policies and actions of US monopoly capitalism were masked as petty-bourgeois liberal. Among the teachers trained in the normal schools, the pragmatism of John Dewey was propagated.

Under its colonial rule, the US firmly held the leadership of the Department of Education and the University of the Philippines. Under the bogus republic of 1946, the principal positions in these institutions were contested by the pro-imperialists and the religio-sectarians until the US-trained pro-imperialists through such scholarships as Fulbright and Smith-Mundt and such foundation grants as Ford and Rockefeller were able to prevail.

In the University of the Philippines, the policy of the Cold War and the climate of McCarthyism and the Anti-Subversion Law prevailed in the latter part of the 1940s and the following decade. Various trends of subjectivist philosophy were echoed by US-trained teachers. Despite this, publications of patriotic and progressive professors and students emerged.

The study circles of the Student Cultural Association of the University of the Philippines (SCAUP) started in 1959 to raise the level of debate in the UP from that between the liberal and the pro-Catholic Church towards the debate between the Left and the Right on the issues of national independence, development, social justice, education, etc. When the Left trend became conspicuous in UP during the early years of the 1960s, the reactionary government appointed Carlos P. Romulo as UP president upon the advice of the US imperialists.

Crisis Generates Resistance

Romulo used Ford and Rockefeller foundation grants to further strengthen and deepen the US influence in the UP in making the curriculum and assigning academic personnel. The next big intervention in the UP and the entire educational system was the World Bank educational involvement and funding related to policies, assignment of personnel, curriculum and textbooks.

Under the Aquino regime, the slogan of trade liberalization signaled the spread of the US-dictated wide-ranging policy called neoliberal globalization extending to so-called neoliberal education.

Since then, over the past three decades, the idea of neoliberal education has been systematically spread in the UP and the entire educational system.

Adam Smith's notion (reinforced by Milton Friedman's) that the invisible hand of self-interest (of the capitalists) and the "free market" (in fact, monopoly) yield social welfare and resolve problems; Hayek's notion that socialism and social purposes would lead only to slavery or poverty; and Karl Popper's open society that blatantly deny historical consciousness are being propagated.

The commodification of education has been intensified. The further commercialization and privatization of schools are being pushed. Private and public schools are allowed to increase tuition fees. The appropriations for UP and other public schools have been reduced to compel them to raise student fees and provide the World Bank and foreign foundations substantial margin to intervene in matters regarding the content and course of education.

The national democratic revolution and the content of the cultural revolution

At present, the character of the Philippine revolution to overthrow the rotten ruling semicolonial and semifeudal system is national democratic. It is national because the revolution is set to accomplish the national sovereignty and independence of the Filipino people. It is democratic because its main content is the economic, social and political liberation of the peasant masses through land reform.

Within the framework of the national democratic revolution, the cultural revolution has a national, scientific and mass or pro-democratic character. The cultural revolution is part of the political revolution and is conducted simultaneous to this.

The National Democratic Revolution against so-called Neoliberal Education

The cultural revolution has a national character. It upholds the independence and freedom of the Filipino nation and it responds to the needs of the Philippines. It upholds national dignity, cultural wealth and aspirations of the Filipino people. It rejects colonial mentality and pro-imperialism. It combats and demands a stop to policies and practices dictated or influenced by the imperialists, such as pro-imperialist liberal and neoliberal education.

The cultural revolution has a scientific character. It welcomes the achievements of mankind in science and technology and aims to use them in the development of the material and cultural conditions of the Philippines. Our firm desire is to multiply scientists and technologists to achieve industrial development and enhance the quality of life and the environment. It rejects superstition and beliefs that impede development.

The cultural revolution is democratic as it serves the toiling masses of workers and peasants. It upholds, defends and advances their rights and interests. The cultural revolution is the instrument of the toiling masses to liberate themselves from exploitation and oppression, to exercise all their potential, to pursue their decisions and actions and to gain power.

We should persist in demanding adherence to the social objectives of the system of education and culture against the poisonous neoliberal education that spreads and inculcates greed, exploitation and oppression of the working class and peasantry. We must fight the pro-imperialist and reactionary foundation and structure of the existing system of education and culture.

The national, scientific and mass-oriented cultural revolution can advance and prevail when it is led by the revolutionary party of the working class and when its cadres and members have a firm grasp of the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method of thinking and acting. Any broad mass movement must have a strong and durable core.

When the national democratic revolution and cultural revolution have been basically completed, the socialist revolution can begin in the fields of economics, politics and culture. The transformation of the socialist base of society will be accomplished over a period of time. Socialist revolution and construction will advance in stages.

In the future socialist society, the theory and practice of continuing revolution through the proletarian cultural revolution will continue in order to combat revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism

Crisis Generates Resistance

and consolidate socialism. We can benefit from the lessons we can draw from previous socialist revolutions and from the treachery of the revisionists. Thus we can perform the task of continuing the great struggles of the working class for socialism until communism.

☆ ☆ ☆

On Launching Volumes 3 and 4 of my Selected Writings

February 10, 2010

I thank all of you for your solidarity and support by participating in this launching of the books, *Crisis of Imperialism and People's Resistance* and *People's Struggle against Imperialist Plunder and Terror*. These are volumes three and four, respectively, of the four-volume selection of my writings covering 1991-2009. I hope that you enjoy the showing of the DVD of the musical play "Makata'y Mandirigma, Mandirigma'y Makata," featuring songs based on some of my poems.

I thank and congratulate Aklat ng Bayan for publishing the four volumes in the span of one year. I appreciate the fact that Aklat ng Bayan was able to surmount sudden and unforeseen obstacles, including the Ondoy floods that victimized some of its key members and that damaged at least eighty percent of its book inventories.

I am elated that Aklat ng Bayan has persevered in publishing my written contributions to the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy as well as to the world people's struggle against imperialist plunder and war. I commend Aklat ng Bayan for rendering an important service to the people, the progressive forces and activists, scholars and others.

Volumes 3 and 4 reflect how the Filipino people's struggle developed and advanced amidst the rapid deterioration of the local ruling system and the grave global economic and political crises during the period from 2001 to 2009. They are the necessary and logical sequel to the first two volumes covering the decade from 1991 to 2000, which saw the revitalization of the revolutionary forces and the resurgence of people's struggles in the Philippines despite the fierce ideological, political, economic and military offensives unleashed by the US-led imperialist powers and the local reactionaries.

In the last nine years, imperialist plunder under the slogan of "free market" globalization intensified as the world capitalist system rushed inexorably to its worst crisis in eighty years, culminating in the bursting of the financial bubble in the US and causing the collapse of financial markets all over the world. The US also escalated imperialist

Crisis Generates Resistance

aggression and state terrorism under the policy of a permanent and borderless “war on terror” in a futile attempt to stave off the impending collapse of its bubble economy as well as to further expand and consolidate its global hegemony as sole superpower.

Attempts by imperialist states and their propagandists to cushion and cover up the impact of the financial meltdown have proven futile as public funds have invariably bailed out the big culprit banks and corporations in the military industrial complex rather than the mass of victimized people suffering from unemployment, diminished incomes, homelessness and deprivation of social services. So called stimulus packages have dismally failed to revive production, generate employment and expand the market.

The current global economic and financial crisis is bound to deepen further and inflict more suffering on the people, but is opening up the possibilities for dramatic advances in peoples’ struggles all over the world. Contradictions are intensifying between imperialists and the oppressed nations and peoples, among imperialist powers competing for economic territory and political control, between imperialism and countries asserting national independence and sovereignty, and between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the capitalist countries. The increasingly intolerable conditions of oppression and exploitation compel and impel more and more people all over the world to protest, resist and fight imperialist plunder and war.

Under the weight of the grave crisis of the world capitalist system, the crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines will worsen at an accelerated rate. The persistent evil forces of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism will wreak further havoc on the lives of the people and ruin the environment. But the broad masses of the people and their patriotic and progressive forces will become more determined than ever before to fight for their national and democratic rights and advance from one level of the struggle to new and higher levels.

Once again, thank you. With your solidarity and support, we can look forward to Aklat ng Bayan’s publishing more books from this author and others who are for a new and better Philippines, characterized by genuine national independence, democracy, all-round development, social justice and peace.

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Tribute to Comrade Jake Abad⁵⁷

February 10, 2010

I convey heartfelt condolences to the family and colleagues of Amador (Ka Jake) Abad on his death.

I salute him for his long and fruitful service to the Filipino people. He faithfully served their struggle for national and democratic rights under the leadership of the working class.

He was an intelligent, staunch, energetic and militant cadre who promoted the general line of new democratic revolution with a socialist perspective.

He is recognized by the masses and all with whom he had worked for his brilliant revolutionary qualities and his contributions to the advancement of the revolutionary movement.

He first became an activist and member of Kabataang Makabayan (Patriotic Youth) chapter at the University of the East. He became a member and leader of Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan (Democratic Youth Society) at the University of the East and Taytay in Rizal Province.

During the First Quarter Storm and before the declaration of martial law, he contributed greatly in organizing the masses in Taytay, Cainta and Binangonan.

He was active in the struggle against the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the subsequent reactionary regimes, especially the heinous Arroyo regime. In recent years, he was active in KADAMAY, FQS Movement and SDK Foundation.

Ka Jake remains alive in our hearts and mind, in our struggle to uphold patriotic and progressive principles and in continuing his efforts and struggle for a new Philippines that is truly independent, democratic, prosperous, just and peaceful.

Long live your spirit Ka Jake!

We thank you!

We will continue to struggle!

★ ★ ★

⁵⁷ Original message in Filipino issued as Founding Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines.



ILPS Condemns Arrest, Torture and Indignities, Demands Immediate Release of 43 Health Workers⁵⁸

February 10, 2010

The International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) strongly condemns the illegal arrest of 43 health workers and medical doctors by joint forces of the military and police last February 6, 2010 in Morong, Rizal, Philippines and their torture and continuing detention.

Since rendering social services to the people is the least of the reactionary government's concern, a nongovernmental organization like the Council for Health and Development (CHD-Philippines) has been delivering health and medical services to the people. Part of the CHD program is to give workshops and training to members of the community so they in turn can render health services to the masses.

Last February 6, the community health workers, which included doctors, nurses and midwives, were participating in a one week First Responders Training sponsored by the CHD, when around 300 heavily armed elements of the 202nd Infantry Brigade of the Philippine Army and the Rizal Philippine National Police barged in on the training venue.

Without any warrant, the armed reactionaries arrested the health workers, handcuffed and blindfolded them. They brought them to a military camp where they were held incommunicado, interrogated and subjected to various forms of torture like deprivation of sleep and food, slappings and punches, electric shock and indignities.

The reactionary authorities tried to justify these brutalities by falsely accusing the health workers of being members of the New People's Army. During the raid on the training venue, the military raiders followed its usual modus operandi by planting weapons and explosives and documents as false evidence.

The raid against the health workers is part of the regime's policy to harass and intimidate such opposition to its rule and policies as

⁵⁸ Statement issued as Chairperson of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

the CHD's criticism of Arroyo's policies which are detrimental to the people, especially in the health and medical field.

The national policy behind the extrajudicial killings, the enforced disappearances and the systematic violations of human rights is embodied in the so-called counterinsurgency scheme of the US-Arroyo regime's Operation Bantay Laya (OBL—Operation Freedom Watch). Under OBL gross human rights violations are systematically committed. OBL gives the military, police and paramilitary the license to kill, intimidate and harass any opposition to the US-Arroyo regime.

Gloria Macapagal Arroyo is determined to seal her infamous presidency as the worst violator of human rights, including political, social, economic and cultural rights. Under the auspices of the US global policy of terror, the Arroyo regime knows no bounds for its perpetration of extrajudicial killings, enforced disappearances, torture and other forms of oppressive acts against the people. Under the US policy of neoliberal globalization, the regime has subjected the people to the most brutal forms of exploitation on a wide scale.

The ILPS demands the immediate release of the 43 health workers! It calls on its member organizations and the international community to make the strongest demand that they can muster for the release of the health workers and to condemn and hold protest actions against the gross and systematic violation of human rights in the Philippines. The US-Arroyo regime must be held accountable for its crimes against the Filipino people.

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Operation Green Hunt Must Be Stopped⁵⁹

February 12, 2010

A genocidal war has been launched by the Indian reactionary state, acting on behalf of the imperialists, multinational corporations and the local reactionary classes, against the people of India. The military offensives, code-named Operation Green Hunt is part of the imperialist “war on terror” and aims to crush the people’s war and destroy every resistance of the tribal people (adivasis) against the destruction of their lands and livelihood.

Operation Green Hunt is focused on the states of West Bengal, Jharkland, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Maharashtra, which are rich in mineral deposits of iron, coal, gold, diamonds, bauxite, and uranium, and are suitable sites for special economic zones. These are also areas where forces of the Communist Party of India (Maoists) have a very strong presence.

The CPI-M has helped the tribal people organize themselves, teaching them agricultural techniques to further improve their produce, undertaking anti-illiteracy campaigns and building schools, rendering health and medical services to the people, establishing self-defense units to protect themselves against attacks by military and paramilitary forces and eradicating feudal practices. The Indian national government has vowed to destroy the revolutionary forces by March 2010.

The national and local states have entered into memoranda of agreements with multinational corporations to give these free rein in plundering India’s natural resources. Under the protection of the Indian state and military, foreign and Indian corporations such as Vedanta, Rio Tinto, Posco and others have plundered and pillaged the tribal lands and forest areas for years.

In Orissa’s Jagatsingphur district, for example, thousands of people have been displaced and dispossessed to pave the way for the construction of a 12-million ton steel plant owned by Posco-India.

⁵⁹ Statement issued as Chairperson of the International League of Peoples’ Struggle.

Crisis Generates Resistance

The project is a joint venture of Indian and South Korean companies that covers 4,404 acres of land of which 2,958 acres are forest land.

The attacks against the tribal people intensified in late 2009 with the launching of Operation Green Hunt. Destruction, displacement, murders, burning of villages, looting and rapes are the components of Operation Green Hunt. It imposes a reign of terror and repression and commits grave atrocities against the people to force them to leave their homes and lands to give way to industrial enclaves of multinational corporations. To date, more than a hundred tribal people have been killed, several thousands tortured and maimed and hundreds of thousands displaced from the homes and lands.

People's organizations, members of the media, intellectuals, writers, artists and progressives who have supported the campaign against Operation Green Hunt have been constantly harassed, threatened and even arrested and tortured. The media are forbidden to cover the affected areas and are either gagged or bribed by the state and the corporations.

The International League of Peoples' Struggle and its member organizations absolutely and vigorously condemn Operation Green Hunt and call on the international community to join forces in supporting the struggle of the people of India against the pillage and barbarities committed against them by the reactionary and imperialist forces.

The ILPS calls on its member organizations and the international community to join the ILPS campaign, condemning imperialist plunder and the mass displacements and human rights violations in India and holding protest mass actions against Operation Green Hunt. It demands the stop to the attacks on tribal communities and the realization of justice for the victims of Operation Green Hunt.

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Condolences to the Family of the Late Ambassador Norberto Basilio⁶⁰

March 1, 2010

We, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP), express our sincerest condolences to Erlinda Basilio, Amelia Clarissa and other relatives of Ambassador Norberto Basilio on his passing away.

We recognize and honor him as a patriot and progressive who served long the Filipino people well, according to the best of his ability, even as he was a functionary of the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) which we consider servile to certain foreign interests and the local exploiting classes.

Of working class origin and of social activist background, Norberto Basilio was deeply aware of the oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people and understood their struggle for national and social liberation through a new democratic revolution. At the same time, he welcomed the peace negotiations between the GRP and NDFP and hoped that a government of national unity and basic social reforms could be negotiated and agreed upon.

Norberto Basilio was an outstanding student activist in the sixties. He was one of the important founders of Kabataang Makabayan (KM). When his father who was a railroad worker died, he asked permission from the KM leadership to be allowed to work in the department of foreign affairs as he had to be the breadwinner for his family. Permission was granted and he kept the high esteem and respect of his closest colleagues in the KM.

Even as he was in the reactionary government, he rendered honest, diligent and competent public service and continued to maintain friendly relations with his former colleagues in the youth movement. He was helpful to those in need, whether he was on duty at home or abroad. In his lifetime, he always aspired to serve the Filipino people, at best in a new Philippines that is truly independent, democratic, prosperous, just and peaceful.

⁶⁰ Statement written for the NDFP.

Crisis Generates Resistance

We praise Norberto Basilio for his meaningful life of service. We cherish his good example! May he rest in peace!



ILPS Supports the Naga People in their Struggle for Self-Determination, Human Rights and Peace⁶¹

March 2, 2010

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, are in solidarity with the Naga people in their struggle for national self-determination, human rights and a just peace. The Naga people have the right to self-determination, including the right to establish their own state in their Nagalim homeland, which borders on North East India and Myanmar.

The Nagas were ahead of the Union of India by one day in declaring independence from British imperialism in 1947. The United Nations was duly provided with the declaration of independence. After several years of seeking by talks to assimilate the Nagas, India invaded Nagalim in 1954 and proceeded to exact a heavy toll of nearly 200,000 war casualties on the Naga people.

After several years of political conflict, Indian leaders including army chiefs came to know the reality and declared: (i) the Naga problem is a political issue; (ii) treating the Naga issue as a law and order problem would be wrong; and (iii) military solution is not possible; it needs a political treatment apart from military treatment and it is time for India and the Nagas to talk across the table.

The principles of the National Socialist Council of Nagalim (NSCN) are freedom from all kinds of bondage and independence from any foreign domination and close relationship with other peoples and nations on the basis of mutual respect and recognition of rights.

In September 1964, the first Indo-Naga peace negotiation started. The negotiation failed due to India's insincerity and in 1972 the Government of India unilaterally withdrew the ceasefire. Hence the bloodshed and human right violations.

The second ceasefire agreement was signed between the Government of India and the Nagas under the leadership of Isak Chishi Swu and Th. Muivah on August 1, 1997 to start negotiations

⁶¹ Statement issued as Chairperson of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

on three terms : (i) talks without any conditions, (ii) talks at the Prime Ministerial level and (iii) in third countries.

So far the peace talks have been held in different places, including Amsterdam, Bangkok, Chiang-Mai, Dimapur (Nagalim), Geneva, the Hague, Kuala Lumpur, Milan, New Delhi, New York, Osaka, Paris, Vienna and Zurich.

With a view to having wide ranging consultations with the Naga people on the current Indo-Naga peace process, the NSCN has conducted consultative meetings six times, where all sections of the Naga people from different places attended. At the Fourth Consultative Meeting, held at Hebron, the designated camp, on January 20 and 21, 2005, the Collective Leadership of the NSCN was reaffirmed and mandated for working out an honorable solution to the Indo-Naga political issue. The peace process is still going on.

There is little or no progress at all in the talks. India refuses to recognize the government and territory of Nagalim, preventing determination of the coverage of the ceasefire. In the meantime, the Indian reactionary armed forces unleash various forms of repression by abducting, torturing and murdering the Nagas and looting and burning their homes and farms.

At this very moment, the Indian Government is poised to receive and talk with a delegation of the National Socialist Council of Nagalim headed by Th. Muivah, Secretary of the NSCN. But India is now trying to precondition the talks by keeping them within the bounds of the Indian Constitution and the administrative terms of the Indian Home Ministry. This preconditioning is not a sign of sincerity.

In going through the motions of negotiating peace, the Indian government is actually obsessed with playing up and manipulating the broad variety of tribes and resistance organizations in Nagalim and in forcing through Indian expansionism and the subjection of the Naga people to Indian and foreign monopoly interests.

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, call on all our member-organizations and our allies to pay close attention to the revolutionary cause of the Naga people and extend every possible support to them in their struggle for national and social liberation, all-round development and a just peace.

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Honoring Mang Apeng

Message of Condolence to the Family of Rep. Jose V. Yap

March 2, 2010

My wife Julie de Lima, our children and grandchildren, and I convey our most heartfelt condolences to the beloved widow Manang Zeny, the children and grandchildren of Rep. Jose V. Yap on his passing away.

My family share a deep sense of loss and grief with his family. At the same time, we are all consoled by the fact that the man whom I fondly call Mang Apeng made outstanding achievements and rendered excellent service to his people as mayor, as legislator, as cabinet member, as national executive and as provincial governor.

Most importantly, he served the people as a fighter for national independence, democracy, social justice, development and peace whether he was in or out of the imperialist-controlled reactionary government of big compradors and landlords. He was both a dear personal friend and a political ally with a high sense of patriotism and social conscience.

I first came to know Mang Apeng personally within the second half of the 1960s. I was introduced to him by my revolutionary comrades who were his relatives and friends in his hometown of Victoria, Tarlac, which had been a bulwark of the old revolutionary movement up to the 1950s. We enjoyed talking about national and international issues and prospects in Ilocano.

Mang Apeng was supportive of the expansion of Kabataang Makabayan in Central Luzon.

In turn, the KM gave the strongest possible support to him and other patriotic members of Congress in opposing the anti-national and anti-democratic policies of the Marcos regime. He was a member of the Magnificent Seven that stood fast against the US military bases and the US war of aggression in Vietnam.

The KM activists of Central Luzon had their own connections with the revolutionary mass movement in the countryside of Central Luzon. But Mang Apeng was also helpful in facilitating communications between the proletarian revolutionaries based in Manila and the

Crisis Generates Resistance

good remnants of the people's army who were based in the second district of Tarlac.

Together with Benigno Aquino, he and I shared the foresight that the Marcos regime was scheming to impose a fascist dictatorship on the Philippines. We held the common view that it was necessary for the people to wage resistance. The years 1968-1972 were intense years of legal political struggle between the Marcos regime and the broad masses of the people.

The many colleagues and friends of Mang Apeng who are better informed than me can narrate how he persevered in finding ways to struggle against the fascist dictatorship. I did not have direct contact with him after the center of the Communist Party shifted to Northern Luzon from Central Luzon in 1971 and after he was arrested by the fascists after the declaration of martial law in 1972.

But when I came out of military detention after the fall of Marcos in 1986, Mang Apeng and I happily met again in the presence of Cory Aquino at the Cojuangco building. He was then the political adviser of the new president. I cite the occasion in order to indicate how much positive relations I had with Mang Apeng, the Aquinos and myself before, during and soon after the fall of Marcos.

When Aquino was beset by economic, social and political turmoil in 1989 and 1990, she sent Mang Apeng as special emissary a number of times to The Netherlands in order to explore the possibility of peace negotiations between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP). The exploratory talks would lay the ground for forging The Hague Joint Declaration in 1992 and further agreements during the term of Ramos.

GRP President Ramos relied on Mang Apeng as the key negotiator of the GRP side to advance exploratory talks and to open and develop the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations, whether he was formally the chief negotiator or someone else. Mang Apeng fully agreed with the NDFP that the roots of the armed conflict must be addressed by agreements on basic social, economic and political reforms in order to realize a just and durable peace.

He understood and respected the principles and policies of the National Democratic Front even as he put forward the position of his government. He was always peeved by the extreme and devious demands of the militarists and clerico-fascists on the GRP side. He

Honoring Mang Apeng

brought into play his skills as political statesman and legislator in order to help forge as many as ten major agreements, mutually satisfactory to the GRP and NDFP, within 1992 to 1995.

Because of the crucial contributions of Rep. Jose V. Yap to the GRP-NDFP negotiations, we have accumulated the basis for working for a just and lasting peace through negotiations. It is unfortunate that, in the last twelve years, the Estrada and Arroyo regimes did not avail fully of his services in peace negotiations.

Whoever is the next president of the GRP should honor and follow the legacy of Rep. Jose V. Yap in peace negotiations and in forging just and reasonable agreements for the benefit of the people. Because of such legacy, we can continue to hope that someday there shall be a government of national unity and social reforms and a new Philippines that is truly independent, democratic, prosperous, just and peaceful.

Long live the memory of Rep. Jose V. Yap!

May his legacy be carried forward!

May he rest in peace!

★ ★ ★



Empower Communities to Assert their Rights⁶²

Message of Solidarity to KADUAMI⁶³

March 17-18, 2010

On behalf of the International League of Peoples' Struggle, I convey warmest greetings of solidarity to KADUAMI and to the delegations participating in KADUAMI's Sixth General Assembly and Northern Luzon Development Conference.

We consider as greatly important and timely your theme, "Empowering Communities to Assert their Right to Food and Right to Development, and Promoting Good Governance in the Context of Climate Change."

We appreciate that the participants represent 120 people's organizations and nongovernmental organizations and come from the ranks of farmers, fisherfolk, workers, indigenous people, women, urban poor and youth. We are confident that they are in a position to map out the people's alternative development and actions for the next three years.

They can draw wisdom and strength from the rich accumulated experience and achievements of KADUAMI during the last 27 years. They can learn from their own social investigation, direct experience and successes in mass work in recent years. They know the dire conditions, needs and demands of the people.

We continue to commend KADUAMI for helping establish self-determining, self-reliant and interdependent communities in Northern Luzon through partnership, capability building, networking and socio-economic work. We hope that KADUAMI shall become ever stronger in serving the people as a result of its Sixth General Assembly.

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⁶² Message issued as Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

⁶³ KADUAMI is the acronym for Katinnulong Daguiti Umili iti Amianan (Cooperation of the People of the North).



Outstanding Fighter in People's Struggles for Revolutionary Change

Message of Condolence to the Family, Comrades and Friends of Prof. Dr. Hari Sharma

March 20, 2010

As chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) and on my personal behalf, I wish to convey most heartfelt condolences to the family, comrades and friends of Prof. Dr. Hari Sharma on his passing away.

All of us share a profound sense of loss. But we are consoled that he lived a full and meaningful life in the service of the people. He made significant contributions to the people's struggle for national and social liberation against imperialism and all reaction.

I first met Prof. Hari Sharma when I was on a speaking tour in India in January 1987. We were immediately on comradely terms because I had been informed by Filipino compatriots in Canada of his militant cooperation as leader of the Indian People's Association in North America (IPANA) since 1975 in the fight against the dictatorships of Ferdinand Marcos and Indira Gandhi.

I was also aware of his role as international representative of a Naxalite party. We had lively discussions about India and the Philippines and the world at large, especially about imperialism and modern revisionism, the people's resistance and the historic mission of the working class. I had high respect for his revolutionary commitment and practical work.

My respect for him rose higher every time he came to visit me in the Netherlands. We had extensive discussions about Marxism, sociology, art and literature, revolutionary movements in the world, the restoration of capitalism in the former socialist countries and the prospects of socialism in the long run.

I invited him to participate in the International Seminar on Mao Zedong Thought in Gelsenkirchen, Germany in 1993. He sat in the Presidium and gave important inputs. He was among the distinguished signatories of the General Declaration on Mao Zedong Thought.

Crisis Generates Resistance

Again I invited him to participate in the founding of the International League of Peoples' Struggle in Zutphen, The Netherlands in May 2001 in his capacity as leader of the International South Asia Forum (INSAF) and the South Asian Network for Secularism and Democracy (SANSAD).

We in the ILPS admire him for his perseverance in seeking peace and democracy in the entire region of South Asia on the basis of secularism, human rights and social justice. We cherish his legacy of defending the rights of the oppressed and fighting for a new and better world.

Prof. Dr. Hari Sharma is an inspiration to all of us in the struggle for a world without imperialist domination, class exploitation and without religious, caste, ethnic or gender oppression. He continues to live in the people's struggle for revolutionary change.

★ ★ ★

Appeal for Permanent Residence at the Hearing of the Case before the District Court of Zutphen, Administrative Law Sector

March 31, 2010

While I was still on the so-called terrorist blacklist of the European Union, the Dutch authorities made use of it to deny my applications for the residence permit and work permit, to deprive me of social benefits, to infringe on my basic rights under the pretext of restricting them, to demonize me and rouse public hatred against me as a “terrorist.”

Now that the September 30, 2009 judgment of the European Court of First Instance has become final and executory since December 10, 2009, the Dutch authorities declare that said judgment is valid only in taking me off the terrorist blacklist of the European Union and unfreezing my small bank account and is of no consequence or even relevance to the 1997 decision of the Law Unity Chamber [Rechtseenheidskamer (REK)].

They consider this REK decision of 1997 as the instrument or license for continuing to apply sanctions and other actions which are calculated to force me to leave The Netherlands in complete contempt and violation of my status as a recognized political refugee under Article 1 A of the Refugee Convention and of the absolute protection of Article 3 of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR).

I wish to underscore that the 30 September 2009 judgment of the European Court is of great significance, relevance and consequence to my legal situation in The Netherlands. The European Court has ruled the following: 1. that I have never been investigated, prosecuted or convicted for any act of terrorism; and 2. that the Dutch court decisions on my asylum case in 1992, 1995 and 1997 and on the charge of murder in 2007 cannot be used to maintain my name in the EU terrorist blacklist.

I presume that the Dutch authorities have no more basis to continue labeling and slandering me as a terrorist or as a danger to Dutch public

Crisis Generates Resistance

order or national security. They should not play loose with using the big phrase “general interest” in order to impute any criminal allegation or cast sheer innuendos against me in order to prevent me from acquiring permanent residence in The Netherlands.

Let me remind the Dutch authorities of the earlier judgment of the European court on July 11, 2007 in my favor, upholding my right to be presumed innocent, the right to be informed of any charge, the right to legal counsel and the right to seek judicial remedy. They must present clear specific facts about criminal liability as basis for denying me permanent residence. The AIVD [Algemene Inlichtingen-en Veiligheidsdienst (General Intelligence and Security Service)] should not be allowed to make false allegations about bank accounts of lawful Dutch foundations associated with Filipinos.

I wish to take head-on the persistent attempt of Dutch authorities to use the REK decision of 1997 to render as nothing my being recognized as a political refugee under Article 1 A of the Refugee Convention and to deprive me of the absolute protection of Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights.

In the course of time, the criminal allegations against me that were considered insufficient by the Raad van State [Council of State] to make me fall under Article 1 F of the Refugee Convention but were reinterpreted by the REK to make its 1997 decision have been exposed as utterly false. There were two types of such false allegations: the ones supplied by the Philippine government and those by the Dutch intelligence agency BVD.

The false allegations supplied by the Philippine government were all press release accusations, except the subversion charge of 1988 and the multiple murder charge of 1991. The former charge was dismissed by the Pasig court in the Philippines in 1992 by virtue of the repeal of the oppressive Anti-Subversion Law. The latter charge was dismissed by the Manila city prosecutors in 1994 as based on sheer speculation.

When the REK made its decision in 1997 there was no pending formal criminal charge against me in the Philippines. In April 1998 the Philippine secretary of justice issued a certification that there was no pending criminal charge of any kind against me. And when the Arroyo regime filed a rebellion charge against me and 50 other people in 2006 the Philippine Supreme Court described the specifications as garbage and castigated the prosecution as having prostituted the noble profession of prosecution.

The latest instance when the Philippine government supplied false information to the Dutch government in order to cause my arrest and detention in The Netherlands in August 2007 involved false murder charges. The Philippine Supreme Court had earlier ruled that these charges were rubbish in June 2007.

Lest it be said that the Philippine Supreme Court has cleared the way for me to return to the Philippines, I must point out that the Philippine military, police, paramilitary and death squads still make false charges and commit gross and systematic violations of human rights, including abductions, torture and extrajudicial killings.

Now, let us take up the allegation from the Dutch intelligence agency in its March 3, 1993 dossier that there were indications and reference points that I had a role in the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army and that I had contacts and relations with representatives of international terrorist organizations.

After more than 12 years, it should be clear that the Binnenlandse Veiligheidsdienst (BVD-Domestic Security Service) did not have evidence of any value to merit the start of any investigation against me for any criminal act. The Dutch authorities failed to prove in the false murder charge of 2007 that I had ordered the New People's Army to kill certain military agents in the Philippines. The ECFI judgment of 2009 ruled against the use of passing references to me in Dutch court decisions as playing a prominent role in the CPP.

There is nothing wrong with my playing a prominent role as chief political consultant in the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations and being in possession of documents regarding both sides of the said negotiations. The CPP itself is supposed to be a legal entity in the Philippines by virtue of the repeal of the Anti-Subversion Law in 1992. Participation in the rebellion waged by the NPA is a matter distinct from being an officer or member of the CPP.

And yet the false and worthless allegations from the BVD seem to be the strongest support to the position of the Dutch authorities that it is a matter of upholding the integrity and credibility of the Dutch state to its allies in diplomatic relations that I should not be granted legal admission as refugee and the residence permit. Since the beginning in my asylum case, the Dutch authorities have been in violation of the Refugee Convention by allowing the US and Philippine governments to interfere in the asylum procedure and foul up my application for asylum.

Crisis Generates Resistance

The high-flown ruling of the REK in my particular case that the Dutch state must have the freedom of policy to weigh the general interest against my individual interest and to deny to me admission as a refugee and the residence permit is based on the meanest of lies. If not lies, then the Dutch authorities would have been irresponsible and felonious for failing to investigate, prosecute and convict me for the alleged crime.

It is extremely anomalous that the Dutch authorities have undercut the Raad van State judgments of 1992 and 1995 in my favor and have made them appear as decisions convicting me of criminal offenses. The 1992 judgment ruled that it is against the principle of fair administration to use secret dossiers against me without being able to contest them and recognized me as a political refugee under Article 1 A of the Refugee Convention. It scolded the Dutch justice ministry for having failed to grant me asylum for four years since 1988.

The judgment of 1995 reiterated the principle of fair administration and good governance against the use of secret dossiers and finally ruled that the allegations against me did not suffice to make me fall under Article 1 F of the Refugee Convention and that I should be admitted as a refugee in The Netherlands if I could not get refuge elsewhere without running the risk of ill treatment in violation of Article 3 of the ECHR.

It is quite regrettable that in The Netherlands, where I have sought refuge, I am made to suffer the chain of false allegations that have been used to oppose and negate my applications for asylum, permanent residence and work permit, to put me on the terrorist list, deprive me of social benefits, violate my basic rights and cause my arrest, detention and humiliation on the false charge of murder.

The Dutch authorities have been relentlessly making intolerable the conditions of my stay in The Netherlands. They have subjected me to mental torture and to inhuman and degrading treatment in violation of Article 3 of the ECHR. They have been trying to press and maneuver me into leaving The Netherlands and giving up the guarantees of Articles 3 and 8 of the ECHR. I have endured a great deal of injustice in The Netherlands, as in the Philippines.

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Appreciation for ILPS and Defend Committee and Denunciation of False Allegations⁶⁴

April 9, 2010

I appreciate deeply the campaign of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) and the International Committee DEFEND demanding that the US, Dutch, EU and other governments stop using false allegations fabricated and supplied by the reactionary Manila government for the purpose of persecuting me. In this regard, please visit: <http://www.petitiononline.com/DFNDJMS/petition.html>.

I denounce vigorously the false allegations. These are in the malignant spirit of those justifying the abduction, torture and extrajudicial killing of unarmed social activists in The Philippines. Such false allegations have been used to undercut my status as a recognized political refugee since 1992, to put me on the terrorist list of several governments since 2002 and to cause my arrest and detention in The Netherlands in 2007.

The US-directed Arroyo regime and its military henchmen persist in fabricating false allegations against me and have so expanded the scope of slanderous attack as to include the ILPS, of which I am the chairperson of its International Coordinating Committee. The ILPS is a democratic and anti-imperialist formation of more than 350 member-organizations in more than 50 countries.

Defense secretary Norberto Gonzales and General Pedro Cabuay, director general of the National Intelligence Coordinating Agency, have used a recent national security briefing of the National Security Council for diplomatic officials to spread false allegations in the form of speculations, insinuations and intrigues that cadres of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) are being mobilized under the ILPS in order to export revolution or communism and deploy them in India, Thailand and other Southeast Asian countries.

Gonzales and Cabuay prove once again that "military intelligence" is an oxymoron or a contradiction of terms. The ILPS is a perfectly

⁶⁴ Statement issued as Chairperson of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

legal and transparent global organization. It advocates mainly the national and social liberation of oppressed peoples. It takes up 18 concerns or major issues against imperialist domination and reaction. Information about the ILPS is publicly available from its website: <http://www.ilps.info>.

In claiming that the CPP has a superabundance of cadres for deployment in Southeast Asia and the South Asian subcontinent, Gonzales and Cabuay also run counter to the chief of the Civil Relations Service Brig. Gen. Francisco Cruz who has been hyperactive in making the even more ludicrous psywar claim that the CPP, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front have changed their revolutionary character, are so isolated and about to destroy themselves.

I think that the best way to check the veracity or falsity of the false claims of the Arroyo regime and its military henchmen is to get the information from the people and revolutionary forces in the guerrilla fronts, listen to the rising wave of tactical offensives by the people's army and to visit the website: <http://www.philippinerevolution.net>.

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On the 2010 Elections⁶⁵

Interwith by D. L. Mondelo, *Bulatlat* correspondent

April 10, 2010

1. Claims are persistent that the Arroyo ruling clique is engineering a failure of elections and will remain in power after the 2010 elections. Do you believe such claims? Why?

JMS: I don't believe such claims. Arroyo will not dare to stay in power beyond June 2010 without the consent of her imperialist master. I do not think that the US has any special interest in keeping her in power and offending all those presidential candidates who have spent money and effort in the current electoral campaign. Arroyo is not indispensable to the US.

She herself is smart enough to know that she does not have the advantages that Marcos had in 1972 to be able to declare martial law and that if she dared to stay in power beyond June 2010 a broad united front of opposition forces and military factions would sweep her away from power within a short period of time.

It would be greatly advantageous for the people and the revolutionary forces if Arroyo would make the foolish mistake of keeping herself in power beyond June 2010. Such a mistake would further inflame the broad masses of the people to rebel and boost the strategic plan of the revolutionary forces to advance from strategic defensive to strategic stalemate in the people's war.

2. What is your general view of the character and conduct of the electoral contest in 2010, especially among the four major presidential candidates?

JMS: The general character of the electoral contest is determined by the overwhelming predominance of candidates who are themselves big compradors and landlords and who are political agents of the evil forces of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

⁶⁵ Interviewed in the author's capacity as NDFP Chief Political Consultant.

Crisis Generates Resistance

The debate among the four major presidential candidates is shallow and superficial. It has not dealt seriously with the basic problems that are the root causes of the oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people. It has trivialized the people's clamor for change. All the four major candidates are oblivious of the crisis now wracking the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system due to the US policy dictates of neoliberal globalization and global war of terror.

The two frontrunners, Aquino and Villar, are very simplistic in presenting themselves as the best choice for the electorate. Aquino presents himself as the paragon of clean and honest government in contrast to the corrupt Arroyo regime. Villar presents himself as the example of a poor man who overcomes poverty through sheer personal diligence and perseverance.

3. Between Aquino and Villar, who is likely to win? What are the factors to consider in making estimates?

JMS: Aquino remains No. 1 in the latest polls by the Social Weather Station and Pulse Asia. And Villar has lost substantial points supposedly because of the effectiveness of the Villarroyo line against him. Now, he is trying hard to react by harping on the Gloriaaquino line and pointing to the Aquino relatives occupying high positions in the Arroyo regime.

There are several important factors involved in winning the presidential post. These include the personal characteristics of the candidates, the money and political skills for using the media (especially the infomercials), street level propaganda and buying the support of those who deliver votes at the provincial, district and municipal levels.

In the few remaining weeks, all factors will be at play with full intensity. But the most important factor will be the distribution of money to the local leaders who deliver the votes. The source of money usually includes the big comprador-landlord interests and the US and other foreign interests through cutouts among the local big businessmen. The final-month push by Ramos in votebuying in 1992 is a classic example.

4. You seem to dismiss both Aquino and Villar as having the same class characteristics. But which one offers a relatively better program?

JMS: Manny Villar offers the relatively better program, which unfortunately has been underplayed during the campaign. He promises land

reform and self-reliant food production, expansion of local manufacturing to generate employment, support for small and middle entrepreneurs, conservation of natural resources, ecological protection, peace negotiations, review of the Visiting Forces Agreement, respect for human rights, indemnification of the victims of human rights violations and independent foreign policy.

Noynoy Aquino and Mar Roxas are rabid exponents of the US-dictated policy of neoliberal globalization, which has put the Philippine economy in severe crisis and is inflicting terrible suffering on the people. In this regard, they are the economic policy soulmates and the real presidential and vice presidential candidates of the free marketeer and tax gouger Arroyo in view of the weakness of the administration presidential candidate Gibo Teodoro.

Like his late mother, Aquino will pay lip service to land reform but will actually prevent it in so many clever ways. In the particular case of Hacienda Luisita, he will insist on the scam or swindle called the stock distribution option in order to prevent land reform. He promises a clean and honest government but the Kamag-Anak, Inc. and other vested interests are financing his campaign and are prepared to collect the spoils of bureaucrat capitalism and subservience to foreign economic interests.

5. Which of the two frontrunners would be more amenable to having serious peace negotiations with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines? Why?

JMS: Both Aquino and Villar promise to have negotiations with the NDFP. The important question is which of them is more amenable to negotiate in accordance with The Hague Joint Declaration and agree with the NDFP on the social, economic and political reforms in order to address the roots of the armed conflict and make a just and lasting peace.

Villar appears to be more amenable because of the program that he has spelled out. There are people around him to advise him to accelerate the peace negotiations.

If he becomes president, Aquino would likely continue to get advice from Bobby and Erin Tañada to move on honestly with the peace negotiations.

But there are many elements in the Aquino camp who are rabid anti-communists and pseudo-progressives who will advise Aquino to

Crisis Generates Resistance

pretend being for peace negotiations as a way of deceiving the people and sharpening the sword of reaction in a renewed futile attempt to destroy the revolutionary movement.

6. What would you tell the new president as encouragement to engage in peace negotiations? Where and how should the peace negotiations be held. What degree of progress in the peace negotiations would allow you to return for a visit or permanent stay in the Philippines?

JMS: I would remind the new president that the socioeconomic and political crisis is worsening, that the people and the revolutionary forces are already in the process of raising the level of the people's war and that it is worth trying to agree on social, economic and political reforms in order to make a just and lasting peace in accordance with The Hague Joint Declaration and the subsequent agreements.

The peace negotiations should continue to be held in a foreign neutral venue, with the help of the Norwegian government as third party facilitator. It is extremely complicated, costly and risky to hold peace negotiations in the Philippines. You can imagine the largescale mobilization of security forces on both the sides of the GRP and NDFP every time that there are talks. It would take too much time for the GRP and NDFP to formally agree on the scope of their respective territories as well as the neutral or buffer zones. The NDFP side would also have to take into account the dangers of GPS surveillance and the related electronic weapons.

I would certainly go back to the Philippines to live the rest of my life if there would be a just and lasting peace as a result of the peace negotiations. But I think that as soon as a comprehensive agreement on social and economic reforms can be signed by the principals of the GRP and NDFP I would consider going to the Philippines at least for a short visit.

7. Are the revolutionary forces helping in any way any of the electoral coalitions, parties and candidates? Is it true, as charged by the military, that the revolutionary forces are supporting any candidate so long as he or she pays for the permit to campaign or permit to win?

JMS: As chief political consultant of the NDFP in peace negotiations with the GRP, I am not in a position to know in sufficient detail about the concrete relations of the revolutionary forces with electoral

coalitions, parties and candidates for presidential, legislative and local executive positions.

I presume that as a matter of principle the revolutionary forces do not endorse or support the ruling system and its electoral system in particular. However, in line with the policy of the broad united front, the revolutionary forces may have appropriate relations with their allies who are engaged in the electoral contest.

As to be expected, the military officials of the ruling system would hurl all kinds of allegations and invectives against the revolutionary forces. But I would presume that certain allies would extend various kinds of donations and support to the revolutionary forces in order to help them undertake programs, projects and activities that are of social benefit to the people.

8. In your view, is it alright for Satur Ocampo and Liza Maza to be in the NP senatorial slate and to be with Bongbong Marcos? What are the chances of Satur and Liza?

JMS: It is of public knowledge that Satur and Liza are on the NP senatorial slate on the basis of a bilateral alliance between Makabayan and the NP. Makabayan has considered the NP as a worthy ally because of its acceptable program, which is patriotic and progressive.

However, after the NP-Makabayan alliance was established, the NP included Bongbong Marcos as a candidate in its senatorial slate. We know from press reports that Satur and Liza protested and threatened to withdraw from the NP senatorial slate. And that they were satisfied only after Villar publicly clarified that they were not compromised as guest candidates in the senatorial slate by the inclusion of Bongbong as another guest candidate and that the program of the NP remains firm on respect for human rights and indemnification of the victims of human rights violations during the Marcos regime.

The latest poll surveys done by SWS and Pulse Asia do not rank Satur and Liza above Nos. 26 to 29. I hope that their rating will improve in the remaining weeks.

9. What are the chances of the progressive partylist groups?

JMS: The latest poll survey of Pulse Asia shows that they are doing well. Gabriela and Bayan Muna are at the top, each assured of three members of Congress. Anakpawis is assured of two and can aim for one more. Kabataan is also assured of one and can aim for one more.

Crisis Generates Resistance

There are other progressive partylist groups. My estimate is that there will be a significant increase of members of Congress who come from the progressive partylist groups.

10. Will the 2010 elections produce a new type of leadership to veer the ruling system away from its worst features? Will there be any significant change in the socioeconomic and political system for the better as a result of the elections? How will the revolutionary movement respond to the crisis situation and to whatever kind of leadership will arise in the ruling system?

JMS: Without a sufficiently strong progressive mass movement, there can be no certainty that the 2010 elections will produce a new type of leadership to veer the ruling system away from its worst features and cause a significant change for the better. The kind of debate carried out by the four major presidential candidates in the electoral campaign shows that there is little or nothing to expect from the next president. Within its first six months or first year, the new regime will be tested whether it is interested in serious peace negotiations or not.

Without a strong mass movement to advance their national and democratic interests, the Filipino people will continue to be oppressed and exploited with impunity by the foreign monopolies, the big compradors-landlords and the corrupt bureaucrats. The socioeconomic and political crisis of the ruling system will continue to worsen. The ruling clique and the ruling classes of big compradors and landlords will become more incapable than ever of ruling in the old way.

The revolutionary forces and people will certainly demand revolutionary change. It is timely for the CPP to have issued the call for advancing the people's war, from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate during the forty-first anniversaries of the CPP and the NPA.

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Wholehearted Solidarity with the Farmworkers of Hacienda Luisita and All Supporters⁶⁶

April 10, 2010

I convey wholehearted solidarity to all the farmworkers of Hacienda Luisita and their supporters relating to all their activities in April.

I salute the 300 farmworkers who are attending the Hacienda Luisita Summit on April 10 and 11. I have great confidence that your assessment of the campaign and struggle since the outbreak of the strike in 2004 will be successful.

I hope that you can draw important lessons from the experience and the struggle for genuine land reform would be strengthened anew. It is necessary to set forth the new tasks and to carry these out.

The firm and militant struggle for genuine land reform in Hacienda Luisita is a brilliant example for all the landless tillers in the Philippines. This struggle should be continued until complete victory.

I gladly support the forthcoming 5-day Lakbayan (march) of the farmworkers of Hacienda Luisita from Tarlac to the national capital region from April 19 to 23.

The call should be made to the entire nation for the immediate and unconditional free distribution of land to the 10,000 farmworker beneficiaries of Hacienda Luisita. Expose once more the massacre resulting from the collaboration of the Arroyo regime and the Cojuangco-Aquino family and fight for justice for the victims.

It has come to our knowledge that a big amount of money has been collected by the corrupt Kamag-anak Inc. from their fellow big comprador-landlords and from US and other foreign enterprises to finance and ensure the victory of the campaign of Noynoy Aquino for the presidency.

If Noynoy would become president, he would certainly use the power of the state to frustrate and suppress the rights of the farmworkers in

⁶⁶ Statement issued as Chairman of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

Crisis Generates Resistance

Hacienda Luisita. He will continue the stock-option swindle made by Cory Aquino to cheat the farmworkers and block genuine land reform.

Even now, Aquino and his family and their managers and lawyers are saying that they have many means and reasons for frustrating land reform. They are already indicating that if Noynoy Aquino would become president, his wishes would be followed in taking advantage of reconversion and reclassification and liquidating the farmworkers involved in the stock distribution option.

It is an important duty of the farmworkers of Hacienda Luisita and the entire people to expose and oppose the deception, violence and corruption of Noynoy Aquino and his family in frustrating land reform and continuing treacherously to usurp and control Hacienda Luisita.

Right now, we must vigorously fight the greed and cruelty of the Aquino family. Thus, we prepare well to fight if Aquino becomes president because of the money of the imperialists, despite his empty record in congress and the senate.

If Noynoy would become president, the Filipino people would be further exploited and oppressed. All of us would continue to suffer the policies dictated by the imperialists, like the policy of neoliberal globalization and "global war of terror." The crisis wreaking havoc on the lives of the toiling masses and the middle forces would continue. The suppression of human rights, especially those of the workers and peasants, would continue.

Fight for the rights of the farmworkers of Hacienda Luisita!

Always remember the massacres perpetrated by the Cojuangco-Aquino family from the Mendiola massacre to the Hacienda Luisita massacre!

Carry out genuine land reform for the peasants and farmworkers!

Uphold national independence, democracy, development through land reform and industrialization, social justice and just peace!

Long live the toiling masses and the entire Filipino people!



On the Year of Rice Action against the 50th Year of the International Rice Research Institute⁶⁷

April 12, 2010

The International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) is a notorious arm of imperialism. When we were in the Philippine countryside organizing the peasants in the 1970s, IRRI was extending its clutches over agriculture and systematically wiping out traditional rice varieties in the Philippines. The World Bank-sponsored Green Revolution paved the way for IRRI in the Philippines during the Marcos dictatorship.

The WB acted like a mob boss. It initially shelled out \$1 billion for the program to get Philippine agriculture “addicted” to agrochemicals that were part of the new IRRI-designed farming package. Eventually, agrochem transnational corporations (TNCs) raked in superprofits like druglords marketing chemical inputs though they clearly knew that they were harmful to users, in this case, the Filipino peasants.

We should not be deceived by the self-projection and posturing of IRRI. It is no different from those who commit crimes against the people. Actually, it is worse as it exists to exploit the world’s peasants, destroy the environment and kill those who are regularly exposed to agrochemicals. We should not be enticed by the techno-babble of the so-called scientists of IRRI, promising impossible productivity levels as if their genetically-engineered rice varieties are magic pills for the hungry world.

IRRI’s explanations for its products do not intend to enlighten poor peasants but to confuse them and compel them to use expensive and deadly agrochemicals, consequently condemning them into indebtedness and eventually to further landlessness. The most important objective of the IRRI is to pave the way for the TNCs to make superprofits.

It is very heartening to see that numerous groups have united in calling for the abolition of IRRI. Fifty long years or five decades are more than enough proof that the IRRI is useless in solving the problem

⁶⁷ Solidarity message issued as Chairperson of the International League of Peoples’ Struggle.

Crisis Generates Resistance

of hunger in the world. The IRRI has exposed itself as a bane to the world's agriculture.

The development of traditional varieties that are not dependent on agrochemicals marketed by TNCs is a breakthrough for the human civilization. We in the International League of Peoples' Struggle applaud the groups who advocate sustainable agriculture using traditional and indigenous seed varieties. But sustainable agriculture can only be widely adopted if it is part of a genuine land reform program.

Rice is a crucial means of life and freedom, thus, it should be protected from genetic manipulation or bastardization by IRRI and other pseudo-scientific institutions. Peasants should struggle for food security and against the programs of these imperialist-controlled institutions. No country can claim true independence or sovereignty if it cannot produce its own food.

We should uphold food security and self-reliance, the exact opposite of "market-oriented" agriculture that monopoly capitalists impose on semifeudal societies with the help of puppet governments. Food security also lies at the heart of Genuine land Reform and therefore social transformation.

Therefore the Asian Peasant Coalition's rice campaign and Year of Rice Action is fully supported by the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS). ILPS member-organizations are at the forefront of struggles for food security and against imperialist depredations in agriculture.

Long live Year of Rice Action!

Fifty years of IRRI is enough!

Close down IRRI now!

Struggle for Genuine land Reform and Food Security!

Down with US imperialism!

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Solidarity Message to the Asian Peasant Coalition Caravan⁶⁸

April 12, 2010

On the occasion of the Culminating Caravan of the Asian Peasant Coalition (APC) to mark the 7th year of militant struggle for Genuine Land Reform in Asia, we of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) send our warmest greetings and congratulations to each of the member organizations from Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Mongolia, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines and Sri Lanka.

The world's peasants are confronting a new challenge. Monopoly capitalists are unrelenting in exploring new ways and means to further extract superprofits from the exploitation of peasants and workers throughout the world.

The monopoly capitalists recognize that land is an indispensable asset for the production of food and other raw materials for industry. Thus, they are now taking over vast tracts of land in Africa, Asia and Latin America for the cultivation of food and agro-fuels as well as the extraction of timber, minerals and other resources for export to imperialist countries. They are strengthening their monopoly control over all the world's productive resources at the expense of the lives and livelihoods of the people and the health of the planet.

They are aided by puppet regimes which have sold and continue to sell out their own people's national patrimony and future in exchange for kickbacks that are measly compared to the superprofits raked in by their imperialist masters. They are displacing millions of peasants who depend on these lands for their livelihoods and existence and have been nurtured on these lands for generations.

About 45% of the world's population make their living directly from agriculture. In Asia and Africa this figure reaches up to about 80% of the population. We need to organize the peasants, farmworkers and the rest of the people in their millions to resist imperialism's incursions and struggle for genuine land reform and national industrialization.

⁶⁸ Statement issued as Chairperson of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

The contradiction between imperialism and peasants is history in the making. We should strengthen our forces in order to bring us closer to the dawn of a new era for the world.

For the peasantry, the struggle for land is the struggle for life and liberty. Hence, millions of peasants in semifeudal or feudal societies have embraced armed struggle in the countryside as the principal form of struggle. This is combined with legal forms of struggle.

Large numbers of peasants go to the streets to call for genuine land reform, and patriotic representatives within the reactionary state machineries fight for the democratic rights and interests of the peasantry and the people. They drum up the fundamental issues of the peasantry and exposing the anti-national, anti-democratic, corrupt and bankrupt socioeconomic and political system. The peasant masses demand that this system be dismantled and replaced by a new and democratic one.

Asia comprises the majority of the world's population. If the peoples of Asia defeat imperialism in their own countries, then we are so much closer to liberating the entire world from the horror of imperialism. Thus, the Asian Peasant Coalition is faced with a great responsibility and enormous challenge.

If the APC could unite the billions of Asian peasants, then we would reach the early dawn of a new era of freedom, democracy, development, social justice and peace. We know that this is a gargantuan task for several generations to accomplish. But we can strive to score significant victories in our own generation.

We call on each and all of APC member-organizations to strengthen unity and cooperation. As imperialism maneuvers and draws up new plans for further exploiting and oppressing the peoples of the world, we should think of creative and effective ways to accomplish our goals.

We of the International League of Peoples' Struggle assure the APC of all-out support. We should fortify the global worker-peasant alliance and unite all oppressed, anti-imperialist and democratic forces to achieve our goals. We face a brighter future after each day of arduous and successful mass work among peasants and the rest of the people.

Long live the Asian Peasant Coalition!

Struggle for genuine land reform!

Down with US imperialism and all its reactionary puppets!

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On Aquino and Villar⁶⁹

Follow up Interview by D. H. Mondelo, *Bulatlat*
Correspondent

April 17, 2010

1. Our interview on the 2010 elections last week attracted a great deal of attention from the top mass media in Manila and elicited reactions from certain major political quarters. First of all, what do you think of the reaction of the presidential spokesman Gary Olivar? He said to the effect that because you had expressed support for Manny Villar you accepted the existing ruling system and that you would be amenable to a peace agreement without any revolutionary change.

JMS: The presidential spokesman should read carefully the full text of the interview in *Bulatlat*. I described the ruling system as one in need of basic social reforms and revolutionary change because the system is run by the oppressive and exploitative forces of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

I referred to the 2010 elections as one dominated by the big compradors and landlords. I did not endorse the ruling system and I made clear that all the major presidential candidates, including Noynoy Aquino and Manny Villar, are competing to become the chief representative of the same rotten system, which I described as semicolonial and semifeudal.

I merely compared the two top presidential contenders, Aquino and Villar, in answer to your specific question. Indeed, Villar offers the relatively better program by promising land reform and self-reliant food production, expansion of local manufacturing to generate employment, support for small and middle entrepreneurs, conservation of natural resources, ecological protection, peace negotiations, respect for human rights, indemnification of the victims of human rights violations, review of the Visiting Forces Agreement and independent foreign policy.

⁶⁹ Interview with the author in his capacity as NDFP Chief Political Consultant.

Crisis Generates Resistance

2. *What about the reaction of the spokesman of Noytoy Aquino, Edwin Lacierda? He said that because you support Villar he is therefore supported by the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines. He went further to claim that you and therefore the CPP, NPA and the NDFP were responsible for the protest demonstration of peasants and farmworkers in front of the residence of Noytoy Aquino.*

JMS: The non sequiturs are plenty and amazing. The spin doctor of Noytoy Aquino is as maliciously way off the mark as the spin doctor of Gloria M. Arroyo. I am just the chief political consultant of the NDFP in peace negotiations with the reactionary Manila government. I never said that I represented the CPP, NPA and NDFP in making a comparison between Manny Villar and Noytoy Aquino.

The Nonoy Aquino camp should not dismiss the series of injustices done to the peasants and farmworkers of Hacienda Luisita as the handwork of communists. Noytoy Aquino should not hide behind cheap Red-baiting. The Cojuangco-Aquino family to which Noytoy Aquino belongs has long exploited the peasants and farmworkers and has prevented land reform through the swindle called stock distribution option.

Worst of all, the bodyguards of Noytoy himself participated in the Hacienda Luisita massacre. Noytoy has continuously used Red baiting tactics to cover up the murderous collaboration of the Arroyo regime and his own security agency in the Hacienda Luisita massacre and the subsequent murders in Tarlac. He aggravates his dishonesty by topping his consistent violent opposition to land reform with the patently false promise of carrying it out in 2014.

3. *Cory Aquino has been praised for championing land reform and specifically for the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP)? Was she truly a champion of land reform? How would you compare her land reform program with that of Marcos? How important is the question of land reform?*

JMS: Both Ferdinand Marcos and Cory Aquino were engaged in bogus land reform programs in their respective times. Thus, up to now, the land problem persists. Millions of tillers own no land. Land is concentrated in the hands of a few landlords and agri-corporations. Feudal and semifeudal exploitation runs rampant throughout the country.

Marcos pretended to use the police power of the state in the name of social justice to carry out the expropriation of landlord estates producing rice and corn. But of course the bogus land reform program of Marcos did not solve the land problem because the bureaucrats and landlords combined against the tenants to raise the value of rice and corn land and in the meantime the biggest landlords and agri-corporations continued to accumulate land.

The bogus land reform program called CARP was even worse than that of Marcos. Under the Aquino constitution of 1987, the social justice issue of land reform was reduced to a real estate business matter. The issue of land reform was subordinated to the malevolent principles of voluntary sale by the landlord, current market value as the meaning of just compensation and evasion of land reform through the stock distribution option and conversion or reclassification of the land as nonagricultural.

I consider land reform as decisively important. If genuine and thoroughgoing, it means the socioeconomic and political liberation of tens of millions of peasants and farmworkers. It is the fulfilment of the main content of the unfinished democratic revolution. It lays the ground for a just and lasting peace. When combined with national industrialization, it paves the way for a great advance in economic and social development.

4. Is it not good for the revolutionary movement that Aquino becomes president so that it has a clear target for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses along the line of fighting for national liberation and democracy? In the previous interview, you indicated what are the policies that Aquino would pursue against the Filipino people. Will you explain further?

JMS: I presume that in the first place the revolutionary movement would like to see a president of the rotten ruling system who is amenable to holding serious negotiations and making agreements on basic social, economic and political reforms in order to address the roots of the armed conflict and pave the way for a just and lasting peace. But I also presume that if such a president does not emerge, the revolutionary movement is more justified than ever in pursuing the people's war.

Together with his vice presidential candidate, Noynoy Aquino is known to be the candidate most favored by big foreign and local businessmen because he is most determined to pursue the same

Crisis Generates Resistance

US-dictated policies of the Arroyo regime, such as neoliberal globalization and the global war of terror. In concrete terms, neoliberal globalization means allowing the foreign investors to plunder the country and prevent national industrialization and land reform. The global war of terror means allowing US military forces to violate the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Philippines.

Noynoy Aquino is surrounded by agents of the US and the Arroyo regime who have been major partners of Arroyo in adopting and implementing policies that are detrimental to the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people and that have plunged the country into a grave crisis of high unemployment, extreme poverty, soaring prices of basic commodities, deteriorating social services, ever widening trade and budgetary deficits and ever mounting tax and debt burden.

Noynoy Aquino would be extremely helpful to the revolutionary movement if he would become president and pursue basically the same US-dictated policies of the Arroyo regime and thus become the target of the people's opprobrium. Probably, the mass movement that fell short of overthrowing Arroyo would be further outraged and gain enough strength to overthrow the new puppet of US imperialism.

5. You say that Manny Villar has a relatively better program than Noynoy Aquino. At the same time, you have pointed out that it has been underplayed. Can you guarantee that if Villar would become president, he would fulfil the promises that he makes in his program? Do you incur any liability by saying now that he has a program better than that of Aquino?

JMS: No, I cannot guarantee whether Villar will fulfil his promises or not. Manny Villar has his own free will and political will. He is responsible for his own motivations and actions.

As a political observer, I can only compare what appear now on paper as the programs of Villar and Aquino. People will respond to Villar accordingly, whether he fulfils his promises or not.

6. Is it true that Aquino is honest and is not corrupt?

Noynoy Aquino is honestly a rabid and violent defender of the big comprador-landlord class interests of the Cojuangco-Aquino family. But he is certainly dishonest when he denies the extreme exploitation of the farmworkers and peasants in Hacienda Luisita, the swindling

done with the use of the stock distribution option and the violence committed by the military and his own security personnel.

People other than me have pointed out the corruption of Kamag-Anak Inc. of which Noynoy has been a co-beneficiary and which supports him now. While his mother was president, he got contracts from government agencies for his security agency. While he was a congressman and senator for so long, he filed only a handful of bills (none becoming a law) and collected huge sums of public money. This is a manifestation of sloth, incompetence and corruption.

7. Who is more competent and more accomplished? Villar or Aquino?

In terms of service in the reactionary government, Villar is by far more competent and accomplished. He was active and productive in legislative work and became Speaker of the House and Senate President. Noynoy was a noynoy (no accomplishment) in legislative work. Aquino was also a noynoy in business in comparison to Villar. I need not repeat the rags to riches story.

8. Whom do you think will win the presidential race?

JMS: It is difficult to say. And for the moment I will not dare say. It is still either Aquino or Villar. I have just been informed that money has been flowing heavily to the Aquino side from big foreign and local businessmen for the purpose of stepping up anti-Villar propaganda and buying those who deliver the votes at various levels. Villar does not have a monopoly on money. There is more money from the moneybags in the foreign chambers of commerce and the Makati Business Club.

9. Whoever shall be the president, shall there be peace negotiations between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines?

JMS: Because of the worsening socioeconomic and political crisis of the ruling system, I presume that whoever shall be president of the GRP shall seek peace negotiations with the NDFP. It is the lookout of the new president who would overestimate the strength of the state and its coercive apparatuses and underestimate the crisis and the growing strength of the revolutionary movement. But as I pointed out in our interview last week, both Villar and Aquino have already expressed their willingness to negotiate with the NDFP.

Crisis Generates Resistance

10. Is the NDFP already preparing for the resumption of the peace negotiations? But why is the New People's Army intensifying its armed offensives?

The NDFP is already preparing for the resumption of the peace negotiations. Consultations regarding this are going on among the NDFP panelists, consultants, the Philippine-based leading organs of the CPP and NDFP. The NDFP negotiating panel is in frequent touch with the Norwegian government as third party facilitator. As soon as a new president is elected, whoever he is, the NDFP is willing to receive his emissary.

The best explanations of why the NPA is intensifying tactical offensives can be found in the messages of the CPP Central Committee to the CPP rank and file last December 26, 2010 and to the NPA Red commanders and fighters last March 29, 2010. These messages are available in the website: www.philippinerevolution.net

The people's war is going on precisely because of the escalating oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people by the US and the local exploiting classes. The revolutionary forces are thus striving to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate.

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On the 2010 Presidential Elections

Interview by Rio Mondelo, *Bulatlat* Correspondent

April 23, 2010

1. Is Noynoy Aquino the choice of the US for the presidency? Why? Why not any of the other presidential candidates?

JMS: The top insiders in the Aquino camp are already boasting that representatives of the US government have been talking to Noynoy Aquino and that more importantly big US companies have already contributed nearly 10 billion pesos to his campaign fund through cutouts in the Makati Business Club. He being on the cover of the Philippine edition of the Time Magazine is supposed to be the public signal for the US preference for him.

The US is very pleased with the combination of Noynoy Aquino and Mar Roxas as dependable continuers of the economic and security policies of the Arroyo regime adhering to the US policy of free market globalization and the global war on terror. The US is very eager to ensure the continuing plunder of the Philippine economy by the US and other foreign monopolies and the permanent and growing deployment of US military forces in the Philippines.

I am not saying that the US are expressly rejecting the other presidential candidates. In fact, the representatives of the US government and businessmen try to cultivate friendly relations with nearly all the presidential candidates. But the US considers Noynoy Aquino and Mar Roxas as the most reliable, popular and effective agents of US policy.

2. Is Aquino the sure winner in the presidential race? Why? Is there any possibility of his losing?

JMS: I would not say that Aquino is a sure winner. The survey polls of Pulse Asia, Social Weather Station and other pollsters are not enough to spell sure victory. Aquino won big in the polls done in March, particularly against Manny Villar, especially because the Aquino psywar machinery succeeded in selling the Villaroyo line. But there are other important factors to consider. Noynoy Aquino has strong points and weak points.

Crisis Generates Resistance

He tries to benefit politically from simply being the son of his parents. But in the same way, he can be easily as a person who is incompetent and lacking in achievement. He can even be seen as corrupt for failing to push the enactment of any of his few bills in Congress and collecting so much public money in maintaining his office, not to mention his part of the pork barrel. The most intelligent people also expose the fact the Cory Aquino regime was inimical to the people.

The biggest asset of Noynoy Aquino now is the huge money in the amount so many billions of pesos that he has collected for his campaign from big foreign and local businessmen. He has a big chance of winning if that money is well distributed to his leaders, candidates and campaigners at the provincial, district and municipal levels. But he continues to pretend being poor. His local leaders, candidates and campaigners are already worrying that no or little money is forthcoming. They have begun to complain that Aquino and his family are keeping the money for themselves.

3. Do you mean to say that Noynoy Aquino might find himself in a situation similar to that of his cousin Gibo Teodoro? The leaders and campaigners at various levels expect so much money from above but no money is coming down.

JMS: The situation is similar. The money is known to be available but there is no distribution to the leaders, candidates and campaigners. In the case of Gibo Teodoro, Gloria and Mike Arroyo are known to have collected a great deal of money in the name of the electoral campaign. But they are keeping the money for themselves. Thus, the ruling coalition of has been breaking up.

In the case of Noynoy Aquino, the money from big business is already publicly known to be in his hands, as very well indicated by his high expenditures on informercials and other means of propaganda. But Aquino continues to pretend being poor and dependent on volunteers and on piso-piso contributions. And he uses the pretense as excuse to delay and limit the flow of funds to the leaders, candidates and campaigners at various levels.

The difference between the Gibo and Noynoy situations is that in the case of Gibo the money is in the keeping the money and is not releasing the money in sufficient amounts to please his followers.

4. Money seems to be the most important factor in the reactionary elections. Would not the winners in the elections recoup their expenses through graft and corruption?

JMS: Money is certainly an important factor. It pays for the infomercials and all other kinds of propaganda means, the costs of transport, food and other things needed in face to face campaigning, the sample ballots, the campaigners at various levels and the direct and indirect forms of voting.

Certainly, the winners would recoup their expenses through graft and corruption. The entire ruling system and its electoral system in particular are rotten. Before and during the electoral campaign, you can find among them the relatively worse or better among the coalition, parties and candidates. But after the elections, there is no guarantee that they would really serve the national and democratic rights and interests of the people.

The Makabayan coalition, the senatorial candidates like Satur Ocampo and Liza Maza, and Gabriela, Bayan Muna, Anakpawis, Kabataan and progressive partylist groups are definitely good. But they are mere exceptions to the generally and basically rotten political system lorded over by the politicians who serve the interests of foreign monopoly capitalism and the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

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Strengthen Unity for Genuine Land Reform⁷⁰

Message of Solidarity with the Rural Poor in Southern Tagalog

April 26 to 27, 2010

On behalf of the International League of Peoples' Struggle, I gladly convey my solidarity with all the rural poor in Southern Tagalog and all their organizations participating in the conference called All-Rural Poor Summit in Southern Tagalog. We sincerely congratulate all the delegates and guests.

In connection with effective preparation of the conference, we commend the machinery led by KASAMA-TK and the Farmers Institute for Southern Tagalog (FIRST) and their assisting institutions and organizations. We admire the enthusiastic cooperation among KASAMA-TK, LUMABAN-TK, PAMALAKAYA-TK, BALATIK, SUMAMAKA-TK, Friends of the Rural Poor, PALAY, ACTIVE, RMP-AMRSP, CRA, DEFEND-ST, SENTRA and other entities.

The theme of the conference is timely and important: Strengthen Unity! Promote the Agenda of the Rural Poor for Genuine Land Reform! We have great confidence that you can accomplish your agenda and set the long-term and urgent tasks based on your analysis of the history and circumstances of the land problem and your experience in the struggle of the rural poor.

Throughout the history of the semicolonial and semifeudal society, the landlords have ceaselessly seized lands and exploited and oppressed the peasants and farmworkers. They impose high land rent and high interest on loans, press down the wages of farmworkers, lower the price of purchases from farmers and increase the price of goods sold to them.

Due to extreme exploitation and oppression, the rural poor struggle against the landlords and the entire ruling system. The ruling classes always respond with bloody suppression, using the military, police,

⁷⁰ Original message in Filipino issued as Chairperson of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

paramilitary and private armed goons as well as with deception in the form of bogus land reform.

With the passage of time, the bogus land reform of the ruling classes has become more cunning and deceptive. During the time of Macapagal, the promise was to end the entire tenancy system in the production of rice and corn, but many loopholes in the law allowed the landlords to avoid land reform. During the time of Marcos, the loopholes in the law increased further as the bureaucrats and the landlords conspired to raise the value of the land and make it impossible for farmers to pay the full amortization.

During the Aquino regime, the so-called Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) was even worse than that of Marcos. It upheld the sinister principle of voluntary sale of the land by the landlords, setting a so-called just compensation, meaning current land prices in the market, stock distribution option or the distribution of shares in corporations controlled by landlords and conversion or reclassification of land from agricultural to non-agricultural, such as residential, commercial, industrial and eco-tourist. The so-called conversion was used as a means to nullify the Certificates of Land Ownership Award (CLOA), the Certificates of Land Transfer (CLT) and the Emancipation Patents (EP) distributed by the Marcos regime.

Conversion and the deceptive stock distribution option continue in the form of the CARP Extension with Reforms (CARPER). One provision stipulates that the landlord shall be the one to recognize the tenants. If a landlord does recognize someone as a tenant, he can evict that one from the land. This means dissolution of the minimal tenurial right.

The grim situation of land monopoly by a few landlords continues, even as 70 percent of the peasants do not own land. It is deplorable that in Batangas, 91 landlords own or control 71,813 hectares and in Quezon; 211 landlords, 561,626 hectares. In San Francisco, Quezon, only 48 landlords hold 20,000 hectares. In Bondoc Peninsula, thousands of hectares are in the hands of each of the Reyes, Tan, Murray, Matias and Cojuangco families. Throughout Southern Tagalog landlords owning hundreds of hectares each are common.

As a result of the policy of neoliberal globalization dictated by the US to the puppet regime, Philippine agriculture is subject to GATT and WTO; the land is laid open to the influx of foreign agricultural and mining corporations giving priority to production for export, ruining

food production for the people and making the country dependent on food imports.

Jobs in the countryside are scarce. At the same time, there is no national industrialization to generate employment. Thus unemployment is widespread. Some 10 percent of our people are forced to leave our country, leaving their family behind. They seek their fortune abroad with scarce or no guarantee of proper wages and rights.

The International League of Peoples' Struggle upholds your call to immediately implement the Peasants' Agenda. Genuine land reform must be implemented and the Genuine Agrarian Reform Bill (House Bill 3059) must be enacted and the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program Extension with Reforms (CARPER) or RA 4700 must be thrashed.

Agriculture in the country must be strengthened. Land use conversion or reclassification must be stopped. Agriculture of the country must be removed from the scope of the World Trade Organization. Agriculture in rice, coconut, sugar cane, coffee and other products must be developed. The prices of agricultural products must be raised and subsidies to farm production must be given. The militarization of the countryside and the abduction, torture, killings and forced evacuations must be stopped. We must oppose the criminalization of peasants in agrarian cases. We must demand the release of political prisoners.

The International League of Peoples' Struggle also upholds your calls for emergency assistance and allowance to the farmers affected by El Niño. Your proposals for a moratorium on the payment of land rent by peasants whose farms have been damaged, cancellation of interest on debts, compensation per hectare damaged and grants of equipment to legitimate peasant's and fishermen's organizations affected by the fishkills and Red tide.

Debts resulting from very high service charges for irrigation must be cancelled. The privatization of water like Angat dam, the construction of new megadams like Laiban Dam and the grant of water rights and permits to businesses such as large mining, golf courses, and other enterprises making wasteful and harmful use of water must be stopped.

We know how brutal is the Arroyo regime in launching Oplan Bantay Laya I and II. We know who are the big landlords and the repressive apparatus of the reactionary state that uses force to suppress the peasants and farmworkers and the movement for genuine land reform. We must also expose such special agents of landlords as AKBAYAN,

Crisis Generates Resistance

UNORKA, PAKISAMA, PARRDS, PARAGOS, PAMBUKID-KA, KASAKA-TK, KMBP, CARET, AR NOW, CENTRO-SAKA, PEACE Foundation and others.

In connection with the upcoming elections, it is appropriate for you to identify and assist patriotic and progressive candidates, parties and coalitions that promote genuine land reform. It is also appropriate for you to expose the traitors and reactionaries who carry the interests of the landlords and who use violence and deception to suppress the rural poor and the movement for genuine land reform.

We understand why many favor the nationalist and progressive program of the Makabayan Coalition and the bilateral alliance of Makabayan and the Liberal Party, the presidential tandem of Manny Villar and Loren Legarda, the candidates Satur Ocampo and Liza Maza for the senate and Anakpawis and other progressive partylist groups.

We also understand why many are disgusted with candidates like Noynoy Aquino and Mar Roxas. They boast of themselves as puppets of US imperialism and followers of the policies of neoliberal globalization. They are not only representatives of the classes of big compradors and landlords, but they also have blood debts to the working classes and are ready to shed the blood of the working people. Aquino is directly involved in the Hacienda Luisita massacre and subsequent killings.

The crisis of the world capitalist system and the ruling system in the Philippines will certainly intensify. If pro-imperialist and anti-working people candidates like Aquino and Roxas will reign in the Philippines, the struggle of the toiling masses and the Filipino people for national and social liberation against imperialism and reactionary classes certainly intensify. The revolutionary movement will certainly advance.

The International League of Peoples' Struggle wishes your conference to be highly successful and be your key to major advances in the struggle for genuine land reform.

Long live the rural poor of Southern Tagalog!

Advance land reform together with national industrialization!

Long live the Filipino people!

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Intensify the Struggles of the Proletariat and Peoples against Imperialism and Reaction⁷¹

May 1, 2010

On this glorious day of the international proletariat, we, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, join the workers and peoples of the world in celebrating their struggles, sacrifices and victories. It is of the greatest importance to raise the banner of proletarian unity and struggle against exploitation and oppression by imperialism and all reaction. Once again, we renew our resolve to dismantle the monopoly capitalist system and replace it with a just, democratic and peaceful new world in which socialism prevails.

Crisis of global capitalism continues to worsen

The enemies of the working class and the oppressed peoples do not cease to demonstrate their contempt for the masses with their lies and their violence. The mouthpieces of the monopoly bourgeoisie are busy proclaiming the end of the global economic and financial crisis, and celebrating the so-called beginnings of recovery. Not only is this claim of recovery patently false, it actually signals a heightened offensive against the workers and peoples of the world.

Bourgeois economists are prating about rising GDP figures, rallies in the stock market, the "stabilization" of the financial system, increasing bank profits and more business activity. In reality, the so-called recovery is artificial and temporary as it is solely reliant on trillions of dollars handed out by the state to the biggest banks and failing conglomerates as bailout money. This is the largest-ever simultaneous raid of public treasuries by the wealthiest stratum of the capitalist class which uses the money to rake in more profits from speculative investments.

Conditions in the real economy remain grim, especially in terms of rising unemployment and the dismal living conditions of the working

⁷¹ Statement issued as Chairperson of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

masses. Tens of millions have lost their jobs or livelihoods since 2008 when the worst crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s erupted in the heartland of the global capitalist system. Millions more have been kept employed but on a part-time basis, with lower wages and vulnerable to being axed at the bosses' say so. In the US alone, millions of families are set to lose their homes in the coming year. The monopoly bourgeoisie is seizing on mass unemployment and profound social insecurity to cut costs, take back hard-won workers' benefits and boost profits.

In the underdeveloped countries, the social consequences have been more devastating to those economies most deeply penetrated by international monopoly capital as foreign investments, credit, so-called aid, export revenues and remittances have fallen along with the economies of the advanced capitalist countries. Chronic economic depression is compounded by the multiple crises generated by the monopoly capitalist system including the food, water and ecological crises.

While the masses face a bleak future, the managers of finance oligarchy responsible for the crisis continue to raise their share of the loot. The top 25 managers of US hedge funds took home a record \$25.33 billion in 2009—greater than the GDP of about 100 nations combined. They “earned” these obscene sums not from production but from mere speculation, specifically by correctly betting that the US government under Obama would shore up Wall Street at virtually any cost.

Obama certainly did not disappoint his financiers. Not only has he continued to funnel trillions to the finance sector, his administration has also scuttled any attempt to apply restraints on the predatory operations of finance capital, despite calls even from reform-minded bourgeois economists. He is generating the biggest kind of bubble in the form of public debt and is engaged in deficit spending that promotes monopoly profit-taking but not employment and economic recovery.

He has also indulged the military-industrial complex with the biggest war budget in US history since World War II, even when adjusted for inflation. The US is building more bases and upgrading its military facilities all over the world to secure its control over strategic resources (such as oil and gas in West and Central Asia, and West and Central Africa); encircle potential rival powers, particularly China and Russia; and attack or intervene in regions where US interests are being

challenged (such as in Latin America, Pakistan, Iran, and Korea). It is also paying out billions to US monopoly firms to supply and service US bases overseas and “reconstruct” the civilian infrastructure destroyed by US invasions in Iraq and Afghanistan.

All this generosity to the most parasitic and brutal fraction of the big bourgeoisie has resulted in the rapid increase in public deficits and debts in all the major economies. The Bank for International Settlements estimates that the debt-to-GDP ratios of the G-7 countries are likely to shoot up to between 150 and 300 percent within the next decade. Hence the executives of the monopoly bourgeoisie are preparing a new assault on the working masses in their own countries and against Third World peoples in order to squeeze out more surplus value.

The Obama administration has for instance frozen discretionary social spending, laid off thousands of teachers and public sector employees, and is getting ready to further whittle down Medicare and Social Security. Leaders of the Group of 20 are now talking about “deficit containment” and “returning to a normal policy stance” even amidst an ocean of unemployed and dispossessed masses. By this they mean withdrawing stimulus measures, imposing fiscal austerity and new taxes in order to raise revenues needed to cover the bailouts handed over to the finance oligarchy. This translates to wholesale job cuts particularly in the public sector, and slashing education, health, housing and other social and welfare programs. This is what all this talk of “recovery” means for the working masses.

The International Monetary Fund is again stepping in to impose devastating austerity measures and wage cuts not just in debt-stricken Third World countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America but now also in Eastern Europe and the less advanced capitalist countries such as Greece. In countries that have managed to steer clear of the IMF by relying on private capital markets, international finance capital still issues decrees through ratings agencies such as Moody’s and Standard and Poor’s. Countries that refuse to reduce their fiscal deficits through cutbacks in social services, lay-offs and more regressive taxes are punished by poor ratings and higher interest rates.

Even then, there remains the threat of widespread defaults and financial meltdown in the near future. In fact, these are inevitable because the response of the ruling class to the crisis—intensified exploitation of the working masses, over-accumulation of capital,

Crisis Generates Resistance

debt-driven spending, and financialization—actually aggravates the basic conditions which lead to crises. The expected bursting of the public debt bubble will have far worse consequences than the bursting of previous bubbles.

While continuing to rave about the free market masquerade of monopoly capitalism, the US is now desperately carrying out a protectionist policy and trying to reduce its external deficits through cutting imports and more aggressive export promotion. Obama recently launched the National Export Initiative which aims to double US exports in five years. The US can therefore be expected to become even more aggressive in prying open foreign markets, enforcing its “property rights” overseas while restricting the entry of imports. This is sure to exacerbate trade frictions between the US and its commercial competitors as well as intensify inter-imperialist rivalry for plundering the Third World.

In the face of the economic crisis and challenges to its hegemony, US imperialism is escalating militarism, state terrorism and wars of aggression. The biggest armed conflicts and greatest instability are happening in regions where US intervention is most extensive—West, Central and South Asia, and West and Central Africa. These are also the regions with the greatest concentration of strategic resources, foremost of which is oil, the control of which is an explicit aim of US military policy since the 1950s.

The US occupation of Iraq has entered its seventh year with no end in sight, contrary to Obama’s promise to end US combat mission in Iraq by August 31, 2010. The US is ramping up its war in Afghanistan by sending 30,000 additional troops plus tens of thousands of private contractors, using the country as a laboratory for new US weaponry and combat tactics, such as the use of drone attacks. It has entered into a new nuclear agreement with India to support the latter’s military upgrading and keep the Pakistan-China alliance in check.

The US continues to use the US-Zionist alliance to terrorize the entire Middle East and to seize the oil and other natural resources. US support for Israeli aggression against the Palestinian people has resulted in the most atrocious war crimes and human rights violations by Israeli Zionism and in the humanitarian crisis such as that in Gaza.

In Africa, the US has fortified its military presence by creating the African Command or Africom, and has increased arms sales, military

aid and training provided to a number of African countries, particularly in the oil- and mineral-rich countries.

The US has also recently sealed a deal to use seven military bases in Colombia for 10 years to use as its staging ground for intervention within the country and expand its “expeditionary warfare capability” throughout the region, particularly against “anti-US governments” identified by the Pentagon such as Venezuela, Cuba and Bolivia. In Honduras, the US-inspired coup d’etat that deposed elected President Manuel Zelaya will mark its one-year anniversary on June 28, 2010 as rumors of other possible coups spread in Ecuador, Paraguay, Venezuela (and possibly in other countries that have rejected the increasingly discredited Washington Consensus). Hugo Chavez, in particular, is the object of vitriolic propaganda in the monopoly capitalist media—which is possibly a precursor to and justification for destabilization or even direct aggression against Venezuela. Even the recent humanitarian disaster in Haiti is used by the US to extend direct military control over the Haitian people and their economy.

In the whole East Asia, the US continues to apply on China a policy of engagement and containment and is increasingly exerting economic and political pressures. It is exerting more of such pressures on the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea. In the Philippines, the continued presence of US troops and military facilities and the continued supply of military aid underwrite the government’s vicious counterinsurgency program which targets armed and unarmed civilians alike and props up the corrupt and fascist puppet Arroyo government.

US military aggression and intervention throughout the world is resulting in massive civilian deaths, destruction of vital infrastructure, trampling of national cultures, pillaging of natural resources, massive displacement and other gross human rights violations, spread of hunger and disease.

The proletariat and peoples of the world resist

The worsening conditions of global economic and financial crisis and the escalation of imperialist plunder and wars of aggression are inciting the proletariat and peoples of the world to wage various forms of struggle.

Workers of the world are confronted not only by individual capitalist bosses extracting surplus value in particular workplaces. The

Crisis Generates Resistance

monopoly bourgeoisie is attacking the working masses by using the entire coercive apparatus of the state in the imperialist countries and in the imperialist-dominated countries. The workers and peoples of the world are aware that they cannot simply bargain for higher wages and benefits. They are desirous of wresting political power from their oppressors and use state power to uphold their rights and interests.

In various countries, large-scale protests mainly against governments' responses to the crisis are breaking out and catching international attention. Greece was recently rocked and brought to a standstill by strikes and other forms of actions that oppose government plans to cut down on social spending and raise taxes to address foreign debt and mounting deficit. Farmers' tractors were used to block roads; ferries were left tied up at the ports; hospitals, schools and other public services were shut down; and even news broadcasts were suspended as hundreds of thousands joined militant protests. The workers and people of Greece are saying "no" to government efforts to make them pay for decades of misuse of government funds for political patronage, corruption and consumption through debt financing.

In France, hundreds of thousands also joined protests against the Sarkozy regime's plan to overhaul the national pension system by cutting pensions and raising the retirement age in an attempt to solve the country's deficit. Organizers of the protests also raised demands for job security, better working conditions and higher wages. In all countries of Europe, especially in Portugal, Ireland, Iceland, Greece and Spain, the level of social discontent and protest is rising because of the increasing rate of unemployment, the erosion of social benefits and the deterioration of living conditions.

In the US, the workers and immigrants undertook strikes and protest rallies. Hundreds of thousands of students and faculty launched protests against cuts in the education budget and increases in tuition. They were expressing outrage at the Obama regime's policy of bailing out banks and huge corporations and of pouring money into the war in Iraq and Afghanistan to the detriment of education and other social services.

Despite US imperialism's sabotage attempts, the governments of Cuba, Venezuela, Bolivia, and North Korea are vocal in asserting national sovereignty and opposing imperialism's dictates to their countries and the world. Their popular leaders declare that their countries are waging revolution for socialism. Their governments have been

Intensify the Struggles of the Proletariat and Peoples

able to cushion the worst effects of the current crisis on the workers and the people, and have even improved the standard of living in their respective countries. They are now mobilizing the workers and the people to change the socioeconomic structures. Cuba, Venezuela, Bolivia are active in encouraging their fellow Latin American countries to enhance economic cooperation in that region.

In Iraq and Afghanistan, the armed resistance of the workers and the people against direct US colonial rule and for national liberation are dealing severe military and political blows on the military might of US imperialism. The imposition by force of US-backed puppet governments in these countries has only intensified the workers and the people's anger at US imperialism.

The armed resistance in these countries is encouraging the American workers and the people's condemnation of their government's continuing war of aggression. It is also showing to the workers and peoples of the world that US military might can be resisted and put to shame, and that direct US occupation and colonial rule must be opposed at all costs.

There are proletarian parties in Asia, Latin America and Asia that are waging or are preparing to wage revolutionary armed struggle. The workers and peoples of the Philippines, India, Turkey, Congo, Niger Delta, Peru and Colombia are waging people's wars for national liberation and democracy. They are persevering in the face of various campaigns of suppression by regimes that are supported by US imperialism under the pretext of the latter's so-called "global war on terror." In the Philippines, the revolutionary movement is aiming for a qualitative leap from strategic defensive to strategic stalemate in five years, by taking advantage of the intensifying global and national crises and building on current strengths and experiences.

In India and Nepal, revolutionary armed movements led by proletarian revolutionary parties continue to advance with the support of the workers and peoples in these countries. The revolutionary movement in India is steadily gaining strength, forcing the prime minister to say that "We are losing the war with the Maoists." After overthrowing the monarchy and achieving great successes in the legal militant struggles and elections, the revolutionary movement in Nepal is now gearing for the seizure of state power to defend national independence and build socialism.

Crisis Generates Resistance

After two decades of blabbering about the “end of history,” the imperialists and their paid propagandists are being put to shame by the perseverance of ordinary workers and people in revolutionary struggle in order to collectively and militantly make history, and to put an end to such a backward and moribund system as imperialism.

All the struggles of the workers and peoples against imperialism and reaction are contributory to the relentless advance towards a new and better world of national independence, democracy, development, social justice and peace. We call on the workers and peoples of the world to intensify their struggles against imperialist plunder and wars of aggression and open the way to socialism!

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The Facts against Psywar Intrigues

May 7, 2010

As chief political consultant of the Negotiating Panel of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP), I am well informed about the revolutionary position of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), the New People's Army and the NDFP as well as the position of other major political forces in relation to the 2010 elections of the reactionary government.

It is the consistent revolutionary position of the CPP, NPA and NDFP, as well expressed in the recent CPP and NPA anniversary statements, that the 2010 elections are on the whole and in essence a rotten process of a rotten ruling system dominated by the political agents of US imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

The NDFP Negotiating Panel has recently received word from the revolutionary forces of the CPP, NPA and NDFP that they are exceedingly happy that the necessity and objective conditions for waging revolution are further enhanced by the fact that the 2010 elections are manifesting the worst characteristics of the semicolonial and semifeudal system and are generating further political disorder and social turmoil.

They are amused that the poll surveys and the media reports have made an unstable, slothful and massacre-prone underachiever like Noynoy Aquino and a convicted plunderer and ruffian-type like Erap Estrada as the frontrunners in the presidential derby and that the Arroyo regime is still desperately maneuvering either to stay in power through failure of elections or choose the next president through manipulation of the vote count.

By manipulating the vote count through automation and/or manual count, the Arroyo regime can install as the next president either its own bet Gibo Teodoro or Noynoy Aquino who is the favorite choice of the US country team (including the US ambassador, political officer and the mission chiefs of the AID, CIA, DIA and JUSMAG) and the Makati Business Club. One more bad president will further damn the ruling system and further incite the people to wage armed revolution.

Regarding such patriotic and progressive forces as Makabayan and some partylist groups, everyone knows that the CPP, NPA and NDFP

Crisis Generates Resistance

regard them as independent legal forces striving heroically to carry forward the national and democratic rights and interests of the Filipino people through the electoral form of struggle. The revolutionary forces and the broad masses of the people appreciate them as exceptional and different from the traditional politicians of the ruling system.

As a matter of public knowledge, I am aware that the bilateral alliance between Makabayan and the Nacionalista Party continues on the basis of the platform of land reform and rural development, industrial development and job generation, respect for human rights, indemnification of victims of human rights violations under the Marcos regime, protection of the environment, negotiations for a just peace, review of the Visiting Forces Agreement and other unequal agreements and independent foreign policy.

Brigadier General Francisco Cruz, chief of the AFP civil relations service, and retired police general Rodolfo Boogie Mendoza are spreading psywar intrigues and telling lies whenever they and their political masters invent stories to put the revolutionary forces at odds with the legal progressive forces and to counterpoise the central leadership of the revolutionary forces against a mere political refugee and long-disemployed teacher like me. In the days to come, the counterrevolutionary propagandists are expected to spew out more intrigues and lies calculated to favor certain parties and candidates and attack others.

I assure the two psywar intriguers and their political masters that I have the highest respect for the central leadership of the CPP, the national command of the NPA and the national council of the NDFP, which are all based in the Philippines. It is known to the public that I enjoy the trust and confidence of the revolutionary forces. They continue to let me serve the Filipino people as the chief political consultant of the NDFP in peace negotiations with the reactionary Manila government.

The broad masses of the Filipino people condemn the attempts of the most reactionary politicians and their military minions to discredit the Makabayan and progressive partylist groups by Red-baiting them and witch hunting them as communists and self-contradictorily maligning them as being unprincipled for engaging in alliance tactics. These united front tactics allow them to retain their integrity, independence and initiative as patriotic and progressive forces and to facilitate and amplify their access to the people in their millions.

The Facts against Psywar Intrigues

The anti-communist propaganda is calculated to pave the way for cheating the progressive forces and their allies and cutting down their votes. The impending electoral fraud at their expense will only further discredit the ruling system and will further justify the people's determination to intensify the revolutionary armed struggle. Definitely, the 2010 elections cannot be a way for any significant beneficial change. They are a device of the ruling system for deceiving the people and suppressing their will and voice.

The CPP, NPA and NDFP have always openly expressed their contempt for the entire ruling system of big compradors and landlords and their resolve to carry forward the people's war for national liberation and democracy. They are confident that the ever worsening crisis will continue to afflict the ruling system. The crisis will put the next president in serious trouble and compel him either to negotiate peace with the revolutionary forces or escalate the armed counterrevolution in a monstrous and self-defeating way.

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On the Aftermath of the 2010 Elections

Interview by D. L. Mondelo, *Bulatlat* Correspondent

May 22, 2010

1. What can you say about the conduct of the 2010 elections?

JMS: The conduct of the 2010 elections shows the rottenness of the US-dominated ruling system of big compradors and landlords. It was a process dominated by the coalitions, parties and candidates of the reactionary ruling classes. Beforehand, it excluded the leaders of the working people who were repressed or who were without campaign funds. It was merely a personality-based contest of the political agents of the same exploiting classes.

They did not offer any strong differences in terms of program. They mouthed slogans against poverty and corruption and the need for change. But they said nothing about overcoming the three monsters of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism which exploit, impoverish and oppress the people. They gave no serious attention to the worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system.

The bilateral which Noalliance of Makabayan and the Nacionalista Party (NP) put forward a common program for land reform, food self-reliance and rural development, expansion of domestic manufacturing and job opportunities, respect for human rights, peace negotiations, ecological protection, review of the Visiting Forces Agreement and independent foreign policy. But the NP downplayed the program.

The biggest winners in the elections were those who attacked the hated Arroyo regime and who benefited most from the biggest collection of campaign money from the big foreign and local businessmen. At the beginning of the campaign, the Liberal Party pretended to rely on piso-piso contributions but it eventually collected and used the biggest amount of campaign money from big businessmen, thus surpassing the Nacionalista Party in spending.

The unbelievably large leads of Noynoy Aquino over Estrada and Villar have aroused the inquiries into whether the election results were preprogrammed. There are reports that the foreign controllers

Crisis Generates Resistance

of the automated system and the Kamag-anak Inc. were able to pre-program the results of the presidential and vice presidential elections. Complaints against poll irregularities are widespread and cast doubts on the veracity of the vote count

2. Can you explain further the victory of Noynoy Aquino?

Let us take in chronological order the factors that allowed Noynoy Aquino to get ahead of his principal rivals, especially Villar who appeared to be the No. 1 presidential candidate before Cory Aquino died and before Noynoy decided to run for the presidency.

Noynoy Aquino had a clever and agile set of propagandists who had a clear strategic line. To obscure his involvement in the Hacienda Luisita massacre and his palaboy record as a non-achiever in the Lower House and Senate, he was touted as the upright heir of his parents and as a moral crusader against corruption and he attacked the corruption of the Arroyo regime in order to ride on the widespread and bitter anti-Arroyo sentiment of the people.

Villar did not attack Arroyo in a strong way and became vulnerable to the Villaroyo line or charge of being the secret candidate of Arroyo. In the early part of April, the results of two major survey polls done by firms owned and controlled by Aquino relatives and friends were accordingly used to bring down Villar in the mass media. The precipitous decline of Villar was further aggravated subsequently by the attacks from Estrada and Enrile about the 2007 initial public offering of the shares of stocks of the Villar real estate company.

Of all the reactionary parties, the Liberal Party raised the biggest amount of campaign money to surpass the volume of pro-Villar commercials in both TV and radio and other forms of propaganda. The Villar money was eventually no match to the contributions from Razon, Pangilinan, Ayala and other bigshots of the Makati Business Club and from the foreign big businessmen. The Arroyo couple did not deliver to the Lakas presidential candidate the money that they had collected for the campaign.

There are indications that Noynoy Aquino was able to take incredibly big leads over Estrada and Villar because of preprogramming of the vote count. This is the biggest possible form of cheating and the most difficult to prove in contrast to the anomalous shading of the ovals before and during the elections in specific localities. The automated

electoral system does not prevent the cheating tactics of the past but in fact allows cheating in a bigger and faster way.

3. What did the electoral campaign and results reveal about the Makabayan and the progressive partylist groups?

Makabayan and the progressive partylist groups proved themselves outstanding in putting forward the national and democratic demands of the people. They also got far more votes than any of the pseudo-progressive grouplets. Makabayan got nearly ten percent of the actual nationwide votes for each of its two senatorial candidates, Satur Ocampo and Liza Maza. And all together the progressive partylist groups also got nearly ten percent. I believe that Makabayan and the progressive partylist groups had more than 10 percent of the electorate, if not for the vote shaving made by the preprogrammers.

Most of the votes for Villar are equivalent to the basic electoral base of Makabayan and the progressive partylist groups. Definitely, Villar benefited more from the NP-Makabayan alliance than Makabayan did. But by his refusal to denounce the Arroyo regime as strongly as did Aquino and Estrada, Villar prejudiced not only himself but also his Makabayan teammates. It prevented the Makabayan senatorial candidates from benefiting from the anti-Arroyo sentiment and increasing their votes beyond their basic electoral base.

However, the progressive partylist groups remain a significant bloc with a high potential as a swing force within the reactionary congress. Makabayan could have been a more effective force had it been able to build itself as a party from top to bottom, with organs, units and candidates at every level long before the elections. Before the elections, Makabayan had limited capacity for negotiating with major parties. It was limited to pushing only two senatorial candidates and some candidates here and there at lower levels when it made an alliance with the NP.

The NP was publicly known as the only major party willing to have an alliance and share campaign resources. But its leadership obviously monopolized decisions over the downplaying of the program, the strategy of the campaign, the deployment of resources and other important matters. If it had a strong organization of its own, Makabayan could have been more assertive and could have fared better in an alliance with the NP.

Crisis Generates Resistance

While Makabayan had difficulties in ensuring the election of its two senatorial candidates, the progressive partylist groups had far better chances in having more than ten of its nominees elected as members of Congress than Makabayan. But it is highly probable that the pre-programmers of the results of the elections were determined to cut down the number of winners among the nominees of the progressive partylist groups.

During the electoral campaign, barefaced anti-communists and the pseudo-progressives tried to Red bait and equate Makabayan and the progressive partylist groups with the CPP. And after the elections, they would mock the CPP as having failed to make any big electoral advance. The public know that revolutionary forces are not equivalent to any electoral party. They measure their success in terms of increasing the revolutionary mass base and armed strength in the people's war and not in terms of taking seats within the reactionary government.

4. What do you expect of the presidency of Benigno Aquino Jr.?

JMS: The Aquino regime will pursue basically the same exploitative and oppressive policies dictated to the Arroyo regime by US imperialism. It will not solve but will aggravate the problems of the Filipino people, such as foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

The Aquino regime will continue to carry out liberalization, privatization, deregulation, curtailment of social rights, reduction of social services and increased taxation at the expense of the people under the US-dictated policy of free market globalization. US troops will continue to maintain forward stations and engage in military intervention under the pretext of combating terrorism. The Aquino regime will continue the US-dictated Oplan Bantay Laya under a new name and will generate a new wave of human rights violations

US and foreign banks and corporations will continue to extract superprofits and plunder the country. The Aquino regime will be grossly incapable of stopping the widening trade and budgetary deficits and the mounting debt burden. The fiscal and sovereign debt crisis will shake the Philippine economy from the base to the rafter and will be used by the foreign banks and corporations to further bend the Philippines.

As during the Cory Aquino administration, the Kamag-Anak Inc. will be at the head of big landlord and big comprador operations. While the

regime might still tout a bogus land reform program, the Cojuangco-Aquinos intend to use layers of corporations to frustrate land reform in Hacienda Luisita and other landed estate. They are poised to benefit greatly from the corrupt practices of the high bureaucrat and big comprador.

The Aquino regime will try to broaden its support from various reactionary parties in Congress, including the Lakas-Kampi party of Arroyo. But the worsening socioeconomic crisis of the ruling system will tend to intensify the political contradictions among the reactionaries. There will be rising waves of legal mass protests and revolutionary resistance by the broad masses of the people. Ever aggravating the basic problems of the Filipino people, the Aquino regime will use brute force in a futile attempt to suppress the resistance of the people

5. Would the Aquino regime pursue peace negotiations with the revolutionary forces represented by the National Front of the Philippines?

JMS: It may or may not. It remains to be seen whether it is seriously interested in peace negotiations. It can easily pretend to be for peace negotiations like the Arroyo regime did. But it can set preconditions and use various tactics in order to avoid complying with The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992 and the subsequent agreements and thereby prevent the peace negotiations from addressing the roots of armed conflict through, social, economic and political reforms.

The same military hawks and clerico-fascists who undermined and hampered peace negotiations with the NDFP during the time of Arroyo are now with the Aquino regime. The puppet president and his security advisers get guidance from the US security policy of counterinsurgency and anti-terrorism so-called and take detailed instructions from various US agencies represented in the US country team.

I will not be surprised if instead of agreeing to resume the peace negotiations, comply with the existing agreements and begin concentrated negotiations on social and economic reforms the Aquino regime would set preconditions like indefinite ceasefire and front-loading the end of hostilities in vainly seeking the self-disintegration and pacification of the revolutionary movement.

According to the US Counterinsurgency Guide, the policy dictate of the US is for the puppet government to disarm, dismantle and reintegrate the revolutionary forces or in other words to destroy, coopt or reduce them to irrelevance or inconsequentiality. The US imperialists

Crisis Generates Resistance

and their puppets conjure the illusion of peace negotiations at the national level if only to push further sham localized peace talks with their own agents and undertake palliative or band-aid measures in localities in order to deceive the people and to escalate military campaigns of suppression.

The imperialists and their puppets are also trying a new tack like pacifying or appeasing the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and other Moro revolutionary groups with foreign funds in order to unleash more military forces against the revolutionary forces of the NDFP. But the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army have already issued comprehensive statements for advancing the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in the people's war within the next five years.

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ILPS Condemns the Israeli Barbaric Attack on the Freedom Flotilla Carrying Humanitarian Aid to Gaza⁷²

June 1, 2010

In the strongest terms, we the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) condemn as a crime against humanity the barbaric attack by the Israeli navy on the Freedom Flotilla of six boats from several countries, with more than 700 unarmed people on board carrying 10,000 tons of humanitarian aid to Gaza. Reports say that at least 19 people have been killed and scores wounded in the attack. The boat passengers include parliamentarians, trade unionists, journalists, academics, religious leaders, social activists, the elderly, women and children.

The Freedom Flotilla was bringing much needed supplies of medicine, food and building materials to the people of Gaza long besieged by Israeli military forces, with the support of the US and Egypt. The Freedom Flotilla was organized by the Free Gaza Movement together with a number of human rights organizations, including the Turkish Relief Foundation (IHH), the Perdana Global Peace Organization from Malaysia, the European Campaign to End the Siege of Gaza, and the Swedish and Greek Boat to Gaza among others.

Aside from their humanitarian objective, the organizers of Freedom Flotilla wanted to make manifest their condemnation of the economic blockade on Gaza that has been imposed by Israel for the past four years. The blockade has brought terrible suffering on the 1.5 million Palestinians in Gaza, a situation described by UN agencies as a humanitarian crisis.

According to Free Gaza Movement, Israel has limited fuel to run the power station putting much of Gaza in darkness. Israeli authorities allow just enough trucks coming into Gaza to prevent total starvation. The Egyptian government in collaboration with the Israeli-US policy of blockading Palestinians is building an underground steel wall

⁷² Statement issued as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

to prevent people in Gaza from bringing in vitally needed supplies through tunnels.

The US and other western imperialist states share the blame for their limitless support to the rogue Zionist state. The United Nations has consistently shown its utter inutility in stopping Israel from repeatedly committing war crimes and crimes against humanity. The imperialists have used their veto power to block any resolution condemning Israeli crimes and calling for sanctions. Unflinching imperialist support for Israel has encouraged the Zionist state to carry out atrocities with impunity.

Already the European Union has come out with a lame statement calling for an investigation into the incident. Investigations of this sort are useless and have only resulted in whitewash and Israel eventually getting off the hook.

What will put an end to Israeli war crimes is for the Palestinian people to throw off the yoke of Israeli occupation through revolution. The Palestinian people deserve the support of the people of the world in their just struggle for national liberation, democracy, peace and a better life. We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, call on all its member-organizations and all other forces in the world to support the Palestinian people.

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On the Launching of *Ka Bel: The Life and Struggle of Crispin Beltran*⁷³

June 4, 2010

On behalf of the International League of Peoples' Struggle, I wish to express high appreciation and deep gratitude to Ina Alleco R. Silverio for writing the biography *KA BEL: The Life & Struggle of Crispin Beltran* and the Southern Voices Printing Press for publishing it.

We share with you the joy of launching the book at the Bantayong mga Bayani Auditorium in Metro Manila. The book is a meaningful celebration of the exemplary life and great legacy of an outstanding leader of the working class and the Filipino people.

Ina Alleco R. Silverio is highly qualified to write the book. She is an excellent writer who is skilled at dramatizing the nodal events in the life of a humble and yet extraordinary achiever in the service of the proletariat and the people. But even more importantly she worked for and with Ka Bel for many years and was close to his family and many comrades. She is able to present competently and intimately how Ka Bel lived up to his principles.

She succeeds in depicting how Ka Bel resolutely fought against the powerful forces of oppression and exploitation, how he suffered the conditions of the exploited masses and the harsh punitive actions taken against him by the oppressors and how he and the people achieved significant victories in the struggle for national liberation, democracy and social justice against the imperialists and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

We recommend the book for reading by everyone interested in understanding both the decades of Philippine history in which Ka Bel made outstanding contributions to the labor movement and the revolutionary movement of the Filipino people and the current conditions of worsening crisis which require the revolutionary principles and militancy of Ka Bel for the solution of the basic problems of the people and the full attainment of national and social liberation.

⁷³ Message issued as Chairperson of the ILPS.

Crisis Generates Resistance

The International League of Peoples' Struggle is calling on all its member-organizations to promote the book and organize book launches in various countries. The League is ever committed to honoring Ka Bel as its first Chairperson and to propagating his revolutionary legacy of struggle against imperialism and all reaction. Ever shining is his devotion to the historic mission of the working class to build socialism, to the anti-imperialist people's solidarity and to proletarian internationalism.

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On the incoming Aquino Regime

Interview by Ilang-Ilang Quijano, *Pinoy Weekly*

June 7, 2010

1. Why do you think Noynoy Aquino won in the last election?

JMS: Noynoy Aquino won because prior to the elections he had been chosen by the US imperialists and the local ruling classes of big compradors and landlords to be the new president of the ruling system. Despite his pretense at relying on one-peso donations from the common people, it was the big foreign and Filipino businessmen that poured the massive financial support to his campaign.

In the course of the campaign, Noynoy surpassed Manny Villar in collecting and spending the funds for various types of propaganda. The big mass media supported Noynoy. His aides were clever at propaganda. To obscure his vacuous track record and lack of accomplishment, his media handlers emphasized the notion that he is the spotless heir of his father and mother, and the attack on the corruption of the Arroyo regime. In this regard, the Villaroyo phrase attacking Villar as the agent of Arroyo took effect because Villar did not attack Arroyo.

There are also indications of preprogramming done in the automated electoral system of Smartmatic, which is controlled by the US and its agents, to ensure the victory of Aquino and Binay. It is obvious that a large number of votes were shaved off from Manny Villar and Loren Legarda. It is a case of overkill. Their sudden fall is unbelievable. There are reports that six weeks before election day, high representatives of the CIA, the Aquino family and the Arroyo regime decided the preprogramming of the results of the elections. The conversation between Pinky Aquino-Abellada and Mrs. Arroyo had paved the way for this arrangement.

2. At this stage it is said that the public sentiment is still optimistic about the incoming administration. Will this optimism last?

JMS: There is optimism in the public sentiment because the detestable Arroyo regime is over and the people are hoping that Aquino would fulfil his big promises such as making Gloria M. Arroyo and

Crisis Generates Resistance

her cohorts accountable for the numerous crimes of corruption and violations of human rights.

Various parties and organizations are pushing Noynoy to fulfil his promises. Even the National Democratic Front of the Philippines issued a statement challenging the incoming Aquino administration to fulfil its most important promises during its first 100 days to improve the atmosphere and course for the resumption of peace talks between the NDFP and the reactionary government.

If within the first 100 days Noynoy would fail to fulfil any important promise and the crisis in the country would continue to worsen, the broad masses of the Filipino people would hate the Aquino regime and Noynoy himself for being a traitor and deceiver of the people. It would then be evident that Aquino is a dummy of the collaboration between the US imperialists and local ruling classes, including the Arroyo and Aquino families. It is publicly known that these two families have long been in connivance with each other.

3. How can the mass movement ensure that Gloria M. Arroyo is held accountable for her crimes against the people?

JMS: The mass movement has to be vigilant, prompt and militant. Always remember that Arroyo and Aquino belong to the exploiting classes. They are rivals in the contest to acquire more power and wealth. But they collaborate in confronting the aspirations and interest of the masses. They can unite in deceiving the oppressed masses and in suppressing the mass movement against exploitation, oppression and government corruption.

Even as Arroyo is no longer president, she still has power. She is the president of Lakas-KAMPI. She has made sure that her minions control the Supreme Court, the Sandigangbayan and the Ombudsman and some big cases against her have been dismissed. She has made sure that that Lakas-KAMPI still has many governors and mayors. She has made sure that she has a direct share of power. She heads the Lakas-KAMPI bloc in the House of Representatives.

Arroyo can try to make herself or one of her stooges the speaker of the House or she can strike an agreement with Aquino that one of his cohorts becomes the speaker if Arroyo is not made accountable for her crimes and in return Aquino is not put under threat of impeachment in the future. The mass movement can find out the alignment

and realignment of political forces inside Congress because there are progressive members of the House.

Most important of all is the firm stand of the mass movement against the crimes of Arroyo and the vigorous efforts to hold her accountable. It should watch and fight the probable connivance between the Aquinos and the Arroyos. Aquino should be held accountable if he does not fulfil his promise to run after and prosecute Arroyo. The mass movement should also be watchful of the new wave of crimes that will certainly arise from the new regime.

4. Aquino promised that he would act on the most outstanding cases of violations of human rights. What do you think of this promise of his?

JMS: Let us see whether Aquino is capable of fulfilling his promises. If he is serious, he can do a lot within his first 100 days to render justice in the cases of abduction, illegal detention, torture and extrajudicial killings. These cases are very well documented. It is fine if he can do something good.

But there are obvious reasons that he would renege on his promises. Noynoy is possibly afraid of the whole or a section of the reactionary army and police. He may not be capable of thinking and doing a reshuffling of the military and police officers in order to create a favorable condition for obtaining justice in the many cases of violations of human rights during the time of Arroyo.

But there may not even be a question of Noynoy's fear of the military and police. Despite his declared dislike for the violations of human rights, what might still prevail over him would be his allegiance to the greedy and brutal character of the reactionary state and his class of big comprador-landlords, as well as his obedience to the policies and orders of the US imperialists on the use of the military, police and paramilitary to suppress the revolutionary forces and the legal democratic forces.

5. Some individuals in the Aquino camp were active in Red-baiting during the election campaign. Is this an indication of what the situation of human rights and peace talks will be under the Aquino administration?

JMS: The active and gross red-baiting done by his prominent henchmen during the campaign is a strong indication or clear signal of what would be the policy of Aquino on the issue of human rights and peace.

Crisis Generates Resistance

Aquino himself indicated in his speech before the foreign correspondents that he does not need peace negotiations because he could handle the pacification and suppression of the revolutionary movement through the simultaneous use of military force and the so-called four-part policy of 1) good governance, 2) delivery of social services, 3) economic reconstruction and development and 4) security reforms.

This reveals that he was chosen to be president by the US imperialists and big comprador-landlords because they saw in the Hacienda Luisita massacre and the subsequent killings in Tarlac, Noynoy's penchant and capacity for violence against the toiling masses and those branded as communists and thus, he can be relied upon to enforce the so-called anti-terrorist policy and, in particular, the US Guide to Counterinsurgency.

There are indications that the human rights situation will become worse than during the times of Marcos, Cory Aquino and Arroyo. There are also indications that the new regime will do away with peace talks so that Noynoy can carry out the orders of the US imperialists. It is likely that he will be driven by his penchant for the use of violence to preserve the power and wealth of his family and his class.

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On Election by Preprogramming and other Matters related to Aquino⁷⁴

June 12, 2010

I believe that the new reactionary regime headed by Noynoy Aquino is mendaciously and immorally founded on at least three things: first, false election through preprogramming by the foreign-controlled automated electoral system without the required safeguards; second, his false promise of eradicating corruption without doing away with the systemic collaboration of the foreign monopoly capitalists and the local big comprador-landlords like him; and third, his false promise to hold Gloria M. Arroyo accountable for crimes of corruption and human rights violations.

The automated electoral system was characterized by anomalies and fraud. These were enabled by the foreign control of Smartmatic that is offensive to any sense of national sovereignty, the discarding of the system's security safeguards and the super-quick secretive reconfiguration and replacement of 76,000 memory cards in a few days before the election, without any impartial entity observing.

My informant regarding the conversation between Gloria M. Arroyo and Pinky Aquino-Abellada to pave the way for the meeting of high representatives of the US Central Intelligence Agency, Aquino family and the Arroyo regime is willing to come out in the open and reveal the time and place of the Pinky-Gloria meeting in due time after making provisions for the safety of his family.

Consequent to the reaction of Pinky Aquino-Abellada, wife of Manolo Abellada, the chief executive officer of the Philippine Multi-Media Systems, Inc., to my interview with *Pinoy Weekly*, I urged my informant to come out into the open immediately, despite his previous precondition on me that I should not reveal or indicate his identity.

The informant reminded me of the serious risks to him from the three powerful forces involved in the manipulation of the automated electoral system and he said, "I do not want myself and my family to suffer the same fate of Gregan Cardeño and Philippine Army Captain

⁷⁴ Statement issued as Chief Political Consultant of the NDFP Negotiating Panel.

Crisis Generates Resistance

Javier Ignacio, who had gotten entangled in high security operations of the US government in the Philippines.”

My informant has actually given me much more information than what I have said in my interview with *Pinoy Weekly*. But in the meantime, I am obliged to respect the wish of my informant to secure the safety of his family before coming out into the open.

I am told by some people that Noynoy Aquino is not interested in the resumption of peace negotiations between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) because he is under orders of the US to pursue its so-called counterinsurgency plan and because he has a vindictive character as shown in the Hacienda Luisita massacre and subsequent killings in Tarlac.

But there are certain probable reasons for Noynoy Aquino to be interested in peace negotiations. These are the ever worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system, the intensification of people's war and the rise of the mass movement. In this regard, the NDFP has announced its willingness to resume peace negotiations.

In such negotiations, the NDFP can regard Noynoy Aquino as the de facto president of the GRP even as his regime in particular is immorally founded on lies and like the previous Arroyo regime is hellbent on using both military force and certain deceptive tactics in a futile attempt to destroy, coopt or render the revolutionary movement inconsequential. History teaches us that Mao Zedong could negotiate with Chiang Kai-shek and even agree with him on truce and alliance in the interest of the people.

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On Noynoy Aquino and related Issues

Interview by Roselle Valerio, *Liberation International*

June 15, 2010

1. Noynoy Aquino seems to play the teflon game and ignore what you say against him. But he lets others hit you and make ad hominem attacks against you. Are you not afraid of taking on someone like Aquino who has just been elected supposedly by a large vote and has a powerful propaganda machinery that can be used against you?

JMS: Why should I be afraid of what he can do against me? I have fought presidents before, from Marcos to Arroyo. I should be more courageous and confident in opposing someone who is not known for being an achiever within his own ruling system, who has just benefited from electronic preprogramming, who is now running against himself and his promises and who is now faced with a severe financial and economic crisis, especially the public debt crisis.

I am not awed or terrified by the official proclamation of the national canvassers that Aquino won 40 percent of the vote. Assuming but not granting that he got such vote, there are 60 percent of the voters who did not vote for him. The potential for popular opposition to the new regime is high because of its reactionary position and servility to the US, because of the false promises made during the electoral campaign and because of the ever worsening crisis of the ruling system.

2. What are your main points and evidence against the automated electoral system? Why did you give credence to your informant regarding the conversation between Pinky Aquino-Abellada and Gloria M. Arroyo?

My main points against the automated electoral system are the following: First, it is foreign-controlled, with the US in control of the Dominion software and source code and the use of the shady Smartmatic corporation and third country agents. Second, such gross anomalies like the removal of safeguards, the reconfiguration and replacement of 76,000 memory cards in a few days before the

Crisis Generates Resistance

elections paved the way for preprogramming at the highest level and pre-shading and other forms of cheating at the lower levels.

The evidence for my two main points is abundant. It comes from highly respected computer experts. Regarding the conversation between Pinky Aquino Abellada and Gloria M. Arroyo related to the preprogramming of electoral results in favor of Noynoy Aquino, I gave credence to my informant because he gave me credible information. The full extent of the information is far more than I have been allowed to reveal by the informant. I must respect his request that he should be given sufficient time to secure the safety of his family.

3. Don't you think that Noynoy really won the elections because he was able to capitalize on the names of his late parents, he used effectively the anti-corruption line against the Arroyo regime, he had a good propaganda crew and he had a super-abundance of campaign funds from big foreign and local businessmen, like his Cojuangco relatives, the Razons, the Lopezes, Manny Pangilinan and many others in the Makati Business Club?

It is possible that Noynoy Aquino won even without the preprogramming. Estrada also attacked Arroyo but had far less campaign funds and had to overcome a previous criminal conviction for plunder. Villar had huge funding but he did not attack Arroyo and made himself vulnerable to the Villarroyo line of attack. But it was the preprogramming that gave Aquino unbelievable leads over Estrada and Villar.

There was overkill in reducing the votes for Estrada and there was more of such in the case of Villar and his vice presidential teammate. The latter two fell abruptly within the last month of the campaign as if they had committed a heinous crime. The programmers decided to give Aquino an incredibly large lead over Estrada and Villar supposedly to discourage protests. The preprogrammers were careless to make Estrada run second to Aquino even in San Juan, Rizal.

4. Is it not your main view that Noynoy Aquino did not really win the election, if not for the preprogramming? On the presumption that he is not the legitimate president of the Government of the Republic of the Philippines, should the Negotiating Panel of National Democratic Front of the Philippines (GRP) still negotiate with the GRP Panel that he appoints?

JMS: Let me clarify that I have always said that because of the preprogramming Aquino got incredibly large leads over his rivals. I never said that he won only because of the preprogramming. Estrada has expressed disbelief at the lead taken by Aquino over him. Other presidential candidates like Eddie Villanueva, Jamby Madrigal and Nick Perlas have also complained that votes were shaved off from them.

The national canvassers, who merely canvassed the certificates provided by the Comelec, have proclaimed Noynoy Aquino as president to comply with the law and maintain the stability of the reactionary government. Electoral protests are supposed to be presented later to the Electoral Tribunal if the electronic data have not been zeroed out. I presume that despite the questions regarding electoral fraud the NDFP can regard Aquino as the de facto GRP president and allow its negotiating panel to meet with the GRP panel appointed by him.

5. You are known to have said that Villar was the presidential candidate relatively better than Noynoy Aquino. Why? Did your comparison of the two mean your endorsement of the ruling system and its electoral process? Do you regret ever having said something favorable to Villar?

JMS: I referred to Villar as relatively better than Aquino because he had agreed to a bilateral alliance with Makabayan on a nationalist and progressive program and accommodated Satur Ocampo and Liza Maza as guest candidates in the Nacionalista Party senatorial slate. I do not regret having ever said something like this in favor of Villar. But certainly I regret that he did not play up the common program with Makabayan, that all of a sudden he accommodated Bongbong Marcos in the NP senatorial slate and that he refused to attack Arroyo. Any alliance carries risks. That's why progressive forces need to maintain their independence and initiative.

When I was asked to compare Villar and Aquino, I never lost sight of the fact that they belonged to the same exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. I did not mean to endorse the ruling system and its electoral process when I said something favorable about Villar. I can compare one reactionary politician to another as better without submitting myself to the reactionary ruling system and certainly without saying that the relatively better reactionary politician has become a revolutionary or someone I am responsible for.

Crisis Generates Resistance

6. What do you think is the first big test for Aquino as the new GRP president?

JMS: He promised to send Gloria M. Arroyo to prison for her crimes of corruption and human rights violations. He benefited in a big way politically by making the promise. If he fulfils his promise soon enough, he will be commended and congratulated. But he will come out as a big liar and deceiver of the people if he does not fulfil his promise at the same speed as Arroyo caused the arrest and detention of Estrada for plunder in 2001. The broad masses of the people will be outraged as soon as new signs of the collaboration between Aquino and Arroyo emerge.

7. Do you think that Aquino will seriously pursue peace negotiations with the NDFP? Is seriousness in peace negotiations an important test for Aquino? Will Aquino release political prisoners as goodwill measure and as rendering justice to the victims and their families? What do you expect from Teresita Deles as his presidential adviser on the peace process?

JMS: Of course, seriousness in peace negotiations is an important test for Aquino. But during the electoral campaign, Noynoy Aquino made a 4-point speech on security and peace, which echoed the US Counterinsurgency Guide and presumed peace negotiations as a dispensable tool for destroying, coopting or rendering the revolutionary forces inconsequential.

There is yet no sign that Aquino is serious in pursuing peace negotiations with the NDFP. It remains to be seen whether his regime is willing to comply with The Hague Joint Declaration and other major agreements. Teresita Deles used to be Gloria M. Arroyo's presidential adviser on the peace process. The GRP-NDFP peace negotiations would not move forward if she would recycle the same positions and tactics used during the time of Arroyo.

Human rights organizations, religious groups, families and others expect that Aquino would release political prisoners, like his mother did in 1986 and also Ramos in 1992. The release of political prisoners will certainly help to improve the atmosphere for realizing justice for the victims of human rights violations and for resuming the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations.

8. Is there any hope of land reform under the term of Aquino?

JMS: Aquino's dislike for land reform is well known. It might be one of the reasons why he would not like the peace negotiations to resume and lead to the negotiation of a comprehensive agreement on social and economic reforms, whose main content is genuine and thoroughgoing land reform linked to national industrialization. He might have a strong preference for keeping the CARPER so that landlords can prevent land reform by demanding fair market value for their land or resort to the stock distribution option scheme as was the case with Hacienda Luisita.

Aquino has made it obvious that he will let his family use the time until 2014 for Hacienda Luisita, Inc. to be encumbered further by debts and other obligations to other Cojuangco corporations, to reclassify parts of the land and transfer them to other Cojuangco corporations, to lay off the farmworkers and buy off the few remaining small shareholders in the Hacienda Luisita. Hellbent on preventing land reform in Hacienda Luisita, Aquino has no motivation to carry out land reform elsewhere in the country.

9. What happens if the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations do not go forward?

JMS: The US and Aquino regime will intensify the US-directed military campaign of suppression against the people and revolutionary forces. This will be far more vicious and far more brutal than the Oplan Bantay Laya and will result in grosser and more systematic human rights violations on a wide scale. We have seen in the 2004 Hacienda Luisita massacre and the further killings in Tarlac a preview of what the incoming administration is capable of doing.

In response, as the revolutionary leading organs have already announced, the revolutionary forces and the people will conduct intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on an ever widening and deepening mass base, and advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in the people's war. They see in the ever worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system ever more favorable conditions for waging people's war.

10. How bad is the financial and economic crisis for the new regime?

JMS: The public debt at the beginning of the Arroyo regime was 2.2 trillion pesos. Now, it is more than double at 4.5 trillion pesos. The Aquino regime is immediately confronted with a public debt crisis.

Crisis Generates Resistance

The trade and budgetary deficits continue to rise. Domestic and foreign borrowing is becoming more and more problematic. The regime will impose a heavier tax burden on the people in a long depressed economy, with ever rising unemployment and ever rising costs of living.

Social discontent will sharpen in the forthcoming six years. There is no way out of the crisis but revolutionary resistance by the people. The imperialist countries no less are afflicted by crisis. Since 2008, large amounts of public money have been used to bail out banks and big corporations but these have been used only to make financial profits rather than to generate production and employment. Now, they are imposing austerity measures on the working people. They are pushing the people to rise up and resist.

11. Are you not bothered by Noynoy Aquino supporters making ad hominem attacks on you as a frustrated Great Leader, an armchair revolutionary and as someone whose feet are off the ground?

JMS: I laugh off such invectives because they are both flagrantly stupid and funny. I take them in stride. The worst of invectives are always being flung at me by spin doctors, paid hacks and military psy-war experts. When I die, I shall leave a legacy more cherished than that of all puppet presidents who are corrupt and brutal. For advocating national and social liberation, my writings will be studied seriously and will weigh more heavily than all the propaganda of the reactionary state and its hangers-on.

Indeed, I have long retired from marching and sharing weal and woe with a platoon of the New People's Army as I often did from 1969 to 1977. But my forced exile does not make any puppet president or any of his subalterns more revolutionary than I am. They are the ones who are stuck on their armchairs and perform reactionary acts. I know more about the Filipino people and their revolutionary forces than the shortsighted and narrow-minded reactionaries who are focused on oppressing and exploiting the people.

12. What is your perspective?

I will continue to write prose and poems in the service of the Filipino people for as long as I can. I will continue as the chief political consultant of the NDFP Negotiating Panel so long as there are peace negotiations. I will continue as chairperson of the International League

On Noynoy Aquino and related Issues

of Peoples' Struggle. I have more than enough worthwhile activities to attend to, now and in the near future.

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On Current Concerns and Prospects regarding the Aquino Regime⁷⁵

Interview by *Ang Bayan*

June 19, 2010

1. Could you describe in brief the conduct and results of the past reactionary elections? How would you describe the electoral victory of Benigno Aquino III? What was the role in this of the US imperialists (and other key forces) and how would this affect the incoming Aquino regime?

JMS: As a whole, the 2010 elections were dominated by the political leaders, candidates, parties and coalitions of the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. The US had a direct control over the automated electoral system and made sure that Noynoy Aquino was elected president through electronic preprogramming. The biggest US and local businessmen in the Makati Business Club provided huge campaign funds for him. As a consequence, the Aquino regime will serve the interest of the US and the local big comprador-landlords rather than the interest of the Filipino people.

2. What do you think would be the principal differences between the incoming Aquino regime and the outgoing Arroyo regime? What would be the commonalities? What do you think would be the highlights in the next six years under the Aquino regime.

JMS: For a short while, the Aquino regime will try to differentiate itself in appearance from the Arroyo regime and will present itself through sleek propaganda in the Philippine, US and global bourgeois media as more democratic than its predecessor. But it would be essentially a continuation of the Arroyo regime in terms of subservience to the US economic policy of neoliberal globalization and the US policy of so-called anti-terrorism and counterinsurgency, which is outlined by

⁷⁵ Interviewed as Founding Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines and Chief Political Consultant of the National Democratic Front.

Crisis Generates Resistance

the US Counterinsurgency Guide and combines US military intervention and state terrorism.

Like the Arroyo regime, the Aquino regime is set to be a puppet regime of the US, corrupt and brutal. In the next six years, the socio-economic suffering of the people will become intense. The reactionaries themselves will become more divided against each other. Human rights violations will become more gross and systematic than ever before. The oppression and exploitation of the Filipino people will escalate. As a consequence, the conditions will incite the people to wage revolutionary resistance more than ever before.

3. What is your assessment of the seriousness and chances of Noynoy Aquino in carrying out his campaign promise of pursuing criminal charges of corruption against Gloria Arroyo? What would be Arroyo's chances and tactics in fighting off such plans? What would most likely be the role and handling of the US on this matter? What should the people's democratic mass movement do to push the prosecution and eventual punishment of Arroyo?

JMS: The preprogramming of the automated electoral system in favor of Noynoy Aquino would not have been possible without the collaboration of the US, Arroyo ruling clique, the Comelec and the Aquino family. I will not be surprised if so soon in a matter of months it will become publicly evident that Aquino has no intention of fulfilling his campaign promise of pursuing Arroyo with criminal charges of corruption. But if contrary to what I say now, Aquino fulfils his promise of sending Arroyo to prison, then I will be among the first to commend and congratulate him.

There is a definite reasonable standard to apply on the question of Aquino fulfilling his promise to send Gloria M. Arroyo to prison. He will have no excuse for failing to cause her arrest and detention within the span of three months. Arroyo was able to cause the arrest and detention of Estrada for plunder in April 2001, some three months after taking power in late January 2001. As president, Aquino has enough powers to cause a speedy investigation and prosecution of Arroyo, unless he is told by the US to go slow and forget about his promise.

Arroyo still has some significant amount of power and influence. This might be enough to persuade Aquino to collaborate with her. But she does not have enough power to fight and overpower a president determined to send her to prison. As in Taiwan and South Korea, the

US always sides with the new top puppet when this is really determined to send a predecessor to prison on the charge of corruption. It is up to the mass movement to press for the punishment of Arroyo for corruption and to be ready to denounce Aquino when he fails to fulfil his promise within three months.

4. Aquino has announced that he will definitely replace Arroyo-loyalist Gen. Delfin Bangit as the AFP chief-of-staff. How will this affect the fractiousness of the AFP? How much of an influence does Arroyo retain in the AFP? What are Aquino's options to unite the AFP and consolidate it under his new leadership?

JMS: Gen. Delfin Bangit is notorious for being a running dog of Arroyo and for human rights violations. But he is a minor player. As an individual officer, even as chief of staff, he is impotent by law and habit in relation to the new president as commander-in-chief. He is a creature of the command structure. Upon the change of president, Arroyo would have automatically lost a great deal of influence beyond those officers that she has favored and promoted.

In relation to the outgoing president, the incoming president inherits the obedience of the reactionary armed forces. In the case of Aquino, he also gets the advice of former officers loyal to his mother. And he is now consolidating the officers that he considers as most loyal to him. But beneath any apparent unity of the armed forces are the contradictions among the thieving groups and criminal syndicates and among the running dogs of conflicting politicians.

Aquino can increasingly lose his grip on the military when his favoritism offends most officers and men, when he commits his own crimes or abuses of authority and becomes unpopular and isolated within and outside the military and when as a consequence a broad united front of opposition forces become strong and effective against him.

5. How would you picture the contradictions between the Aquino camp and the Arroyo camp vis-a-vis Congress, the Supreme Court and other aspects of the state that the Arroyo camp tries to maintain its hold on, and what effect do you foresee these contradictions would have on the functioning and effectivity of the Aquino regime and the reactionary state? What opportunities does such a situation open for the revolutionary forces?

Crisis Generates Resistance

JMS: There is potential sharpening of contradictions between what you call the Aquino and Arroyo camps. Aquino now might seriously try to cause the arrest and detention of Arroyo on the charge of corruption or plunder. Arroyo might someday find cause to rally her loyalists in the House of Representatives to threaten Aquino with impeachment. The Arroyo appointees in the Supreme Court might make a decision against the Cojuangco-Aquino interest in Hacienda Luisita.

However, do not be too sure about dramatic clashes between the Aquino and Arroyo sides in various branches of the government even as contradictions between both camps may persist. Do not discount the proofs or indications that the Aquino and Arroyo families have already secretly made agreements of convenience during the electoral campaign. These two families have a long history of collaboration. At any rate, Arroyo's remaining power and influence are dwindling. Thus Arroyo would be more inclined to retain as much of these by seeking and making compromises with Aquino.

6. The American Chamber of Commerce (Amcham) and the Joint Foreign Chambers of Commerce in the Philippines and big comprador business groups such as the Makati Business Club and Management Association of the Philippines that have supported the Aquino campaign are now putting their agenda and blueprints forward, including on matters of the government deficit, taxes, investments and workers' wages. How do you see the economic prospects under the Aquino regime vis-a-vis the interests of imperialist and local big business on the one hand and the toiling masses and the Filipino people on the other?

JMS: The incoming Aquino regime follows the US-dictated neoliberal line of denationalization, liberalization, privatization and deregulation at the expense of the working people and the entire nation. Under conditions of a depressed agrarian and underdeveloped economy, the imperialists headed by the US and their big comprador-landlord partners will maintain or raise their profits by pressing down wages and exporting raw materials at a low price and will accumulate and concentrate land in the hands of a few at an accelerated rate.

Despite the depressed condition of the economy, the announced policy of Aquino is to impose new taxes and improve tax collection in view of the bankruptcy of the reactionary government. From year to year, austerity measures will be adopted at the expense of the working

people. The public debt is now 4.5 trillion pesos and debt service has a crippling effect on the state. And yet the reactionary state is bound to escalate military spending and all kinds of counterproductive activities. The public debt will continue to mount because the trade and budgetary deficits are ever growing and new debts are incurred despite more onerous conditions of borrowing.

The toiling masses of workers and peasants and the entire people will suffer increased oppression and exploitation. They will be driven to make demands for the improvement of their living conditions and respect for their national and democratic rights. But the regime is predetermined to be servile to the economic dictates of the US and the exploiting classes and would be predisposed to blame communists for the ills of the rotten ruling system and to unleash state terrorism.

7. The Arroyo clique is now on a propaganda binge to cover up its corruption, gross human rights violations and socioeconomic malaise with false claims of economic progress under its rule and calls for reconciliation under the incoming Aquino regime. It is likely that the Arroyo camp will also be in a fast draw to also expose corruption under the Aquino regime. What are her chances of getting away from the people's historical judgment in much the same way Estrada was allowed to elude justice under the Arroyo regime.

JMS: The economy has deteriorated drastically since the 2001 beginning of the Arroyo rule. There has been no industrialization and land reform. Incomes of the working people and even the middle social strata have gone down in real terms. Poverty has been aggravated. A quick way of indicating the economic deterioration is to mention the fact that the level of public debt rose from 2.2 trillion pesos in 2001 to 4.5 trillion pesos now.

It is a nasty joke on the people for Arroyo to depict as economic growth the heavy electoral spending in the first half of the 2010. The reality of economic deterioration is too harsh and too clear for Arroyo to be able to get away with false claims to bringing about economic progress. Puppet regimes have kept the Philippines backward, agrarian and semifeudal and have always misrepresented consumption driven by foreign and domestic borrowings by the state as real economic growth.

I would expect that as soon as the Aquino regime engages in corruption Arroyo and her followers will expose it, unless the Aquino and

Crisis Generates Resistance

Arroyo followers agree or come to a mode of collaboration and mutual benefit in a new wave of corruption. Like the two previously feuding wings of the Cojuangco clan, the Arroyo and Cojuangco-Aquino families are not beyond reconciling and collaborating. The imprisonment of Arroyo might never happen. Even when it happens as in the case of Estrada, Arroyo would not be at a loss as regards ways of getting off the hook.

8. The return to power of the Aquino-Cojuangco family and the Kamag-anak Inc. fuels speculation that corruption and bureaucrat capitalism will definitely worsen under the Aquino regime. What do you think would be the key issues and tactics in exposing corruption in the incoming regime? Aside from those mentioned, could you identify the biggest comprador-landlords and bureaucrat capitalists who are poised to benefit the most under Aquino's regime?

JMS: The biggest comprador-landlords and bureaucrat capitalists that will benefit from the Aquino regime include the resurgent Kamag-anak Inc. headed by Jose Cojuangco and the business empire of Eduardo Cojuangco and all the other business moguls in the Makati Business Club who contributed heavily to the Aquino campaign fund, like the Ayalas, Lopezes, Razons and Pangilins.

The list of donors and contributions to the Aquino campaign fund is obviously incomplete. Aquino is a liar for claiming to have spent only a little more than 400 million pesos and having for donors only those openly listed. Right from the beginning, his lack of personal integrity and credibility is showing. He is firmly on the path of deceiving and trying to make fools out of the people. This is clear no matter how much the clowns and sycophants try to hype his supposed cleanliness.

On top of the heap of big comprador-landlord families that are poised to benefit from the Aquino regime are the two wings of the Cojuangco clan, previously feuding but now collaborating to enrich themselves further through corrupt practices. From the very beginning of the Aquino regime, Danding Cojuangco is poised to overcome all the claims of the government against the ill-gotten wealth accumulated by him directly as well as put under his name by the fascist dictator Marcos. Is this not corruption on a grand scale now in the making right before our eyes?

It will take a little length of time before more scandalous cases of corruption will arise under the Aquino regime and make the regime

stink to high heavens. Noynoy was lying when he said during the campaign that he could solve the problem of poverty by eliminating or reducing corruption. Corruption and poverty are inherent to the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system that he wants to preserve. Foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism are the causes of poverty and corruption. No amount of crap from any reactionary politician can conceal this fact.

Even if Noynoy Aquino is given the benefit of a doubt, the mass movement must develop enough strength to be able to compel the new regime to cause the arrest and detention of Arroyo and her top criminal accomplices and to get back the ill-gotten wealth of the Marcoses and his big cronies like Eduardo Cojuangco, Lucio Tan, Jose Campos and others. The progressive forces must also be keen at spotting, denouncing and taking action against the new cases of corruption that will occur under Aquino regime.

The people and the broad range of opposition forces must be vigilant and militant in connection with such issues as the aforesaid ill-gotten wealth in previous regimes. There are also giant cases of tax evasion, smuggling and other major economic crimes. There are the backlog cases and there will be new cases involving Noynoy Aquino's giving big deals and privileges to his relatives, friends and other donors to his campaign fund.

Factual and legal researches must be done without let-up so that the opposition forces and the mass movement will be well-equipped in exposing and opposing corruption. There are research organizations, lawyers organizations and civic-spirited organizations concerned with good governance and corruption. They must be mustered to provide facts and support the mass movement. Definitely the mass movement must fight for national liberation and democracy against the imperialists, the local exploiting classes and the high bureaucrats who altogether are culpable for corruption and the poverty of the people.

9. The issue of land reform is one of the critical nagging questions that will continue to be faced by the incoming Aquino regime, considering that Aquino belongs to the Aquino-Cojuangco haciendero clan that has no intention of giving up Hacienda Luisita and has in fact so declared, contrary to Aquino's loose campaign promise to distribute the hacienda land by 2014 (although he also said the problem of HLI's debts that are bigger than its assets has to be solved first). What are

Crisis Generates Resistance

Aquino's options in facing the widespread demand for land reform, including Hacienda Luisita? In the face of Aquino's expected failure (or more, exactly, lack of real interest) to implement land reform in the country, do you see any prospect in regard to the rise of the peasant movement's demand for genuine land reform?

JMS: Noynoy Aquino has made clear that there will be no land reform in Hacienda Luisita until 2014. He wants the stock distribution option swindle to continue. Quite obviously he is in agreement with the scheme of his family to use the next four years to further encumber Hacienda Luisita, Inc. with debts and other obligations to other Cojuangco corporations, to reclassify parts of the hacienda and transfer them to other Cojuangco corporations, to lay off all or most of those farmworkers and tenants who previously agreed to the stock distribution option and to buy off the minor shares of any remaining farmworkers.

Noynoy Aquino wants to cast away the decision of the Agrarian Reform Council under Arroyo that rejected the stock distribution option and put Hacienda Luisita under land reform. He is also bullying the Supreme Court in order to soften up the Arroyo appointees into consenting to uphold the SDO scheme. The position of Aquino on the issues of land reform and the Hacienda Luisita massacre shows that he has no interest in genuine and thoroughgoing land reform under his own nose and anywhere else.

Aquino wants to retain CARPER in order to allow landlords to sell land upon their sole volition and to evade land reform by demanding fair market value for their land, by reclassifying the land to put it beyond the scope of land reform and by using the stock distribution option in order to deceive the landless tillers. Aquino is most likely inclined to give way to the US-instigated global policy of landgrabbing by multinational corporations. It is inevitable for the peasant movement to rise and advance in order to demand genuine and thoroughgoing land reform. The landless tillers are hard pressed by the ever worsening social and economic conditions. They have no choice but to fight for land.

10. How would you describe the social democrats and other pseudo-progressive and reformist groups that were active in the Aquino campaign? How much influence would they be able to wield in the incoming Aquino regime? What role do you see them playing?

JMS: The social democrats and other pseudo-progressive and reformist groups that were active in the Aquino campaign are special agents of the counterrevolutionary state and do the dirty propaganda job for the worst of the reactionaries. During the electoral campaign, they specialized in Red-baiting the two senatorial candidates of Makabayan and the progressive partylist groups. They acted in concert with their military psywar partners.

The most powerful components of the Aquino regime are the moneygrubbers of the Cojuangco and Aquino families in back offices and their favorites among other big businessmen and the top-rung military and police officers. Relative to them, the social democrats or clerico-fascists and other special anti-communist agents are minor players but will have a major special role in continuing with their Red-baiting and anti-communist functions. They are inserted in presidential staff units, press office, education, finance, national security and so-called peace processes.

11. The fascist violence and violations of human rights perpetrated by the Arroyo regime under Oplan Bantay Laya 1 and 2 generated widespread national and international condemnation. Should not the Aquino regime release immediately the political prisoners and cause the investigation and prosecution of human rights violations, including the extrajudicial killings, enforced disappearances, illegal detention and torture of activists and other unarmed critics of the reactionary government under the Arroyo regime?

JMS: The widespread national and international condemnation of human rights violations under the Arroyo regime should have an impact on the incoming Aquino regime and should move it to order the immediate release of all political prisoners and cause the investigation, prosecution, trial and punishment of the human rights violators, from the level of Arroyo downwards. But even Philip Alston has expressed doubts that the new regime would dare to act against them and incur the risk of losing the support of the military and police.

Experience has shown that Cory Aquino could easily order the release of all political prisoners in 1986 but she did not dare to go after the human rights violators under the Marcos dictatorship. The victims had to file their tort case in US courts. Cory Aquino was not able to cause the punishment of the masterminds in the murder of her own husband. Now, Noynoy Aquino is reconciled with Eduardo Cojuangco

Crisis Generates Resistance

who used to be regarded as the co-mastermind of Marcos in having Ninoy Aquino murdered.

Noynoy Aquino himself is probably inclined not to go after human rights violators under the Arroyo regime because of his apparent complicity in the Hacienda Luisita massacre and the subsequently killings in Tarlac. Like his late mother, Aquino is again under advice by US operatives to concentrate on armed counterrevolution rather than to hold the military and police accountable for human rights violations. Aquino himself has already started to retreat from his previous promise of stopping and punishing violators of human rights despite his continuing pretense at promoting democracy and avowals of defending the rights of his opponents.

It is important for the human rights organizations, the lawyers and other professional groups, the religious organizations and the broad masses of the people to persevere in the campaign against human rights violations and demand the punishment of the human rights violators, up to the level of those with command responsibility. With such a campaign, there is a chance for obtaining some amount of justice or reducing the human rights violations. But without such a campaign, the human rights violators would be further emboldened to commit their heinous crimes with impunity.

12. Would we expect the incoming Aquino regime to support the long standing demand for the compensation of the victims of human rights violations way back under the Marcos dictatorship?

JMS: It should be far easier than anything else for Noynoy Aquino to support and give way to the demand for compensation of the victims of human rights violations under the Marcos dictatorship. He should be able to sympathize with the victims because he, his parents and his entire family were also victims. The US court system decided the case against the Marcos estate and determined those victims that must be indemnified.

The beneficiaries in the US court decision must first be served in one act before there is another act to benefit other victims who are not covered by the said decision. Otherwise the charade will continue from year to year of denying indemnification to the clear beneficiaries and ridiculing them as greedy under the pretext of aiming with one legislative act to indemnify all victims of human rights violations, including those who did not join the suit against the Marcos estate in the US.

By the way, the indemnification of the victims of human rights violations, as determined by the US court decision, is stipulated in the GRP-NDFP Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL). The Aquino regime needs to be reminded that there can never be a final peace agreement without fulfilling the demand for the indemnification of the victims of human rights violations under the Marcos regime.

13. Do you think Aquino will pursue the same program as the OBL or even a worse one in confronting the ongoing people's war?

JMS: There are clear indications that Aquino is bound by the US Counterinsurgency Guide and will continue Oplan Bantay Laya under a new name. In a speech on peace and security before foreign correspondents on April 22, he did not point to the importance and necessity of peace negotiations as the way of addressing the roots of the armed conflict and forging agreements on social, economic and political reforms in order to lay the basis for a just peace.

He echoed the line of the US Counterinsurgency Guide that the reactionary government can destroy, coopt or render the revolutionary movement inconsequential by operating efficiently without the necessity of peace negotiations. In that context, he presented four guideposts: good governance, delivery of services, economic rehabilitation and development and security reforms. The clear implication is that he can ignore all the demands for peace negotiations so long as he operates according to these guideposts.

Aquino has been chosen as the new chief puppet of the US because he is seen as having the penchant for unleashing violence against the working people and their supporters as in the Hacienda Luisita massacre and subsequent killings in Tarlac. He is already mouthing the terms of the US Counterinsurgency Guide and he is already assuring his US and Filipino handlers that he will allow the review of the Visiting Forces Agreement if only to satisfy the demands of some senators, allow some adjustments but keep the agreement intact and further legitimize the interventionist presence and entry of more US military forces.

14. The NDFP peace panel has said that it is open to resuming peace talks with the GRP under the Aquino regime. What would you say are the conditions and prospects of the talks?

Crisis Generates Resistance

JMS: In expressing its willingness to resume peace negotiations with the GRP, the NDFP has made clear that the two sides must reaffirm, comply with and carry forward The Hague Joint Declaration, the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees, the Joint Agreement on the Sequence, Formation and Operationalization of the Reciprocal Working Committees, the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law and other agreements. There is no precondition whatsoever. The two sides are simply to comply with existing agreements.

There is yet no serious preliminary approach from the GRP to NDFP. The GRP-NDFP peace negotiations might never be resumed or will be delayed for a long time if Aquino takes orders from the US regarding peace negotiations and let military morons and the clerico-fascists control the GRP side of the negotiations like during the time of Arroyo. Like before, the GRP might be interested only in conjuring the illusion of GRP-NDFP peace negotiations to serve as a minor adjunct of the escalating brutal military campaigns of suppression cum fake local peace talks and fake social integration program.

15. In the past, what were the obstacles to the continuous progress of the GRP-NDFP negotiations? Why such obstacles?

JMS: First, let me point out that the peace negotiations would have progressed greatly since a long time ago if the GRP had complied with The Hague Joint Declaration and subsequent agreements. It is well proven by the successful forging and mutual approval of the CARHRIHL that the GRP and NDFP can make a comprehensive agreement if the GRP does not insist on putting up obstacles in violation of The Hague Joint Declaration.

For long stretches of time, the GRP put up obstacles like 1) the demand for holding the peace talks in the Philippines, 2) the demand to take up all four items of the substantive agenda all at the same time in a maneuver to frontload the fourth and final item on ending hostilities and to lay aside the second item on social and economic reforms and the third item on political and constitutional reforms, 3) the precondition of an indefinite ceasefire, 4) informal talks until a final agreement is to be formalized, 5) the terrorist blacklisting of the CPP, NPA and the NDFP chief political consultant, 6) the illegitimate so-called suspension of the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees and 7) the abduction, torture and murder of NDFP consultants and staffers.

It was clear that the GRP became a party to the bilateral agreements with the NDFP, not to address the roots of the armed conflict and forge agreements on basic reforms for the purpose of attaining a just peace, but only to create the illusion of peace negotiations for the simultaneous purposes of deceiving the people, probing for ways to undermine the revolutionary movement and escalating the military campaigns of suppression against the people and revolutionary forces.

16. It looks like the feuding families of the Aquinos and Marcoses are happily living together in the enclave paradise of the big compradors and landlords in the Philippines. The feuding branches of the Cojuangco clan have also reconciled with each other and are together poised to take advantage of the Filipino people. How do you respond to them and their propagandists when they attack you as merely on self-exile and enjoying yourself abroad? How do you respond in case Noynoy Aquino himself or any of his major subalterns rhetorically invite or challenge you to return home and they also call on the NDFP negotiating panel to hold formal peace talks in the Philippines?

JMS: It is unfair even for the reactionary mass media to keep on describing me quite casually as self-exiled. The public know that in 1988 Cory Aquino cancelled my passport in order to compel my return home and set me up for arrest by the military at the airport in Manila. But I applied for political asylum. Since then, I have been on forced exile and I have been recognized as a political refugee.

The wealthy and powerful Aquinos, Cojuangcos, Arroyos and Marcoses and their propagandists are not any better than me just because they are in the Philippines. They are malefactors responsible/accountable for exploitation and oppression. They are in the Philippines to exploit and oppress the Filipino people. Their exploitative class of big comprador-landlord-bureaucrats and their military and police minions keep me out of the country and are always on the lookout for my return so that they can do something against me.

Even while abroad, I have been subjected to all kinds of attacks by the US and the Philippine rulers. They have acted to block my asylum, to slander me continuously in the bourgeois press, to subject me to assassination attempts, to put me on the terrorist blacklist, to prevent me from compensated work, to deprive me of social benefits, to arrest and detain me on the trumped-up charge of murder and to continue imposing on me many kinds of restrictions and prohibitions

Crisis Generates Resistance

even now, after the Dutch and European court decisions nullifying the false charges of murder and terrorism against me. Would any sane person say that I enjoy the material comforts that my adversaries and detractors enjoy in surfeit?

You can be sure that the Aquino regime is not interested in resuming the formal peace negotiations as soon as it uses the tactic of calling on me and on the NDFP negotiating panel to go the Philippines for formal peace talks. This kind of tactic would be in violation of the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees which stipulates the neutral foreign venue for the negotiations. It would be a tactic to put the NDFP panelists, consultants and staffers under military surveillance for eventual bloody suppression as had happened during the time of Cory Aquino in 1986 and 1987.

Formal talks even in the countryside are not acceptable to the NDFP because of the need for the large mobilizations of forces on both sides and the danger of sabotage from those who oppose the peace negotiations and because the revolutionary forces would be vulnerable to surveillance with the use of drones, GSP, monitoring of electronic communications, thermal heat sensing, night goggles and other technical devices. The NDFP is already well informed about the military objective of the GRP in wishing to have the formal peace talks in the Philippines.

17. Are you optimistic that the CPP will greatly develop guerrilla warfare and advance the people's war from the stage of strategic defensive to that of the strategic stalemate in the next five years under the US-Aquino regime? What can the Party and the revolutionary movement do in the new situation and the areas of work that particularly need to be stressed?

JMS: Far more important than my optimism about anything are the clear public pronouncements of the Communist Party of the Philippines on the concrete conditions, political requirements and the strategy and tactics involved in the plan to accelerate the development of guerrilla warfare and advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in the people's war.

The CPP has pointed to the ever worsening socioeconomic and political crisis of the domestic ruling system and likewise of the world capitalist system as the most important objective conditions for advancing the people's war. The toiling masses of workers and

peasants and the middle social strata are suffering extreme forms of exploitation and oppression. And the widespread social discontent gives rise to various forms of mass resistance by the people.

The political requirements involve arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses along the general line of struggle for national liberation and democracy through the strategic line of people's war. I presume that the CPP has definite ideas about expanding the various types of underground mass organizations in the guerrilla fronts and the urban underground. I also presume that it welcomes and encourages the mass organizations and other progressive formations based in the urban areas.

In its recent message to mark the anniversary of the New People's Army, the CPP Central Committee called on the New People's Army to intensify its tactical offensives in order to seize more arms and build more NPA units and more guerrilla fronts, to complement the tactics of annihilation with the tactics of attrition in order to further debilitate the enemy, to enable the building of the organs of political power and mass organizations in the guerrilla fronts, to train the people's militia and self-defense units as auxiliary forces and to support the undertaking of land reform and other mass campaigns for the benefit of the people. All these foretell the bright future for the revolutionary movement of the people.

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Tribute to Comrade Beato Lacaba⁷⁶

June 23, 2010

I wish to convey most heartfelt condolences to the family and close comrades of Ka Beato Lacaba. I share your deep sense of loss as I am aware of his long dedicated service to the Filipino people, especially among his colleagues and friends in the field of science and technology. I owe to Ka Beato a special debt of gratitude in his capacity as sales manager of Aklat ng Bayan for playing a key role in publishing and distributing my books.

We are all consoled and gratified that he lived a life full of meaning and accomplishment in the people's struggle for national liberation and democracy. He had been an activist of the national democratic movement since his student days. After he graduated with the degree of mechanical engineer, he was employed by an engineering firm in Marikina where he helped arouse, organize and mobilize the workers and his fellow engineers.

From 1977 onwards, he was a member of a national democrat cell within the Liga ng Agham Para sa Bayan (LAB), an underground national democratic organization of scientists and technologists. He was active in organizing and mobilizing progressive scientists, engineers and workers doing scientific or technical work.

He enthusiastically applied his technical knowledge and skills in doing research and development of prototypes of machines and equipment needed by the national democratic movement. He exemplified the style of having a calm but active state of mind. He performed his tasks quietly but diligently, conscientiously and productively.

He is fondly remembered by his colleagues in LAB as one who often turned a criticism-and-self-criticism session into an event full of laughter. He had a unique ability of lightening the atmosphere and bringing home important points. To insiders he was a self-effacing and humorous guy one could easily work with, although to outsiders he looked like he was a stern man with great authority.

⁷⁶ Message delivered as Founding Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines and Chief Political Consultant of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines.

Crisis Generates Resistance

He was highly appreciated for being able to earn a living for his family and yet being able to perform his revolutionary tasks. He ventured into business enterprises that could also provide for the specific needs of his unit in LAB.

He was arrested in March 1990 along with other LAB members and was detained for several months at the Philippine Army's maximum security unit in Fort Bonifacio. He continued to be resolute and courageous. Upon his release, he immediately resumed participating in protest rallies and fora.

He was a charter member of the First Quarter Storm Movement and was one of its most active members. He was always present in any FQSM activity as well as multisectoral activities.

We are ever grateful to Ka Beato for having been an exemplary militant and for his contributions to the people's democratic struggle. His name and deeds are etched in the memory of the people.

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Unforgettable Years as English Major⁷⁷

Contribution to the Bio-History Project in Celebration of the Centennial of the English Department of the University of the Philippines

June 25, 2010

I had wished to take an undergraduate course in journalism as my preparation for going to the UP College of Law. Thus, I enrolled in the journalism and creative writing program of the English Department in June 1956. The following year the name of the program or the program itself seemed to have disappeared. I simply became an English major.

When I first arrived in UP Diliman, I was impressed by the Oblation and by the panorama of green framing the awesomely tall structures of concrete. I thought that the campus was conducive to study and poetic flights as well as physical exercise from building to building. I liked the wide spaces of Diliman even as I had to spend much of the time in enclosures, like the classrooms and the basement cafeteria of the College of Liberal Arts or the little green house between the pavilions of the biological and physical sciences.

The struggle between the liberals and the religio-sectarians

UP Diliman was interesting for being refreshingly different from the universities inserted in downtown Manila amidst the dusty cacophony of the motor traffic. It was even more interesting as a battleground of contending ideas. I came to the UP exactly when there was an intense struggle between the liberals and the religio-sectarians. Just before my enrolment as freshman, the pious UP president Dr. Vidal Tan inflamed the struggle by delivering a commencement address harping on Christian heritage as the core of academic responsibility.

The American Jesuit priest Fr. John Delaney, Catholic chaplain of the UP Diliman community, had launched a crusade together with the UP Student Catholic Action and the faculty-based Iota Eta Sigma to abolish the fraternities for being incorrigibly violent, to rid the university

⁷⁷ The author finished the Bachelor of Arts, Major in English, in 1959.

Crisis Generates Resistance

of atheists and communists, to install a department of religion and to replace Philosophy 1 (Symbolic Logic) with Mathematics 0 (Deductive Reasoning) as a General Education requirement.

On August 26, 1956, 154 professors and four administrators joined up to form the Society for the Advancement of Academic Freedom. They decried the recrudescence of religious intolerance and advocated the liberal principle of the separation of church and state. The logical positivist and agnostic Dr. Ricardo Pascual, head of the Philosophy Department, stood his ground against accusations that his department was promoting atheism and argued the need for inductive reasoning provided by symbolic logic.

The struggle between the liberals and the religio-sectarians raged in the campus electoral campaigns, in the student council, in the *Philippine Collegian* and in faculty meetings. The UPSCA was a powerhouse in campus politics as it sought to stigmatize the fraternities for hazing neophytes. In a counteroffensive to the religio-sectarians, the *Philippine Collegian* under the editorship of Jose Masakayan published a book on academic freedom.

The 1957 enactment of the Anti-Subversion Law, which had been pushed by the American Jesuit priest Arthur Weiss and the US embassy, tended to favor the religio-sectarians who Red-baited the liberals on the campus and who sniped at the Noli-Fili Law and Prof. Teodoro Agoncillo's *Revolt of the Masses*. But the Recto nationalist crusade had continued to impact on the most discerning UP faculty members and students since Recto delivered in 1951 his address against the mendicant foreign policy of the Philippine government. For inviting him to speak, Dr. Bienvenido Gonzales was removed by President Elpidio Quirino and replaced by the Catholic Church recommendee Dr. Vidal Tan.

The liberals in the UP could never forget the interference of Quirino, especially because UP president Dr. Vidal Tan was a church militant ever inspiring to the religio-sectarians on the UP campus. However, he resigned in 1957 after losing support within the Board of Regents. When Dr. Vicente Sinco assumed the presidency in 1958, he suspended the UPSCA-dominated Student Council for acts violative of the separation of church and state and for fomenting religious strife. He appointed progressive professors to become heads of faculty departments. He accorded professorial tenure to progressive lecturers. He launched the Colloquium Series on Nationalism.

When I was a college freshman, I took for granted that the English Department had a large number of faculty members and occupied a large space in front of the lobby of the College of Liberal Arts and that all students of whatever field of study had to take 12 units of English in four semesters. What impressed me most was the long line of nationally well-known writers, both conservative and progressive, who had belonged to the English Department as teachers or students. The writer alumni of the department included Carlos P. Romulo, Salvador Lopez and Jose Lansang.

The best known creative writers who were then in the department were the novelist N. V. M. Gonzales, short story writers Francisco Arcellana and Rony V. Diaz, the poets Ricaredo Demetillo, Virginia Moreno and Alfonso Santos and the playwright Wilfredo Ma. Guerrero. The best known essayists who were either scholars or literary critics included Leopoldo Yabes, S. V. Epistola, Elmer Ordonez and students Epifanio San Juan, Petronilo Bn. Daroy and Benito Lim. The best known journalists who were professorial lecturers were the columnist I. P. Soliongco and editors Armando J. Malay and Hernando Abaya.

I had excellent teachers. I would consider as best those who, irrespective of their philosophical or political viewpoints, had effective teaching skills. They had a mastery of their subject. They were systematic in presentation and articulate. They encouraged critical thinking and discussion between mentor and students. They included Maria Santos my teacher in English grammar and composition and my teachers in higher English Dr. Alberto Morales, Dolores Stephens Feria, Leopoldo Yabes, Concepcion Dadufalza, J. D. Constantino, Armando Malay, Alejandro Casambre, Nilda Joven, Ricaredo Demetillo and Francisco Arcellana.

The English Department was a base of the Iota Eta Sigma, the conservative Catholic faculty group. But there were also the teachers and students who belonged to the progressive liberal current. The department was a hotbed of controversies. I came to know about the contending groups of faculty members in the struggle between the liberals and the religio-sectarians. I also observed how the student Epifanio San Juan, who was well known for his exegesis of Jean Paul Sartre, got into trouble with the moral or prudish majority in the department, represented by J. D. Constantino, when he used a supposedly forbidden word in a poem.

Crisis Generates Resistance

My share of controversies

I had my share of controversies. The first one arose when, as president of the UP Journalism Club, I invited Fr. Hilario Lim in early 1959 to speak on the issue of Filipinizing the foreign-controlled religious orders and academic institutions. He had just been expelled by the Jesuit order for his advocacy of Filipinization. The club adviser Prof. Amando Malay and I thought that it would be informative, enlightening and beneficial for the UP academic community to listen to Fr. Lim.

We were disappointed that upon the advice of Prof. Ricardo Pascual the Sinco administration refused to allow Fr. Lim to speak in the UP on the ground that he was a priest and that allowing him to speak would infringe on the principle of the separation of the church and state. I criticized and protested the ban in the campus and national media. Fr. Lim himself picketed Quezon Hall for several weeks. After he left the priesthood, Prof. Teodoro A. Agoncillo took him as a faculty member in the Department of History.

It was in 1958 that I matured as a progressive liberal, differentiated myself from the conservative and pro-imperialist kind of liberal and began to study Marxism systematically. I gained access to Marxist books in the cellar of the UP Main library and in the private libraries of some professors. From my readings and observation of social reality, I came eventually to the conclusion that the unfinished Philippine revolution could be resumed under the leadership of the working class and on the basis of the worker-peasant-intelligentsia alliance in order to achieve national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

I finished in three years the four-year program for Bachelor of Arts in English by taking extra loads during regular terms and two summers. I was in a hurry to proceed to the College of Law until Julie de Lima and I decided to get married in 1959. In order to have a source of income to augment her salary as a librarian, I had to apply to the English Department for the NEC-AID scholarship grant and teaching fellowship, which required me to teach English and take the masteral course in English and Comparative Literature from 1959 to 1961.

Together with other graduate students as well as with undergraduate students in various colleges and departments, I formed the Student Cultural Association of the UP (SCAUP) and became its chairman in 1959. Our purpose was to confront the UP Student Catholic Action at

the level of struggle between the liberal and the religio-sectarians, to have an alliance with the progressive liberals and to raise the level of struggle to one between the Left and the Right on a comprehensive range of social, economic, political and cultural issues, going beyond the issue of academic freedom and civil liberties.

We criticized and repudiated the official ideology of the state and the UP, which is the conservative and pro-imperialist type of liberalism that runs counter to the progressive liberalism and anti-colonialism of the old national democratic revolution of 1896. We were critical of the overwhelming influence of US cultural imperialism over Philippine society and the university. We appreciated Teodoro Agoncillo's writing of Philippine history from the viewpoint of the Filipino people and the scholarly works rediscovering and promoting the national democratic revolution. We heeded the call of Recto for a Second Propaganda Movement. We aimed to nurture the embryo of the revolutionary university within the counterrevolutionary university and to get rid of the cultural hegemony of US imperialism and the local reactionary classes.

We intended to raise the level of intellectual and political struggle within the UP by propagating among the students, faculty members and non-academic employees the line of national democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class and by undertaking group discussions in Marxism which had to be clandestine because of the Anti-Subversion Law. We gave priority to the recruitment of three distinct types of students: those who were leading other campus organizations, those who could write for the *Philippine Collegian* and those who had good marks and were thus qualified to run in campus elections.

The SCAUP went into action, arousing and mobilizing the students for mass protest in March 1961, when the congressional Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities (CAFA) subpoenaed UP professors for investigation regarding articles in UP publications which the CAFA considered communist and in violation of the Anti-Subversion Law. The articles were the "Peasant War in the Philippines: A study of the causes of social unrest in the Philippines—an analysis of the Philippine political economy" in the *Philippine Social Science and Humanities Review* in 1958, the editorial "The Tower of Babel" in the 1960 *Philippinensian* and my feature article "Requiem for Lumumba" (under the pen name Andres Gregorio) in the March 1, 1961 issue of the *Philippine Collegian*.

Crisis Generates Resistance

The SCAUP cooperated with the Inter-Fraternity and Sorority Conference (IFSC), headed by the SCAUP member and English major Ferdinand Tinio, in convening the meeting of UP student leaders to discuss, decide and plan the protest rally against the CAFA anti-communist witch hunt and the Anti-Subversion Law. The student leaders signed the manifesto proposed by the SCAUP. The main slogan was the defense of academic freedom and civil liberties. The content of the articles at issue was anti-imperialist and anti-feudal. The *Philippine Collegian* supported the protest rally. It was held on March 14, 1961, with the participation of 5,000 students. Hundreds of them succeeded in entering the Congress hall and literally scuttled the CAFA hearings.

Outraged by the anti-communist witch hunt and inspired by the success of the anti-CAFA rally, the *Philippine Collegian* published editorials, columns and feature articles that did not only defend academic freedom and civil liberties but also propagated the ideas of the national democratic movement against imperialism and feudalism. The consecutive editorships of Reynato Puno, Leonardo Quisumbing, Luis V. Teodoro, Jr., Ferdinand Tinio and Rene Navarro in the early 1960s promoted the national democratic line. Teodoro and Tinio were from the English Department.

The editors were either members or friends of the SCAUP and welcomed the contributions from progressive writers, including those from SCAUP. The *Philippine Collegian* became a highly important medium for expressing the ideas of the national democratic movement not only in the UP but also beyond. Petronilo Bn. Daroy and I initiated and edited a series of little magazines to spread patriotic and progressive views on major issues. The magazines included *Fugitive Review*, *Cogent* and *Diliman Observer* in 1960 and 1961. Each was short-lived for lack of funds to pay for printing. It would only be in 1963 that the *Progressive Review* could come out as a relatively stable publication, lasting up to 1968.

In one more controversy, I engaged the the English Department head Dr. Dionisia Rola in a debate on the pages of the *Philippine Collegian* regarding the content of the English subject called Great Thoughts. I criticized the fact that the study materials were predominantly texts of Catholic thinkers, like Cardinal Newman, G. K. Chesterton, Jacques Maritain, Hilaire Belloc and Etienne Gilson. I demanded that progressive writings, including those of Marx, Engels,

Lenin, Mao and other Marxist thinkers and revolutionaries, should also be included in the syllabus for the subject.

As a result of the anti-CAFA rally, the English Department did not renew my teaching fellowship. The loss of my teaching fellowship at the English Department was a blessing in disguise for the national democratic movement. I gained time to do political work among students on the UP campus and on other campuses. Aroused by the anti-CAFA rally, students in other universities in downtown Manila became interested in the student movement in the UP. I initiated study circles among students in the Philippine College of Commerce, the University of the East, the Manuel L. Quezon University and the Lyceum University in 1961 and 1962. The SCAUP members and their fellow progressives in other universities joined the *Kabataang Makabayan*, which would play a key role in the nationwide spread of the new democratic movement.

Debt of gratitude to the English department and the UP

In my intellectual development, I owe an immeasurable debt of gratitude to my teachers in the English Department. They emphasized to me the importance of scientific outlook, scholarship, critical thinking and creativity. They encouraged me to read and study a wide range of creative works and literary criticism and to appreciate the writing style of various authors. I was comfortable with and inspired by teachers whose views were agreeable to me. But even in the case of teachers with whom I did not agree, I was challenged by their views and learned from the way they communicated these in writing and speech.

I had many teachers who assiduously followed the course outline and prodded the students to read beyond the textbook or even beyond the syllabus. I was always free to choose the topic for the research paper required in a subject. I experienced a wide range of teaching styles: polished and learned, dramatic and persuasive, outline-conscious but anecdotal and funny or simple and humdrum in the classroom but demanding in the assignment of homework or library work. I prefer not to mention the teachers concerned because I might be accused of stereotyping them. They had more complex characters and were not reducible to my impressions. Nevertheless, I was fortunate not to have any authoritarian teacher (the so-called terror type) because I avoided them like the plague.

Crisis Generates Resistance

Whatever I learned in terms of content and style from my teachers in the English Department served me well when I myself became a teacher and when I plunged further into activism for the national democratic movement. In both preoccupations, I found most useful and effective the research, writing and speaking skills that I developed as an English major. From so many term papers and speaking exercises, I learned to compose my thoughts, introducing, building up and letting them march to the conclusion. And, of course, the best that I learned from the poetry reading assignments was to hone my own skill at writing poetry.

As a teaching fellow in the English Department from 1959 to 1961, my first assignment was to teach English grammar and composition and intensive English which involved putting students with deficiencies in English through drills in grammar and pronunciation. I certainly learned to be diligent, patient and adept at using time because teaching intensive English was grueling and time consuming. This involved daily classroom exercises and frequent correction of written tests.

It took a lot of energy from me to the prejudice of my reading obligations in my masteral course, my extracurricular political and literary activities, and family responsibilities. To aggravate my situation, the UP vice president gave me speech writing assignments. Fortunately before I could rebel against my excessive work load, the head of the English department wrote a strongly worded memorandum to the UP vice president to advise him to stop giving me additional work load. I learned quite early to work my way through the academic bureaucracy.

As regards my political activism, especially its critical and revolutionary content, I had drawn positive and negative lessons from my personal experience, social observations and education since childhood. But of course, it was while I was an undergraduate English major that I matured as a patriotic and progressive liberal and advanced further to being a Marxist revolutionary, due to extracurricular readings and activities and interactions with teachers and students in the English Department and other departments. All these were available to me within the latitude of what the English Department and the entire university proclaimed as liberal education.

I am always proud of having been an English major for the reasons that I have already presented. English has been a medium for my philosophical, political, artistic and emotional development. By force

of circumstances, it is still the main official medium of university education and professional and bureaucrat transactions.

I find English as a medium of great service to the people on the domestic and international scale even as the national democratic movement, including me, has long demanded the adoption of the national language as the main medium and I have learned how to use it in writing and speaking.

Everyone understands that the English language, even as it was imposed by US imperialism, can be used by the national democratic movement in the same way that Jose Rizal and others in the Second Propaganda Movement as well as the leaders of the old democratic revolution used Spanish against Spanish colonialism and US imperialism.

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The Incubation of Activism in the University of the Philippines⁷⁸

Bachelor of Arts in English, Class 1959

June 26, 2010

The waves of mass protest actions that followed the murder of Benigno Aquino in 1983 and culminated in the overthrow of the Marcos fascist dictatorship in 1986 would not have been possible without the incubation of student activists of the national democratic movement through the Student Cultural Association of the University of the Philippines (SCAUP), starting in 1959.

The student activists originating from the UP stirred up the masses of youth and working people to conduct concerted protest actions, shaking the entire country in the entire 1960s, from the demonstration of 5,000 UP student demonstrators that literally scuttled the anti-communist witchhunt of the Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities (CAFA) in March 1961 to the First Quarter Storm of 1970 which rocked the national capital region with almost weekly marches and rallies of 50,000 to 100,000 people against the Marcos regime.

In my undergraduate years in UP from 1956 to 1959, there was already a certain amount of intellectual and political ferment. The controversies arose mainly from the contradictions between the religio-sectarians and the liberal secularists. But it was often the rhetorical device of the latter to complain about the apathy of the students in order to arouse and range them against conservatism and the desire of the religio-sectarians to hark back to medieval and theocratic times.

The religio-sectarians of the UP Student Catholic Action (UPSCA) and Iota Eta Sigma were pleased with the UP presidency of the church militant Dr. Vidal Tan. They were riding high in campus politics by harping on some fatal cases of fraternity hazing in the recent past, justifying the need for more religion in the state university and running counter to the separation of church and state. They were opposed among others to the Noli-Fili law and Prof. Teodoro Agoncillo's *Revolt*

⁷⁸ Published in the 2010 Yearbook of the University of the Philippines.

Crisis Generates Resistance

of the Masses. Emboldened by the Anti-Subversion Law of 1957, they accused the logical positivist Prof. Ricardo Pascual of being a communist organizing communist cells.

The liberal secularists upheld the separation of church and state, the freedom of thought and belief and academic freedom. They had engaged in mass protests against the interference of the Philippine president in university affairs. After the resignation of Dr. Vidal Tan, who was known as a placeman of the dominant church, Dr. Vicente G. Sinco eventually became UP president and tilted the situation in favor of the liberal secularists by suspending the UP Student Council under the presidency of the UPSCAn Fernando Laguna, by giving full professorial tenure to progressive lecturers like Hernando Abaya, Armando Malay and I.P. Soliongco and by launching the Colloquium on Nationalism.

In my personal case, I believe that I matured in 1958 as a progressive liberal under the influence of my liberal professors and as a result of reading the scholarly works on the Philippine revolution by Professors Teodoro Agoncillo and Cesar Adib Majul. I considered myself as a Jacobin rather than as a Girondist or a conservative Burkean liberal and I became strongly critical of the pro-imperialist conservative liberal that was bred in the UP by the unceasing overwhelming influence of the US. Within 1958, I became an exceedingly devoted student of Marxism by gaining access to the forbidden Marxist books in the cellar of the UP Main library and borrowing books from the private collection of some friends.

Within the context of Marxism-Leninism and the world era of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution, I understood that the Philippine revolution needed to be resumed for the benefit of the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata under the class leadership of the proletariat and no longer under the leadership of the bourgeoisie.

In this connection, I thought that the prevalent contradiction of the liberal secularists and religio-sectarians needed to be elevated to one between the Left and the Right not only on the issues of civil and political rights but on a comprehensive range of issues involving the contradiction between the US-dominated ruling system of big compradors and landlords and the national and democratic demands of the people.

The Incubation of Activism in the University of the Philippines

Together with other students, both undergraduates and graduate, we formed in 1959 the Student Cultural Association of the UP. We adopted a two-level program of education for members. The national democratic program was openly promoted. The Marxist program was discreetly carried out. We recruited those students who were already leading other campus organizations, those who could write for the *Philippine Collegian* and could compete for the editorship and those who had academic marks of 2 or higher for the purpose of someday fielding them as candidates for the student council.

The first big opportunity of the SCAUP to organize a mass protest was in March 1961 in opposition to the congressional witch hunt by the Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities against UP faculty members and students who were accused of writing or publishing Marxist materials in violation of the Ant-Subversion Law. These included the book-length "Peasant War in the Philippines" in the *Philippine Social Science and Humanities Review*, the editorial "Tower of Babel" in the *Philippinensian* yearbook of 1961 and "Requiem for Lumumba" in the May 1, 1961 issue of the *Philippine Collegian*, written under my pen name Andres Gregorio.

The SCAUP membership was of high quality. It included the *Philippine Collegian* editor Reynato Puno, key members of fraternities and sororities and graduate students like Rey Punongbayan, Jaime C. Laya, Petronilo Daroy and myself who was the chairman. But the SCAUP was too small. It needed a broad front of leadership to call on the students to join the mass protest in Congress.

The Inter-Fraternity and Sorority Conference (IFSC), which was chaired by SCAUP officer and Alpha Phi Betan Ferdinand Tinio, assumed the responsibility of calling on the students to defend academic freedom and protest against the CAFA witchhunt. Petronilo Bn Daroy, Heherson Alvarez and I signed the contract for the rent of 25 JD buses for the student ride from Diliman to Manila. We were able to muster 5,000 students in the first demonstration with an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal character since more than a decade ago.

From 1961 to 1964, the SCAUP took a key role in organizing pickets, strikes and rallies of varying sizes by UP students alone or in combination with students from other universities on such issues as national independence against unequal agreements with the US (especially Laurel-Langley Agreement and the Military Bases Agreement), land reform and national industrialization, workers' rights, civil and political

Crisis Generates Resistance

liberties and solidarity with other peoples against US acts of aggression in various countries.

By the time that Kabataang Makabayan was formed as a comprehensive youth organization in 1964, a number of the activist alumni of the SCAUP had already moved into key positions in the Workers Party (Lapiang Manggagawa) and in workers, peasants and teachers organizations and were in a position to convene delegations of young workers, young peasants, students and young professions in order to found the KM. In UP Diliman, the SCAUP and the KM chapter co-existed, cooperated with each other and conjoined with still other organizations in mass protest actions on and off the campus.

The student activists that originated from UP Diliman played an important role in propagating the line of struggle for national liberation and democracy against the US and the local exploiting classes, in building major national organizations taking such line and in promoting mass protest actions as the instrument of the people for realizing their national and democratic demands. From year to year the youth movement spread and intensified, leading to the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and further developing nationwide up to 1972 when the Marcos regime declared martial law and imposed a fascist dictatorship on the people.

The fascist regime suppressed the urban-based mass movement and caused the detention, torture and murder of the activists. But many thousands of the activists went underground in the urban areas as well join the revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside. They were responsible for protest mass actions in urban areas from time to time from 1972 to 1983.

In the 1981-83 period, the urban-based mass organizations of workers, peasants and youth were already openly resurgent despite vicious reaction from the fascist regime against the trade union leaders. But consequent to the Aquino assassination, the regime was utterly isolated and dazed by the public outrage. The mass organizations of the national democratic movement became the core of sustained protest mass actions that ultimately led to the overthrow of the Marcos dictatorship in 1986.

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