

Jose Ma. Sison

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

Julieta de Lima, Editor

Volume 2: 2010-2011

Develop the People's Power

International Network for Philippine Studies
The Netherlands

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Author's Preface

Develop the People's Power is a comprehensive and richly concrete book on arousing, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people against US imperialism and local reaction in the Philippines and many other countries. People's power can develop only through the struggle of anti-imperialist and progressive forces against the powerful adversaries under certain global and local conditions which are presented in the book.

The book covers the period from July 7, 2010 to December 22, 2011. But a number of articles present brief historical background. A **full-length** recollection of the past pertains to where I came from as a political activist, the University of the Philippines, and **where** the foundation for a sustained development of the national democratic movement in the Philippines was laid in the 1960s.

Every year I am asked by **various types** of legal mass organizations in the Philippines to give messages of solidarity. I am presumed to know political work intimately as a result of having been a mass activist, founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and currently as chief political consultant of the National Democratic of the Philippines.

I present the national and democratic line of struggle on Philippine and global issues and give advice on the conduct of political education, organizational work and mass campaigns. In this book, one interview focuses on the task of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people. Messages of solidarity to organizations of Filipino workers, peasants, women, youth, human rights activists, cultural workers and the migrant workers also contain suggestions regarding political work.

Academic friends in The Netherlands have asked me to lecture on the people's war in the Philippines and how the CPP, the New People's Army and the people carry out the revolutionary mass movement and build organs of people's self-government in the countryside. The book contains a full lecture on people's war showing how the reactionary army is defeated stage by stage and how people's democratic power steadily displaces counterrevolutionary state power in the countryside before the general offensive on the cities.

I assert that class struggle is the key link **to** revolutionary social change. I uphold the leading role of the proletariat and its revolutionary

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party and the necessity of alliance with other exploited classes and sectors in isolating and defeating the class enemy. I stress the need to strengthen the Communist Parties and revolutionary mass movements in confronting the worsening global capitalist crisis and in striving to achieve national liberation, democracy and socialism.

As Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), I have had the honor and opportunity to discuss major global issues and address various types of oppressed and exploited classes and sectors on a global scale. In this regard, I invite you to read my report to the Fourth International Assembly of the ILPS which was held in Manila in 2011. This gives you an idea on how we pursued anti-imperialist and democratic struggle for ten years since the founding of ILPS in 2001.

I urge you to read the definitive articles on the neoliberal policy of imperialist globalization, the recurrent economic and financial crisis, the prolongation of the crisis, the imperialist plunder of the underdeveloped countries, state terrorism, wars of aggression, global warming and environmental disasters. These are also reflected in the messages of solidarity to the ILPS member-organizations, ILPS allies and the founding assemblies of national chapters of the ILPS and in the statements of support for mass struggles of various forms in various regions of the world.

Within the period covered by the book, the ILPS and I as Chairperson supported the protest mass actions of the people in the US and other imperialist countries against the monopoly bourgeoisie and its financial oligarchy for generating the severe crisis, shifting the burden of crisis to the people, undertaking state terrorism at home and abroad, stepping up war production, unleashing wars of aggression and making serious war threats and provocations against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and other countries. We supported the Japanese people in holding the Japanese monopoly capitalists to account for the Fukushima nuclear plant disaster and joined the worldwide demand for banning nuclear reactors and weapons.

We supported the people's movements and uprisings against autocratic regimes in the service of US imperialism in Tunisia, Egypt and Saudi Arabia even as we were aware of the active presence of powerful reactionary religious groups and the absence of strong revolutionary parties of the working class there. We consistently held US imperialism responsible for committing the worst acts of terrorism and for having

sponsored Islamic fundamentalism whenever useful for imperialist purposes. We condemned the war of aggression launched by the US and NATO to overthrow the Gaddafi government in Libya.

We paid special attention to and upheld the right to self-determination of oppressed peoples and nations and we have issued the strongest statements of condemnation against the barbaric attacks on the people of Palestine, Kurdistan, West Papua and many others. We have stood in support of the women and LGBT, the racial, ethnolinguistic and religious minorities and the refugees and migrant workers who suffer discrimination and injustices.

We took a stand and acted to oppose acts of oppression and exploitation by US imperialism, its NATO allies, Zionist Israel and puppets in the dominated countries. We initiated or joined campaigns to uphold, defend and advance the full range of human rights for the benefit of oppressed and exploited peoples in the civil, political, economic, social and cultural fields. Within the period covered by the book, we achieved a certain measure of success in advocacy and action on all the major concerns of the ILPS.

As in *Crisis Generates Resistance*, Volume 1 of the current book series *Peoples' Struggles against Oppression and Exploitation (Selected Writings, 2009-2015)*, I take the opportunity in *Develop People's Power* to express the highest admiration for exemplary individuals, who to their last breath do their best to serve the people and the cause of justice, like the following: the leader of Filipino transport workers Medardo Roda, the CPP national spokesman Gregorio "Ka Roger" Rosal and the revolutionary cadre Eliseo Cadiang, the Indian Maoist leaders Azad and Hem Pandey, Chairman Ludo Martens of the Belgian Workers' Party, the American human rights lawyer Leonard Weinglass and the American communist and labor leader Philip Koritz.

The Filipino people are suffering the most intolerable forms of oppression and exploitation under the evil forces of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. By waging resolute and militant struggle, they can develop people's power and win victory in the new democratic revolution and consequently in the socialist revolution.

On behalf of the Filipino people and all their revolutionary forces, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines has engaged in negotiations with the Manila government for a just and lasting peace and has offered truce and alliance on the basis of a mutually satisfactory declaration of common intent while comprehensive agreements

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on social, economic and political reforms are still being negotiated. But since the formal peace talks in Oslo in February 2011, the Aquino regime has made clear that it has no respect for agreements made between previous regimes and the NDFP. It is hellbent on carrying out Oplan Bayanihan in the vain attempt to destroy or force the surrender of the revolutionary forces and the people.

In the meantime, the crisis of the world capitalist system continues to worsen and aggravate the crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system in the Philippines. The conditions for revolution in the Philippines and in other countries have become more favorable now than in 2010 and 2011. The Filipino people have the distinct honor of holding high the banner of revolution while the contradictions between capital and labor, between the imperialist powers and the oppressed nations and peoples and among the imperialist powers are intensifying.

Jose Maria Sison
Utrecht, The Netherlands
January 30, 2016

From Corporate Bailouts to Austerity Measures: Shifting further the Burden of Crisis to the People¹

July 7, 2010

Since 2008 the major capitalist powers have wantonly used public money to bail out the big banks and corporations, thus allowing these to show profits on their balance sheets and to conjure the false illusion of recovery in financial markets but in fact aggravating the economic crisis through the contraction of production and the loss of jobs and homes among the working people. The use of public money to provide relief to the so-called troubled assets of the big banks and corporations has resulted in huge fiscal deficits, a public debt bubble that has begun to burst and an undeniable depression that can no longer be euphemistically termed as a mere recession.

The recent Group of Twenty (G-20) summit in Toronto, Canada sought to find common ground in securing global capitalism from the worsening economic and financial crisis. Led by the United States, the European Union and Japan, the big powers misrepresented the rapidly growing fiscal deficits and public debt as the result of excessive stimulus to production and social spending that need to be restrained through austerity measures. In fact, the steep rise of fiscal deficits and public debt in the imperialist countries has been accompanied by decline of production, unemployment and erosion of social benefits.

The austerity measures are meant to counter the inflationary effect of public spending for corporate welfare in order to further shift the burden of crisis to the people. They include further reduction of wages and social benefits and **increase** taxes on consumption goods of the working class and the rest of the people. Such measures are bound to aggravate the economic crisis by causing further **declines** in production, more layoffs, loss of welfare benefits and accelerated deterioration of social services. The Toronto summit showed signs of divisions among the major capitalist powers on how to protect themselves from

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

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the crisis, on the kind and extent of stimulus programs and austerity measures to undertake and on what financial regulation and reforms to carry out.

At the previous G-20 summit in Pittsburgh, USA in September 2009, a year after the eruption of the crisis in the US, the big powers congratulated themselves for having supposedly fended off a depression and putting global capitalism on the path of recovery. Developments since then have clearly shown the optimistic forecasts to be wrong and more than ever confirm the fact that neither have the root causes of the crisis been addressed nor have effective countermeasures been adopted from the lore of the New Deal or Keynesianism to stimulate consumption and production.

The imperialist powers have clung to their neoliberal dogma and to further financialization of their economies by providing huge amounts of public money to the big banks and corporations for profitmaking on their books of accounts while cutting labor costs and evading the need to expand production and employment. Consequently, a protracted kind of depression has further taken hold of the imperialist countries and the rest of the world.

False recovery

The global capitalist economy, measured in world real gross domestic product (GDP), contracted by more than 2% last year despite claims of a return to positive growth since the last months of 2009. Such spurious claims have been conjured through some US\$11.0 trillion of public money doled out by states as bailouts to their giant monopoly banks, investment firms and manufacturing firms in quick reaction to the financial collapse in late 2008.

The supposed recovery has only been in terms of momentary statistical growth and corporate profits on books of accounts and in the stock market rather than in terms of production, employment and improvement of the people's living conditions. According to ILO figures in 2009, global unemployment increased from 178 million in 2007 to 239 million in 2009, which is the highest level ever recorded. Of course, these official figures grossly underestimate the true extent of the jobs crisis by excluding the unemployed workers who have stopped to apply for jobs or who are on so-called retraining programs and by not taking

into account the fall in the quality of jobs and the decreases in working hours and pay (casualization and part-timing).

The US illustrates well how corporate profits and upper class wealth, not jobs, are at the center of government claims to economic recovery. US real GDP began to contract from the start of 2008 to the first quarter of 2009 by as much as 6.5%. The government began a massive rescue effort to try to stem this decline and to date has spent, loaned or at least committed to spend or lend if necessary over US\$13 trillion, an amount almost equivalent to the value of the US GDP for an entire year. US GDP growth turned positive in the third quarter of 2009, peaked at 5.6% in the fourth quarter, but quickly started slowing down again to 2.7% in the first quarter of 2010.

US corporate profits correspondingly increased by 7.7% in 2009 and then by a massive 56.5% in the first quarter of 2010 to US\$1.6 trillion (from US\$1.2 trillion in the first quarter of 2009). Yet the US working class is suffering its deepest and most prolonged jobs crisis since the Great Depression. Fifteen million workers were officially reported as jobless in May 2010, at a 9.7% unemployment rate, apart from 1.1 million discouraged workers and 8.8 million involuntary part-time workers. Their prospects remain dire and dismal with house prices falling again, looming cutbacks in state and local budgets, and European troubles cutting further into exports. These will mean less jobs, more people losing their unemployment benefits, health insurance and homes, and greater poverty and misery.

The jobs crisis is likewise severe in the other imperialist countries. Growth resumed in the 27 countries of the European Union in the third quarter of 2009 but by May 2010 some 23.1 million were still unemployed, a 1.8 million increase from the year before and reaching a record 9.6% jobless rate. The Japanese economy has contracted by more than 5% in 2009 and is being dragged back down to deep recession by deflation and weak domestic demand. As officially reported, unemployment reached 3.5 million in May 2010, at a rate of 5.2%.

The raging global jobs crisis worsens even as profits have risen and the rich keep getting richer. The richest one percent of the world's households have even increased their wealth from US\$36 trillion in 2008 to US\$44 trillion in 2009, with the super-rich top 0.1 % increasing their wealth from US\$19 trillion to US\$23 trillion. Taxpayer-funded bailouts and so-called stimulus programs for the banks, financial institutions and firms, which have been speciously justified as good for the

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economy and the people, have in the main preserved and enlarged the wealth of the monopoly bourgeoisie, especially the finance oligarchy.

In the backward and dependent countries, incomes from trade, remittances, investments and development remain stagnant and are likely to decrease as the global depression deepens. Decreasing demand from the imperialist countries for primary commodities, migrant labor and low value-added semimanufactures has led to **shut-downs** and job losses. Trade and budgetary deficits and unpayable debt burdens afflict all the underdeveloped countries.

These countries are being **compelled** to pay a growing amount of debt service and to bargain away their agricultural land and mineral resources to the multinational corporations. They are being pushed further down to ever deepening levels of chronic depression as the imperialist countries adopt austerity measures in their home ground and push other countries to do the same, with the notable exception of China which the imperialists have been pushing to revalue its currency, import and consume more and draw down its export surpluses and foreign exchange reserves.

Sovereign debt crisis

The hyped global recovery is not just false by not being productively beneficial to the people but also artificial by being unsustainable. The enormous state-funded bailouts have grossly inflated public deficits and debt and generated the sovereign debt bubble in the imperialist countries and client states. The public debt bubble has in fact begun to burst in certain countries, threatening to precipitate another financial and economic collapse even deeper and more far-reaching than the meltdown triggered in 2008.

The US government deficit increased four-fold from being equivalent to 2.5% of GDP in 2007 to 10.9% in 2009, reaching US\$1.6 trillion. This caused the US gross federal debt to rise to US\$12.9 trillion in 2009, or equivalent to 90.4% of GDP. In turn the general government deficit of the EU-27 countries increased nine-fold from 0.8% of GDP in 2007 to 6.8% in 2009, reaching 801.9 billion euros. Over that period Germany's fiscal situation deteriorated from a 0.2% of GDP surplus to a deficit of 3.3%, the United Kingdom's deficit increased from 2.8% to 11.5%, and France's deficit from 2.7% to 7.5%. EU-27 debt correspondingly rose to 8.7 trillion euros, equivalent to 73.6% of GDP.

These levels are unprecedented and clearly unsustainable. In the advanced economies, gross general government debt averaged around 60% in the years before the crisis, reached 75% in 2007, and is certain to breach 110% by 2014 at the latest even if the temporary so-called stimulus measures are withdrawn. Group of Seven (G-7) debt-to-GDP ratios are already near 100% approaching levels immediately after the Second World War yet without the prospect of a post-war reconstruction boom to drive recovery.

The recent 110 billion euro bailout of Greece by the EU and IMF marks the entry into the next phase of the global crisis into sovereign debt difficulties. In 2009, Greece among the weaker European countries had the worst combination of a deficit equivalent to 13.6% of GDP (second worst) and of debt equivalent to 115.1% of GDP (second worst). The bailout requires harsh austerity measures: freezing public sector pay until 2014, increasing the VAT from 19% to 23%, a 10% increase in taxes on fuel, alcohol and tobacco, and increasing the retirement age from 61 to 63. As it is the EU has also agreed on a 750 billion euro rescue package for other possible bankruptcies in the Eurozone. The number of those in the PIIGS category (Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Greece and Spain) is bound to increase.

The imperialist countries and other big powers face the dilemma between, on the one hand, continued deficit spending supposedly to boost collapsing economies and, on the other hand, building up unpayable public debt. Without fundamental reforms to benefit the working classes and the middle strata, cutbacks on government deficit spending (which has been touted as stimulating demand but in fact boosting the book profits of monopoly banks and corporations without any expansion of production and employment) will further deepen the state of depression in the world capitalist system. However, continuing with the fiscal deficits without generating production will rapidly inflate a sovereign debt bubble that will likewise cause enormous unprecedented financial and economic turmoil worldwide when it fully bursts and runs completely out of control.

Either situation means that billions of working people around the world will be driven deeper into acute misery and backwardness. Widespread defaults and financial meltdowns are looming and, as it is, the early concerns about sovereign debt sustainability are already causing havoc on currency markets as well as spilling over into financial and commodity markets.

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The bursting of the private debt bubble and collapse in demand in 2008 was momentarily mitigated by an inflating public debt bubble and stimulus programs. But when the public debt bubble fully bursts and with no other source of new demand, the reality of global depression will become more undeniable than ever before. The people will suffer further unemployment and drastic cuts in social services (education, health, housing, welfare and pensions), increased poverty levels, mortality rates and hunger—all these compounded by governments raising the people's tax burden to maintain operations and pay off the public debt from year to year.

Austerity measures

The imperialist powers have used the crisis as the reason for developing the G-20 into a mechanism for greater global financial and economic governance. US president Barack Obama at the Pittsburgh summit declared the G-20 the premier forum for global economic coordination, in conjunction with the IMF and World Bank (WB) which remain firmly in US control. The group includes such other big economies as China, India, Brazil and Russia to reflect a supposedly multipolar world order and collectively represents 66.66% of the world's population, 80% of world trade, and over 85% of global output. The policy directions the G-20 sets are therefore significant.

The G-20 summit in Toronto concluded with the apparent consensus that government deficits and debts would be reduced in the long term but would be a problem to be approached differently **by each country in the short term**. There appeared to be some disagreements among the major G-20 members (especially the US, EU, Japan and China) on the pace of reducing budget deficits but the communique set general **albeit** non-binding directions and called for halving budget deficits by 2013 and stabilizing debt-to-GDP ratios by 2016.

The imperialist countries seek to impose austerity measures on themselves as well as on the underdeveloped and dependent countries. A recent report released by the UNICEF examined the fiscal outlook of 86 underdeveloped countries and found that nearly 40% of the governments are planning to cut spending in 2010-2011 by an average of 2.6% of GDP (by as much as 13% in some countries). These cuts are being instigated by the IMF which has advised the removal of fuel or food subsidies, public sector downsizing, wage cuts and

pension reforms at a time when the populations in these countries are still confronting widespread chronic unemployment, rising prices of food and fuel, and the adverse impacts of climate change.

Public outrage at the use of taxpayer money for the **multibillion** dollar bailouts compelled governments to commit sweeping financial regulation and reforms supposedly to rein in the excesses and reckless practices of bankers and financial speculators. However nearly two years into the crisis progress in the G-20 towards these supposed reforms is extremely little and slow, with gaping loopholes on the steps being taken and little consensus on the measures to come. Finance capital is voracious and always acts to shift the burden of crisis to the people. There are no real measures that can significantly curb the rapacity of the monopoly finance capitalists and the irrational and destructive character and course of the financial system.

It is not surprising that no consensus was reached on the specific banking and finance proposals. Decisions on these were put off to the next G-20 summit in Seoul, South Korea in November. The proposals included that of Europe for a bank levy to fund future bailouts, as well as global bank and financial transactions taxes and that of the US for more stringent rules on bank capital requirements and liquidity.

The most visible disagreements were between the US and European countries such as Germany and the UK on fiscal consolidation. The US expressed preference for a slow exit from so-called stimulus measures as opposed to Europe which, already facing a public debt crisis, preferred more rapid implementation of spending cutbacks and tax increases to cut government deficits and reduce pressures on public debt.

These differences in position reflect differences in their respective economies (such as reliance on speculative finance and on exports) and in how the crisis has specifically affected each of them so far (such as the real or perceived strengths of country banking systems). In part they also reflect confidence in the US that even as it is somewhat diminished in economic and financial clout it remains the world's lone superpower and that amidst deepening crisis it is still perceived as the relatively safest haven for capital. At any rate, the big powers tend to adopt and implement policies as they individually see fit according to their national or ultra-national interest.

The G-20 notably backpedaled on making any firm time-bound commitments to complete the Doha round of World Trade Organization

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(WTO) talks on multilateral liberalization after targeting the end of 2010 for this in the Pittsburgh Communique. Conspicuously mentioned for the first time is the openness to bilateral and regional deals. This manifests the intent of the big powers to consolidate and expand their respective trade and investment blocs. The advanced capitalist powers always seek to preserve their profits and positions at the expense of their rival powers. Inter-imperialist contradictions characterize the world capitalist system.

It is also important to highlight the fact that none of the so-called reforms pushed by the G-20 address the underlying core issues inherent to monopoly capitalism and that are at the heart of its exploitative-ness, instability, grossly uneven distribution of the social wealth, and the poverty and restricted consumption of the masses. Financial sector deregulation was a key part of the previous decades of neoliberal globalization that started in the 1980s, accelerated in the 1990s and exploded in the 2000s with financial values bloating far beyond what the real economy could sustain or justify.

The worst features of the world capitalist system are being laid bare as the banks, the corporations and the imperialist states fail to solve the crisis and all the problems that they have generated and try ceaselessly to shift the burden of crisis to the dominated countries and the working people. First, public money has been used to bail out the big banks and corporations. Then the public deficits and public debts lead to the further exploitation of the people through austerity measures. There is a pressing need for the people to comprehend how the world capitalist system exploits and oppresses them and to strengthen their resolve and struggle to replace the system with one that is truly free, democratic, just and progressive.

People's struggle

The International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) congratulates all the people and organized forces involved in the massive mobilizations in Toronto, reaching some 25,000 demonstrators at the peak. The protest mass actions were organized despite repressive security measures and effectively exposed the true antipeople and antidemocratic nature of what has been touted as the largest, most expensive and most heavily secured meeting of global leaders in history, reportedly costing **US\$1.2 billion**.

There was a security crackdown in the run-up to the summit with harassment and **preemptive** arrests of activists, forcible displacement of homeless people, and expanded police powers for violating civil liberties and political rights. The summit itself was held in the heart of Toronto's financial district in the middle of a security zone ringed by six (6) kilometres of barbed wire and concrete barriers, and secured by over 20,000 soldiers, police and paramilitary personnel on foot, horseback, armored cars, patrol boats and helicopters. Marchers were eventually dispersed violently with tear gas, truncheons, plastic bullets and pepper spray. The police had even prepared sonic cannons.

Nearly 1,100 people were arrested, including many minors, journalists and bystanders, making it the largest mass arrest in Canadian history, with 714 charged with breach of peace before eventually being released. The prisoners were detained without reasonable and probable grounds, sexually harassed, denied access to counsel and left in handcuffs for extended periods of time in overcrowded cells with insufficient water and food. Sixteen people remained in police custody on July 5, 2010. It was a flagrant example of denial of basic human rights through aggressive state violence. The iron fist of Canadian capitalism was exposed to all the world, with the right-wing government of Steven Harper ready to do the dirty work to protect global capital and picking up where the Bush regime in Washington left off.

The huge mass protests against the G-20 in Toronto were driven by the deep inequities of the global order with bailouts for the rich and a vast and rapidly widening gap between the imperialist countries and the underdeveloped countries as well as between the ruling classes and the great mass of working people. The mass protests reflected and echoed the widespread strikes, protest rallies and other forms of popular resistance in the G-20 countries and elsewhere in the world.

A broad range of issues were raised against the G-20, including the bailouts for the banks and corporations, high rates of unemployment and homelessness, the brutal attacks on the rights of the working people, the decline of incomes and the erosion of hard-won social benefits for the working people, the austerity measures to further exploit and impoverish the people, the imperialist aggression in Iraq and Afghanistan, the US-Israeli Zionist oppression of the Palestinian people, the maltreatment of indigenous peoples, climate change and corporate environmental destruction.

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The broad masses of the people condemn the G-20, the IMF, World Bank and the WTO as instruments of exploitation and call for a world economy that promotes the well-being of humanity. They demand a new and better world, free from imperialism, exploiting classes and all forms of discrimination, truly democratic, socially just, all-roundedly progressive, peaceful and characterized by people's solidarity and harmony with the environment. They assert that by their own mass struggles they can effectively resist imperialism and all reaction, liberate themselves and bring about fundamental social change.

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Condemn the Murder of Azad and Pandey by Andhra Pradesh Special Intelligence Bureau²

July 9, 2010

The International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) condemns the summary execution of Indian revolutionaries Comrade Azad and Comrade Hem Pandey by the Andhra Pradesh Special Intelligence Bureau (APSIB). The Indian authorities have deceived the public by reporting through the press that Azad and Pandey were killed in an encounter.

The Communist Party of India (Maoist) has clarified in a statement what really happened. Azad and Pandey were arrested in Nagpur City around 11 o'clock of July 1. They were taken by the APSIB to the Adilabad jungles near Maharashtra where they were killed in cold blood. They were murdered in the forest to make it appear that they were killed in an armed encounter. The Indian authorities even claimed that they seized an AK47 from Azad.

Azad and Pandey were unarmed when they were arrested. Azad traveled to Nagpur to discuss with his comrades the proposal for mutual ceasefire between the revolutionary forces under the CPI (Maoist) and the Indian government. Azad was a Politburo member of the CPI (Maoist) and the spokesperson of the Party. He had been involved in previous peace negotiations between the Indian government and the CPI (Maoist).

The APSIB which is trained by the Israeli MOSSAD is notorious for carrying out abductions and summary executions of suspected revolutionaries. And as is the practice of reactionary governments around the world confronting revolutionary movements, they cover up their crime by concocting stories of fake encounters.

The Indian revolutionaries led by the CPI (Maoist) are waging a new democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. In recent years, they have made significant strides in their struggle and in winning the

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

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support of a growing number of the peasant masses who continue to suffer from feudal and semifeudal exploitation and of the workers who are oppressed and exploited by the big comprador-bourgeoisie and foreign capitalists. Millions of peasants and minority nationalities have been displaced from the land to give way to agro-industrial projects involving comprador and foreign capitalist firms.

The Indian Maoists have succeeded in leading the masses in these struggles. The Indian government has been alarmed at the gains of the Maoists and have launched a massive counterinsurgency campaign called Operation Greenhunt. This campaign has been accompanied by forced mass evacuations, illegal arrest and detention, torture, extrajudicial killings and other forms of gross human rights violations.

The ILPS condemns these gross violations of human rights and supports the struggle of the Indian masses for national freedom, democracy and social justice. We call on the people of the world to denounce the Indian authorities for their war crimes and crimes against humanity and support the just struggle of the Indian people.

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Fight for Land Reform, Justice and Freedom³

Message of solidarity to the Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas on the occasion of its 25th founding anniversary

July 24, 2010

Wholeheartedly I am in solidarity with the leaders, members and the supporters of the Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas in celebrating its 25th founding anniversary. It is important for the entire nation that we celebrate the continuous struggle of the **peasant movement** for genuine land reform, to honor the peasant martyrs who have sacrificed their lives and to strengthen the spirit and movement of the leaders and members for justice and freedom through land reform against the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

I consider as a great honor that in July 1985 I was invited to give a message of solidarity to the first national congress of the KMP despite the fact that I was still detained in Fort Bonifacio. I am even more greatly honored by giving again a message of solidarity now because of the many victories that you have harvested in the last 25 years of struggle and sacrifices for advancing the peasant movement and land reform and the general struggle of the people for national liberation and democracy against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

It is commendable that KMP has a high level of political consciousness and has won significant victories, mainly in asserting the rights of the peasants over the land that they till. I salute you for the continuous expansion and consolidation of your organization at various levels. I admire the KMP for having 65 provincial chapters and 15 regional chapters in Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao.

Your struggle against the policies dictated by US imperialism and carried out by the Arroyo puppet regime is astounding. You have opposed the policy of neoliberal globalization, especially its laying aside of land reform, destruction of food production for the people and the bargaining away of land and natural resources to foreign

³ Issued as Chief Political Consultant of the NDFP Peace Negotiating Panel.

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corporations. You condemned the policy of imperialist aggression and state terrorism masquerading as war against terrorism. And you have vigorously opposed the real terrorism of Oplan Bantay Laya and the intervention of US military forces under the Visiting Forces Agreement.

KMP has courageously fought the laws, policies and programs that aggravate the exploitation and oppression perpetrated by the landlord class and foreign corporations. You have intensified your resistance in response to the assassinations, massacres, torture, unwarranted arrests and detention and the displacement of the peasants from their homes and land. You have effectively fought not only the barefaced enemy but also the special agents **that sneaked** into the KMP and whipped up factionalism.

It is gratifying that the Alyansa ng Magbubukid ng Gitnang Luzon (AGML) and the Asembleya ng mga Manggagawang Bukid have prepared your gathering inside Hacienda Luisita. Several times I stayed in some barrios there in the years from 1968 to 1972. This was the period of building the new Communist Part of the Philippines and the New People's Army in the province of Tarlac. This was also the period of organizing the Pagkakaisa ng mga Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (PMP).

It is meaningful that a thousand representatives of the regional and provincial chapters of KMP are now gathered inside Hacienda Luisita in order to hold a celebration with the theme: Twenty Five Years of Persevering Struggle for Land, Justice and Freedom. You are proving that the peasant movement is firm and militant and is advancing despite cruel acts of suppression by the landlords.

In this hacienda, in 2004 and 2005 events burst out to call the attention of the people in our country and in the whole world about the exploitation and swindling of the peasants by the landlord class, the just and courageous struggle of the peasants and the massacre and subsequent killings that were the collaborative work of the Cojuangco-Aquino family and the Arroyo regime.

Now that Noynoy Cojuangco-Aquino is the president of the reactionary government, the power of the state and the instruments of violence and deception are now directly in his hands. During the electoral campaign, Aquino said that he would continue the stock distribution option swindle under the **CARPER (Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program Extension with Reforms)**. His family continues to frustrate land reform through corporate tricks and other cruel and deceptive tactics.

At any rate, you are prepared to fight for land reform, justice and freedom. In the face of so great a challenge, it is necessary for you to raise the level of your political consciousness, accelerate the strengthening of your organization and engage in mass mobilization to advance the cause for land reform.

Like the Arroyo regime, the Aquino regime is a running dog of US imperialism. Aquino is now the chief representative of the pro-imperialist classes of big compradors and landlords. He is continuing the evil policies dictated by the US and carried out by Arroyo. Rabid implementers of the policies of neoliberalism and terrorism who were previous adjutants of Arroyo are now the adjutants of Aquino in betraying the Filipino people and violating national and democratic rights and interests.

During the Aquino regime, the problems of landlessness, poverty and hunger will become graver. Aquino has no interest in land reform and national industrialization. The bloody suppression of the people **will be intensified. Despite the grave economic crisis,** the bankrupt reactionary government and scarce resources for social services, Aquino stated in his inaugural address that he would give what the military and police ask for. He indicated that he would double the strength of the military and police forces as the population had doubled since the time **of Marcos.**

In his first military command conference, he ordered the military to give priority to so-called counterinsurgency—**in fact, state terrorism.** Thus, the criminal officers and armed personnel of the state continue to engage in gross and systematic human rights violations with impunity. The Aquino regime is subservient to the US-dictated policy of counterinsurgency or state terrorism. The most important elements of this policy is the strengthening of the reactionary military and the **pretenses** of the reactionary government at clean and efficient governance, delivery of social services, wishing for economic development and other types and methods of deception.

Pretending to wish for peace negotiations is a minor thing. Aquino has already declared that the priority of the military is so-called counterinsurgency. Defense secretary Gazmin has said that the revolutionary forces must surrender and thus peace negotiations are not needed. Chief of staff General David has also said without qualifications that the plan of the military and government is to decimate the revolutionary

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forces in three years' time. **This is a very emphatic warning and challenge to the Filipino people and the revolutionary forces.**

It is clear that like the Arroyo regime the Aquino regime wants to destroy the revolutionary movement of the Filipino people and perpetuate the rotten ruling system of the big compradors and landlords under US imperialism. On the other hand, we see that the people and the revolutionary forces are well-prepared to fight the escalation of exploitation and oppression as a result of the worsening of the crisis of the domestic ruling system and the world capitalist system. The revolutionary forces have declared their resolve to raise the people's war along the line of new democratic revolution from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in the next five years.

As a legal mass organization **with its own integrity**, the KMP must raise the national and democratic consciousness of the peasant masses and must promptly and earnestly face up to the many issues **churned** by the crisis at the global, national and local levels. The recruitment of members must be accelerated and must bring the membership into the **millions**. Members must be recruited and local chapters must be formed (where there are none) through meetings to explain the constitution and program of KMP. The organized masses must avail of campaigns to persuade the unorganized masses to become members of the KMP and become a firm part of the peasant movement.

I am certain that the simultaneous celebrations of the 25th founding anniversary of the KMP at the national, regional, provincial and barangay levels you will be able to raise further the fighting consciousness of the peasants for the rights and interests, you will be able to put forward proposals and plans regarding education, organization and mobilization and you will be able to **expand** support from various sectors in the countryside, in the entire country and the world.

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US-RoK Provocations Attack Korean Sovereignty and Peace in East Asia⁴

July 24, 2010

The International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) hereby condemns in the strongest terms the US and its South Korean (Republic of Korea-RoK) puppet government for a crescendo of provocations against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). These provocations constitute an attack on the national sovereignty of the Korean people and threaten the peace in East Asia and the whole world.

The sinking of the Cheonan was obviously perpetrated by the US in order to stem the tide of popular opposition in [South Korea](#) against US military bases and to justify a series of US-RoK hostile actions against the DPRK and the national sovereignty of the Korean people and the just position of the DPRK for the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula and reunification of the Korean people.

These hostile actions include the baseless accusations against the DPRK for the Cheonan sinking, the announced holding of joint US-RoK military exercises against the DPRK and the adoption of new sanctions against the DPRK in relation to its program of nuclear research and development for national defense, pursuit of peace and economic development.

The US is an old hand at fabricating incidents in order to justify US aggression, such as the February 4, 1899 incident in the Philippines, the August 1964 Tonkin Gulf incident and similar incidents in Asia and elsewhere. It is obvious that the US staged the Cheonan sinking several months ago in order to justify and escalate US military presence in East Asia, to generate new tensions in the region, to prepare for a bigger act of aggression against DPRK and divert attention from US military failures in Afghanistan and Iraq.

The US and RoK are poised to undertake a series of **large-scale** military exercises. The first one, "Invincible Spirit," is meant to humiliate DPRK, force it to take the blame for the US criminal act of sinking the

⁴ Statement issued as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the ILPS.

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Cheonan and accept talks on nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles under US terms. The next military exercise—Freedom's Guardian—would immediately ensue. It is planned to be more aggressive and challenging even to China.

The forces being mobilized for Invincible Spirit include the USS George Washington Carrier Strike Group and RoK Navy ships, aircraft fleet from the US Seventh Air Force, the George Washington Air Wing, the new F-22 Raptor aircraft, the RoK air force and RoK anti-submarine aircraft. In the meantime, the US and RoK forces are escalating psychological warfare along the 38th parallel as complement to the war preparations.

The sanctions being prepared by the US will aggravate and expand the existing financial, commercial and travel sanctions already imposed on the DPRK. Additional categories of DPRK personnel, assets and transactions will be banned or frozen. Even the diplomatic privileges of DRKP personnel will be curtailed. More aggressive actions are being planned against DPRK ships and planes.

In view of the extremely hostile actions and war plans of the US, the DPRK is fully justified in developing its nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles in order to counter the **long-running** nuclearization of South Korea by the US and the continuous military and nuclear threats from US military bases in East Asia and the Pacific. The Korean people can never forget how the US collaborated with Japan to allow the latter to colonize Korea in the first half of the 20th century and how the US murdered more than three million Koreans in the US war of aggression against Korea from 1950 to 1953.

The people of East Asia have suffered so many gross acts of brutality and violations of human rights unleashed by US imperialism. These include the killing of 1.4 million Filipinos in the Filipino-American War, the killing and maiming of hundreds of thousands in the US atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the killing of millions of Chinese by the US-supported Guomindang in the Chinese civil war, the killing of more than three million Koreans, the killing of more than six million Vietnamese and other Indochinese and the massacre of three million Indonesians by the US-supported Suharto fascist clique.

It is a gross act of hypocrisy and malice for the US to be prating about peace and stability in East Asia while it casts false accusations against the DPRK in order to obscure a long history of US aggression in East Asia, to justify continued US military presence in the whole

region and to push forward a new plan of aggression against the DPRK and the Korean people.

The International League of Peoples' Struggle stand in solidarity with the Korean people of both north and south in their struggle against US imperialism and its renewed acts of aggression against them and against the DPRK. We call on the people of the world, the member organizations and allied forces of the ILPS to make manifest their support for the national sovereignty of the Korean people, condemn the aggressive presence of US imperialism in the Korean peninsula and demand its withdrawal.

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On Ninoy Aquino's Relations with the CPP and NPA⁵

Interview by Lisandro Claudio, for GMA News TV

July 24, 2010

1. Was there ever an alliance between the CPP-NPA and Ninoy Aquino? If so, could you comment on the extent of this alliance?

JMS: There was no formal alliance between the CPP-NPA and Ninoy Aquino. By absence of formal alliance, I mean that there was no written instrument of alliance (document) and there was no organizational form to embody the alliance. But there was an informal and objective alliance. The CPP and NPA and Ninoy were informal and practical cooperators against the Marcos regime from late 1968 onwards up to his assassination by the military minions of Marcos and further on with his wife as ally after his assassination.

Even before the CPP was reestablished in 1968, Ninoy had maintained a certain amount of good relations with the old people's army units headed by Bernabe Buscayno in Tarlac. Independently, I became friends with Ninoy in late 1967 through his young Senate aide Raul Roco who was then my neighbor in Sta. Mesa Heights. Ninoy had come to my house but I was not at home. Raul eventually brought me to Ninoy's house in Times St. Ninoy and I exchanged ideas about the political situation. Cory served coffee.

I was then publicly known as chairman of Kabataang Makabayan, editor of *Progressive Review* and friend of most of the congressmen known as the Magnificent Seven opposed to the US war of aggression in Vietnam and the so-called Philippine Civic Action Group (PHILCAG) sent there. Ninoy had no idea then that I and others were preparing for the reestablishment of the CPP and the founding of the NPA.

⁵ This interview is the basis of Claudio's direct and indirect quotations from Prof. Sison in the former's article, "Ninoy networked with everyone, Reds included" in GMA News TV on August 18, 2010.

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2. *Would you recall why Ninoy sought you out for the first meeting? What did you talk about?*

JMS: Ninoy proposed that the two of us go on a hunger strike against the Marcos regime and make demands for reforms. I thanked Ninoy for the proposal but I declined because at that time I was extremely busy with labor, peasant and youth mass organizing. I did not tell him that I was kept most busy by the rectification movement within the old CPP against the Lava dynasty and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster clique and with the rebuilding of the CPP.

3. *Below is an excerpt from a telegram sent by the US Embassy in the Philippines to the State Department. It is dated September 18, 1972. Would it be possible for you to react to it?*

"In private conversations with two Emboffs Sept 12, Senator Aquino said that on Sept 7 he had met with Sison and several other members of CPP/ML Central Committee in house in suburban Makati. At meeting, he was presented with proposal to join broad opposition front including part of Liberal Party, CPP/ML, and other radical groups. According to Aquino, this proposition was premature since situation had not yet reached that stage of deterioration which would prompt him to take such a move. He did, however, agree to provide CPP/ML with statement of program and principles on which he invited their comments with view of established basis for possible future cooperation. He did not, however, show Emboffs copy of paper or discuss its contents."

JMS: It was Julius Fortuna (not me) who met Ninoy Aquino in the house of a big businessman (whose daughter was an activist) and who represented the NDF Preparatory Commission, the CPP and NPA and in effect or in a manner of speaking me. I did not meet Ninoy but it is highly probable that Julius told him that I sent Julius to him. Up to now, I do not understand why Ninoy told Enrile and others that I met him. I could only surmise that it was his way of stressing the importance of the meeting. Indeed, Julius discussed with Ninoy how to make a broad united front more effective against the Marcos regime.

4. I interviewed Rudy Salas and he claims that it was Aquino who introduced you to Dante. Is Salas correct?

JMS: Rudy Salas was not in a position to know the details of my communications with Dante. It was Arthur Garcia who was closely assisting me. Ninoy did not introduce me to Dante.

It was Arthur Garcia. It was Rep. Jose V. Yap who at one time helped to arrange my trip to his province. The stories about Ninoy introducing me to Dante revolve around the trip arranged by Yap.

5. Why did Yap help you arrange the trip to Tarlac? Was this because of a request from Ninoy?

JMS: Not because of a request from Ninoy. But because of a request directly from Dante (Bernabe Buscayno) to Mang Apeng Yap and I agreed through Arthur Garcia. You must understand that Mang Apeng has his own weight in dealing with progressives. He comes from a traditionally Huk town (Victoria, Tarlac) and has relatives who belonged to the old movement.

6. I would just like to know how Arthur Garcia knew Dante. Also, did Aquino provide any material support to the movement? Did he help finance or arm the NPA?

JMS: Dante himself was interested in contacting me and the KM. He was happy when Arthur Garcia made contact with him through some activists in Tarlac. I did not have any direct contact with Ninoy Aquino regarding any material support from him. I can only cite his public statements directly or indirectly supportive of the people's resistance to Marcos. I cannot offer to you anyone who might have some direct personal knowledge regarding any material support from Aquino.

7. Salas claims that Aquino helped open up the Isabela region to the NPA via his connection with Faustino Dy. Is this a claim you can confirm?

JMS: At that time Faustino Dy was indeed pro-Ninoy against Marcos. But it was not Ninoy who introduced the NPA to then Cauayan mayor Dy. It was Ka Ruben Tuason, a peasant leader and member of the CPP Central Committee, who introduced the NPA to Dy. Ruben and Dy had been boyhood friends in Tarlac. Prior to the introduction of the NPA to Dy, the CPP had already deployed a team of cadres headed by Ka Eddie Layug to do expansion work initially among the

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ex-Huks in the NARRA and forest region of Isabela. I had the honor of giving political education to the said team of cadres in Tarlac before it was dispatched to Isabela.

8. In my fieldwork in Hacienda Luisita, residents told me that the hacienda served as a safe haven for NPA troops in the 1970s. Can you confirm this? If it is true, did Aquino play a role in opening up Luisita?

JMS: Hacienda Luisita is a big place of several thousands of hectares. It was an area of mass work by the NPA. The peasants and farmworkers welcomed the NPA. Ninoy did not have to open the place for the NPA. But certainly it was helpful that Ninoy was not known to be hostile to the NPA. His local loyalists did not run to the military to report the presence of the NPA.⁶

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⁶ On September 3, 2010 journalist Claudio made a follow-up question regarding Aquino as CIA Asset. Hereunder are the question and the answer:

Thanks for posting the article on your website by the way. Out of curiosity, I never got to ask this, but were you ever concerned that Aquino was a CIA agent?

JMS: Of course, I was concerned that Ninoy Aquino was a CIA asset (to use the precise term). He himself had indicated that he had been such, especially when he was a journalist moving around in Southeast Asia and was privileged to have close connections with Magsaysay and his CIA handlers. Don't you know that Aquino and his brother had material interest in the acquisition of certain lands in Tarlac for ultimate sale to Voice of America? That should be an interesting point of research for you. Aquino was obviously a CIA asset who was not a run of the mill on a monthly payroll of the CIA. He was not as cheap as that. He had elbow room to look after his own political and economic interests. Marcos was also a CIA asset like his uncle Modesto Farolan and made himself the biggest one as president, overpowering Ninoy and the rest of his fellow *trapos* [traditional politicians] and for a long while made himself an indispensable asset to the US. I had no problem about seeing Aquino as an ally or as a friend in the face of the biggest CIA asset Marcos rendering him an underdog in their struggle for power from the late sixties onwards.

Two Proposals for a Just and Lasting Peace⁷

July 27, 2010

The Negotiating Panel of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) has repeatedly declared its readiness to resume peace negotiations with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) under the Aquino II administration. It has also signaled its willingness to receive in The Netherlands or Norway a senior emissary or a team of emissaries of this administration to discuss the possible course and perspective of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations.

On my part, as chief political consultant of the NDFP Negotiating Panel, I have long proposed the resumption and acceleration of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations, especially with regard to social and economic reforms, in accordance with The Hague Joint Declaration and subsequent major agreements.

I have also gone so far as to propose a concept of immediate truce and alliance on the basis of a mutually acceptable declaration of principles and policies upholding national independence and democracy, confronting the basic problems of the Filipino people and adopting effective measures of social, economic and political reforms. It is unjust for anyone to expect that the revolutionary forces and the people simply cease fire and surrender to a rotten ruling system that shuns patriotic and progressive demands and refuses to engage in basic reforms.

I hope that the Aquino II administration can consider seriously the two proposals for the benefit of the people. Like the NDFP, I welcome any serious step of this administration towards the attainment of a just peace and national unity by addressing the roots of the armed conflict and arriving with the revolutionary forces and the people at agreements on basic social, economic and political reforms.

I urge the Aquino II administration to override such counterrevolutionary notions as those previously spelled out by its officials that the

⁷ Statement issued as Chief Political Consultant of the NDFP Peace Negotiating Panel.

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military can get anything it wants despite the severe economic crisis and bankruptcy of the reactionary government, that the revolutionary forces and people surrender and that they can be destroyed and pacified in the next three years.

I challenge the Aquino II administration to reject the US Counterinsurgency Guide and take the path of seeking a concord of just peace and national unity with the NDFP by addressing the roots of the armed conflict and forging agreements on social, economic and political reforms. It is malicious and unjust to construe the people's resistance to injustice, oppression and exploitation as the problem rather than as the consequence of foreign and feudal domination.

Such monstrous problems as foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucratic corruption are the long-running and current causes of underdevelopment, unemployment, poverty and misery. All well-meaning forces and people must unite and work together to confront and solve these problems and work for a new and better Philippines that is truly free and democratic, socially just, progressive and peaceful.

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Foundation for Sustained Development of the National Democratic Movement in the University of the Philippines⁸

August 8, 2010

The US colonial regime established the University of the Philippines in 1908 in order to attract the cream of the Philippine intelligentsia towards a pro-imperialist and conservative kind of bourgeois liberalism, to draw them away from the anticolonial and progressive kind of liberal ideas which had guided the old democratic revolution and to train and assimilate the professionals and bureaucrats for a semifeudal social system in which the interests of US imperialism and domestic feudalism were harmonized.

In the first fifty years of its existence, the UP carried out well its colonial (1908-1946) and then neocolonial (starting 1946) mission of coopting and training the youth that passed through its portals. It maintained its equanimity as an academic institution of the status quo despite occasional controversies between its constituency or its officials and the state or government officials as well as the recurrent efforts of the sectarians of the dominant church to undermine the university's avowed secular and liberal character.

The founding of the Communist Party of the Philippine Islands in 1930, the Great Depression and the anti-fascist struggles in the 1930s and the revolutionary movement during World War II and up to the early 1950s stimulated the study of Marxism and the Philippine revolution among a few UP faculty members and students. But these successive events did not bring into being the cellular multiplication of study circles and revolutionary party groups nor any sustained mass movement, with an anti-imperialist and antifeudal character, among the UP constituency.

⁸ **This** article was co-authored with Julieta de Lima and published in *Serve the People: Ang Kasaysayan ng Radikal na Kilusan sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas* [The History of the Radical Movement in the University of the Philippines], edited by Bienvenido Lumbera, Judy Taguiwalo et al. (Manila: IBON Foundation, CONTEND & ACT, 2008).

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The most outstanding of the patriotic and progressive intellectuals produced by the UP before World War II included Jose Lansang, Salvador P. Lopez, the Lava brothers Vicente, Jose and Jesus, Dr. Agustin Rodolfo, Angel Baking, Samuel Rodriguez and Renato Constantino. With the exception of some, these intellectuals would continue to take and express the Left position and **face extreme** reaction from the US imperialists and local reactionaries after the war. Some of them would be arrested and detained in 1950 and thereabouts. Those who were released tended to be cautious and expressed themselves in Aesopian language, within the bounds of nationalist and liberal terms. Aside from keeping academic and newspaper jobs, they became **speechwriters** and political analysts for nationalist members of Congress.

Dr. Elmer Ordoñez is the best living witness who has written about the anti-communist witchhunt and the resistance that took place on the UP campus from the early 1950s to 1957. Even the liberal and logical positivist Dr. Ricardo Pascual was pilloried as a communist by religious sectarians and other anticommunists for supposedly organizing secret cells. Dr. Agustin Rodolfo was among those who formed the Society for the Advancement of Academic Freedom to resist the witchhunt. In those years of severe anti-communist suppression, the anti-imperialist speeches of Senator Claro Mayo Recto kept alive the spirit and hopes of the progressives in the UP from 1951 onwards. Recto was assisted by Renato Constantino. Senator Jose Laurel also expressed nationalist and liberal positions on certain major issues. He was assisted by Jose Lansang.

When we were in UP Diliman for our undergraduate studies from 1956 to 1959, the Cold War was running high and the rabid anticommunists in our country were still touting McCarthyism, which had already been discredited in the US. The US puppet president Ramon Magsaysay and the like-minded UP president Vidal Tan sought to make the UP a regimented bulwark of anticommunism by using religious sectarianism as its base. Subservience to US imperialism was cultivated among faculty members and students through the US-influenced curricula and study materials as well as prospects of Fulbright, Smith-Mundt and other US scholarships and travel grants, or highly-remunerated employment in US and local comprador corporations.

The struggle between the liberals and the religious sectarians was intense. Under the direction of their American Jesuit chaplain

Fr. John P. Delaney up to his death in early 1956, the UP Student Catholic Action (UPSCA) and its faculty version the Iota Eta Sigma had made political capital out of some fatal initiation hazing incidents in certain fraternities to discredit and subvert the nonsectarian and liberal character of the UP. They gave an anticommunist spin to their virulent opposition to the influence of the Recto nationalist crusade, the UP publication of Teodoro Agoncillo's *Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Philippine Revolution*, the clamor for the study of Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, and so on.

The Anti-Subversion Law was passed in 1957 supposedly in order to destroy once and for all the Marxist ideology and the CPP or any of its successor, extension or front by imposing the death penalty on the officers. It was drafted by the American Jesuit Fr. Arthur Weiss and the political officer of the US embassy openly lobbied for its passage in Congress. It was a bill of attainder, establishing guilt by association, and was meant to suppress the freedom of thought, speech and assembly. It would become a constant weapon of anti-communist witchhunt and oppression.

After Magsaysay died in a plane accident in 1957, his vice president, Carlos P. Garcia, assumed the presidency and won it in the elections in the same year. He appointed Dr. Vicente Sinco as UP president in 1958. The latter suspended the UP Student Council after it held a rally against his policy of preventing a religious organization like the UPSCA from dominating the council. He introduced the General Education Program with the objective of giving all college students a [well-rounded](#) basic knowledge of the sciences and the humanities and developing their ability for critical thinking. He appointed as full professors Hernando Abaya, Teodoro Agoncillo, I.P. Soliongco, Armando Malay, and others who were well known for their patriotic and progressive writings. He also appointed as deans and heads of departments those who were patriotic and progressive. He promoted the colloquia on nationalism among the faculty members and students.

In the year 1958 we gained access to some Marxist books in the UP Main Library. The military had ordered these to be destroyed in 1950 or thereabouts. But the librarian simply put most of these aside, piled up uncatalogued and unclassified, at the basement of the UP Main Library where one of us found them among other donated [secondhand](#) books. Students of library science were encouraged to volunteer in retrieving usable books from among the dusty piles. These were brought

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upstairs for cataloguing and classification and eventually added to the UP Library System collections. Thus were many Marxist and progressive books retrieved and made available to those interested in them.

We avidly read and studied these books as well as others that we borrowed from private collections, including that of a non-communist university professor and an Indonesian graduate student. We learned, particularly from Lenin and Mao, that the bourgeois democratic revolution of the new type (under the leadership of the working class) rather than of the old type (under the leadership of the liberal bourgeoisie) was necessary for the people to win victory in the struggle for national liberation and democracy in the era of modern imperialism and world proletarian revolution. We also learned that the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie must unite for the revolution to win victory.

The progressive liberal trend in the UP proceeded well even as an ambiguous side controversy occurred. The UP Journalism Club in early 1959 had invited Fr. Hilario Lim, a recent expellee from the Society of Jesus, to speak on the need to Filipinize religious institutions. We and the faculty adviser Prof. Armando Malay were chagrined by the refusal of the Sinco administration to let Fr. Lim speak on the ground of his being a religious, despite the fact that he was demanding the nationalization of religious and religious-run institutions in the Philippines. A few years later, Lim would step out of the Catholic clergy, join the faculty of the UP history department and become an outspoken advocate of the national democratic movement.

From SCAUP founding to the eve of KM founding, 1959 to 1964

By 1959 when we founded the Student Cultural Association of the UP (SCAUP), we who were the core organizers drew from our study of Marxism and the history and circumstances of the Philippines the understanding that the Philippine revolution could be resumed under the leadership of the working class and that such a leadership could bring together the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords.

We considered the character of the UP and the possibility of developing the national democratic movement within the UP. We had no illusion that SCAUP or even all the UP students could change the

character of the UP as a pro-imperialist and conservative liberal institution without the prior victory of the national democratic movement in society at large. But we aimed to build a progressive university within the reactionary university or to develop the national democratic movement among the students, faculty members and nonacademic employees.

It was with some sense of humor that we adopted the acronym SCAUP to stress the fact that we were diametrically opposed to the UPSCA as it was then. We also stressed that we were a cultural group, not a religious one. But we were most interested in raising the level of debate in the university from one between the liberals and the religious sectarians to one between the Left and the Right or one between the progressives and the reactionaries on basic and urgent social, economic, political and cultural issues. We used the terms nationalism and liberalism in a progressive way to mean anti-imperialism and antifeudalism, respectively.

We called for a Second Propaganda Movement to prepare the resumption of the Philippine revolution under global conditions of modern imperialism and proletarian revolution as well as under local semicolonial and semifeudal conditions. We were for the resumption of the Philippine revolution against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. We were for national liberation, democracy, social justice and development. We were for academic freedom and civil liberties in the UP and we were definitely for upholding, promoting and advancing a system of education and culture that is of national, scientific and mass character.

We were of the view that the Marxists and the progressive liberals could and had to unite in order to form the national democratic movement in the university and that they could also ally themselves even with the conservative liberals on certain issues, like academic freedom, civil liberties and welfare for all UP constituents. The SCAUP adopted two levels of education through seminar-style discussions. One was openly done on the principles, program and basic issues of national democratic movement among members and applicants for membership. The other was discreetly done among the most politically advanced SCAUP members because the Anti-Subversion Law prohibited the study of Marxism-Leninism and its relevance to the Philippine revolution.

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It was sufficient for every SCAUP member to have a basic knowledge of the national democratic movement. As a form of initiation, applicants for membership were collectively and individually instructed on the movement and were assigned a book, article or a current issue to analyze and discuss. The discussions were carried out anywhere the participants wished, be it in a classroom, cafeteria or in the open air. The discreet discussions on Marxism-Leninism were done either on the campus grounds or in private homes.

The charter members of the SCAUP were graduate and undergraduate students. The organizational policy was to give priority to the recruitment of those who were already holding responsible positions in other campus organizations, who had the ability to write for the *Collegian* as editors and feature writers or who had the qualifications to run for the UP Student Council in case of restoration. The political and academic quality of the SCAUP was so high that sometimes some SCAUP members immodestly joked among themselves that they could someday take over the reactionary government from within. In fact, some would join and become cadres of the revolutionary movement and others enter the reactionary government and rise to the high positions of cabinet members, governor of the Central Bank, ambassadors, congressmen and senators and justices of the Supreme Court.

SCAUP members were encouraged to debate with their teachers and oppose reactionary ideas inside and outside classrooms. They had a keen interest in attending the colloquia on nationalism and in initiating or joining open forums where they had the opportunity to raise questions and debate with the speakers. Some SCAUP members regularly attended the seminars and informal discussions organized by the graduate assistant Petronilo Bn. Daroy on behalf of Dr. Ricardo Pascual, dean of the graduate school of arts and sciences. They went there to test their knowledge of dialectical materialism by debating with the dean who was a logical positivist and to ventilate their political views and seek consensus on current issues with participants who were mostly graduate students and faculty members, including Dr. Agustin Rodolfo who could skilfully render Marxist ideas in liberal language.

The members of fraternities who were members of SCAUP stood above inter-fraternity rivalries and took a common ground in opposing the UPSCA and attended SCAUP study meetings. Because of the vacuum created by President Sinco's suspension of the UP Student

Council, they took the initiative in spearheading the formation of the Inter-Fraternity and Sorority Student Council (IFSC). This alliance would later make up for the limited membership of SCAUP and provide the broad organized base for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the UP students in 1961 against the witchhunt conducted by the Committee on Anti-Filipino Activities (CAFA) against the UP faculty members and students.

The CAFA invoked the Anti-Subversion Law and targeted for inquisition the editors of the *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review* for having reprinted in 1958 the 1946 pamphlet “Peasant War in the Philippines: A study of the causes of social unrest in the Philippines—an analysis of Philippine political economy,” the 1960 *Philippinensian* for the editorial “Tower of Babel” and the *Philippine Collegian* for the March 1, 1961 feature article “Requiem for Lumumba” under the SCAUP chairman’s nom de plume, Andres Gregorio. The articles had an anti-imperialist and antifeudal content. The editors were accused of subversion, promoting Marxism and the outlawed Communist Party.

The key leaders of the IFSC, who were also SCAUP members, convened a meeting of all campus organizations to agree on holding a demonstration in response to the CAFA witchhunt. The SCAUP, the IFSC and the *Philippine Collegian* rallied the students to the defense of academic freedom and civil liberties. The SCAUP drafted the manifesto and organized the machinery for the March 14, 1961 rally against CAFA. We prepared the placards at our rented cottage in Area 14 and at the Stalag 17 (the moniker for the quonset barracks left by the US Army). The SCAUP chairman and the graduate assistant Petronilo Bn. Daroy arranged with the JD bus company and signed the rent contract for the buses to ferry the students from Diliman in Quezon City to Congress in downtown Manila.

Five thousand students converged on Congress and literally scuttled the CAFA hearings. This was the first demonstration of its kind, protesting against the anticommunist witchhunt and the Anti-Subversion Law and defending the freedom to express anti-imperialist and antifeudal ideas, which the targeted publications carried. Following the resounding success of the anti-CAFA rally, the *Philippine Collegian* published a crescendo of editorials, columns and feature articles that did not only defend academic freedom and civil liberties but also propagated

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the ideas of the national democratic movement against imperialism and feudalism.

The consecutive editorships of Reynato Puno, Leonardo Quisumbing, Luis Teodoro, Jr., Ferdinand Tinio and Rene Navarro from 1961 to 1962 firmly established the predominance of *Philippine Collegian* editors who adopted the editorial policy that adhered to the line of the national democratic movement in the 1960s and thereafter. The editors either belonged to or were friendly to the SCAUP and welcomed the contributions of the SCAUP writers. The *Philippine Collegian* became a highly important vehicle for carrying and ventilating the ideas of the national democratic movement not only in the UP but also beyond. We also aimed to avail of the pages of the *Literary Apprentice* of the UP Writers' Club and the *Diliman Review*.

In addition to the *Collegian*, we had the Diliman-based little magazines that were dedicated to the task of stirring up anti-imperialist and antifeudal ideas. These were the *Fugitive Review*, *Cogent* and *Diliman Observer* in 1960 and 1961. They were edited by such SCAUP writers as Peronilo Bn. Daroy and the SCAUP chairman, and were invariably 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 until 1968. The editorial board consisted of UP faculty members and graduate students.

As a result of the anti-CAFA rally, the teaching fellowship of the SCAUP Chairman was not renewed by the UP English Department. Also before being fired from the department, he engaged the department head in a debate on the pages of the *Philippine Collegian* regarding the content of a subject called Great Thoughts in which the study materials were written predominantly by Catholic thinkers, like Cardinal Newman, G. K. Chesterton, Jacques Maritain, Belloc, Gibson, and so on. He demanded that progressive writings, including those of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and other Marxist thinkers and revolutionaries, should also be accommodated in the subject.

Having lost his job at the UP, the SCAUP chairman gained time to do political work not only on the UP campus but also on other campuses. As a result of the anti-CAFA rally, students in other universities in downtown Manila took interest in the student movement in the UP. SCAUP promoted the formation of 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. Eventually, the SCAUP members and their friends in the other universities in Manila would constitute a significant part of the student contingent at the founding of the Kabataang Makabayan in 1964.

The general secretary Jesus Lava of the underground merger party of the communist and socialist parties (MPCSP) tried to contact the SCAUP chairman soon after the March 1961 anti-CAFA rally. But the intermediary failed to deliver Lava's message to him. The SCAUP chairman went to Indonesia on a scholarship grant to study Bahasa Indonesia in the first half of 1962 and had the opportunity to study the Indonesian mass movement. From there he effected the flow of Marxist-Leninist reading materials to some faculty members and student activists in the UP and some other universities in Manila. It would only be in December 1962 that he could link with and join the MPCSP.

Soon after the anti-CAFA rally in 1961, we of the SCAUP were already planning to form a comprehensive youth organization by linking up with young workers, peasants and professionals. We joined the Lapiang Manggagawa (LM, Workers Party) and became active in its youth, and research and education departments in the latter half of 1962. From this, we gained access to the young workers in several labor federations and major independent unions. We established links with the peasant association Malayang Samahan ng Magsasaka (MASAKA, Free Peasant Association) in 1963 and we visited a number of barrios in Central Luzon in order to encourage the peasant youth to join the projected Kabataang Makabayan.

After the anti-CAFA rally, the SCAUP initiated or joined a number of other mass actions. These included the campus protest action (in cooperation with the UP Student Union of which Enrique Voltaire Garcia III was chairman) against the appointment of Carlos P. Romulo as UP President and off-campus rallies and pickets against US imperialism on the issues of the US-RP Military Bases Agreement, the Laurel-Langley Agreement, US military intervention in Cuba and so on. The political mass actions initiated from 1962 to 1964 by Lapiang Manggagawa on various issues were small, ranging from 500 to 1,000 participants. The SCAUP promoted and assisted the campaign against the Spanish Law, which required students to take 24 units of Spanish. The campaign culminated in the demonstration of 50,000 people (the majority of whom came from the youth of Iglesia ni Cristo).

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National expansion of the new democratic movement, 1964-1968

The national democratic movement that started in the UP in the period of 1959-1964 became well established on a national scale in the period of 1964-1968. The UP student contingent took an outstanding role in the founding of the Kabataang Makabayan (KM) on November 30, 1964 and in its further development as a comprehensive youth organization for students as well as young workers, peasants, professionals and women. In turn, the national democratic movement developing in the entire country had salutary effects on the patriotic and progressive forces within the UP. The KM echoed and amplified the call of the SCAUP in 1959 for a Second Propaganda Movement.

Through the KM, students and young faculty members of the UP led by the KM chairman gained access to and cooperated with the Lapiang Manggagawa, which became the Socialist Party of the Philippines (SPP) in 1965, the trade union movement and the MASAKA (Malayang Samahan ng mga Magsasaka [Free Peasants Association]). By its own efforts, the KM was able to organize new trade unions as well as community organizations in both urban and rural areas. Eventually, it spearheaded the formation of the broad anti-imperialist alliance, Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism (MAN) on February 8, 1967.

As soon as it was founded in 1964, the KM established a chapter in the UP. This had interlocking membership and always cooperated closely with SCAUP as a partner. The KM and SCAUP had their respective internal educational activities but they also had joint public activities. The SCAUP held the Claro Mayo Recto Lecture Series every year and the KM members attended these. The KM and SCAUP cooperated with other organizations such as the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation (Philippine chapter) headed by Dr. Francisco Nemenzo, Jr. to popularize the anti-imperialist teach-ins, especially against the US war of aggression in Vietnam in the mid-1960s. The KM organized the inter-university Lecture Series on Nationalism.

In most semesters during the 1960s, the *Philippine Collegian* had as editors and writers either members or close friends of the KM and SCAUP. It often carried feature articles promoting the national democratic line against imperialism and reaction. When revived in 1966, the UP Student Council chaired by Enrique Voltaire Garcia III cooperated very well with the KM and SCAUP in promoting the national democratic

line on intramural, national and international issues. It held the National Student Congress for the advancement of nationalism. The delegates joined the KM and gave it a national spread. As UP Student Council chairman and later as *Collegian* editor-in-chief, Garcia was outstanding in pursuing the national democratic line.

The KM dispatched educational-organizational teams to organize chapters in schools, factories, urban poor communities and rural areas. It also availed of the national conferences of national student organizations like the College Editors' Guild, National Students' League, Conference Delegates Association (CONDA), Student Council Association of the Philippines (SCAP) and the Student Christian Movement (SCM) to recruit KM members nationwide. The students recruited during such conferences were followed up by members of the KM National Council and by organization-education teams and were encouraged and guided to form KM chapters. Until after 1970, the National Union of Students of the Philippines (NUSP) and the Student Catholic Action of the Philippines were usually run by the conservative and reformist student leaders from the Catholic schools.

The KM played the key role in planning and organizing the youth participation in the omnibus rally of 25,000 people on January 25, 1965 against US imperialism with regard to the Laurel-Langley Agreement, the US Military Bases Agreement and other forms of US control over the Philippines. The people rallied in front of the US embassy and marched in a torch parade to the presidential palace. The youth contingent was larger than those of workers and peasants. The protest action marked a new peak in mass mobilization by the national democratic movement. Some elements of the national bourgeoisie gave support to the mass action.

When US President Lyndon B. Johnson attended the so-called Manila Summit to round up support for the US war of aggression in Vietnam from governments in the Asia-Pacific region, UP students belonging to the KM were among those who picketed the summit at its Manila Hotel venue on October 23, 1966. The following day UP students mustered by both the KM and the UP Student Council composed the bulk of the 5,000 students who protested against the summit and were attacked by the military and police. Consequently, the UP Student Council led by Enrique Voltaire Garcia III formed the UP Nationalist Corps to wage a nationwide campaign against state brutality and to conduct mass work among workers and peasants,

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thus reinforcing the work of the KM Learn from the Masses, Serve the People teams. The KM chairman had drafted the manifesto launching the UP Nationalist Corps.

In 1967, soon after the establishment of the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism (MAN) the MAN general secretary made the first draft and together with Renato Constantino formed a working group to make the MAN report against the further Americanization of the University of the Philippines under the presidency of Carlos P. Romulo. Romulo was acting as chief agent of the cultural agencies of the US government, US corporations and the Rockefeller, Ford and other US foundations. The KM and the SCAUP cooperated with all other patriotic student organizations, student leaders, campus writers and faculty members in a sustained campaign against the ideological and cultural dominance of US imperialism in the UP.

The *Philippine Collegian*, under the editorship of Miriam Defensor, would expose in 1968 the contract between the UP College of Agriculture in Los Baños and Dow Chemicals Inc. which was notorious for supplying the American armed forces in Vietnam with napalm and defoliants. This was followed by another *Collegian* expose of the contract between the same college and the US Air Force regarding the study of plant life, which could be used in US chemical and biological warfare in Vietnam and elsewhere. The student protests on the Diliman and Los Baños campuses forced the UP administration to cancel the contracts.

The chairman of Kabataang Makabayan who was concurrently vice chairman of the Socialist Party of the Philippines and general secretary of MAN published his book, *Struggle for National Democracy*, in 1967. This was a compilation of his articles and speeches on the issues and concerns affecting Philippine society as a whole and its various major sectors. It was avidly read by the activists of the youth, labor and peasant movements and served to consolidate their understanding of the national democratic movement. It stimulated the further advance of the movement for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local reactionary classes.

Within the old merger party of the CPP and SPP, the debates and contradictions between the proletarian revolutionaries and the Lavaite revisionists came to a head in April 1967 when the latter made an organizational maneuver against the former who were the ones actually leading the mass movement. The proletarian revolutionaries had

long criticized and wanted to repudiate the influence of modern revisionism centered in the Soviet Union and the major subjectivist and Right and Left opportunist errors in the previous 25 years within the MPCSP. They carried out a rectification movement to prepare for the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the waging of a protracted people's war against the ruling system.

By 1968 the Kabataang Makabayan had established chapters in the universities, colleges and high schools in nearly all provinces of the country. It provided the organizational framework for building a nationwide revolutionary movement. It established the schools for national democracy. It provided a nationwide broadcast network for the ideas of the national democratic movement. It was the training school of young activists not only from the schools but also from the factories, urban poor communities and farms. It gained repute for the spread of student strikes on a national scale. It was involved in a number of outstanding worker strikes. It struck roots among the peasant youth in Central and Southern Luzon.

As a result of the break of the proletarian revolutionaries from the MPCSP, the Lavaite revisionists formed the Malayang Pagkakaisa ng Kabataang Pilipino (MPKP) which took away a few scores of members from KM in 1968. Also in the same year a group of KM members who opposed a pre-congress proposal to elect Nilo Tayag as KM chairman broke away from the KM and formed the Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan (SDK). The contradictions involved were not promptly and properly handled because we were then preoccupied with the intensified struggle against the Lava revisionist clique. However, the SDK proclaimed a national democratic line similar to that of the KM.

Mass movement against the rise of fascism, 1968-1972

What incubated in the UP from 1959 to 1964 and conspicuously spread nationally from 1964 to 1968 helped greatly in paving the way for the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines on December 26, 1968, and the rise of a powerful mass movement challenging the entire ruling system from 1969 to 1972. The national democratic movement grew in strength among the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata as the crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system worsened and the Marcos

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regime became more servile to imperialism, **corrupt and brutal** and prepared to impose a fascist dictatorship on the people.

Workers' strikes spread throughout the country in an unprecedented way in 1969. The peasants were likewise restive and demanded land reform, even as the Marcos regime became more intimidating and the religious sectarians, reformists and revisionists tried to lead them astray and calm them down. On March 29, 1969 the CPP founded the New People's Army and launched people's war. In November 1969, peasants from Central Luzon numbering 20,000, joined by their workers and youth supporters, massed in front of Congress in order to demand land reform.

Student strikes continued to spread throughout the country. They inspired the students to join the chapters of the KM and attend the KM schools for democracy. The UP Chapter of Kabataang Makabayan and SCAUP allied themselves with other student organizations to launch a strike in January 1969 and succeeded in moving the university administration headed by UP president Dr. Salvador P. Lopez to give in to most of the demands of the students, faculty members and nonacademic employees. Being himself a libertarian and an advocate of the university as social critic, Dr. Lopez showed sympathy for the cause of the students and led the UP administration in preventing the outside police forces from entering the university campus.

Among the reforms demanded by the students and met by the UP administration were the representation of the students in the Board of Regents and the university councils and in the process of electing college deans and department heads, the autonomy of student organizations and optionality of having faculty advisers, transparency of university financial accounts, the spending of students' fees for the very purpose for which these are collected, and so on. Until now, many of the reforms won by the students in the period **from** 1969 to 1972 have been retained despite reactionary efforts to reverse or undermine them.

The *Philippine Collegian* under the editorship of Ernesto Valencia serialized Amado Guerrero's *Philippine Society and Revolution* (PSR) under the title *Philippine Crisis* in 1970. It was enthusiastically received and closely read by the students, especially with the understanding that it was a further development of *Struggle for National Democracy* (SND). The first edition of the PSR in book form in 1970 was **sold out** mainly in the lobbies at UP Diliman. The *Collegian* under the editorship

of Antonio Tagamolila and the Amado V. Hernandez Foundation under the chairmanship of Antonio Zumel cooperated in publishing the second edition of the *Struggle for National Democracy* in 1971.

The *Collegian* under the editorship of Victor Manarang, Valencia, Tagamolila and Rey Vea from 1969 to 1972 brought to a new and higher level the adherence of the student publication to the national democratic line by publishing documents of the reestablished Communist Party of the Philippines and articles of CPP chairman Amado Guerrero and other prominent progressives and anti-imperialists. Creative works in the form of short stories, poems and plays reflecting social reality and the discontent and revolutionary aspirations of the people appeared in the *Collegian*, *Collegian Folio*, *Literary Apprentice* and *Ulos*.

In late 1969 the KM and the Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan (SDK) reconciled along the national democratic line, with the former welcoming the latter's formal founding in January 1970.

The reconciliation gave further impetus to the development of the national democratic movement in the UP. It came in time for the preparations for the student strike on the UP campus in the second week of January 1970 and the demonstration in front of Congress against President Marcos' state of the nation address on January 25, 1970. The police brutality inflicted on the 10,000 mainly student demonstrators on this day ignited the First Quarter Storm of 1970.

The KM and other organized forces of the youth and the workers launched militant mass protests of **from** 50,000 to 100,000 people every week (excluding the people who cheered along the streets and from windows of houses) during the first three months of 1970. They formed the Movement for a Democratic Philippines to broaden and strengthen the alliance against the rising brutality of the Marcos regime and at the same time frustrate the attempt of the revisionist party to outflank the progressive forces with the false charge that they were purely anti-Marcos and were not at all opposed to US imperialism.

The First Quarter Storm subsided. But mass protest actions by the student masses proceeded throughout 1970 in provincial capitals where the KM had established chapters. The mass protests resumed in Metro Manila with the May 1 worker-student demonstration and continued in earnest though intermittently through the rest of the 1970s on a wide range of domestic issues such as the superprofit-taking by the foreign monopolies, rising prices of fuel and basic commodities,

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antilabor policies and practices and the lack of land reform and also on international issues such as the use of US military bases for aggression and military intervention in Southeast Asia and the escalation of the US war of aggression in Indochina.

On February 1, 1971 the UP students declared a strike to protest successive oil price hikes. The Marcos regime deployed military and police forces against the UP after a pro-Marcos member of the faculty killed Pastor Mesina, a freshman student. These prompted the students, the faculty members, nonacademic employees and other campus residents to unite and resist the hostile armed forces. They took over the entire university from the administration and proclaimed the Diliman Commune. They established barricades and other forms of defense and they improvised missiles and fireworks to discourage the helicopters from landing armed personnel.

They used the radio facilities of the university, increasing its power and range to broadcast to as far as Palawan revolutionary propaganda against the Marcos regime, including the reading of all three chapters of *Philippine Society and Revolution*. They also used the UP printing press to print leaflets and publish their own revolutionary newspaper. They renamed the buildings of the university after revolutionary leaders. The Diliman Commune promptly captured national attention and gained wide and enthusiastic support. Food, clothing, and all sorts of donations and other forms of encouragement poured in continuously, some coming from far-flung provinces. Workers, public transport drivers, students from other schools and assorted volunteers came to reinforce the barricades.

The Diliman Commune ended on February 9, 1971 only after the UP administration accepted several significant demands of the students and the Marcos regime accepted the recommendation of the UP president to end the military and police siege and declare assurances that state security forces would not be deployed against the university. After the Diliman Commune, the broad masses of the Filipino people continued to engage in legal protest actions on a nationwide scale. The Marcos regime confronted these with increasing violence. On August 21, 1971 it attacked the opposition by lobbing grenades at the Liberal Party miting de avance at Plaza Miranda in order to have the pretext for blaming communists and suspending the writ of habeas corpus. It arrested the leaders of KM and other progressive organizations and raided their offices and homes.

The KM and all other progressive forces in the Movement for a Democratic Philippines recognized the rising threat of fascism and expanded their alliance by forming the Movement of Concerned Citizens for Civil Liberties (MCCCL). This included the reformists, bourgeois nationalists, anti-Marcos reactionaries and religious organizations. Activists most likely to be arrested by the regime either went underground or prepared to go underground. Nevertheless, the legal forces of the national democratic movement continued to mobilize the people in order to make protests and demands.

Under the auspices of the MCCCL, the legal mass protests continued until September 21, 1972 when 25,000 demonstrators denounced the plot to declare martial law. Indeed, Marcos started the mass arrests on September 22, issued the declaration of martial law on September 23, 1972 and imposed a fascist dictatorship on the people for the next 14 years. The legal forces of the national democratic movement went underground but took deeper roots in the UP and in the entire country, especially because the armed revolution raged in the countryside and kept the hopes of the people alive.

Enrique Voltaire Garcia III set the example and established the tradition of pursuing the national democratic line in the UP Student Union and Student Council. But more importantly, the student organizations and the student masses welcomed and followed the national democratic line. Student parties competed for support from the students along this line during the campus elections. By 1970 every student party and almost every campus organization wanted to be recognized as having a national-democratic character.

The KM and SDK were the engines of the student parties that excelled in espousing the national democratic line. They generated the kind of student leadership that culminated in the militant presidency of Gerry Barican of Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan and the student party Partisans and Eric Baculinao of Kabataang Makabayan and the student party Sandigang Makabansa (formerly Partisans) from 1969 to 1971. However, as long as the ruling reactionary system remained, the national democratic line in the UP Student Council could not always remain secure.

The Marcos regime and the intelligence services pushed the fraudulent election of a reactionary student leader to the presidency of the UP Student Council for 1971-1972 by literally using smear tactics against the Sandigang Makabansa candidates. Famous slogans from the

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writings of Mao (like *Oppose Book Worship* and *Combat Liberalism*) were smeared in red paint on the walls of the university and furniture were thrown out from buildings on the eve of the campus elections. This vandalism was ascribed to the progressive student party in order to misrepresent it and swing the votes to the reactionary party. It was a coup calculated to cripple the UP Student Council and the national democratic movement in the UP in preparation for the Marcos coup d'état. But in the campus elections of 1972, a few months before the declaration of martial law, the Sandigang Makabansa headed by the candidate for chairman Jaime Tan won by a landslide.

Due to space constraint, we have referred to the principal mass organizations as active factors and indicators in the development of the national democratic movement. Also deserving of attention were those traditional organizations and institutions that adopted in varied ways and degrees the aims of the national democratic movement. Many individual officers and members of the fraternities and sororities became militants of the national democratic movement and tried to reorient their organizations. The Alethea, the Kilusang Kristyano ng Kabataang Pilipino (KKKP) and the Christians for National Liberation (CNL) gained adherents among religious believers. The rabid religious sectarians that were associated with the UPSCA and Iota Eta Sigma seemed to recede.

The years from 1969 to 1971 saw a flurry of mass organizing along the national democratic line. Various student organizations arose as affiliates and allies of KM and SDK. They formed their respective cultural performing and visual arts groups, like Panday Sining and Nagkakaisang Progresibong Artista at Arkitekto (NPAA) of KM and Gintong Silahis and Sining Bayan of SDK. There were the mass formations based on certain colleges in UP Diliman, such as the Progresibong Samahan sa Inhinyeria at Agham (PSIA) in the College of Engineering, the NPAA in the College of Fine Arts, the Progresibong Kilusang Medikal (PKM) in the College of Medicine and the Samahan ng mga Makabayang Mag-aaral ng Batas (SMMB) in the College of Law. The propagandists formed the Samahan ng mga Progresibong Propagandista. The UP faculty members had their own progressive organization, Samahan ng mga Guro sa Pamantasan (SAGUPA).

The national democratic movement reached and swept the UP units in Los Baños, Baguio and Tarlac. It was strongest in UP Los Baños because the SCAUP, KM and SDK chapters were formed there soon

after their Diliman counterparts were established and because this unit had the largest student population among the UP extension units. The progressive students led the student government and edited the student publication. They aroused and mobilized the student masses to support the Diliman Commune and make their own demands. UP Los Baños became the beacon of other schools and colleges in the Southern Tagalog region and the staging base for long protest marches to Metro Manila.

The basis and course of development of the national democratic movement in UP Baguio were similar to those of UP Los Baños. Progressive students and young instructors built chapters of the KM and SDK. The student members led the student government and took charge of the student publication. The teachers espousing the same general line formed the Ugnayan ng Makabayang Guro (Association of Patriotic Teachers-UMAGA). UP Baguio became a base for organizing KM chapters in other schools, universities and communities in Baguio City and the provinces of the Cordillera. UP Tarlac also became a base for progressive student organizing in Central Luzon.

National mass organizations came into being, with UP students, faculty members and alumni as members. They included Students for the Advancement of National Democracy (STAND), League of Editors for a Democratic Society (LEADS), Katipunan ng mga Samahang Manggagawa (Alliance of Workers Associations-KASAMA), Pagkakaisa ng mga Magbubukid sa Pilipinas (Unity of Philippine Peasants-PMP), Katipunan ng mga Gurong Makabayan (Alliance of Patriotic Teachers-KAGUMA), Malayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan (**Free Movement of New Women-MAKIBAKA**), Panulat para sa Kaunlaran ng Sambayanan (Pen for People's Progress-PAKSA), Samahan ng mga Makabayang Siyentipiko (Patriotic Association of Scientists-SMS) and Makabayang Samahan ng mga Nars (Patriotic Association of Nurses-MASANA). The CPP formed party groups in various types of mass organizations and groups of professionals. From these would arise the allied organizations within the National Democratic Front.

The fascist dictatorship failed to destroy the national democratic movement in the university and in the entire country. It only succeeded in unwittingly persuading many of the UP students, teachers and alumni to join the people's struggle for national liberation and democracy. The best sons and daughters of the university became

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communists and sought to remold themselves as proletarian revolutionaries. Many of them decided to participate in the people's war, contributing whatever abilities they had and ever ready to make the necessary sacrifice in order to advance the revolutionary cause.

From one reactionary regime to another after the fall of Marcos in 1986, the national democratic movement has kept a deeply-rooted foundation in the UP and has always strived to grow in strength against tremendous odds. So long as the semicolonial and semifeudal system persists, the movement goes through ups and downs and twists and turns for whatever reason at any given time. So far, it continues to exist and grow because there is a fertile ground and need for it and the activist organizations and individuals are inspired by the noble cause of serving the people and carrying on the struggle to which so many revolutionary martyrs and heroes from the UP have dedicated their lives. The UP constituents are ever critical of the dire conditions of society and are ever desirous of change for the better.

In the last fifty years the national democratic movement has become the principal challenge to the pro-imperialist and reactionary character of the University of the Philippines. It aims to overthrow the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and liberate the university completely so that UP can become the shining center for upholding, defending and promoting national independence and democracy, development through national industrialization and land reform, a national, scientific and popular system of culture and education, and international solidarity and peace.

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On the US-Aquino Regime, Peace and Revolution⁹

Interview by Roselle Valerio, *Liberation International*

August 11, 2010

1. On the basis of Aquino's policy pronouncements, appointments and other actions since his oath-taking as president, how do you characterize his regime and how do you compare it with the Arroyo regime?

JMS: The Aquino regime is the latest of regimes servile to US imperialism and representative chiefly of the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords. It follows such US-directed policies as neoliberal globalization and the so-called global war on terror which is used to justify state terrorism and US military intervention in the Philippines.

The Aquino regime is fundamentally a continuation of the Arroyo regime. It is another running dog of US imperialism with a different collar. It tries to make itself look different from the Arroyo regime through sheer propaganda. From day to day, it does some publicity stunts and gimmicks to deflect attention from the big basic problems of the people, which are the main causes of poverty and corruption.

2. Would Aquino be able to fulfil his promise of sending Gloria M. Arroyo to prison for human rights violations and for plunder? Will it eliminate corruption and thus eliminate poverty? His main slogan has been: kung walang corrupt, walang mahirap (if there are no corrupt, there will be no poor). What will happen if he does not fulfil his promises?

JMS: Aquino is already making it evident that he has no intention of sending Arroyo to prison for human rights violations and for plunder. The Truth Commission is a device for getting Gloria M. Arroyo and her cohorts off the hook. The executive order creating the commission protects Arroyo from being held liable for plunder and human

⁹ Interviewed as Chief Political Consultant of the NDFP Peace Negotiating Panel.

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rights violations. The commission is also impotent and redundant even when it comes to the investigation of graft and corruption cases. The commission head Hilario Davide is a shared valet of the Aquino and Arroyo families.

One who promises to eliminate poverty solely by eliminating corruption is obviously a big liar from the very outset. The Aquino regime cannot eliminate poverty and corruption without confronting foreign and feudal exploitation and carrying out national industrialization and land reform. Poverty and corruption will persist so long as the evils of foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism afflict the country. In the backroom of the Aquino regime, the big comprador-landlord Cojuangco-Aquino family is plotting to keep Hacienda Luisita and amass wealth in other corrupt ways like privatizing Pagcor.

Going by the example of Arroyo sending Estrada to prison in three months' time in 2001, the people expect Aquino to send her to prison before the end of September. If he fails, the people will take him to task for making false promises and lying. He will be hounded, discredited and isolated for the nonfulfilment of these promises that he has made and of course for the new wave of corruption that is sure to arise from the new set of thieving bureaucrats handpicked by the big foreign and local businessmen, the Kamag-anak, Inc. and the Classmates, Inc.

3. Has Aquino taken any decisive steps to stop human rights violations and improve the human rights situation in the Philippines? Is he heeding the Alston report and recommendations? Do you expect him to do so sometime later?

JMS: Aquino has not taken any decisive steps to stop human rights violations. He has never spoken strongly and definitively against the gross and systematic violations of human rights committed by the previous regime. He has ignored the Alston report and recommendations. So far Aquino has not released the Morong 43 and other political prisoners. He condones the continuing use of false charges of common crimes against the panelists, consultants and staffers of the NDFP negotiating panel.

Despite the severe economic crisis and the bankruptcy of the reactionary government, Aquino has boasted that he would give everything that the military forces demand. He has openly insinuated that he wishes to double the strength of the military because the population

has doubled since the time of Marcos. He has openly urged the military to give priority to counterinsurgency and escalate military campaigns.

The military forces of the reactionary government continue to commit human rights violations and carry out Oplan Bantay Laya. Aquino and his defense secretary Gazmin have demanded ceasefire, surrender and disarming of the New People's Army (NPA) as precondition to peace negotiations. The AFP chief of staff has boasted that the military would decimate the New People's Army in the next three years.

4. What is the purpose of Aquino and the military officials in preconditioning the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations with a general ceasefire? Is it to prevent peace negotiations or pressure the NDFP towards capitulation and the laying aside of the people's demands for reforms? Is Aquino really interested in peace negotiations as a way of addressing the roots of the armed conflict and agreeing on reforms as the basis for a just and lasting peace?

JMS: Aquino and the military officials appear to be grossly ignorant or deliberately contemptuous of The Hague Joint Declaration which prohibits any side of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations from preconditioning the formal talks with ceasefire, surrender or anything else that negates the character and purpose of peace negotiations. In fact, Aquino seeks to violate The Hague Joint Declaration by making a demand for a general ceasefire as precondition.

He is expressing the old reactionary position of treating the peace negotiations as a mere tool of deception in the so-called counterinsurgency. Obviously, he regards the peace negotiations as a way of immediately pacifying the revolutionary forces and laying aside the need for negotiating and forging agreements as the basis for a just and lasting peace. He follows the US Counterinsurgency Guide which considers peace negotiations as dispensable in defeating the armed revolutionary movement.

Aquino and the presidential adviser Teresita Deles follow the US line that peace negotiations are a disposable embellishment on the use of all-out military force to dismantle and disarm the revolutionary forces. The so-called military solution is combined with pretenses at good governance, delivery of services, economic rehabilitation and development and security reforms. The Aquino regime is banking so much on US military and financial assistance. It is salivating for the grant of US\$434 million from the Millennium Challenge Corporation in

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exchange for further US military intervention and super-exploitation of our country and our people by US corporations and banks.

Now, the regime appears to find no urgent necessity to engage the NDFP in peace negotiations. But we should not be surprised if it is willing to resume formal talks for one reason or another. It does not give up the use of the peace negotiations in trying to deceive the people or to trick the revolutionary forces. At the same, the current worsening economic crisis, the widespread social discontent, mass protests and the intensifying revolutionary armed struggle are stimuli for Aquino to approach the negotiating table.

5. Under the rotten ruling system of big compradors and landlords and the ever-worsening crisis, how far can the Aquino regime make pretenses at good governance, delivery of social services, economic rehabilitation and development and security reforms? Does the regime have enough resources to satisfy the economic and social demands of the people and at the same time to increase the personnel and equipment of the military, police and paramilitary forces?

JMS: The Aquino regime cannot go very far in its pretenses at good governance. Aquino himself has become the most corrupt official by virtue of his accepting campaign funds from the imperialists and from his fellow big comprador-landlords and thus being bound to serve their interests. He has appointed to lucrative positions certain officials close to big business and notorious for being corrupt in previous regimes. The Cojuangco-Aquino family is now using the power and influence of the president for the corrupt purpose of preventing land reform and clawing on to Hacienda Luisita.

The persistence of the ruling system and its worsening crisis render impossible any adequate delivery of social services to the people and any economic rehabilitation and development for the country. The budgetary and trade deficits will grow. Local and foreign borrowing will become ever more burdensome. Collecting additional taxes will become ever more difficult in a depressed economy. How can Aquino impress anyone about tax collection when he is silent about the unpaid tax obligations and ill-gotten wealth of the Marcoses, Eduardo Cojuangco, Lucio Tan and other big shots?

The Aquino regime can only fan the flames of the armed revolution by using public funds and foreign grants to enlarge its military forces in terms of personnel and equipment and escalate campaigns of military

suppression. **Within** the next three years, Aquino wishes to destroy or debilitate the revolutionary forces through propaganda stunts and brute military force. He can only fan the flames of people's war by exacerbating the socioeconomic crisis with rising military expenditures.

6. How can the revolutionary forces and the people overcome the plan of the Aquino regime to destroy or debilitate them? Are they ready to fight tit for tat, deliver their own blows on the regime and the entire ruling system and advance to a new and higher stage of the people's war?

JMS: I shall answer your question as a political scientist. The revolutionary forces draw the participation and support of the broad masses of the people, especially the workers, peasants and lower middle class, because the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system is rotten, increasingly exploitative and oppressive and ceaselessly afflicted with socioeconomic and political crisis. As the crisis of the ruling system and the world capitalist system worsens, the reactionary classes will have more difficulties because of increasingly violent factional contradictions and because of the further rise of the revolutionary movement.

The revolutionary forces have adopted the general line of people's democratic revolution through protracted people's war. This line has served the revolutionary forces and the people very well since the reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) in 1968. They grew from small to big and from weak to strong. They were able to overcome the 14-year long Marcos fascist dictatorship and build the New People's Army nationwide. Since the fall of Marcos, they have been able to overcome all kinds of violence and deception under such operational plans as Lambat Bitag I, II and III and Bantay Laya I and II, conducted by the post-Marcos regimes. They have a wealth of experience and the will to win.

According to the publications of the CPP Central Committee, the armed revolutionary movement has a plan of advancing the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate in the next five years. The CPP has laid out the political requirements for such an advance. These involve the further strengthening of the CPP, the NPA, the NDFP, the mass organizations and the organs of political power. The Party has also made clear the strategy and tactics to wage intensive and extensive guerrilla warfare on the basis of an

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ever widening and deepening mass base, develop on favorable terrain highly mobile strike forces that can operate on inter-front, inter-provincial and regional scales and aim to build some 179 guerrilla fronts within the next five years.

7. Among the political requirements for advancing the people's war, what do you think is the most important one? Please answer according to your rich stock of knowledge and revolutionary experience since the 1960s.

JMS: In my opinion, the most important political requirement is the development of the mass movement by arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses of workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeois who comprise the basic forces of the people's democratic revolution. After all, the revolution is a mass undertaking, from the process of overthrowing the rotten system to that of building a new Philippines that is truly independent and democratic, socially just, progressive and peaceful.

Success in the mass movement is best measured by solid mass organizing, concretely by a count of how many people become members of the various mass organizations, as a result of conscious and militant leadership, mass agitation and propaganda, members recruiting others and mass campaigns. The simplest and most effective method of expanding the mass organizations is to encourage all members to perform their basic duty of recruiting new members from among their friends, colleagues and relatives who are willing to accept the organization's constitution and program.

The mass organizations are based in the urban areas as well as in the rural areas, inside and outside of the guerrilla fronts. They can grow by relying on and trusting the masses. The imposition of unreasonable standards and sectarian biases and then the failure to further develop the limited number of members are factors that stunt the growth of mass organizations. The large numbers of members in the basic mass organizations serve as the main source of candidate members for the CPP and as its main basis for expansion.

8. Can you say more about building the CPP? What are the requirements involved? What factors cause the expansion or contraction of the Party organization?

JMS: I can talk in general terms. The ever-worsening crisis of the ruling system generates the conditions favorable to the building of patriotic and progressive mass organizations as well as to the building of the Party. The building of the Party entails ideological, political and organizational building. Ideological building involves education in applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on the history and current circumstances of the Philippines. Political building involves developing the mass movement along the line of people's democratic revolution. Organizational building involves upholding the principle of democratic centralism.

May I focus on the question of expansion or contraction of the Party organization. Let me start by saying that it is the basic duty of all Party members to recruit as candidate-members those who accept the Constitution and Program of the Party. Within the period of candidature of six months for workers and peasants; and one year for the urban petty bourgeois, the Party unit concerned has the duty to see to it that the candidate-member is raised to being a full member by taking the basic level of Party education and carrying out the assigned tasks.

The Party organization expands quite rapidly if this standard is followed. If not, the growth of the Party organization is stunted. Among the causes of the contraction of the Party organization are the failure to constantly urge Party members to carry out their basic duty of recruiting candidate-members in accordance with the Party Constitution, conceit manifested by applying unreasonable standards that deviate from the constitution, over-suspiciousness and inability to recognize the honesty of prospective and current candidate-members and sheer negligence of the duty to recruit candidate-members or to help them become full members.

9. From your study of its published documents, can you explain how feasible is it for the CPP to establish 179 guerrilla fronts, develop relatively stable areas and reach the stage of strategic stalemate? Can you explain the strategy and tactics being pursued by the CPP?

JMS: Indeed, I have studied the CPP documents. The CPP has set itself five years to carry out its plan to establish 179 guerrilla fronts, develop relatively stable base areas and reach the stage of strategic stalemate. At present, such revolutionary forces as the Party, the people's army, the mass organizations and organs of political power are well-based among the toiling masses and are spread out nationwide.

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According to the CPP, these forces will expand and consolidate themselves from year to year.

The NPA is the main revolutionary force for advancing the people's war. It pursues the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside in order to accumulate armed strength. It chooses the best possible physical and social terrain for basing itself and from there advance wave upon wave. It aims to raise its strength and offensive capabilities and to improve coordination among its units on the scale of several guerrilla fronts, provinces and regions.

It launches only those tactical offensives it can win and avoids battles that it is not sure of winning. Its main purpose is to wipe out enemy units, accumulate weapons and form more combat units. It seeks to punish the human rights violators, the plunderers and the worst anti-social elements. It is determined to dismantle antipeople, anti-national and antidemocratic enterprises (especially those engaged in landgrabbing, mining, logging for export and the like) in order to combat the worst forms of exploitation, make more land available for free distribution to the landless tillers and protect and conserve natural resources for national industrialization.

10. What is the relationship of the NPA to the mass movement in the guerrilla fronts, the organs of political power, the people's militia and self-defense units? How is this relationship affected by the drive to reach the strategic stalemate?

JMS: Let me continue restating what I read from CPP publications. Under the leadership of the CPP, the NPA does mass work in the guerrilla fronts. It does propaganda work to arouse the masses. It guides and encourages the masses to organize themselves in various forms of voluntary association. It urges them to undertake mass campaigns for the benefit of the people, such as those related to public education, land reform and production, health, defense, cultural affairs, settlement of disputes and so on.

The NPA guarantees the development of the barrio organizing committees into barrio revolutionary committees as local organs of democratic power. It gives basic training to the people's militia as the police force and the self-defense units of the various mass organizations. It is of key importance to develop Party members from the ranks of advanced mass activists and form the Party branch as the leading

force of the local mass organizations, the organs of democratic power, the militia and the self-defense units.

When the local revolutionary forces led by the Party branch exist, the NPA units can be confident of having a guerrilla base for opening new areas as well as for launching tactical offensives. In the drive to reach the strategic stalemate, the direct mass base for people's war needs to expand and consolidate, become relatively stable and support the mobile strike forces of the NPA in undertaking tactical offensives for definite periods of time. The NPA can concentrate on tactical offensives because the local revolutionary forces can take charge of their own affairs in the localities.

11. How would you compare the longevity of the Aquino regime and that of the armed revolutionary movement?

JMS: The Aquino regime is just a passing pro-imperialist big comprador-landlord regime. It has made too many promises that are false and cannot be fulfilled. It is running against itself. It will soon be utterly discredited and isolated. Aquino has cashed in on the mystique of his parents. He is wantonly spending it. The revolutionary mass movement of the people will become stronger by fighting the regime and will outlast it. It will continue to exist and grow for as long as there is a need to fight for national and social liberation and to build a people's democratic system.

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Message of Solidarity to the Montreal International Women's Conference¹⁰

August 13, 2010

We, the International Coordinating Committee and all member-organizations of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), convey our warmest greetings of solidarity to all the delegations and distinguished guests in the Montreal International Women's Conference, currently convened from August 13 to 16, 2010.

We congratulate the hosts and organizers for their success in preparing this conference in accordance with the resolution of ILPS Commission No.7 on the cause of women's liberation and rights against all forms of sexual discrimination, exploitation and violence.

We are glad that this conference is held in conjunction with the year-long celebration of the 100th anniversary of the International Women's Day. In this regard, we honor all the women who have fought, sacrificed and scored victories for the cause of women's liberation in close unbreakable connection with the struggle against imperialist domination and class exploitation.

Let us remember that the outstanding German proletarian revolutionary Clara Zetkin first proposed the annual holding of international women's day in the international conference of working class women in Copenhagen in 1910 under the auspices of the international socialist movement in order to inspire the unity and militancy of the working class women to oppose the extreme conditions of exploitation to which they were being subjected under conditions of rapid industrialization and capital expansion.

Let us recall that in March of 1911 over a million women rallied to mark International Women's Day in several European countries. Since then, women in an increasing number of countries have become an ever more massive and significant force fighting for the right to vote, to hold public office, to equal pay for equal work vis-a-vis the menfolk, to maternity and child benefits and other better conditions as well as for the general upliftment, emancipation and empowerment of women

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

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through active participation in struggles for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

The march of women to celebrate International Women's Day served as the prelude to the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia. As soon as the Soviet Union was established, the Bolshevik Alexandra Kollontai asked Lenin to make the day an official holiday. In every major field of social endeavor, women have scored great achievements through their participation and equal partnership with men in revolutionary struggles for national and social liberation and in the course of socialist revolution and construction.

Women have also made great strides in fighting for their rights in the imperialist and dominated countries because of their perseverance in struggle and also because of the example of real emancipation and advancement of women in socialist countries and people's democracies. In capitalist countries, the bourgeoisie have enacted laws supposedly to respect certain rights of women but these are more formal than real and women still need to fight for their realization.

In the wake of the betrayal and reversal of socialism and the consequent adverse effects on the national liberation movements, the imperialist powers and their reactionary puppets have undertaken all kinds of offensives against the working people and distinctively against women. The basic exploitativeness of the monopoly capitalist mode of production which results in recurrent crises of production has been aggravated by the rapid taking of superprofits and overvaluation of monopoly assets through the financialization of entire economies made dependent on unsustainable debts of governments, corporations and households.

The extreme worsening of the crisis of the world capitalist system, now plunged in protracted depression, has been brought about by the US-instigated policy of "neoliberal globalization." This presupposes that the imperialist and other economies keep on growing so long as the financial oligarchy and the entire monopoly bourgeoisie can make superprofits and accumulate capital through the denationalization of client economies, liberalization of trade and investments, privatization of public assets and deregulation against the working class, women, children and the environment.

The policy of "neoliberal globalization" is coupled with the US-instigated policy of "global war on terror." In the name of fighting terrorism, the imperialist powers and their puppets are emboldened to

attack the fundamental freedoms and human rights, engage in state terrorism and justify foreign military intervention and wars of aggression waged by the US either unilaterally or multilaterally in collaboration with other imperialist powers.

Under the current global conditions of protracted depression and wars, the broad masses of the people suffer rapidly rising level of oppression and exploitation, whether or not they are in the war zones where devastation of life and resources is at its worst. Everywhere in the world today, it is the women and the children who suffer the most. And it is of crucial importance that women throughout the world rise up against imperialism and all forms of reaction that bedevil them and the rest of the people.

We are elated that in holding your conference you are determined to draw inspiration and lessons from the long history of the women's struggle for emancipation and rights against multiple forms of oppression, to discuss the long-running and current problems of women, to achieve consensus on the resolution of issues and to launch the International Women's Alliance by ratifying its Basis of Unity and Constitution. We consider your conference as an undertaking of historic significance and a meaningful way of celebrating the centennial of the International Women's Day and advancing the cause of women's liberation and rights on a global scale.

We commend you for adhering to the purpose of International Women's Day, which is to address the multiple oppression and exploitation that women suffer in the hands of the imperialists, feudalists and the patriarchalists. We agree with your determination to trace the milestones of the struggle of women for liberation and upliftment, examine the current social, economic, cultural and political situation of women, confront the rising level of class exploitation, the global economic and financial crisis, the imperialist wars and violence against women and set forth the tasks for advancing a militant global women's movement in the 21st century.

We appreciate the comprehensive range of topics in your plenary sessions and workshops. You address the major problems besetting women in various situations and you seek to present the current and potential forms of resistance that women are waging for their liberation and rights.

It is but necessary and appropriate that you devote your attention to the plight and struggles of the most oppressed and exploited women:

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those who are workers and peasants, those who are forced to migrate, those who suffer racism, discrimination and genocide, those indigenous women who are being displaced from their ancestral domain, those in areas engulfed by imperialist wars and state terrorism, those subjected to religious oppression, sexual prejudices, restrictions of reproductive rights and violence and others.

We admire your resolve to emulate and support the struggles of women in all continents and countries and to give special attention to the outstanding concrete struggles of the women of Palestine, Aghanistan, India, Iran, the Philippines, Mexico, Tamil Eelam, Africa, Haiti, Guatemala, Aotearoa and elsewhere.

We look forward to your success at resolving issues during the conference and reaching consensus on your Basis of Unity. The time has come to form the International Women's Alliance in order to unite the women of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Middle East, North America and Europe and build a militant anti-imperialist and democratic women's movement. It is imperative and urgent for women to strengthen their ranks in order to uphold, defend and promote their rights against the escalating efforts of imperialist powers and puppet states to deprive them of their rights and further oppress and exploit them.

We are glad that you have the alliance as your organizational form. It is a broad framework for bringing together the grassroots women's organizations, sections of local trade unions that promote women's concerns, networks, alliances of women's organizations and all other women's formations that subscribe to the Constitution of the Alliance and to all plans and resolutions approved by the Assembly.

We support all your aims and purposes. May you realize them in all the years to come.

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Class Struggle Is the Key Link in Revolutionary Social Change¹¹

Message of solidarity to CONTEND on the occasion of its 16th Anniversary

August 23, 2010

I wish to convey warmest greetings of solidarity to all my academic colleagues in the Congress of Teachers/Educators for Nationalism and Democracy (CONTEND) on the occasion of its celebration of the 16th anniversary of its founding on July 22, 1994. I am proud to give you a message of unity as I did in 1998 during your anti-imperialist conference in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the Philippine-American War.

I salute CONTEND as a combination of the associations of militant teachers and educators from public and private schools, colleges, and universities from all over the Philippines, who are fully aware of the semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society and accept the role as agents of social change and who are ever committed to raising the social and political consciousness of teachers, the defense of their democratic rights, and sharpening of their skills for the purpose of promoting a progressive, nationalist, scientific and mass-oriented education and culture.

I congratulate you for all your efforts and achievements in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the teachers to serve not only their distinctive sectoral interest but also the entire Filipino people in the struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. You have excelled at upholding, defending and promoting the anti-imperialist and antifeudal line against the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions.

You have attained outstanding and resounding success in the political work of clarifying the national democratic line and applying it on important issues affecting the academic community and the people on a national and international scale. You have persevered in struggle

¹¹ Message given as UP alumnus and teacher.

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not only against barefaced adversaries who perpetuate pro-imperialist and antipeople lines of thought, especially in the curriculum, but also against pseudo-progressives who stir up fashionable anti-Marxist trends like postmodernism, neoliberal economics and bourgeois feminism masquerading as socialist.

You have manifested your position in so many conferences and forums. You have issued so many enlightening books, pamphlets and statements. Academics and nonacademics are gratified to read the books that you have published: *Serve the People, Ang Radikal na Kasaysayan ng UP* [[The Radical History of UP](#)], *Mula Tore, Tungong Palengke* [[From Tower to Market](#)] against neoliberal education, three books of poetry and three anthologies of poetry on various themes, including the Hacienda Luisita massacre in 2004 and other grievous human rights violations and the people's demand to oust Arroyo from power.

To foster transformative education, you have undertaken film screenings of local and international films and documentaries. You have engaged in mass actions on every campus of tertiary education where your association exists and, as part of the wider frame of the Alliance of Concerned Teachers, you have participated in its activities. You have joined and even spearheaded broad formations in the University of the Philippines on issues with regard to good governance, electoral fraud, human rights and the ouster of Arroyo. You have played an important role in mass campaigns to oust Estrada and Arroyo, against the Hacienda Luisita massacre and other human rights violations and against US military intervention in the Philippines and US wars of aggression abroad, especially in Iraq, Afghanistan and Palestine.

I appreciate the extent of recruitment that has been done by CONTEND. I measure my appreciation in relation to your perseverance in struggle over the years and also in relation to the total number of teachers on the campus where your association exists. I believe that the national democratic line is so appealing to the broad masses of teachers that a substantial number of them can be recruited from year to year to become members of CONTEND. As regards those who do not join CONTEND, the policy of the united front can be applied in order to cooperate with them. The possibility of alliance on issues is always possible with teachers who are either active or not active

in the traditional faculty association or union and of course with the association of nonacademic employees.

I have read the Constitution of CONTEND promulgated in 1994. It envisions some kind of a federation of associations in various schools, colleges and universities. And it is quite elaborate in seeking to combine such associations and providing them with the organs of leadership at various levels. But it does not make clear the basic rule of recruitment, the basic tasks and basic rights and duties of individual members per association. It is advisable that in this regard the Constitution is amended or a provision of the By-Laws or a set of guidelines is made.

As it is, your Constitution is good in terms of its preambular description of CONTEND, its enumeration of principles and objectives and its conceptualization of so many associations to combine and to be governed by leading organs at various levels. But it is necessary to have clear provisions about the recruitment, basic rights and duties of individual members. Thus, the task of recruiting more members is made simple and easy through compliance with the provisions of the Constitution.

I urge you to intensify your efforts at solid mass organizing and thereby increase your political strength. You need to pay close attention to the recruitment of the individual members of every existing association of CONTEND as well as the recruitment of the initial members of an association that is in the process of being established or reestablished. I do not know how much has been the adverse effect of not having clear provisions on the recruitment of individual members. But I am certain that it does no harm to have such provisions.

Aside from the need to make clear the basic requirements for recruitment and membership of individuals, there is also a need to examine what are possibly the subjective tendencies that can prevent or slow down the growth of an association. These tendencies or factors may include the petty bourgeois small group mentality, contempt for mass organizing, unwitting conceit towards non-members and towards new members, plain neglect of the task of recruitment and failure to keep and develop those already recruited as members.

There should be no problem about recruiting an ever increasing number of individual members and building the member-associations of CONTEND. The national democratic line responds to the demands of the workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie and even the middle

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bourgeoisie and upholds their rights and interests. We must trust and rely on the mass of teachers as being capable of understanding the principles and objectives of CONTEND and the national democratic movement, willing to be recruited and to recruit others and ever ready to participate in various campaigns launched by CONTEND.

I am pleased to know that by way of celebrating the founding anniversary of CONTEND you are holding a forum with the theme, BACK to CLASS: O Kung Bakit Hindi Kadiri ang Makauring Pagsusuri [*Or Why Class Analysis Is Not Yucky*] and with an array of distinguished speakers to discuss topics related to the concept and reality of social classes. I presume that the discussion of the subject is meant to deepen and heighten your understanding of who are the friends and who are the enemies of the national democratic revolution in class terms. I cannot help but contribute my share in the discussion.

We may define classes as divisions of society defined by ownership of the means of production and the relations of production, role in the process of production, share in the distribution of the social product and the mode of thinking on the social issues. To know best the character of a society, it is necessary to make a class analysis and know the class composition. The class analysis starts with looking at the material base or mode of production and proceeds to the political and cultural superstructure. But to avoid the pitfalls of economic determinism or reductionism, we must grasp the dialectical interaction of the economic, political and cultural aspects of society.

In an exploitative society, there are basic exploiting and exploited classes and there are intermediate classes often called the middle class, usually the petty and middle bourgeoisie. In an industrial capitalist society, the capitalist class and working class are the basic opposite classes. In a semicolonial and semifeudal society, there are the comprador bourgeoisie and landlord class on one hand and the working class and peasantry on the other hand.

The ruling exploitative class controls the economic base by owning the means of production and determining the relations of production and division of labor and the distribution of the social product. It uses the political and cultural superstructure to maintain its class rule. The legal system upholds the property rights of the ruling class and the coercive apparatuses of the state are used to enforce the laws favoring the ruling class. Cultural institutions and practices are used to make the ruling class look good and acceptable, to indoctrinate the people

and to entertain and divert them from resisting the exploitative and oppressive ruling system.

To fight the ruling class and overthrow the ruling system, the exploited and oppressed classes have to wage a class struggle in the socioeconomic, political and cultural fields. The class struggle of the working class arises in the socioeconomic field and develops from the spontaneous actions of the class in itself to the more conscious better-organized trade union and political actions of the class for itself. The socioeconomic struggles give rise to political struggles which require the leadership of the party of the working class as a revolutionary class. Cultural class struggles also arise and develop. The all-round class struggle enables the revolutionary class to strengthen itself together with the rest of the people and to develop further until they can overthrow the old social system and establish an entirely new one.

There is no other category more significant and effective than social class in the process of maintaining, reforming or radically transforming a social system. But we must also be mindful of categories smaller than the class and subsumable by the class. There may be elite groups of the ruling class which are distinguished by some outstanding competency or representation of a new dominant section of the class or rising type of economic activity. There may be groups or sections in any class that are identifiable by certain industries, occupations, clans and regions and by racial, ethnic, religious and other cultural characteristics.

Other than class, there are important social categories that seem to transcend class category such as individuals, families, clans, tribes, associations, nations, nation-states and associations of states. Such categories are even used to obscure and deny the existence of classes and class struggle. But there is no category more important than classes in the consideration and realization of revolutionary change in any country even when the sense of national unity is also of decisive importance in the people's struggle for national liberation against imperialism.

A reactionary ruling class is always definitely conscious of and acts according to its own class interests and it always seeks to limit, undermine and divert the class consciousness of the exploited and oppressed people and prevent them from acting concertedly in their interest. It is afraid of the toiling masses of workers and peasants

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becoming conscious of their classes and becoming militated against the handful of exploiters and the conditions of exploitation

Whatever is the level of class consciousness and militancy of the exploited classes, the exploiting classes always engage in class struggle against them. They do so in various ways in order to preempt and prevent the rise of the class consciousness among the exploited as well as to counter and combat an already conscious and militant class struggle of the exploited against the exploiters.

Like the Philippine reactionary state, the University of the Philippines carries as official ideology a pro-imperialist kind of liberalism. It considers individual rights in the abstract as the most important aspect of democracy, glosses over the existence of classes and class struggle and pays lip service to national and public interest. It is a hotbed of self-serving individualism and subjectivism, variegated and yet all are in the mold of petty bourgeois thinking that is servile to the foreign monopoly capitalists and local exploiting classes. Its main purpose is to teach and train the professionals and bureaucrats for the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

A major method of the bourgeoisie for obfuscating or laying aside the theory and practice of class struggle is to play up individualism, narrow family interest, **ethnocentrism**, religious sectarianism, chauvinism and a pro-imperialist sense of globalization against the national and class rights and interests of the working people. Let us do the opposite. Let us uphold the class struggle of the working people as the key link and harmonize their class rights with our legitimate rights and interests as individuals, as family, as group, as an ethnic community, as a nation and as internationalists against imperialism and all reaction.

The theory of classes and class struggle was originated by bourgeois thinkers, who were then revolutionary democrats against the feudal order, and was an important element in the advance of social science in France in the 18th century. Marx himself said that he did not originate such theory but he pointed out as his unique achievement the extension and development of such theory to the theory of the proletarian revolution and class dictatorship of the proletariat against the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

It is of crucial importance that we deepen, widen and heighten our knowledge of the reality of social classes and the theory and practice of class struggle up to proletarian revolution and class dictatorship of the proletariat. Why so strong a term as class dictatorship? It refers in

the first place to the bourgeois state as organized violence against the proletariat and consequently the proletariat must smash the bureaucratic and military machinery of the bourgeois state in order to liberate the proletariat and the rest of the exploited people. You may use the scientifically frank term of class dictatorship but also say in a more gentle way, people's democratic or socialist state or democratic rule of the working people, depending on the actual conditions.

It is of urgent necessity to study and apply the theory of classes and class struggle up to proletarian revolution and proletarian class dictatorship in view of fact that the financial oligarchy and monopoly bourgeoisie have systematically and effectively propagandized that the working people of the world must forget about class struggle. And yet they have waged the most rapacious and violent class struggle against the working people in the last three decades under the policy regime of "neoliberal globalization" and unceasing state terrorism, foreign military intervention and wars of aggression unleashed by the US unilaterally or multilaterally in collaboration with other imperialist powers.

Take note that "neoliberalism" or "free market" is a petty bourgeois expression meant to appeal to the middle class and camouflage the big bourgeois interest in the policy. Under such a policy, the imperialist powers and their agents all over the world have blamed any rise of the wage level of workers and government social spending for the recurrent and worsening economic crises and have adopted and implemented a wide variety of cruel measures against the working class and the entire people.

They have brought down the levels of income of the toiling masses and most of the middle class, attacked their **hard-won** social rights and cut back government social spending. They have accelerated the accumulation of capital in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie through tax cuts, privatization of public resources, liberalization of trade and investments, deregulation against public interest, the working people, women, children and the environment and the denationalization of the economies of client-states like the Philippines.

It is high time that academics of the UP and all other schools strive to take the standpoint of the anti-imperialist progressive and optimally that of the proletarian revolutionary and contribute to raising the level of class consciousness and class struggle of the working people against the biggest financial and industrial bourgeoisie in the

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imperialist countries and the big comprador bourgeoisie and landlord class in the Philippines. We must aim for victory in the people's democratic revolution and advance to socialism.

The crisis of the world capitalist system and the domestic ruling system is worsening rapidly. It is now characterized by prolonged global depression and wars of aggression. The epochal struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is once more conspicuous in the imperialist countries and the rest of the world. In the Philippines, the people's democratic revolution is intensifying. The struggle for national liberation against foreign monopoly capitalism is necessarily linked to and interactive with the class struggle for social liberation against the comprador big bourgeoisie and the landlord class.

I hope that the current generation of academics carry on the work to which we in my generation have committed ourselves. Take the stand, viewpoint and method of materialist dialectics and use class analysis in order to rip apart and debunk any attempt of the big bourgeoisie and its political and intellectual agents (mostly recruited from the ranks of the university-educated and **unremolded** petty bourgeois) to misrepresent capitalism and liberalism as the end of history, ridicule proletarian class struggle and revolution as obsolete and irrelevant and misrepresent the latest petty bourgeois intellectual spin as new and therefore correct.

I have always told the petty bourgeois faddists among the intellectuals on and off campus and the NGO entrepreneurs who brag about their new ideas and new language that all the newly-minted terms of petty bourgeois **subjectivism, and the imperialist**-directed think tanks, universities, institutions, business corporations and mass media can never make Adam Smith younger than Karl Marx.

It is capitalism, especially monopoly capitalism and finance monopoly capitalism, that is obsolete and moribund. We are in the midst of an unprecedentedly severe crisis of global capitalism and we are now on the eve of an unprecedentedly great rebound of the anti-imperialist and socialist movement to a new and higher level of revolutionary struggle from the deep trough caused by revisionist betrayal of socialism, capitalist restoration and neocolonialism.

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Tribute to Ka Medardo Roda, Chairman Emeritus of Piston¹²

September 6, 2010

We of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) express our sadness over the passing of Ka Medardo Roda. We convey our most heartfelt condolences to his beloved family and to all his comrades in Pagkakaisa ng mga Samahan ng Tsuper at Operators Nationwide (PISTON, [Unity of Associations of Drivers and Operators](#)), Kilusang Mayo Uno, Anakpawis and all other organizations of the toiling masses of workers and peasants.

All of us grieve the death of Ka Roda. But at the same time, we are gratified and gladdened by his legacy of hard work, arduous struggle and brilliant achievements in the service of the working class and the entire Filipino people. He was responsible for founding and building PISTON as the largest nationwide association of transport workers, especially jeepney drivers, and for leading the most effective transport strikes against the foreign oil monopolies and the puppet reactionary government in the last three decades.

Ka Roda toiled as a peasant at a very young age before he went to the city to become a taxi driver and then a jeepney driver. He became an outstanding leader of the working class and the people by standing up for their rights and interests and daring to fight the Marcos fascist dictatorship. He was illegally arrested and imprisoned on the false charge of rebellion in 1983. In the succeeding Aquino regime, he was also arrested on **trumped-up** charges. He was thoroughly convinced by his bitter experience that revolutionary struggle was made necessary by the persistence of a ruling system that is servile to the imperialists and extremely corrupt, cruel and deceptive.

Ka Roda detested the exploitativeness and oppressiveness of the foreign monopolies, the big compradors and landlords. Thus, he was determined to contribute what he could to the people's struggle for national liberation and democracy. He leaves us an everlasting legacy of resolute and militant struggle, sacrifices and concrete

¹² Message issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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achievements. The people will always remember him, cherish his memory and draw inspiration from his enduring example as a patriot and proletarian fighter.



Revitalize SELDA to Attain Justice for Victims of the Marcos Fascist Dictatorship

Greetings to SELDA on its National Conference¹³

September 10-11, 2010

Warmest greetings of solidarity to all my fellow political detainees who are leaders and members of SELDA and to all our supporters. The holding of the SELDA National Conference is timely and very important.

This is our opportunity to review the history of SELDA, analyze the national situation and discuss our role as an organization. We need to **revitalize** our movement and struggle to attain justice for the victims of the Marcos fascist dictatorship.

Before the fall of Marcos, freed political **detainees** bravely built SELDA. **This was a fruit of the long struggle of the Filipino people for national liberation** and democracy against the fascist dictatorial scheme **of** US imperialism.

My wife Julie was directly involved in the establishment of SELDA as she was freed ahead of me. Although still in detention, I could send out through Julie my proposals and recommendations about the constitution and organizing of SELDA. Thus, I am proud to say that I was also involved in the establishment of SELDA.

SELDA has a brilliant history of fighting for the rights of political prisoners under the Marcos regime and subsequent regimes. SELDA persistently campaigned inside and outside the country against violations of human rights. In the United States SELDA won the human rights case against Marcos.

Until now, the post-Marcos regimes have frustrated the quest for justice of the victims of the fascist dictatorship. The Arroyo regime has withheld or appropriated for itself even **the indemnification** for the victims. Violations of human rights have relentlessly worsened. Therefore,

¹³ The author was a detainee at the Maximum Security Unit (MSU), Fort Bonifacio, from 1977 to 1986.

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SELDA has the obligation to remain steadfast and strengthen itself in order to further fight the intensification of state terrorism.

We must take organizational measures to strengthen SELDA. We should connect with and reorganize the SELDA chapters and members across the country. I expect that those who are now convened in this conference are the most active and most ardent SELDA members. Let us elect new officers and members of the National Board.

Let us expand the membership of SELDA. Let us amend our constitution to include the political prisoners of the regimes after the Marcos fascist dictatorship. Thus, we can increase and prevent the dwindling of our members due to the aging and death of the martial law political detainees.

SELDA is indispensable precisely because the situation in the Philippines will surely worsen. The ruling semicolonial and semifeudal system is rotten to the core. We must confront the relentless worsening crisis of the domestic ruling system and the global capitalist system. This breeds ever more brutal violations of human rights as the ruling regime strives to cover up the fundamental problems and to suppress the people.

We see no basic reform at all, but instead more intense exploitation and oppression, from the ruling classes in our country. Let us steadfastly and diligently participate in fighting the intensifying human rights violations, the continuing state terrorism and the impending return of outright fascism. Let us advance the Filipino people's struggle for national freedom and democracy!

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Commemorate 9/11 and Condemn the Perpetrators and US Imperialism as well for Far Bigger Crimes of Terrorism¹⁴

September 11, 2010

On the occasion of the 9th anniversary of 9/11, the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) condemns the abominable perpetrators and likewise US imperialism for highjacking the outrage of the people and using it to justify far worse crimes of terrorism. We demand justice for the nearly 3,000 victims in 9/11 as well as the millions of victims of the US wars of aggression in Iraq and Afghanistan, US military intervention in many other parts of the world and the rampage of state terrorism in many countries under the domination of the US.

We recall the historical fact that the US, through the Central Intelligence Agency, promoted, funded and used **Islamic fundamentalism so-called** as a weapon of anti-communism during the Cold War and collaborated with such **current** leaders of Al Qaida like Osama bin Laden in fighting the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in the 1980s.

After the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989, the US adopted the policy of letting the Afghan warlords fight each other and further destroy Afghanistan. As a consequence, Osama bin Laden and his fellow bigots resented what they deemed as betrayal by the US. The US and Pakistan decided to **install** the Taliban in power as their marionette. But even then, the Al Qaida developed its own influence within the Taliban in opposition to the US.

US imperialism created the monster Al Qaida that it now holds guilty of the despicable acts of terrorism on September 11, 2001. The American and other peoples of the world are outraged by such acts and detest the perpetrators. The US government has a good reason to be enraged and seek the punishment of the perpetrators. But it is deliberately and systematically using the 9/11 outrage in order to justify forms of terrorism far worse than 9/11.

¹⁴ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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Under the policy of global war on “terror,” the US has wantonly engaged in wars of aggression, deployed US forces for military intervention on a global scale, **whipped up state terrorism in the US and abroad**, promoted racism and religious bigotry and misrepresented national liberation movements as mere “insurgents” and “terrorists” in order to provide itself, its allies and puppets the license to violate with impunity the UN charter, international law and the laws **on** human rights and humanitarian conduct under conditions of war.

To win the US presidency, Barack Obama made promises to undo the widely-discredited “war on terrorism” begun by George W. Bush. But the Obama government has merely **relabelled** the policy as a “war of global counterinsurgency” and has equated “terrorism” and “insurgency,” in order to deny the character of national liberation movements as political movements of the people and deprive them and their constituents of the rights recognized by the international law **on** armed conflict.

The US security establishment has recently come out with a flurry of new tactical and strategic materials on “counterinsurgency.” These include a new Army Counterinsurgency Field Manual in 2006, a new Joint Operating Concept on Irregular Warfare in 2007, a new Army Field Manual on Stability Operations in 2008 and the US Government Counterinsurgency Guide in 2009. These tracts draw heavily from the US experiences in Iraq and Afghanistan as well as from its previous counterrevolutionary wars in Vietnam, Korea, Philippines, El Salvador, Colombia and Guatemala, among others.

The US Counterinsurgency Guide purports to stress the non-military aspects of US military engagements everywhere. But it admits that it is primarily focused on “develop(ing) civilian literature on counterinsurgency to complement existing military doctrine.” Clearly then, the tenets laid down in this guide serve to prettify the brutal and naked force of US empire. They are the glittering phrases cloaking US military intervention and aggression.

To try to shore up its declining political stature, the Obama government is engaged in a campaign of tokenism to try to fool the US electorate. It has announced a timetable for the withdrawal of US occupation troops in Iraq by next year, but hides the fact that the sprawling US military bases and facilities entrenched following the 2003 US invasion are nowhere near dismantlement. US troops by the tens of thousands are to stay on indefinitely in order to keep the

puppet regime on leash and ensure US control of Iraqi oil resources and all kinds of business contracts.

The US is sponsoring multiparty peace talks in the Middle East, even succeeding in **coopting** the Hamas administration in Palestine to go along. But it has not at all moved to hold accountable the Israeli fascist regime for its flouting of international law in committing the multifarious heinous crimes against the Palestinian people. The US and Israeli Zionists agree that the carnage of the Palestinians in Gaza has paved the way for the liquidation of the Palestinian people's resistance.

Obama and his cohorts are being hypocrites in making maximum political capital from the extreme US rightwing's plan to hold an event on 9/11 this year burning copies of the Koran in Florida, but they wholeheartedly endorse past and current wars and acts of aggression by the US and its puppet regimes against the Muslim people in Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Palestine, Pakistan, Philippines, Indonesia, Syria, and Yemen, among others. Within the US itself, the PATRIOT Act continues to subvert and attack the democratic rights of the American people.

US imperialism is a beast in the throes of severe economic, financial, political and social crisis. It feeds the financial oligarchy and the military-industrial complex with huge amounts of public money and inflicts on the people a high rate of unemployment, homelessness and lack of social services. It is **hellbent** on war and plunder against the peoples of the world. To dominate the world, it has the world's biggest-funded arsenal, including the world's most lethal set of nuclear weapons, and a network of about 800 US military bases garrisoning the globe.

But the US is confronted by rising multitudes of freedom-loving peoples all across the world. They are fed up with the escalation of oppression and exploitation and aspire to change the world for a better one of greater freedom, social justice, development and peace. In this connection, the ILPS calls on all its member-organizations and allies to intensify the global anti-imperialist and democratic struggle and bring it to a new and higher level.

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Develop the People's Power

Bring your Current Strength to a New and Higher Level

Message of solidarity to the League of Filipino Students¹⁵

September 11, 2010

I wish to convey warmest greetings of solidarity to the League of Filipino Students (LFS) on the occasion of its 33rd founding anniversary. This is a time to renew your resolve to strengthen the LFS organizationally and politically, respond to the challenges posed by the worsening crisis of the ruling system and the world capitalist system and make greater contributions to the advance of the people's struggle for national democracy.

I welcome your thematic call: Mangahas, Magpalakas! Pag-aralan ang lipunan, magpalawak at lumaban! (Dare, strengthen our ranks! Study society, expand and fight!) I appreciate your emphasis on the need to strengthen your organization by accelerating the expansion and consolidation of membership. In this regard, let me share with you the experiences of Kabataang Makabayan in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the student masses in various universities, colleges and high schools.

In arousing the student masses, we engaged in propaganda and agitation on the basis of the KM Program of Action and the analysis of whichever concrete issue was raging. We issued and published manifestos or statements on the issue. We undertook meetings and buildup rallies on various campuses in order to discuss the issue and call on the students to participate in the forthcoming big mobilization of the masses.

In organizing the student masses, we urged the existing members of the KM to recruit rapidly more members from their classmates, friends and co-members in other campus organizations. Each KM member sought to brief and recruit at least five members within every three months. It was sufficient for an applicant or recruit to qualify and be

¹⁵ Message issued as Founding Chairman of the Kabataang Makabayan.

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sworn in as KM member by reading and accepting the KM Constitution and Program of Action.

The task of expansion was necessary before there could be any KM members to consolidate through political education higher than a basic understanding of the KM Constitution and Program of Action and through conscientious participation in the activities of the KM. All KM members were required to ventilate and spread the KM position on issues, recruit more members and call on the student masses to join the mass campaigns.

The more members the KM was able to recruit the greater was its capability to engage in bigger mass actions of high significance. The more outstanding was the role of the KM in the mass campaigns and big rallies the more they attracted students to become KM members and build or strengthen their KM chapters. By the time that the KM had at least 10,000 members in 1969, it was ready to become the spearhead of the First Quarter Storm of 1970 in the national capital region and in many provincial cities.

In mobilizing the student masses before and during the FQS, the KM typically used at least six major starting points in various parts of Metro Manila in order to rally the students and other youth and then march them to the central converging point, either in front of Congress, the US embassy or the presidential palace. Along the way the marchers called the attention of the people to the issue and urged them to join the march. Either the people joined the march or manifested their support by applauding the marchers and giving them food and water.

The League of Filipino Students is a mass organization and is committed to developing the mass movement along the line of the people's struggle for national freedom and democracy. It must always measure its level of achievement by counting the extent of its informative and educational materials and [the number of participants](#) in protest meetings, the number of members it has newly recruited and accumulated and the number of student masses it has attracted to the mass actions of the campaign.

The LFS is the largest and most militant student organization of the national democratic movement. It has been outstanding in taking a patriotic and progressive position on issues, in building an organization on a nationwide scale and in holding mass actions on student issues and participating in multisectoral mass actions. The most prominent of these mass actions resulted in the overthrow of the Marcos fascist

dictatorship and the Estrada regime and frustrated the schemes of Ramos and Arroyo to amend the 1987 constitution in order to prolong their rule.

The mass campaigns to arouse and mobilize the students and the rest of the people are supposed to make the students more ready to join the LFS and should have stimulated solid mass organizing through the rapid recruitment of LFS members. But obviously there have been shortcomings in this regard. LFS has not been able to bring about and sustain a high level of membership commensurate to its high prestige and responsive to the well-recognized need for more members to carry out the gigantic tasks of the student movement.

Attention must be paid to the task of solid mass organizing. This means recruiting new members rapidly in the process of expansion on the basis of the LFS Constitution and Program and subsequently consolidating them through further political education. You must trust and rely on your members by giving full play to their initiative in recruiting new members. Without solid mass organizing at a rapid pace by the members themselves, the ability of a mass organization to hold large and significant mass actions is undermined and becomes diminished.

I hope that during your current anniversary celebration you can sum up your experience, take stock of your strengths, seek solutions to problems and lay down the tasks for bringing your current strength to a new and higher level within the next year and in the years ahead. I urge you to pay serious attention to making an organization plan to accelerate recruitment and establish new chapters. Of course, you must co-relate such plan to your education and campaign plans.

Mabuhay ang League of Filipino Students! (Long live the League of Filipino Students!)

Mabuhay ang pakikibaka para sa pambansang demokrasya! (Long live the struggle for national democracy!)

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



Develop the People's Power

Art as Sword and Shield of the People¹⁶

Message of solidarity to KARATULA

September 15, 2010

I am glad to extend a message of solidarity to the leaders and members of KARATULA on its 10th founding anniversary tomorrow, September 16.

I have been informed of the theme of your celebration: A decade: art is the shield against the brewing storm. However, you may still improve and sharpen your metaphors.

It is true that art may be compared to a shield. But it is more important to consider it as a sword. As a weapon of the people, art has the character of both sword and shield. You as art activists are not passively buffeted by the gale. You are active participants among the masses in producing the gale to shake down the ruling system from base to rafters in the efforts of the Filipino people to overthrow this system.

I expect you always to learn, grasp and perform the vital role of art and literary activists in cultural and propaganda work in creating a patriotic, democratic and mass culture. Likewise in advancing the people's revolutionary struggle on the path of national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local reactionaries.

I have full confidence of your success in artistic production such as monologue and drama, theater, roaming exhibition and festival of learning as an alternative class and forums to be held in the UP-Manila, PUP, PLM and UP-Diliman and a community of urban poor in the coming days of September 20-23.

It is my desire that you demonstrate your art works serving the Filipino people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants. You must expose and oppose the exploitation and oppression that they suffer at the hands of the imperialists and the big compradors and landlords. And it is appropriate to demonstrate their struggle for national and social liberation.

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

Develop the People's Power

Long live KARATULA!

Make art a weapon of the people!

Long live the working classes and the people!



People's War in the Philippines¹⁷

Delivered at the Expert Workshop on Escalation Processes in Irregular Warfare, Raadzaal, Achter Sint Pieter 200, University of Utrecht

September 17, 2010

The old merger party of the Communist and Socialist Parties founded the People's Army against Japan (Hukbalahap) in 1942. This army became the Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan (People's Liberation Army) in 1948 in order to resist the continued US domination of the Philippines under the US-RP Treaty of General Relations and the Parity Amendment of the Philippine Constitution and the return of the landlords to Central Luzon where the people's army was based.

The backbone of the HMB was broken in the early 1950s. The semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society seemed to be perpetual and invincible. The exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords blocked every attempt to uphold national sovereignty and carry out genuine and thoroughgoing land reform. In 1957 the reactionary government enacted the Anti-Subversion Law to punish by death officers of the Communist Party or any organization acting as its successor or front.

I. Revival of the national democratic revolution

I was among those who revived the mass **movement** of the workers, peasants and the youth in the 1960s under the leadership of the old merger party of the Socialist and Communist Parties. The ruling system was extremely oppressive and exploitative. We conceived of the national democratic revolution to oppose the system. We were not afraid of the Anti-Subversion Law.

We engaged in mass work to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses. We came under surveillance. We were blacklisted, subjected

¹⁷ Presentation given as Founding Chairperson of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

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to propaganda attacks and removed from our jobs. Our mass actions were often disrupted and attacked.

Within the merger party of the Communist and Socialist Parties, the question arose whether to prepare for revolutionary armed struggle or not. The old merger party took the position of carrying out the legal mass movement indefinitely until such time that conditions were supposed to ripen and allow a general uprising.

I was among those who took the position that people's war must be started on the basis of the already existing mass base in the rural and urban areas. We left the old merger party to reestablish the Communist Party of the Philippines under the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on December 26, 1968. Three months later on March 29, 1969, we founded the New People's Army to wage people's war.

II. Fascist dictatorship of Marcos

In 1969, Marcos spoke of [Philippine society](#) as a social volcano about to explode. In speaking thus, he presented himself as the strong leader to head off the eruption of the volcano. He had plans of using military force to perpetuate himself in power. He expanded the armed forces and was quick to use military force to suppress any manifestation of armed resistance in the countryside. He was responsible for the massacres in Barrios Culatingan, Sta. Lucia and Paraiso.

He launched Oplan Prophylaxis in an attempt to nip in the bud the New People's Army in 1969. But he failed. The NPA grew from only 65 members with 9 automatic rifles and 26 handguns and single shot rifles to more than 200 automatic rifles from 1969 to early 1970 in Tarlac province. Marcos put together Task Force Lawin, consisting of 5,000 troops and policemen, further augmented by so-called barrio self-defense units.

Having anticipated the concentration of enemy forces where we started to build the NPA, we sent expansion cadres to various regions in order to build armed propaganda teams from the mass organizations and deploy them in the villages. When Marcos boasted of having "decimated" the NPA in Central Luzon, the NPA had developed bigger mass bases in Isabela province in another region of the country.

At any rate, Marcos proceeded with his scheme to impose a fascist dictatorship on the people. On August 21, 1971, he suspended the writ

of habeas corpus and suppressed all patriotic and progressive legal mass organizations. On September 21, 1972, he declared martial law and concentrated executive, legislative and judicial powers in his hands. In his martial law proclamation he claimed that the NPA had 10,000 rifles. In fact, it had only 300 rifles at the time.

But the 14 years of fascist dictatorship generated conditions favorable to people's war. The New People's Army was able to grow to the level of nearly 6,000 high-powered weapons by the time that Marcos fell in February 1986.

III. Low intensity doctrine under Aquino regime

Cory Aquino came to power as a consequence of the convergence of contradictory forces against the Marcos fascist regime. The National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) representing the Communist Party of the Philippines, the NPA and other revolutionary forces agreed to hold ceasefire talks with the Aquino regime. A ceasefire agreement was forged on November 25, 1986 to prepare for peace negotiations on substantive issues.

But the peace negotiations came to an end when peasants were massacred while rallying in front of the presidential palace on January 23, 1987. Instead of holding responsible her security guards for the carnage, Aquino blamed the peasants and the entire revolutionary movement and proclaimed the unsheathing of the sword of the state.

With General Fidel Ramos as her defense secretary, she launched a series of national campaign plans Lambat Bitag I, II and III designed to destroy the armed revolutionary movement. The campaign plans were described as the application of the low-intensity conflict doctrine. Human rights violations became rampant in both urban and rural areas. Base-denial operations and massacres were often undertaken in the countryside.

For a while, Lambat Bitag appeared to be successful as the armed movement was being weakened by an ultra-Left current which started in the early 1980s and then by a Rightist current which started to pick up strength in 1988. The ultra-Left current damaged the mass base and subsequently the Rightist current called for the liquidation of the Party and the armed revolutionary movement.

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IV. Rectification movement and peace negotiations

The ultra-Left current consisted of the premature formation of companies and of unnecessary levels of command and staff which took away Party and NPA personnel from mass work. Due to this erroneous current, the mass base of the revolutionary movement decreased by 15 percent in 1988 and by 60 percent in 1991. This reduced the ability of the NPA to wage tactical offensives although in the main the NPA retained its weapons.

The rectification movement was carried out to criticize and repudiate major errors. It reoriented, reorganized and redeployed the Party and NPA for mass work and for recovering and rebuilding the mass base. It also went against the attempt of the Rightists to liquidate the armed struggle and follow the reformist example of the Soviet leader Gorbachov.

At the same time, the NDFP engaged the Ramos regime in peace negotiations. The Hague Joint Declaration was agreed upon in 1992 to lay the framework for peace negotiations. And several more agreements were forged in order to advance the peace negotiations, which formally opened in 1995.

Some observers think that there was an ebb in the fighting between the NPA and the reactionary forces because of the peace negotiations. But the real cause was the decrease of the mass base and the weakening of the offensive capability of the NPA from 1988 to 1991 and the need for rectification and recovery from 1992 to 1998.

V. Revitalization and resurgence of people's war

The rectification movement was successful. The mass base expanded. The NPA could launch tactical offensives in different parts of the Philippines from 1996 onwards. It was able to capture a series of high-ranking military officers, including a general.

The people's war was revitalized and resurgent in the last two years of the Ramos regime and in the three years of the Estrada regime. Estrada approved the military campaigns of suppression against the NPA and terminated the peace negotiations soon after he signed the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL). Eventually, he became

preoccupied with the campaigns against the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) in Mindanao.

VI. Oplan Bantay Laya

The Arroyo regime pretended for a while to continue the peace negotiations with the NDFP in 2001. But it decided to launch Oplan Bantay Laya I and II from 2001 to the end of her rule. International human rights organizations and UN human rights agencies called attention to the gross and systematic violation of human rights and made recommendations to the Arroyo regime to improve the human rights situation in the country. The regime turned a deaf ear to all of them.

Since its inception, Oplan Bantay Laya has perpetrated the abduction, torture and extrajudicial killing of more than 1,000 social activists, including trade unionists, peasant leaders, human rights advocates, religious and journalists. At the same time, the peasant masses and indigenous peoples in the countryside have been subjected to arbitrary arrests and detention, bombings and forced evictions from their land and homes.

The violent attacks on **urban-based** social activists was calculated to demoralize and weaken the legal mass movement and cut it off from the armed revolutionary movement in the countryside. But the people's war intensified in response to the escalating campaigns of suppression.

VII. Prospects under the Aquino II regime

The present Aquino regime follows the US Counterinsurgency Guide and is continuing Oplan Bantay Laya up to January 2011. However, there is already a 5-year military plan intended to defeat and destroy the NPA. By cutting the budgets for education, health and other social services, Aquino has increased the budget for the military and made way for a huge amount of debt service.

He has also increased the budget for an agency that is intended to be the civilian arm for facilitating the forced evacuation of peasants and the indigenous people who are victims of displacements due to militarization and wide-scale landgrabbing by mining and logging companies.

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There are indications that the Aquino regime is not interested in peace negotiations as a way of addressing the roots of the armed conflict and laying the basis for a just and lasting peace. To date, the Manila government has not reciprocated the NDFP's demand for the resumption and acceleration of formal peace negotiations and has not responded to the NDFP's proposal for a Concise Agreement to End Civil War and Achieve Immediate Just Peace. This proposal has been relayed to the GRP since August 27, 2005.

The NDFP is patiently waiting for the Aquino regime to dispatch its emissaries and to form the new negotiating panel of the GRP.

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Intensify the Struggle against Imperialist Exploitation and Plunder to Attain Development and End Poverty¹⁸

September 20, 2010

From September 20-22, 2010, the United Nations is hosting the largest gathering of heads of state since the Millennium Summit in the year 2000 when 189 world leaders made pious pledges to reaffirm the principles and values of the UN for the new millennium and declared that the central challenge for the moment was “to ensure that globalization becomes a positive force for all the world’s people.”

In this connection, the UN promulgated eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), targeted for fulfilment by 2015. With barely 5 years left before the deadline and in the midst of the first global depression of the 21st century, world leaders are convening in New York to proclaim their continued commitment to pursue the MDGs while diverting people’s attention away from the real roots of the problems that these goals are supposed to solve.

The MDGs were adopted ostensibly to marshal the efforts of governments towards “doable” and “measurable” targets. The real intent was to legitimize “neoliberalism” and make pretenses that the world capitalist system was humane even as the rapacity of imperialist exploitation and plunder remains the reality. The goals were deliberately chosen—principally by bureaucrats and spin-doctors from the OECD, IMF and WB—to deal superficially only with the most obvious symptoms of poverty and oppression which riled even the imperialist-funded NGOs and some rock stars.

They obscured the necessity of overcoming colonial and neocolonial domination and monopoly capitalist exploitation which have shackled the majority of the world’s population to chronic poverty and dehumanizing privations. They brushed aside the longstanding demands of underdeveloped countries within the UN system to redress the unequal relations between countries and to respect national sovereignty and

¹⁸ Statement issued as Chairperson of the International League of Peoples’ Struggle.

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mutual benefit in international relations. They dismissed the demands for social justice and structural transformation voiced by people's movements in all continents.

Indeed, the Millennium Declaration and the MDGs were essentially propaganda offensives to push back the advance of the progressive forces against imperialist globalization. During the last decade of the previous millennium, such forces had been mounting increasingly militant actions in connection with the People's Conference against Imperialist Globalization in Manila in 1996, the People's Caravan Against APEC in 1997, and the Battle of Seattle in 1999.

Since their 2000 launch, the MDGs have been used to sugarcoat the bitter overdoses of "neoliberal" policy that the imperialist financial institutions have been shoving down the throats of people in the impoverished and bankrupt countries. The MDGs, thus, have served to perpetrate the exploitative relations between the imperialist powers and the client countries. The first goal, "eradicate extreme poverty and hunger," is farther from realization than ever, with the number of hungry people worldwide increasing from 842 million in 1990 to over 1 billion last year.

The aggravation of hunger is due to the tightened monopoly capitalist control of the global food system—from production inputs, to credit, to marketing and distribution. This has deepened the longstanding crisis of agriculture and food production in underdeveloped countries. This is also rooted in the legacy of feudal land monopoly and compounded by governments that would rather support foreign agribusiness, mining and logging interests and landed elite interests than uplift the condition of the peasantry and poor consumers.

The UN claims that the MDG target of halving the number people living in extreme poverty is well on the way to being met. **But that target is based on the puffing up of the aggregate figures with the reported rise in household incomes of a narrow section of the Chinese population.** Concealed are the decline of employment and incomes among the workers and peasants and the reduction of social incomes in the form of public goods and services as a consequence of capitalist restructuring and the worsening global economic crisis.

In 2005, there were still supposedly about 1.4 billion people living below \$1.25 per day, down from 1.8 billion in 1990. Without China, to which most of the reduction is ascribed, the number actually increased by 36 million. Rising food prices and the global economic crisis that

erupted in 2008 is pushing millions more into absolute poverty. The share of the poor in the world's income is also declining. In 1990, the ratio of the per capita income in the richest 20 countries to that in the poorest 20 was \$42 to one dollar; in 2005, it was \$59 to one dollar.

The UN claims that universal primary education is on its way to being achieved. But nearly half of all secondary school-age children in developing countries are known to be out of school, especially those from impoverished families in remote rural areas where public schools, teachers and other basic social services are not provided by governments due to fiscal tightening or austerity imposed by imperialist financial institutions. Monopoly capitalists are also pushing for the privatization and commercialization of education in order to profit from building schools, charging fees and churning out students adapted to the needs of multinational corporations.

The UN admits to making little headway in redressing gender discrimination, whether this be in the realm of education, employment, incomes and most especially in terms of maternal health. As of 2005, a woman in the third world dies of complications related to pregnancy every minute while more than one million infants are left motherless every year. Some 8.8 million children under the age of five die every year—13 times more likely in poor countries compared to advanced capitalist countries.

Malnutrition and preventable diseases due to lack of access to health care, water and sanitation are the primary causes. As in the case of education, the priority given to servicing foreign debts and privatization has eroded most third world government's capacities to provide these basic services and deploy health personnel where they are needed most. Monopoly control of giant pharmaceutical companies over medicines, medical technologies and medical research, reinforced by so-called intellectual property rights protection provided to them by governments and the WTO, also undermine efforts at combating HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases that are rampant in poor countries, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa.

While the MDGs include environmental sustainability in the wishlist, the anarchic, wasteful and destructive capitalist production for profit has now pulled our world close to the brink of ecological disaster. 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,

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construction, etc., is now generating climatic changes that are causing massive devastation and loss of human lives around the world.

The relentless extraction of mineral ores and wanton destruction of forests by multinational mining corporations persist in the underdeveloped countries that are rich with natural resources. Massive environmental destruction and pollution, widespread landlessness and displacement, loss of livelihood, distortion of local culture, and rampant human rights violations are left in their wake.

Central to the MDG schema is the avowed obligation of the advanced capitalist countries to provide more development aid, debt relief, access to markets, medicines and new technology for the underdeveloped countries in the name of “global partnerships for development.” But in fact, these are the very same instruments by which imperialists exploit and keep backward countries dependent. Debt relief and aid granted to the most indebted countries are a mere fraction of the resources siphoned off by monopoly capitalists from underdeveloped countries in the form of debt payments, unequal trade, profit remittances, tax evasion, capital flight, and resource plunder.

According to UN estimates, the underdeveloped countries are transferring resources to the industrialized countries at an average rate of nearly US\$500 billion per year since 2000, reaching a peak of US\$891 billion in 2008. Moreover, so-called development assistance remains attached to policy conditionalities such as liberalization, privatization and deregulation that favor monopoly capitalist interests over the requirements of real national development.

The MDGs are a grand and expensive distraction from the real effort to address the structural roots of poverty, injustice, oppression and underdevelopment—the struggle against imperialist exploitation and plunder through painstaking education, organizing and mobilization of the masses. This is the only path to national and social liberation and all-rounded development.

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On the Commemoration of September 21¹⁹

September 21, 2010

Ferdinand Marcos himself designated September 21, 1972 as the date for Presidential Proclamation 1081, declaring martial law. In previous days, he had set in motion the imposition of fascist dictatorship on the people, including the mobilization of his armed minions, the murder of a **whistleblower** in his own intelligence agency, the fake ambush on his defense secretary and the mass arrest of his opponents and critics.

More than a year before, he had staged the dress rehearsal for the declaration of martial law by proclaiming the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus on August 21, 1971 when without evidence he blamed the Communist Party of the Philippines and Benigno S. Aquino for the Plaza Miranda bombing immediately after it happened.

It is important to commemorate the declaration of martial law today in order to recall the **14-year long** fascist dictatorship, the gross and systematic infliction of violence and suffering on the broad masses of the people and the steady growth of the resistance of the people and the revolutionary forces until there was a convergence of contradictory forces that effected the overthrow of the fascist dictator on February 25, 1986.

It is useful for the people to remember the fascist dictatorship not only because **of need to draw up consciousness** and courage to prevent the rise to power of the junior of Ferdinand Marcos and his other political heirs but also more urgently to struggle against the manifest plan of the son of Benigno Aquino to beef up the military, use his power to enlarge the wealth of his family and cronies and seek to destroy the revolutionary movement of the people.

Irony of ironies! The son of the underdog and outstanding murder victim of the Marcos fascist regime is practically aping the fascist dictator. Mr. Benigno S. Aquino III has declared that the Philippine population has doubled since the last time that Marcos beefed up the military and that by implication he must double the strength of the military.

¹⁹ Statement issued as Chief Political Consultant of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines.

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Unmindful of the **severe economic difficulties and bankruptcy** of the reactionary government, he has begun to increase the budget of the military by 81 percent. He has also increased the budget of the DSWD by 123 percent only because it is going to be the chief partner of the military in so-called base-denial operations and forcing the evacuation of the people from their homes and land. A huge part of the national budget is for debt service. The budgets for education, health and other necessary social services have been reduced.

The Aquino regime is hellbent on following the US Counterinsurgency Guide and intends to use the US\$434 million windfall from the Millenium Challenge Corporation as complement of the peso budget for the military. It has continued Oplan Bantay Laya and the gross and systematic violations of human rights under the Arroyo regime. It has made its own five-year operational plan for one more futile scheme of atrocities to destroy the revolutionary movement. It has condoned the bloody crimes of the Arroyo regime and has kept hundreds of political prisoners, including Morong 43.

It looks like there is no end to the chain of rulers who serve US imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords and who are exceedingly corrupt, brutal and mendacious. But let us remember that the New People's Army had only 300 automatic rifles when Marcos falsely claimed that it had 10,000 rifles in justifying the declaration of martial law in 1972. At the fall of Marcos in 1986, the NPA had grown to 6,000 automatic rifles and had gained a rural base of millions in all regions of the country, except the predominantly Moro provinces.

The armed revolutionary movement was a major force that caused the downfall of Marcos but it did not have enough armed strength yet in 1986 to overpower the reactionary state of big compradors and landlords. It is not true that the NPA had 25,000 **high-powered** weapons. Moreover, certain ultra-Left and Rightist opportunist currents were already undermining the armed revolutionary movement in most of the 1980s and up to 1991, resulting mainly in the loss of substantial parts of the revolutionary mass base in the rural areas.

But the Communist Party of the Philippines launched the Second Great Rectification Movement in 1992. Since then, according to publications of the CPP, the armed revolutionary movement has been revitalized and has **grown** in strength in an all-round way. However, it has not yet gained sufficient strength to overthrow the reactionary

state or to compel the formation of a coalition government of national unity, democracy, social justice, development and peace against US imperialism and the worst forms of reaction.

The CPP and the NPA have publicly announced that in the next years they will strive to advance from the stage of strategic defensive to that of strategic stalemate in the people's war. This course of probability is well-founded because of the growing strength of the subjective forces of the revolution and the rapid deterioration of the **long-rotten** ruling system of big compradors and landlords. As demonstrated in the **14-year long** fascist dictatorship, the rule of open terror and unbridled greed can only drive the broad masses of the people to the road of armed revolution.

The revolutionary forces and the people can be expected to grow in strength through people's war if Benigno Aquino III should choose to rule like Marcos or even like his mother, trying in vain to use military force to defeat the revolutionary forces and the people, instead of availing of the peace negotiations with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines in order to address the roots of the civil war and lay the ground for a just and lasting peace through basic social, economic and political reforms.

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Develop the People's Power

Support the Europe-Wide Day of Action against Austerity and for Jobs and Real Economic Growth²⁰

September 22, 2010

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, express our solidarity with and support for all the workers and the rest of the people in Europe in connection with the Day of Action on **September 29** to resist austerity measures and to demand jobs and real economic growth. We therefore call on all our member-organizations and allies in Europe to participate in the Day of Action.

Responding to the call of the European Trade Union Confederation, tens of thousands of trade unionists from Belgium, The Netherlands, **Luxembourg** and France are expected to assemble at Gare du Midi, the south railway station of Brussels at 1130 HRS and then march to the Parc du Cinquantenaire to hold a rally at 1500 HRS.

The Day of Action is spearheaded by trade unions and is at the same time actively supported by left political parties, community organizations, church groups, students and other forces. In specific countries of Europe, strikes and mass protests shall be held in conjunction with the focal mass action in Brussels. A general strike is going to be held in Spain, following the previous examples in Greece and France.

The Day of Action coincides with the meeting of European finance ministers in Brussels. It is a mass mobilization aimed at protesting the rising rate of unemployment, the lowering of wage levels, the attack on pensions and the cutting back of social services as a result of austerity measures being imposed by the European governments.

The European governments are poised to make budget cuts amounting to 200 billion euros, which can result in further job losses. The proletariat and people of Europe oppose the call of the European Central Bank Governor for the strict imposition of severe austerity measures at the further expense of the workers.

Under the guise of economic stimulus programs, the soaring public debts and heavy deficit spending have been incurred for the benefit of

²⁰ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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the very malefactors that caused the current grave crisis—the finance oligarchy and the monopoly bourgeoisie as a whole. The proletariat and people of Europe are therefore opposing austerity measures and demanding the use of public resources for expanding production and employment.

The austerity measures are hurting the workers, pensioners and communities. They are bound to prolong and deepen the economic crisis. The reduction of employment and incomes for the proletariat and the people will further stagnate and depress the economy. There is no let up in the aggravation of the economic and financial crisis.

Exploitation is the lot of the working class, starting at the workplace with the extraction of surplus value. Further on, the capitalist class maximizes profit by accumulating capital and **reducing the wage fund**, thus causing the crisis of overproduction relative to the **shrunk market**.

In the last three decades of “neoliberal globalization,” the banks, investment houses and major corporations have used growing amounts of debt financing, entailing the speculative creation of money, credit and derivatives, in order to continue making profits and ride over the recurrent and worsening crisis of overproduction and the chronic tendency of the economy to stagnate and the profit rate to fall.

After the dramatic bursting of the financial bubbles, including those related to the subprime mortgages in the US and the spread of so-called collateralized debt obligations in Europe, the states of the world capitalist system have used public money to bail out the banks and the big corporations on the pretext of stimulating the economy.

The bailouts have not resulted in the revival of production and employment. They have only served to improve the balance sheets of the banks and big corporations and to conjure momentarily the illusion of recovery in the financial markets. The fiscal deficits and public debt have ballooned. Now this huge financial bubble is bursting and the states are frantically adopting austerity measures and further passing on the burden of crisis to the workers and the people at large.

States are setting aside huge amounts of funds for debt service and are raising new taxes and fees at the expense of the people and cutting government payrolls and public services. In Europe, the governments openly apply the austerity measures. In the US the federal government is babbling about prudent financial management, while

the local state and municipal governments are running ahead in openly applying austerity measures.

In all the imperialist countries, the forces on the Left of the political spectrum are exposing the real roots of the crisis in the exploitative character and processes of the capitalist system and the forces of the Right are blaming immigrants and migrant workers for the worsening economic and social crisis and are whipping up chauvinism, racism, religious bigotry, repression and aggression.

There is a sharpening polarization of society. At the moment, a see-saw struggle is going on between the Left and the Right in electoral contests, resulting in hung parliaments and unstable coalitions of the so-called Center with the Right or the Left. The prolongation and worsening of the crisis in the imperialist countries is stirring up the worst reactionary currents as well as progressive currents against capitalism and imperialism and for a socially just society, for a radical transformation of society up to socialism.

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Develop the People's Power

Promote and Strengthen Anti-Imperialist Solidarity

Message of appreciation to Mustafa Kilinc

October 3, 2010

As chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle, I wish to express sincerest appreciation to the journalist and filmmaker Mustafa Kilinc for his high sense of international solidarity in going to the Philippines in order to witness the dire and intolerable conditions of the Filipino people and their resolute and militant struggle for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes.

As a result of his investigative trip to the Philippines, he has published reports and an entire book and has produced the documentary film, *Ates Cemberinde Gul Yuzler (Circle of Fire on Smiling Faces)*. I admire him for his determination, courage and hard work and I congratulate him for his significant success.

The Filipino people are certainly grateful to Mustafa Kilinc for depicting their suffering as a result of exploitation and oppression by US imperialism and the local reactionary classes of big compradors and landlords and for putting forward the revolutionary resistance of the toiling masses of workers and peasants in the form of mass protest movements and people's war.

By bringing the truth to the people of the world, he is helpful to the building of international solidarity against imperialism and reaction. The Filipino people contribute to such solidarity by waging their revolutionary struggle in the Philippines and providing the example to inspire other peoples. At the same time, they need the mutual support and cooperation of all peoples of the world.

I thank Mustafa Kilinc and all his supporters for inviting me to attend the showing of the film and the seminar on the revolutionary situation and recent developments in the Philippines. I am pleased to know that hundreds of Turkish and Kurdish people are attending the premiere showing of the film. Through them, I convey the warmest salutations of

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solidarity and best wishes to the **peoples** of Turkey and Kurdistan who are waging revolutionary struggles for national and social liberation.

I wanted so much to come but unfortunately the Dutch authorities continue to unjustly deny me the residence permit and the freedom to travel in Europe, despite the fact that the European Court of Justice has removed my name from the EU terrorist list since December 10 last year.

Nevertheless, the chief international representative of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines Luis Jalandoni is present as the head of a delegation of Filipinos in order to represent the Filipino people and speak on their behalf. He is in a position to underscore major issues in the Philippines and give you an update on the situation.

He is also in a position to work out with Mustafa Kilinc and other possible cooperators on how to promote and strengthen the solidarity of the Filipino people with the people in Germany and the rest of Europe. The documentary film and book of Mustafa Kilinc on the Philippines can be important tools for the building of international solidarity.

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Condemn the Rise of Fascist Current in the US and Urge the American People to Fight Back²¹

October 5, 2010

At the center of the world capitalist system, the current of fascism is running high. It is whipping up the terrorism scare, racism, xenophobia, anti-migrant prejudices and religious bigotry. The Republican and Democratic parties keep moving towards the **Right**, egged on by ultra-Rightist groups and sections of the corporate mass media.

The finance oligarchy and the military-industrial complex are deliberately generating the fascist current and its various ingredients in order to conceal the root cause of the financial and economic crisis, to cover up their criminal culpability, to shift the burden of crisis to the proletariat and the people and to scapegoat the anti-imperialist and peace activists, the immigrants, the people of color, and the Arabs and Muslims.

The fascist current took a new ugly turn when on Friday, September 24, 2010 the FBI raided at least six houses in Chicago and Minneapolis and began a US-wide intimidation campaign of activists who work with organizations such as the Palestine Solidarity Group, Students for a Democratic Society, the Twin-Cities Antiwar Committee, the Colombia Action Network, the Freedom Road Socialist Organization, and the National Committee to Free Ricardo Palmera (a Colombian political prisoner).

As revealed by the warrants and line of questioning by the FBI agents, the activists are being targeted and pilloried for their solidarity work with the people's struggles for national self-determination abroad as well as for their work within the US to build a movement to oppose US imperialism, crisis and war. The intimidation campaign has included FBI raids, visits and Grand Jury subpoenas. It is obviously inspired by the reactionary ruling of the US Supreme Court in *Holder vs. Humanitarian Law Project* on June 22, 2010.

²¹ Statement issued as Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

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The said Supreme Court ruling has made it a crime to provide support, including humanitarian aid, literature distribution, legal advice, and political advocacy to any entity that the government has designated as a foreign terrorist organization, even when such support is intended solely to promote the lawful and non-violent activities of a designated organization.

Civil rights advocates and a section of the mainstream media have condemned the Supreme Court ruling and have denounced the decision as violative of the US constitution by criminalizing free speech and imposing guilt by association. On July 26, the *Washington Post* began publishing an investigative series critical of the extensive **counterterrorism** and intelligence network put up by the US government in reaction to the 9/11/2001 attacks.

In an interview on Democracy Now, the *Washington Post* reporters discussed how the top-secret world of US intelligence agencies has become “so large, so unwieldy and so secretive that no one knows how much money it costs, how many people it employs, how many programs exist within it or exactly how many agencies do the same work.” Among the findings: about 854,000 people hold top-secret security clearances, and more than 1,200 government organizations and nearly 2,000 private companies work on programs related to counterterrorism, homeland security and intelligence in 10,000 locations. The US has practically become the biggest police state in the world.

The Obama administration is not any more gentle and kind than the Bush administration. On September 24 (same day as the FBI raids), it filed a court motion urging a federal judge to dismiss a lawsuit brought by the American Civil Liberties Union and Center for Constitutional Rights against the assertion that the US can assassinate US citizens anywhere in the world, without any clear criteria about who can be assassinated. The Obama administration cited an act on state secrets, prohibiting the public revelation of information prejudicial to national security, as the cover for assassinations.

The US is increasingly applying on its own citizens and other residents in the US the same viciousness and brutality it has applied on entire **peoples** outside its national borders. An imperialist power that holds captive and brutalizes other **peoples** is ever inclined to oppress the people within its borders. Since September 21, 2001, US imperialism has unleashed wars of aggression and has whipped up state terrorism through its allies and puppets and abroad. At the same time,

it has enacted the USA PATRIOT Act in order to curtail and suppress the democratic rights and freedoms of the people in the US.

We firmly stand in solidarity with all the people in the US and vigorously support their struggle against US imperialism and all its ruthless policies and acts to exploit and oppress. We call on all the member-organizations and allies of the ILPS in the US to contribute the most that they can in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people of various nationalities in the US to uphold, defend and advance their democratic rights and to resist the latest FBI raids and all other oppressive and exploitative acts of the imperialist state.

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Develop the People's Power

On the Task of Arousing, Organizing and Mobilizing the Masses

Discussions with an assembly of the Student Christian Movement

September 24, 2010

1. *The work of AOM (arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses) today is a large part of the SCM campaign. On planning, the main considerations are national and local issues in the objective and framework at a given time. Propaganda and recruitment are based on the framework of the campaign to be designated. The “campaign to organize” has become the usual practice. Concretely when the members conduct propaganda, this is based on primers that discuss the major issues that are only stitched together by an appraisal of the semicolonial and semifeudal condition and its alternative, national democracy (ND), and sometimes that point is not even reached. The members seldom conduct propaganda and recruitment using the constitution, the articles in Struggle for National Democracy (SND) and documents directly explaining what is national democracy. With this kind of framework, when the issue wanes, there is a lull in organizing. This is also the result of not following AOM step by step.*

Is this the correct method of planning for a definite period or is it more accurate to make organizing the pivotal issue by providing the constitutions of the mass organizations and the SND? How about making the organized forces as the source of mobilization and only periodically expand the fight when national and local issues arise?

JMS: The tasks of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses are interrelated and interdependent. But there should be a distinction and balancing of tasks. Let us trace the sequence of arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses. Let us assume an initial number of members (small or large).

Based on this you can take on the task of arousing (agitation propaganda, forums and publications) on the national-democratic line and outstanding issues. Even at the stage of arousing, the current members pay attention to those who can be persuaded and recruited and

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whom they know because they are their fellow students, friends and co-members in other organizations, co-believers in religion, hangout companions, etc.

As a result of propagating on any issue based on the national democratic line, two methods of solid organizing must be conducted. First, every member should fulfil the task of recruiting others one by one or by successive groups at any day or any definite period. Second, the organization can issue a call for a recruitment meeting every week or every month at which those interested to become members are invited to attend. In this two methods, recruitment is made within one or two hours of explanation, discussion, understanding and acceptance of the constitution and program of the organization. After new members are recruited (expansion), promptly put them through PADEPA or the school for national democracy as a step towards their consolidation.

The more you have aroused (A) and the more you have recruited to your organization (O), the bigger the capability of your organization to launch campaigns (M). A and M are alike in the sense that agitprop and assembling of people beyond the number of members of the organization are conducted. A and M are different because the masses reached by M are bigger and wider and because M designates a longer period for fulfilling the objectives of a campaign.

The point about using campaigns to organize the machinery for campaigns is correct; assign tasks to members and prospective members of the organization and quickly recruit activists to the organization. If recruitment is not prompt, the prospective members are bound to disappear when the campaign ebbs. Recruitment of new members is easily forgotten while the campaign is advancing with many tasks related to it.

By the way, is it not that when you say mobilize, the main issue is how after organizing and mobilizing, the members are not only expected to participate in mass actions but, more than this, to conduct mass work within the organization?

JMS: Within the ranks of SCM or any progressive mass organization (MO), mass work should really be conducted (especially A and internal M) so that members are more

ready, more steadfast and more effective in mobilizing bigger masses beyond the membership of the specific mass organization. In this sense M means reaching and mobilizing larger numbers of those

not yet organized or of members of other organizations not quite as developed as ND organizations. But while the campaign is going on, the organization or campaign machinery is also being built; and work in the committees, secretariat or groups is distributed. Because the ND members are conscious and solidly organized, they can easily work, act and lead; and know new rising activists to be invited to become members.

Is it correct that in consideration of the concrete situation of not having full chapters, we must concentrate on the work of solid organizing and mobilizing based on our consolidated strength and not to rely on the principle that through vigorous campaigning without having to grasp the major issues in the organization one can expect to mobilize and expand?

JMS: I do not understand why you do not have full chapters. You ought to have these, whether small or big; weak or strong. My former assumption was that the SCM has chapters in every school, especially in Christian schools or in secular schools having many Christian students. Look whether your constitution is adequate or inadequate. Amend it, if necessary. Sum up your experience and see **whether errors and weaknesses are causing the absence or weakness of solid organizing**. It is only natural to concentrate on the work of solid organizing when there are no chapters or these are weak. But do not neglect A and M because these facilitate O.

Is our view also correct that the realization of the call for a patriotic, scientific and mass character of education and other aspects of the ND program are not yet the primary issues connected to such calls as the opposition to the government's budget cuts and decreasing subsidies; and demands for tactical gains but to the actual recruitment to mass organizations and to fully put into practice the call to study in PADEPA where they are taught to be patriotic, reject idealism and integrate with the basic masses by leaving the schools and organizing among them? This is because under current conditions, it appears that calls directed to the government and not to the people cannot be fully demonstrated as illusory under the existing government but can be put into practice within the framework of the new society.

JMS: Attend to different issues at different times but every issue should be linked to the national democratic line and the line of patriotic,

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scientific and mass oriented education and culture. In every statement, show the connection of particular issues to the broader issues and in the context of the national democratic movement. It is correct to criticize the reactionary government and state what ought to be done. Your positions should be just and reasonable. It is correct to say that reforms are needed. But it is wrong to say that through sheer reforms fundamental change is achievable. It is correct for the student movement to maintain its character. But the students must link with the working classes and communities of the poor and participate in mass work among them, especially among the youth.

How is the actual conduct when one says strengthen the antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist campaign? Is this mainly linked to solid organizing and educating the masses or linking the particular issues manifested by these in the framework of the campaign relative to sweeping attacks compared to solid organizing? What is the objective of mass actions? What is the standard set for assessing whether this is victorious or not?

JMS: Antifascist, antifeudal and anti-imperialist are combative terms. It pertains to the national democratic movement. This line should permeate and be carried by A, O and M. Do not separate this from A, O and M.

The principal weakness of SCM is its lack of chapters. This is why it cannot register a strong call even if it acts because its numbers are not significant. In this situation, is it not more fitting for us to take on the creation and strengthening of chapters as the main political task by AOM (emphasizing their sequence)? Set mobilization based on solid strength through intensive and step by step organizing as the main call and not quick campaigns and forced mobilizations expected to produce an atmosphere to push the masses to join the mass organization which in the end does not happen?

JMS: It is correct for the SCM to attend to forming and strengthening chapters in different schools. The chapters can be formed when you can get members in the context of AOM and by focusing on solid organizing. When you have built a chapter in a university, continue to build chapters at the level of the colleges down to the departments. Do not put aside the task of mobilizing, instead use this to develop the task of organizing.

Now also, unlike during the first quarter storm, work in communities and in schools are separate. It is only from time to time that the call in schools is made for school activists to link up and integrate with the basic masses and learn their basic issues. Is this division between the activists in the community and in the school, not at odds with the orientation that schools should become only the breeding ground for ND activists who in the end should focus primarily on places where the basic masses are?

JMS: See whether within the framework of Anakbayan, you can conduct social investigation among the working people and participate in community mass work, especially among the youth. Your members can also take the initiative to link with and work in urban poor communities because you have members residing there or near there.

What are the principal tasks of national MO formations and alliances? What is the meaning of designating national formations of mass organizations to have the principal task of being the main machinery for campaigns?

JMS: The leaderships of the national MOs should be comprehensively attending to AOM at the national level. The leaderships of alliances should attend to unity, coordination and mobilization of organizations within the alliances.

During the FQS, how did you deal with the media? What is the correct attitude of treating them during mass actions.

JMS: The big media have big bourgeois owners and are influenced by big foreign and local companies. But the majority of journalists have petty-bourgeois tendencies and have patriotic and progressive sympathy with ND mass organizations and the ND line. They like reasonable, intelligent and sharp statements as well as our massive and militant mass actions. On this basis you can learn how to deal with the media, especially the journalists. You should also be aware of the business interests, the press lords and their hatchetmen.

Follow up Questions on the ND Line and AOM

October 5, 2010

1. *On national formation of mass organizations: What the national formations of mass organizations and the alliances usually do is to launch media actions, writing press statements and other methods of relaying through the media our stand/position on issues. This is within the frame of the supposed stress on campaigns and introduction of the organization and taking a stand on the main national issues as the task of the national formations. There are instances when within a week media actions are made daily. We are puzzled by this method because in our view, like you said, comprehensive AOM work is the task of national MO formations and media action is only part of A but not here that the formations spend all their time. It is also our view that when we say we wish to be nationally recognized, and as well the issues that we carry, these should not stop only at A but should develop to AOM in its fullness.*

We also fear that we often think of kinds of actions that the media would bite (often popular fads) and not based on sharpness, size and militancy of our actions, in the end instead of drawing a sharp line, such method would be treated only as a spectacle of mass actions. There is the thinking that for the media to bite our statements, it is necessary to remove some analysis hewing to the ND line.

JMS: The mass movement would be derailed if the only or the main national level (or whatever level) objective of the MO or alliance are press releases and spectacle, especially when the ND line is removed, dulled or dissipated. Statements and actions carrying the sharp ND line can be effective in calling the attention of the media and the masses. Without the ND line, the MO's would weaken and lose their reason for being.

2. *On highlighting the ND line in campaigns and mass struggles: Now under Philippine conditions, the masses are aware of the degree of their suffering under the ruling system. As subjective forces, what activists only need to do is direct these fragmented or separate views by highlighting the semicolonial and semifeudal analysis, puppet regimes, bureaucrat capitalism and feudalism, and the alternatives*

within the frame of the ND program. However, we see two reasons why we are unable to do this: 1) the campaign line on which we unite to carry is insufficient, falling into tactical calls for reforms of the campaigns and mass struggles, so that when the mobilizations wane, no organizational gains are achieved, possibly also because the masses who participated were not satisfied with the analysis imparted to them in the process of the mas campaign. 2), AOM is not properly and comprehensively conducted, we fail to produce enough voices to influence a large number of the people to the ND analysis and calls.

Essentially, we are concerned about being able to make the political line of people's democratic revolution seep through the masses by AOM. Is our view not to be shy about recognizing ND as the broadest appeal acceptable to the masses and considering PDR as the political line guiding the calls to drum up even in urban areas? As we have earlier stated, this problem is probably related to two issues: 1) our consensus on narrow campaign lines, unconcretized in the context of political campaigns and mass struggles in the urban areas, and 2) unrealized objective to drum up ND analysis and calls due to our weaknesses and shortcomings in conducting AOM.

JMS: You are correct about not shying away from recognizing, using and propagating the ND line. This responds to the people's problems. This is the line for solving such problems. If the MO is in the legal struggle, it is incorrect to directly call for armed struggle or people's war. But you can also say that we follow the will of the masses for AS or that AS or PW is there because many can no longer withstand or tolerate suffering. Remember two things: 1) Concrete demands should be clearly linked to the ND line, it becomes a problem when there are errors and shortcomings regarding the line, and the ND line is clear in the orchestration of the general and specific slogans; and 2) nothing can be achieved if A, O and M are not carried out comprehensively and integrally (when one task is not carried out, other tasks are damaged or weakened).

3. How can calls in mas campaigns and struggles with particular emphasis on economic problems become political and cultural? For example, like the general call for 125-peso across the board and problems among the student youth such as tuition and other fees?

JMS: It is okay to present the economic problems as well as demands such as 125 across the board and the lowering of tuition and

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other fees. But related to the political demands it is also necessary to present the oppressive and exploitative domination of the US and the rule of the local reactionary classes and to mention the need for the oppressed and exploited masses to struggle. When the economic and political aspects are clear, it is easy to depict their cultural aspect.

4. On tactical calls for reform: Based on the principle that all outstanding issues must be linked to the wider issue and within the context of the national democratic movement (NDM), how should the campaign line be defined on issues related to the economic problems being denounced and opposed but demanding reforms. As an example, the demand for lowering tuition and other fees, 12-year high school extension program, etc. Do these issues not have an initial sweeping character and always the primary task, especially of ND mass organizations, is to lay a campaign line that is sharp and national democratic to direct the inherent hatred of the masses against the policies that emerge?

JMS: Concrete demands are indeed necessary for concrete problems. Put these in the context of the ND program and actions. The ND line must denounce the whole and the parts of the semicolonial and semifeudal system and must present the solutions based on the mass movement for national liberation and democracy.

5. On the concept of broadening: How is broadening of campaigns and mass struggles undertaken? Does this have to do with limiting the campaign line to accommodate the masses with backward views? Is it not that if this has basis for being done, should only be temporary and from the perspective of the general line of the campaign should be immediately raised by linking to the ND line?

JMS: Broadening of of the mass struggle means continuously strengthening the ranks of the advanced masses, attracting the middle masses and finding ways to free the backward masses from the control and influence of the reactionaries. We often refer to the broad united front. This means, principally trust the working masses, win over the middle strata and take advantage of splits among the reactionary classes (temporarily unite with the relatively better section of the reactionaries in order to isolate and defeat the most reactionary section or defeat the reactionaries one by one). The tactics of the broad united front is really for weakening the entire reactionary

classes, attracting the masses influenced by these and strengthening the working masses.

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Develop the People's Power

Notes on the International Situation²²

For BAYAN-USA in New York and New Jersey

October 9, 2010

1. Prolongation of financial and economic crisis

The financial and economic crisis, which has sharpened since 2008 and has become the worst since the Great Depression, has become prolonged, especially because the **policymakers** of the imperialist countries persist dogmatically in the rut of neoliberalism. Public money has been used to bail out the big banks and certain favored corporations. It has been used **to** produce profits merely in balance sheets and stimulate the financial markets.

Even that part of the bailout money that is supposed to stimulate production by the favored corporations in the military-industrial complex is used to generate profits on paper and is subject to labor cost-cutting. Due to the neoliberal mania for reducing the wage fund, the so-called stimulus packages for infrastructure, car production, health services and green projects have not resulted in the expansion of production and unemployment. Joblessness, homelessness, deterioration of social services and other maladies continue to mount.

2. Austerity measures in imperialist countries

Public deficits and public debts have soared because of the bailouts given to the banks and corporations, the tax cuts given to the corporations and the wealthy families, the mounting debt service and rising expenditures for the military and intelligence services. But the financial oligarchy and the entire monopoly bourgeoisie continue to cover up their criminal culpability for the crisis and for the growth of the public debt bubble.

They simplistically blame government spending and obfuscate the fact that the public money has been used for corporate welfare rather

²² **Message issued** as Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

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than for social relief and the stimulation of production and expansion of employment. They proceed to shift further the burden of crisis to the working people through austerity measures which include pushing down wages, eroding social relief and pension benefits, increasing the premium on health insurance, raising the fees for social services and so on.

3. Further plunder of the underdeveloped countries

Under the US-directed policy of neoliberal globalization, the underdeveloped countries have run into huge amounts of public deficits and public debts. The growth of these has further accelerated during the current stage of the crisis even as terms of foreign borrowing have become more onerous. The types of goods exported by the underdeveloped countries to the imperialist countries like raw materials and semimanufactures are afflicted by less demand and lower prices.

The underdeveloped countries are **hard-pressed** to adopt austerity measures, far harsher than in the imperialist countries. They are vulnerable to the inflow of extremely exploitative investments aimed at grabbing the land and natural resources. The dire conditions of economic depression result in the further loss of economic sovereignty and accelerated plunder by the foreign multinational corporations. The people of the underdeveloped countries suffer the main brunt of the global economic crisis.

4. Inter-imperialist contradictions

Among the imperialist powers, there are growing contradictions regarding economic, financial, trade and security policies. The most conspicuous of these **involve** the competition for sources of energy and other raw materials, fields of investments, for markets and spheres of influence. There is resentment among certain imperialist and non-imperialist countries over the increasing US use of military intervention and aggression in order to maintain its hegemony and preempt the rise of rivals.

However, there are yet no conditions driving the imperialist powers to divide into violently conflicting groups as on the eve of the last two world wars in the 20th century. The imperialist powers still manage to be united in drawing up common policies within the G-8 and the

G-20 and using the IMF, World Bank, WTO, the UN Security Council, NATO and certain bilateral and multilateral treaties at the expense of the oppressed peoples and nations.

5. Scapegoating China

China has been the main partner of the US in carrying out the policy of neoliberal globalization and is at the head of the so-called **emergent** markets. It has **departed from its previous policy of having state-owned enterprises at the commanding heights of the economy.** It has been integrated in the world capitalist system as the producer of cheap consumer goods for the imperialist countries. US and other multinational firms own most of the sweatshop operations in China.

By producing and exporting cheap consumer goods, China has accumulated a huge amount of export surpluses and has used a great part of these to buy US treasury bonds and certain private US securities. Thus, the US has become heavily indebted to China. It now bashes China as responsible for the economic and financial crisis of the US and the world by keeping low the value of its currency, restraining imports and driving up its exports.

6. The US global war of terror

The Obama regime has continued the Bush policy of using 9/11 as the pretext for waging a global war of terror against the peoples that wage revolution, nations that fight for liberation and countries that assert independence. It whips up the terrorism scare in order to suppress democratic rights, promote war production, maintain 800 military bases overseas and unleash military intervention and wars of aggression.

Under the direction of the US, the fascist current is running high in both imperialist and underdeveloped countries. It involves chauvinism, racism, xenophobia and religious bigotry. It is used to cover up the roots of the crisis in both the imperialist and underdeveloped countries and to counter the rise of progressive popular movements and the revolutionary forces for national and social liberation.

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7. Anti-imperialist forces

Due to past revolutionary struggles and current mass movements there are countries like China, DPRK, Cuba, Venezuela, Bolivia, Iran and Sudan that are invoking national independence and even socialism in opposing the worst imperialist policies.

Legal anti-imperialist mass movements are surging on a global scale. In varying degrees, they are effective in putting forward the demands of the people in influencing the policies of governments and in shaping the character of the government.

Revolutionary armed struggles for national and social liberation persevere in the Philippines, India, Colombia, Peru, Kurdistan and elsewhere. As the crisis is worsening, they are gaining strength and are likely to spread.

8. Prospects

There is **no end** in sight to the crisis of the world capitalist system. Legal anti-imperialist mass movements will continue to expand and intensify. So will the revolutionary armed struggles. More governments in underdeveloped countries that assert national independence can arise as a result of the legal anti-imperialist mass movements and the revolutionary armed struggles.

In the imperialist countries, the current of fascism is becoming stronger. But the progressive forces of the proletariat and the people are resurgent. In the underdeveloped countries, mass movements are paving the way for national and social liberation.

As a result of the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system, we can look forward to the rise of the revolutionary forces and a bright future of greater freedom, democracy, social justice, development, peace and international solidarity.

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Support the National Demonstration Organized by Italian Metal Workers

October 14, 2010

As Chairperson, I hereby convey the high appreciation of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) for the Metal Workers' Organization (FIOM) of the Italian General Confederation of Labor for organizing the national demonstration on October 16 in Rome in order to proclaim: Yes to Rights, No to Social Blackmail; Work Is a Common Good.

We are in firm solidarity with and we vigorously support the FIOM and all the workers, students, immigrants' organizations, political parties, people's organizations, cultural workers, artists, scientists, teachers and other professionals and all other democratic and progressive forces in Italy who are joining the demonstration.

We regard the demonstration as an important milestone in the common struggle of the proletariat and people against the root causes and terrible consequences of the ongoing grave crisis of the world capitalist system.

We are outraged by the growing unemployment, poverty, racism, repression, wars, social degradation and devastation of the natural environment. We must act and strive to break the chains of our enslavement. We must put to an end the intolerable system of exploitation and oppression.

We must fight for a new world and bright future of greater freedom, democracy, social justice, all-round development, socialism, peace and international solidarity of the proletariat and the people.

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Develop the People's Power

Strengthen the Call for Justice: Message to Hustisya!²³

October 14, 2010

As Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggles (ILPS), I extend the ILPS' heartfelt solidarity with HUSTISYA! (Victims of Arroyo Regime United for Justice) on the occasion of its General Assembly on October 14 to 17, 2010 in Metro Manila.

We acknowledge the high importance of the establishment of HUSTISYA! on September 15, 2006 to unite the victims and relatives with the aim of undertaking collective action to obtain justice against the human rights violations perpetrated during the regime of Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo.

The enthusiasm and effectivity of your actions in the last four years to further strengthen the call for justice to all the victims of human rights violations—especially for the 1,206 victims of extrajudicial killings and 205 enforced disappearances under the Arroyo regime—is commendable.

Your call to repudiate and stop Oplan Bantay Laya (OBL-Operation Freedom Watch), a monster instrument of state terrorism and created by US imperialism for its so-called war on terror, reverberated all over the world. We admire your principal role during the Permanent People's Tribunal on the Philippines held in The Hague in 2007.

It is proper to call the attention and gather the support of the peoples of the world because the OBL is a scheme of US imperialism and its puppets of big compradors and landlords. They cruelly violate the human rights which are enshrined in international law.

The new regime of Aquino continues to implement the OBL and is now preparing an oplan under another name but also in the framework of the US Counterinsurgency Guide of 2009.

The bloody violations of human rights continue and the victims during the time of Arroyo are continuously denied justice. It is Aquino's evil plan to simultaneously use violence and deception on a wide-scale.

²³ HUSTISYA (Victims United for Justice) is an organization of relatives and friends of victims of enforced disappearances.

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Therefore, it is necessary for HUSTISYA! to persevere in the struggle to obtain justice for the victims of human rights violations. The number of victims will increase. And so it is imperative that we fight to oppose and stop the crimes of the imperialists and local reactionaries and strive to change the ruling system that spews out the violations of human rights.

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Celebrate the People's Struggle

Message of solidarity to the International Cultural Festival in Berlin²⁴

October 16, 2010

I wish to thank the **promoters** of the International Cultural Festival in Berlin **today**, October 16, for inviting me to attend this event and to express solidarity to all the participants.

I am unable to attend the festival and enjoy your company due to unjust travel restrictions. The Dutch authorities continue to deny me residence and deprive me of my rights despite my legal victory in getting out of the terrorist list of the European Union by virtue of the decision of the European Court of Justice.

But I am able to convey my wholehearted message of solidarity to all of you. I salute and congratulate you for successfully realizing this cultural festival as an event of solidarity. I am happy to know that thousands of people of various nationalities are attending it and diverse groups are expected to exchange their views, make cultural exhibits and stage cultural performances.

Let us celebrate the people's struggle for greater freedom, democracy, social justice, all-round development and peace against imperialism and all reaction. Let us renew our resolve to fight for a new and better world in which socialism upholds the leadership and power of the working class, serves the needs of the entire people and stands against exploitation, oppression, crises and wars that imperialism unleashes.

We are today in the midst of the most severe economic crisis of the world capitalist system since the Great Depression. The US-dictated policies of "neoliberal globalization" and "permanent global war on terror" have resulted in a chain of monstrous phenomena, prolonged economic and financial crisis, decline of production and chronic mass unemployment, state terrorism and wars of aggression.

²⁴ Message issued as Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

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The burden of crisis is being passed on to the working people in the underdeveloped as well as in the imperialist countries. As societies are rapidly polarized, imperialism and its reactionary allies do everything in their power to cover up their criminal culpability for the catastrophic crisis. Chauvinism, xenophobia, racism, religious bigotry and other reactionary currents are being whipped up to obfuscate the root causes of the severe crisis in the very nature and processes of monopoly capitalism.

There is an urgent need to arouse the people with the facts and ideas about the real roots of the crisis and with their own immediate needs and demands for fundamental **change, to organize** them in every possible and necessary way as resolute and militant forces against the ramparts of imperialism and reaction and to mobilize them in their millions, including the spontaneous and still unorganized masses, in order to sweep away the obstacles to fundamental social change.

We must build an international united front of anti-imperialist and democratic forces in order to arouse, organize and mobilize the people. The International League of Peoples' Struggle is an international united front of mass formations or people's organizations and does not include political parties. But it is ever ready and ever willing to engage in a larger and broader united front and cooperate with other international organizations or coordinating bodies, including those with political parties as constituents, such as the ICOR.

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On the Resumption of Peace Negotiations under Aquino

Online interview by Joyce Panares of the *Manila Standard*

October 18, 2010

President Benigno Aquino III has appointed human rights lawyer Alexander Padilla as the government's chief negotiator for the peace talks with the Communist Party of the Philippines-National Democratic Front, a Malacañang source said Monday.

May ilang questions po sana ako [I have a few questions] sir for an article I am doing. Una, kung katanggap tanggap si [First, if] Alex Padilla [is acceptable] as government chief negotiator. May mga conditions po ba ang NDF for the resumption of the peace talks? [Does the NDF have conditions for the resumption of the peace talks?] Saka ano ang mga challenges na dapat unahin ma-address kung magre-resume ang peace talks? [And what are the challenges that must first be addressed if peace talks resumed?]

I think that Alex Padilla is a good choice of PNoy as GRP chief negotiator. Alex is known to understand the root causes of the armed conflict and the need for reasonable negotiations to arrive at mutually satisfactory agreements. He is known as a fair and reasonable person to talk to.

The NDFP makes no preconditions for the resumption of formal talks. Both the GRP and the NDFP are equally obliged to comply with the previous agreements, starting with the framework agreement, The Hague Joint Declaration.

The GRP and NDFP negotiating panels are expected to push the work of the Reciprocal Working Committees on Social and Economic Reforms, to let the Joint Monitoring Committee under the CARHRIHL deal with the complaints regarding human rights violations and to agree immediately on measures of goodwill and confidence building in order to improve the atmosphere for peace negotiations.

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Develop the People's Power

Support the Concerted Mass Actions in France²⁵

October 25, 2010

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, are in solidarity with, and support the millions of workers, youth and other people in France who are conducting nationwide strikes and mass protests against the extremely exploitative and repressive policies of the French state and its master class, the monopoly bourgeoisie.

We condemn the so-called reform raising the minimum retirement age from 60 to 62 with reduced benefits and raising the retirement age from 65 to 67 for full benefits. This is part of austerity measures calculated to further shift the burden of [the crisis](#) to the working class and the people. It is part of the plan to reduce or annul the social benefits that were won through long periods of class struggle. The rise of unemployment and reduction of social benefits are due to the system of minimizing the cost of labor and maximizing profits for the monopoly bourgeoisie.

We condemn all the repressive measures that the Sarkozy government has undertaken to suppress the strikes and mass protests against the high rate of unemployment and the ever deteriorating working and living conditions. It is necessary to intensify the struggle against the arrogance and violence of the French government which imposes its unjust pension reform.

We consider as of decisive importance all concerted actions of the workers and people that expose the root causes of the current grave crisis of the world capitalist system. Such actions are a defense of the social rights and hard-won entitlements of the people. They counter the diabolical scheme of the monopoly bourgeoisie and its Rightist agents to use chauvinism, xenophobia, racism, religious bigotry and other forms of reaction in order to conceal the roots of the crisis, apply state terrorism on the people and further exploit them.

We salute the working class and people of France for the continuing success of their strikes and mass protests. They have adopted brilliant

²⁵ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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tactics in order to make their concerted actions effective against the vicious efforts of the Sarkozy government to stop it. We appreciate all the efforts to build a broad united front of the labor unions, youth organizations and other democratic forces and to concentrate the strength of the workers and the people on the weakest points of the establishment.

The blockade on the major fuel refineries and oil depots and other tactics have paralyzed the system of oppression and exploitation. The transport workers and all labor unions throughout France have joined to make the strike even more effective nationwide. The students are successfully blockading the schools. The youth and unemployed have taken to the streets to carry out militant actions.

The success that has already been achieved in the mass mobilization of the workers, youth and other people in France is a preparation for further struggles against a system that cuts back social benefits but wantonly uses public money for the benefit of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the military. It is a significant step forward in the defense of social rights not only in one country but also in the whole world. It shows the way how to fight for social rights and better conditions against the exploitativeness and oppressiveness of the world capitalist system, especially under the policy of neoliberal globalization.

We commend all member-organizations and allies of ILPS in France for participating resolutely and militantly in the nationwide strikes and mass protests. We call on you to help intensify the struggle in coordination with all other striking organizations. All member-organizations and allies of the ILPS throughout the world wish the utmost success for the current concerted mass actions and for all the further just struggles of the working class and people of France.

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Advance the Struggle of the Working Class and the People

Message of solidarity to the Workers World Party on the occasion of its National Conference on November 14-15²⁶

November 5, 2010

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, convey to the Workers World Party warmest greetings of militant solidarity on the occasion of its National Conference on November 14-15.

We congratulate and salute you for your achievements in standing firmly against monopoly capitalism and the finance oligarchy, in pursuing the class struggle of the proletariat against them, in striving to mobilize the broad masses of the people against the depredations of imperialism in the US and abroad and in propagating the aspirations for socialism.

We are confident that your national conference will bring about a new and higher level of principled unity, organizational strength and mobilizational capabilities **among your rank and file**. It is imperative you gain strength in an all-round way as you confront the worsening conditions of crisis and the escalating level of exploitation and oppression.

The economic and financial crisis of the capitalist system is more than ever graver and deeper because the monopoly bourgeoisie clings dogmatically to the fundamentals of capitalism and the policy of neoliberal globalization. Public money has been used to bail out the banks and big corporations, let them make profits in their balance sheets and conjure the illusion of recovery in the financial markets.

The public debt bubble has arisen as the biggest bubble. It has not stimulated production and has not generated employment. The people are being thrown out of their jobs and homes. The schools and hospitals are closing down. Universal health care is denied. Large numbers of the poor and the young are being thrown into prison.

²⁶ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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We support your struggle to defend the rights and improve the working and living conditions of the working class and all the poor, who are disproportionately women and people of color. You must arouse, organize and mobilize the people to struggle for jobs, education, housing, health care and a healthy environment.

The Democratic and Republican parties keep on obscuring the roots of the crisis and keep on pushing each other towards the Right. Public money is being spent freely on military production, overseas deployment of military forces and on the so many intelligence agencies that have been built up by the terrorism scare and have made the US a police state.

We condemn the rising trend of repression, fascism, racism, discrimination against migrant workers and new immigrants, anti-Islam religious bigotry and gender discrimination. We support your struggle against all these reactionary currents in the US. We likewise support your struggle against US military interventions abroad and wars of aggression, such as those in Iraq and Afghanistan.

We unite with you in the common struggle against imperialism and all reaction in order to build a better future. We all want a new world without oppression, exploitation, poverty and war, a world of greater freedom, democracy, social justice, development, peace and international solidarity.



Defend the Rights of Migrants and Refugees and Demand the Liberation and Development of all Countries

November 6-10, 2010

As chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle, I wish to convey to all the participants and distinguished guests of the Third International Assembly of Migrants and Refugees (IAMR) the warmest greetings of solidarity from our League. This assembly responds to certain concerns of our League, such as those on national and social liberation, development, human rights and of course migrants and refugees.

We wish to congratulate and thank all the convenors of the assembly for their success in preparing and organizing this assembly. We are deeply pleased that some member-organizations of our League have exerted their best efforts and cooperated with other organizations to realize this assembly. The convenors are listed in the information material already distributed.

We are very thankful to the host organizations for having worked so hard to prepare and organize not only the Third IAMR but also such related events as the International Tribunal of Conscience, the round table on social movements and the People's Caravan to Guadalajara for a mini-IAMR and tribunal to hear the cases of the braceros and further to Puerto Vallarta to confront the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD). Our League is proud of being the partner of the Movimiento Migrante Mesoamerica in sponsoring the roundtable on social movements.

We congratulate the host organizations of this assembly for the success of the International Tribunal of Conscience on human rights violations. These crimes have been perpetrated by a combination of corrupt bureaucrats, drug lords and military and involve the abduction, torture and murder of so many migrant workers from various countries in Latin America. It is fine that the tribunal is going to submit the verdict to the assembly.

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We welcome and endorse the theme of the assembly: Defend the rights of migrants and refugees against anti-migrant policies! Development for the people, not for corporate interests! Create jobs, root out the causes of poverty! Oppose militarization of borders in the region! No to NAFTA, CAFTA and all antipeople trade agreements and policies!

We agree with the objectives of the Third IAMR. It is of high importance that you further expose and oppose GFMD as a tool of neoliberal economic policy; denounce and repudiate the US-led NAFTA and the militarization of borders in the region; mobilize the mass following of migrant and grassroots organizations, institutions and individuals in resisting GFMD; and seek the support of independent-minded governments, especially in the Latin American region, in exposing and opposing GFMD.

You must create a platform for a global campaign to further expose and oppose the pro-migrant pretensions of the GFMD; gather the broadest support for the Third IAMR from the media, progressive forces and respected personages; expand and strengthen the International Migrants' Alliance (IMA); and develop solidarity relations and cooperation of the IMA with all interested entities in Latin America.

We are highly gratified that since its inception the assembly has confronted the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) in the sharpest of terms. It has debunked the GFMD's false claims of advocacy for migrants and its deceptive assumption of the "mutually beneficial relationship" between migration and development.

The GFMD is a propaganda mechanism controlled by imperialist and puppet states. It makes migration a topic for periodic palaver among representatives of such states, big business interests and imperialist-lining academic institutions and nongovernmental organizations and excludes the migrants themselves.

The fact is glossed over that migration is the consequence of exploitation and oppression of the people by foreign monopolies and local exploiting classes. The sending countries are characteristically afflicted with poverty and underdevelopment. The states of both the sending and receiving countries have no interest in development but in the further exploitation of cheap migrant labor.

The GFMD is dishing out a big lie when it claims that its purpose is to identify practical and feasible ways to strengthen the supposedly mutually beneficial relationship between migration and development.

GFMD is merely an instrument for justifying the massive export of cheap labor to the imperialist countries under the policy of neoliberal globalization.

The First IAMR in 2008 in the Philippines exposed the imperialist design of promoting migration under the neoliberal economic policy and demanded that the voice of the migrants themselves must be heard. The Second IAMR criticized the European Union Return Directive of threatening the arrest, detention and deportation for the dual purpose of further depriving the migrants of their rights and further cheapening their labor under the signboard of Fortress Europe.

As the Third IAMR is now being held in Mexico, the US-instigated policy of neoliberal globalization has become ever more bankrupt and the world capitalist system is in deeper depression. The prescriptions for liberalization, privatization and deregulation under the Washington Consensus have been totally discredited. Nonetheless, the rulers of the imperialist states and their client-states cling on to them.

This global depression persists due to the basic workings of the capitalist system and the abuses of finance capital under the neoliberal policy. The public debt bubble has arisen because public funds and tax cuts have been used to bail out the big banks and the big corporations, improve their balance sheets and now and then revive the financial markets but definitely not to stimulate production and generate employment.

The global financial and economic crisis is generating social and political disorder. Having coupled the neoliberal economic policy with the policy of global war on terror, the US and other imperialist powers use the terrorism scare and other reactionary currents to justify the rise of military production and expenditures, state terrorism, the global deployment of US military forces, US military intervention and wars of aggression like those in Iraq and Afghanistan. The imperialists are systematically manipulating chauvinism, racism, ethnic conflicts and religious bigotry and other reactionary currents.

Under the current economic and political conditions in the world capitalist system, the socioeconomic misery and political turmoil in many underdeveloped countries drive many people to become migrants and refugees. And yet in the imperialist countries, employment has decreased due to the economic crisis and the migrants and refugees are being scapegoated as the cause of the crisis and unemployment.

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The monopoly bourgeoisie and its worst political agents are systematically generating hostility towards migrants and refugees in order to cover up the real cause of the crisis and combat the rise of the progressive, anti-imperialist and democratic forces. At the moment, there is an intense tug of war going on in the mass media, elections and politics in general between the forces of the Right and the Left concerning the issue of migrants and refugees in the imperialist countries.

Following the baton of its imperialist masters, the Global Forum on Migration and Development continues to draw a glossy picture of the world under the policy of neoliberal globalization. The central theme of the 4th GFMD in Mexico is “Partnerships for Migration and Development: Shared Prosperity—Shared Responsibility.” What prosperity? The GFMD continues to peddle the lie that it promotes a multilateral partnership of the exploiters and the exploited migrants as a key tool for managing migration and pursuing development and reduction of poverty and inequality through migration.

The GFMD slurs over the fact that the global depression hits both the imperialist and dominated countries. It echoes the line of the World Bank that the remittances of migrants will remain more resilient than private investment flows and will become an even more important source of external financing in many underdeveloped countries. The drive therefore is to facilitate migration and remittances. Nothing is said about facing up to the negative impact and consequences of the worsening global economic crisis to the migrants.

The IAMR stands for the rights and interests of the migrants as it opposes the line of the GFMD. As in its First and Second assemblies, the Third assembly of the IAMR correctly assails the lies peddled by the GFMD that migration promotes development and that the remittances of migrants [help](#) the underdeveloped economies to develop. It exposes the fact that the remittances are prey to the profitmaking of bank monopolies and are merely used to cover consumption-driven deficits of the state and pay for the mounting debt burden.

The vain attempts of the GFMD to misrepresent the global situation and the status of the migrants and mislead the migrants are actually a prod for the IAMR to clarify the situation and issues and what is to be done in order to uphold, defend and promote the rights and interests of the migrants and refugees. The imperialist use of the GFMD should serve to push the migrants and refugees to unite and struggle against

the policy of neoliberal globalization and against their victimization and violations of their rights.

We expect that the Third IAMR will systematically discuss a wide range of topics and issues affecting the migrants and refugees, such as the global economic and financial crisis, free trade agreements, labor export policies, remittances, so-called immigration reform, low compensation and lack of basic rights, domestic work, militarization of borders, undocumented workers, trafficking of migrants (especially women and children), biases against political refugees, unfair contracts for seafarers, lack or inadequacy of health and social services, extortionate exactions by governments, recruiting agencies and crime syndicates, social and family costs of migration, family reunification, rape and assaults by employers, disappearance of migrants in transit, forced employment in war zones, and so on.

It is appropriate to convoke the third assembly of the IAMR in Mexico not only because it is where the 4th GFMD is being held. There are several highly significant reasons. Mexico is where we see the failure of the grandiloquent promises of development and better life through the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). It is the largest source of migrant labor for North America, with 10 percent of its population having emigrated. It is a transit country for all migrants coming from Central and South America.

The US has subordinated Mexico to the Plan Mexico or Merida Initiative, as the security complement for NAFTA. Mexico is where we see one of the world's most militarized borders, in particular with the US. It is a bulwark of US-led militarization in Latin America. The US is using Mexico to reassert and strengthen its hegemony over the entire region through regional, subregional and bilateral trade agreements and through the deployment of US military bases, promoting repression and provoking armed conflicts.

The US has always coveted Latin America and the Caribbean as a rich source of natural resources. It is also a major source of foreign labor in the world. The volume of its migrants ranks second to those from Europe and Central Asia. It accounts for at least 15.5% of the 214 million migrants and refugees. The neoliberal policies, militarization, armed conflicts, and other problems in this region have caused high rates of unemployment, displacement and poverty and have forced many people to migrate in search of jobs.

Develop the People's Power

The people of Mexico and the rest of Latin America resist the impositions of the US. A militant anti-imperialist and democratic mass movement is growing steadily in Mexico. Patriotic and progressive mass movements and governments assertive of national independence and social justice have appeared conspicuously in Latin America. All of them actively oppose the imperialist neoliberal policies of the US.

We are confident that the deliberations and resolutions of the Third IAMR and the [round table](#) discussion on social movements in Asia and Latin America and their successes and challenges would bring about a higher level of common understanding about the problems and possible solutions related to migrants and refugees. We anticipate that a higher level of determination is attained to form or strengthen the necessary organizations and mechanisms for mobilizing the migrants and refugees and the rest of the people in campaigns on urgent issues and, in the long term, to advance the movements for national liberation, democracy, social justice, development, peace and international solidarity.

May I take the opportunity to invite participating organizations in the Third IAMR that have not yet joined the International League of Peoples' Struggle to become member-organizations and to send delegations to the Fourth International Assembly which shall be held in Manila in July 2011. This will be a significant occasion for ventilating further and carrying forward the resolutions of the IAMR. It will afford you the chance to focus once more on the concern for migrants and refugees, relate it to the other concerns of our League and develop relations with delegations from various continents.

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Expose and Oppose Operation Greenhunt and the US-India Military Partnership²⁷

November 11, 2010

The International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) joins the Indian people in condemning the increasing collaboration between the US imperialists and the Indian reactionaries in further opening up the Indian economy to imperialist exploitation and plunder, while escalating and strengthening the military partnership between the US and Indian governments to further suppress the resistance of the Indian people and serve US geopolitical objectives.

US President Obama's recent India visit is aimed at firming up this collaboration with the Indian ruling classes while encouraging and egging on the Indian government to further commit to aligning itself with US strategic interests. The US seeks to turn India into its junior economic and military partner in South Asia, especially as an outpost and counterfoil to China in the region.

Significantly, the Obama visit has been timed to coincide with the first anniversary of the Indian government's launch of the massive military counterinsurgency campaign that has come to be known as Operation Greenhunt. On November 11, 2009, the Indian government unleashed more than 100,000 army, police, paramilitary and special commando troops against its own people, mostly in tribal areas in several states in Eastern and Central India, and especially in areas suspected to be strongholds of Maoist revolutionaries known as Naxalites.

The purported objective of Operation Greenhunt is to clear these areas, once and for all, of guerrilla insurgents. But these states—**Chattisgarh**, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Orissa where millions of tribal people or adivasis live—are covered by hundreds of Memoranda of Understanding (MoUs) between the government and multinationals for mining and other so-called development projects against which the tribals and other Indian people are protesting and resisting, betraying the real object of further opening

²⁷ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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up Indian natural resources to plunder by foreign monopoly capital and their local comprador agents.

Operation Greenhunt has resulted in widespread and rampant human rights violations against those suspected of being sympathetic to, allied or affiliated with the Naxalites, and against the tribals or adivasis resisting eviction from their ancestral lands and the entry of multinational corporations raring to mine iron ore, bauxite and coal and build steel, aluminum and other industries. Hundreds of thousands, especially from tribal communities have been forcibly displaced. The military clearing operations have invariably been characterized by assassinations, arrests, tortures, arson, rape and other atrocities.

The US-Indian military partnership has grown by leaps and bounds over the past fifteen years since the collapse of the USSR, with whom India hitherto had close military ties, and the signing of the first MoU between the US and Indian governments in 1995, and more especially since 2001 when the US stepped up aggression and intervention in the Middle East and Central Asia. India now holds more joint military exercises with the US than with any other country, with the exercises becoming bigger and more complex. India had agreed to buy US\$10 billion worth of military hardware from the US over the past two years. Obama is expected to persuade India to purchase another US\$11 billion worth of warplanes and to exclusivity in military partnership. Meanwhile, US-India trade has ballooned from US\$5 billion in 1990 to US\$50 billion this year.

Indian authorities have announced that US counterinsurgency experts are advising the Indian security forces on the campaign strategy and tactics of Operation Greenhunt. They have adopted the winning hearts and minds approach and the clear-hold-consolidate-develop counterinsurgency formula widely used in Vietnam and supposedly refined out of the recent experiences in the Balkans, Iraq, Afghanistan and other countries where the US had intervened militarily to quell peoples armed resistance to reactionary puppet regimes. It is noteworthy that in August 2002, then US State Secretary Colin Powell offered the Nepalese King and Prime Minister US assistance in crushing the Nepalese revolutionaries, declaring that "Maoist insurgencies are really the kind of thing we're fighting all over the world."

Despite the massive nationwide military offensive with US backing, Operation Greenhunt has dismally failed in its objectives of isolating and crushing the Naxalites, intimidating the tribals and clearing the

areas to give way to the multinationals' operations and so-called development projects. The state security forces have suffered a string of dramatic setbacks in several states, including attacks on police district headquarters and ambushes where scores of troops were annihilated and their weapons confiscated by the revolutionary guerrillas.

Operation Greenhunt has earned widespread condemnation by the Indian people as well as internationally. Many quarters even within the Indian government have objected to plans of throwing in more army troops and using warplanes against the tribals and the Naxalite guerrillas. As in other countries where the people have resolutely put up armed resistance against the reactionary regime and its imperialist masters, Operation Greenhunt and the counterrevolutionary connivance between US imperialism and the Indian ruling classes are bound to fail.

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Develop the People's Power

Oppose Commercialization and the Imperialist Onslaught on Education and Future of the Youth²⁸

Statement on the occasion of International Students' Day

November 17, 2010

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, extend our fervent solidarity to the students and youth of the world as they raise the banner of struggle against the rapacious commercialization of education and against the vicious onslaught of imperialism and the depredations of the global capitalist crisis on the education rights, the living and study conditions and the future of the youth.

On this day November 17 declared as the International Students Day, we commemorate the valiant role of students and youth who fought alongside the people and made sacrifices against the Nazi invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1939 and against the scourge of fascism in various countries. The significance and relevance of this historic day inspire the students and youth to fight the parasitism, exploitativeness and violence of the imperialist powers and their reactionary agents, especially their attack on the education and the future of the youth.

We suffer today the worsening social conditions as a consequence of the global capitalist crisis and the misuse of public funds to bail out the big banks and corporations. The funneling of public money to the vultures who in the first place are responsible **for the** crisis has only served to aggravate and deepen this worst ever world capitalist crisis since the Great Depression. It has not revived production and employment and it has only made worse the living and working conditions of the people. Social unrest has therefore spread and intensified in both **developed** and underdeveloped countries.

The workers and people have risen up **in millions** to protest unemployment and the austerity measures undertaken against them by government, which in the first place **enlarged public deficits and debt**

²⁸ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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by giving bailout money and tax exemptions to corporations and the wealthy. The austerity measures involve huge cutbacks on social spending for education, health and pension.

Education budget cuts in various capitalist countries have been met with resounding protests, unifying the students and youth with the teachers, researchers and the working class and migrant communities. Recently the United Kingdom has been rocked by big protests due to the government's scheme to double and triple the tuition fees for tertiary education, from the existing level of £3,290 or \$5,264. In Italy, state budget cuts to education and the so-called education reform reducing teaching and research time and local subsidies have resulted in protest rallies and marches.

In the United States, nationwide demonstrations have been held, such as those of March 4 and the October 7 National Day of Action to Defend Education, to demand the redirection of public money from bank bailouts, wars and the military towards education and other social services and against the sharp increases in tuition fees. In countries like France, Greece, Portugal, students and youth have poured out to the streets and joined the working class and people in the clamor against the obscenity of so-called "crisis mitigation measures" like bailouts for the banks and corporations and impoverishment of the workers and people on the other hand.

General strikes have been called as a collective statement of the workers, youth and people to defeat the anti-worker and antipeople policies prescribed by the IMF, WB and European Union through government imposition of cutbacks on wages and pension, social services, unjust taxes, increase in retirement age and other infringements on social rights and benefits.

The policy of neoliberal globalization and the current global economic crisis are further devastating the economic and social conditions in the underdeveloped countries in Asia-Pacific, Africa and Latin America. Liberalization of investments and trade, privatization of state assets and social services and deregulation of all previous restrictions on foreign monopoly capital have resulted in greater poverty, unemployment, government abandonment of social services and attacks on the hard-won rights of the people. Education like other social services is treated as a commodity, not as a basic need and a basic right.

In Sri Lanka and other South Asian countries, the students and youth are struggling against foreign incursions of the school curricula and of

plans to invest in and profit **from** educational institutions. Particularly in Sri Lanka, protests have broken out in 20 state universities against a legislation to set up private universities in the country and to allow foreign educator-capitalists. The government has reacted violently by curtailing the democratic right to assembly. But the student masses have intensified their protests, uncowed by arrests and detention and suspension of student leaders.

In Bangladesh, **tuition fee hikes** in the University of Dhaka, Chittagong University and other state universities have resulted in student protests. Police forces have been deployed inside Chittagong University to quell the growing protest of students demanding the abolition of the tuition hike imposed since July 2010. Police have violently dispersed rallies, and subsequently raided student dormitories. The government detained student leaders and closed down the Chittagong University for almost two months until September 16.

In Southeast Asia, the student and youth movements have galvanized the people to act against the government's misallocation of its budget to the military and foreign debt servicing at the expense of social services, especially the cuts on state universities and colleges. In the Philippines, students and youth and their teachers are developing a nationwide strike due to the P1.1 billion slash on the operations budget of state universities and colleges. In Indonesia, students and youth groups are preparing for massive protests in 22 cities across Indonesia to protest increasing commercialization of education and the government allocation of only around 15% of the total budget requirement of state universities and colleges.

The United Nations has declared this year as the World Year of the Youth, supposedly in line with the so-called projected push for the realization of Millenium Development Goals. But such declaration amounts to mere gimmickry because it does not offer anything to realize a brighter future for the youth who continue to be victimized by the imperialist impositions of liberalization, privatization and deregulation. The imperialists continue to generate and shift the burden of crisis to the working people and the underdeveloped countries that they dominate.

Since the plunge of the crisis to a deeper level in 2008, widespread protest actions against state budget cuts and privatization have also occurred in Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Puerto Rico, Chile, Benin, Nigeria, South Africa, Pakistan, India, New Zealand, Ireland,

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Germany, Spain and more. A great number of the youth are systematically prevented from getting education in order to maintain a huge reserve of cheap labor which the monopoly capitalists and governments use as a buffer to contain the clamor for higher wages, social services and benefits.

The current crisis is driving more and more youth, workers and the people to unite and fight the oppressive measures that the imperialists and their reactionary allies impose on them. Resistance has taken various forms, including mass protests, walk-outs, and strikes. The students and youth involve themselves in campaigns to defend their right to education and their future. They realize and increase their strength through unity of fighting consciousness and militant collective actions. And they link arms with the rest of the people, especially the working people whose rights are violated by the imperialists and their reactionary puppets.

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Militant Solidarity with New Social Congress²⁹

November 18, 2010

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, express our militant solidarity with the New Social Congress in Mexico City on November 19-21. We salute the organizing committee for their success in preparing the congress and to all the delegates for their conscientious response to the call for participation in the congress.

We are pleased that the delegates include persons and representatives of organizations and social movements that are adversely affected by the neoliberal economic policies and the crisis these generate, committed to the historic principles of the Mexican people, fight the oppressive and exploitative policies and pave the way for a new constituent assembly.

We support your call for a new constituent assembly. We understand completely that your call starts with Article 39 of the Constitution of the United States of Mexico, which reads as follows: "National sovereignty resides essentially and originally in the people. All power emanates from the people and is instituted for their benefit. The people at all times have the inalienable right to alter or modify their form of government."

We share your view that the current disastrous socioeconomic and environmental crisis calls into question the foundations of capitalist-patriarchal civilization and is a serious threat to the survival of the human species. The crisis is the result of the parasitism of financial capitalism and the overproduction of goods. It is further worsening because of the exorbitant rise of public and private debt and excessive profit-taking by banks and war-related corporations under conditions of declining production and massive unemployment.

A prolonged global economic depression has come into force. It is accompanied by the rise of the most reactionary prejudices, repression and state terrorism, military intervention and wars of aggression and the occupation and recolonization of dependent and underdeveloped

²⁹ Message issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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countries. In your part of the world, we see the US war machine threatening and pressuring the countries of ALBA (Bolivarian Alternative for the Peoples of Our America), and UNASUR (Union of South American Nations).

As in other parts of the world, the people of Latin America are resisting the impositions by US imperialism and its reactionary agents. In your own country you are living up to its history of continuing struggle between the exploited and exploiting classes, between the reactionary and revolutionary forces and between the forces of foreign domination and national independence. Your struggle has taken civil and peaceful forms and at certain times revolutionary armed struggle.

We presume that, as you celebrate the second centennial of the War of Independence and the first centennial of the Mexican revolution, you are inspired to raise your struggle to a new and higher level against US imperialist domination and against the local oligarchy. It is of the highest importance that you articulate the discontent and resistance of the people against extreme oppression and exploitation and to unify the people and demand the radical transformation of the socioeconomic and political system.

We hope that you can realize a new Constituent Assembly as the culmination of a comprehensive and thoroughgoing process of mass awakening, organization and mobilization at the grassroots of Mexican society. Amid the decay of the electoral institutions and the crisis of political representation, the people of Mexico are desirous of the empowerment of the working people.

We wish you the **utmost** success in building a strong Social Congress and consequently in arousing, organizing and mobilizing the broad masses of the people on all major issues and at all territorial levels. All of us look forward to a bright future of the people of Mexico. We wish them to enjoy genuine national independence, democracy, social justice, all-round development, prosperity and peace.



Condemn the New Strategic Concept

Statement on the NATO Lisbon Summit³⁰

November 19, 2010

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, join all freedom-loving and anti-imperialist forces all over the world in condemning the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as the main US-led military alliance serving the interests of the imperialists, especially US imperialism, wilfully and wantonly committing war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity in its wars of aggression and military occupation against sovereign states and peoples.

Today, November 19, the Heads of State or Government of the NATO member-states shall meet in Lisbon, Portugal for the NATO summit. High on the agenda is the launching of the NATO New Strategic Concept, which is expected to redefine NATO's thrusts mainly along the lines of the US imperialist interests and geopolitical designs.

From its establishment in 1949, NATO has been wearing the thin disguise of being a regional alliance with the noble mission of preserving the liberty of the people of its member states and protecting democracy against the threat and inroads of totalitarianism. In truth, it has always been an awkward grouping of western imperialist powers—allied in their goal of containing socialism, the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc but wary of each other and competing among themselves for dominance and extracting for themselves the most benefit from their alliance.

The end of the Cold War in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union and East European regimes should have dissolved the reason for NATO's existence and brought about its demise. Instead, NATO has redefined itself and expanded to its present 28 member countries with the addition of most East European states and former Soviet Republics, formerly members of the rival Warsaw Pact. With the ascension of the US as the world's lone superpower and its unabashed self-proclamation as the "policeman of the world," US imperialism invoked

³⁰ Statement issued ILPS Chairperson.

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the NATO charter to harness support for its wars of aggression and intervention in the Balkans in the 1990s.

In concert with the British, Bush senior launched the first US war of aggression against Iraq in 1991 and proclaimed a new world order. The US-led “war on terror” launched by Bush junior after the 9/11 attacks in 2001 further involved the NATO in imperialist wars of aggression and occupation outside Europe. While Bush junior and his fellow neoconservatives arrogantly invoked a unilateralist approach to waging war, financial and political constraints of the crisis-ridden US economy and widespread exposure and condemnation of the “war on terror” as an unjust and illegal war of aggression have **compelled** the US to **rely increasingly** on its NATO allies to pursue and sustain its drive for global hegemony and dominance.

NATO undertook a military mission outside Europe for the first time in 2003 and became a willing partner-in-crime with the US in Afghanistan when it took command of the International Security Assistance Force, as mandated by the UN Security Council. Since then, the ISAF has been increasingly involved in combat operations throughout Afghanistan, backing up the 95,000 US troops with 55,000 troops from 26 NATO member states, 10 partner and 2 non-NATO/non-partner countries. NATO troops and warplanes operate from military bases in Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. Every month, 50,000 of these US and other NATO troops pass by the Manas Transit Center in Kyrgyzstan on their way to and from Afghanistan. Russia and China, apparently threatened by these, have been pushing Kyrgyzstan to close the Manas Transit Center.

Last September 2008, the United Nations Organization (UNO) and NATO signed an agreement to establish “a framework for consultation and dialogue and cooperation.” The two agreed to

further develop the cooperation between our organizations on issues of common interest in, but not limited to, communication and information-sharing, including on issues pertaining to the protection of civilian populations; capacity-building, training and exercises; lessons learned, planning and support for contingencies; and operational coordination and support.

This agreement, which the UN tried to keep secret, has drawn criticism and condemnation for bringing the UNO, whose mandate is to preserve peace, into a framework of patently military cooperation with NATO. In fact it betrays the true nature of the UNO and NATO as machineries

for imperialist aggression and plunder masquerading as instruments of peace, security and progress.

The New Strategic Concept to be launched in the NATO Lisbon Summit which starts today is certain to extol the NATO's purported achievements in preserving the peace not only in Europe and North America but also globally. It will describe the "new environment" of missile defense, conventional defense needs and unconventional wars vs terrorist threats, cyber attacks, threatened energy sources, climate change, and so on. Predictably, it will push for increasing and upgrading its deployable forces such as the NATO Response Force, ensuring the member countries' contributions, increasing military actions and interventions in order to secure energy sources, communications and transport lines, protect their citizens, anticipate, deter and defeat enemy attacks, etc.

While the NATO and particularly the US will certainly brandish and flaunt their military strength and superiority, the NATO Summit is bound to reveal the increasing difficulties of the US and other imperialists in pursuing their collective and individual interests. Their inter-imperialist contradictions will surely come to the fore as a result of continuing global economic depression and growing protests and resistance from peoples all over the world.

We, the ILPS, join the anti-imperialist and peaceloving formations such as the World Peace Council in strongly condemning NATO's existence as an illegal and criminal regional military alliance that has further degenerated into a willing accomplice, lackey and back-up force for US imperialism. We likewise denounce the European Union (EU) for subordinating itself to the US-dictated NATO political and military line, and the UNO for its inability to enforce its Charter with respect to the US and NATO's **wilful** and blatant violations.

In the final analysis, it is the growing concerted actions of the world's people that will weaken the US and other imperialist powers and bring about the emancipation of humanity from oppression and exploitation.

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Develop the People's Power

40 Years of Philippine Society and Revolution³¹

Interview by Ang Bayan

November 20, 2010

It has been 40 years since the Central Publishing House of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) first published Philippine Society and Revolution (PSR). In the past 40 years, PSR has served as the CPP's principal reference and guide in laying down the basic principles of the two-stage revolution in the Philippines based on the analysis of concrete conditions of the semicolonial and semifeudal system. To commemorate the anniversary of PSR and reaffirm the principles it laid down, Ang Bayan decided to interview Comrade Jose Ma. Sison who, as CPP founding chair Amado Guerrero, was the principal author of PSR.

1. Can you relate to our readers certain historical facts about PSR? When did you start writing it? Who were involved in the research and **writing**? When was it first published and in what form? To your knowledge, how many times has the book been printed?

JMS: I wrote it soon after the launching of the people's war and on the eve of the First Quarter Storm of 1970. I started and finished **writing it** in the third quarter of 1969. Some comrades in the EC/CC (**Executive Committee of the Central Committee**) like Charlie del Rosario and Monico Atienza brought me the reference materials that I needed. When I finished the rough draft around August 1969, I gave it to Julie de Lima and other individuals and **some** members of the Central Committee for suggestions and comments.

The first edition of PSR was published in mimeographed form in October **1969, of which copy** was submitted for publication in the *Philippine Collegian* under the title *Philippine Crisis and Revolution* (this can be considered the second edition). Pulang Tala Publications published the third edition and Ta Kung Pao of Hongkong, the fourth

³¹ Published in *Ang Bayan*, Special Issue, November 20, 2010.

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edition in 1970. The fifth and sixth editions in English and Pilipino were mimeographed by the CPP Central Publishing House in 1971. In 1977, the Katipunan ng Demokratikong Pilipino published the seventh edition in the US. This can be considered the fourth edition if the mimeographed editions are excluded.

Other editions were released after my capture in 1977. There were even German and Turkish translations and a comics edition.

*2. PSR is one of the most important Marxist-Leninist theoretical works of the revolutionary movement in the Philippines. What theoretical **challenges faced its writing**? What do you think are the key contributions of PSR to the theory of revolution in the Philippines? Has it made any contribution to theory that is relevant beyond the practice of the Philippine revolution?*

JMS: The biggest theoretical challenge was the application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to Philippine history and circumstances. It necessitated the concrete analysis of concrete conditions. The key contributions of PSR are its characterization of Philippine society as semicolonial and semifeudal and the corresponding line of national and democratic revolution under the leadership of the working class.

In this regard, PSR specified the allied classes (workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie) and the class enemies (big compradors and landlords) in the new democratic revolution. It also laid down the principal task: national liberation and democratic revolution. It defined as well the stages of the Philippine revolution: people's new democracy and socialism.

*3. Before PSR, there were *Struggle for National Democracy (SND)* and the document "*Rectify Errors, Rebuild the Party*" (RERP) which were among the first major theoretical works of the national democratic movement in the Philippines. Can you recount the history of the development of the theory of Philippine revolution up to the publication of PSR in 1970?*

JMS: The publication of SND and the RERP document was necessary and essential. SND paved the way for the exposition of the people's basic problems and the possible revolutionary solution in legal and persuasive language. It was in line with the tradition of the old democratic revolution of 1896 and the new democratic revolution

under the leadership of the working class. It was based on the prevailing conditions and needs of the Filipino people, especially the toiling masses.

RERP was seminal in the analysis of the experience of the old merger party of the Communist and Socialist Parties. It exposed the errors and weaknesses which led to the failure of the revolution. It had therefore laid down what must be done in order to realize the ideological, political and organizational requirements to rebuild the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the people's army and the united front and to rekindle and advance the revolution towards victory.

4. What was the biggest contribution of PSR to the course of the Philippine revolution in the past 40 years? What role did it play in the different stages of development of the Philippine revolution?

JMS: PSR greatly strengthened the general line earlier laid down by the Party Constitution and the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. Since the first year of the people's war up to the present, PSR has played a key role in shedding light about the history, the basic problems and the revolutionary solution of the Filipino people.

PSR has played such an important role in every stage of the revolution. PSR further enlightens with the help of recent writings based on the advances of the revolution and the worsening of the crisis of the rotten system. PSR has been an effective tool of the Party in raising the consciousness and fighting will of Party members and mass activists.

5. The fourth edition of PSR included "Specific Characteristics of Our People's War" and "Our Urgent Tasks" which emphasized the theoretical importance of this document. What other theoretical works of the CPP do you think have equal weight and significance in terms of the development of the theory of revolution in the Philippines?

JMS: The fourth edition (if the three mimeographed editions are not counted) indeed emphasized the theoretical importance of the two supplementary documents, which in turn further enhanced PSR. The documents of similar importance and significance in the development of the theory of revolution in the Philippines are "On the Mode of Production in the Philippines" (1983), "Philippine Crisis and Revolution" (1986), "Stand for Socialism Against Modern Revisionism" (1992) and "Reaffirm Our Basic Principles and Rectify the Errors" (1992), the basic documents of the Second Great Rectification Movement, and

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basic documents against the policy of neoliberal globalization and other offensives of imperialism.

6. It has been over 40 years since the PSR was first published. How would you compare Philippine society today to the conditions then? Do you think PSR remains an effective guide for the Philippine revolution? Do you see a need for a new edition, revision or supplement to PSR?

JMS: The continuing semicolonial and semifeudal conditions are further worsening and deepening. Thus, PSR remains an effective guide for the Philippine national and democratic revolution. The Party continues to issue new editions of PSR and supplement it with new related documents. However, I am tempted to write a new edition with expanded text dealing with the past four decades.

7. How can PSR further benefit the current stage of the revolution, especially in line with the CPP's call to achieve the strategic stalemate in five years? What do you think are the crucial issues that have to be studied by Philippine revolutionaries in order to further invigorate the different fields of struggle?

JMS: Always review PSR and apply it to current circumstances and events. Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought (or Maoism), PSR explains why the people's war is necessary and how to advance it in stages: from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate and from the strategic stalemate to the strategic offensive. PSR also laid down the need to fulfil the political requirements in order to advance the people's war from one stage to the next.

The Party must be strengthened ideologically, politically and organizationally. The people's army must be strengthened through armed struggle, agrarian revolution and the building of the mass base and organs of political power. There must be a united front policy involving certain types of alliances: the basic worker-peasant alliance, the progressive alliance of the toiling masses and the urban petty bourgeoisie, the patriotic alliance of the progressive classes and the national bourgeoisie and the temporary and unstable alliance with reactionaries fighting the enemy.

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Condemn US-RoK War Provocations against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea³²

November 26, 2010

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, condemn in the strongest possible terms the recent and ongoing provocations being made by the US and the South Korean puppet government against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK).

We refer to the mobilization of 70,000 troops for a week of military maneuvers just off the border of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea since November 23 in order to simulate an invasion of the DPRK.

The South Korean puppet forces fired many shells into territorial waters of the DPRK on November 23 at 1:00 p.m. Only after an hour and a half later did the DPRK retaliate in self-defense by firing shells at the Yonphyong Islet held by South Korea.

The South Korean puppet forces have made the provocations obviously at the instigation of the US. US officials and mass media have misrepresented the DPRK as the one making the provocations and have quickly beaten the war drums for the deployment of the US forces and weapons of mass destruction against the DPRK.

In a far bigger act of war provocation, the US has announced plans to send the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier USS George Washington and its battle group including [warships](#), destroyers and hundreds of fighter jets into the area to participate in new military exercises to threaten the DPRK.

Let us recall that the US military forces have been involved in all the war maneuvers by South Korea, going back to the 1950-53 war, have killed millions of the Korean people and have occupied South Korea since the end of World War II.

We demand that the US withdraw its 30,000 troops from South Korea in order to allow the peaceful reunification of Korea and let the Korean people exercise their right to national self-determination.

³² Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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We demand that the US and South Korea immediately stop their war maneuvers and exercises against the DPRK. They must remove their warships from the territorial waters of the DPRK. The US must end the sanctions it has instigated against the DPRK.

Long live the Democratic People's Republic of Korea!

Down with US imperialism and its South Korean puppets!

Long live the Korean people of both north and south!



On the Launch of the Second Book about Ka Bel

November 29, 2010

As chairman of the International League of Peoples' Struggle, I convey solidarity on the launch of the second book about Ka Bel, Comrade Crispin Beltran, the first chairperson of the ILPS.

This book has advantages over the earlier one as the words of Ka Bel are what we will read, in the form of his letters and public statements. What he penned reflects his personality, personal life and spirit and his actions and objectives as labor, patriotic and revolutionary leader.

In this book, we will have the privilege of being closer to him by reading his letters to his family and his comrades and friends in the struggle. We will learn that his most personal letters are consistent with his high principles, feelings and desires to defend and advance the rights and interests of his class and people.

We will read about his devotion to his family and his care for things that seem small but are important. We also read about Ka Bel's sharp discussion of major issues through speeches, press statements and open letters.

We thank Ka Bel's family, the editor of the book and all colleagues in the labor and national democratic movement in preserving and propagating Ka Bel's legacy, life, actions and sacrifices for the working class and the Filipino people.

Continue the compilation of all documents and evaluation related to the important contributions of Ka Bel to the labor movement, the Philippine revolution and proletarian internationalism. With his inspiration, let us and the next generations continue his struggle for a new democracy onward to socialism and the abolition of imperialist exploitation of the working classes.

Long live the memory of Ka Bel!

Long live the revolution!

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Long live the Filipino people!



Condemn the Massacre of Migrant Workers in Tamaulipas, Mexico near the US Border³³

December 9, 2010

The International Coordinating Committee and all member-organizations of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) condemn the massacre in Mexico of seventy-two (72) migrant workers from various countries of Latin America and demand a thoroughgoing investigation and the rendering of justice to the hapless victims.

The barbaric crime was committed in Tamaulipas, Mexico near the US border on August 23-24 in Rancho San Fernando. Among the murdered migrant workers are 21 from Honduras, 16 from El Salvador, 6 from Guatemala, 5 or 6 from Ecuador and 1 or 2 from Brazil. An Ecuadorian survivor claims 76 migrants as victims. Other survivors include 1 Honduran in the custody of Mexican authorities, 1 Salvadoran in the custody of US immigration authorities and 1 Honduran who reportedly has gone back to Honduras.

Tamaulipas is the most militarized region in Mexico. It has the largest Mexican ground troops and the most numerous roadblocks. The high degree of militarization is financed through the US Merida Initiative, which is patterned after Plan Colombia and includes Colombian military and security advisors and trainers. The purpose of the militarization is supposedly to carry out a war against the drug trade and also to prevent migrant workers from crossing from Mexico to the US.

More than 60,000 migrants disappeared during the last five years and more than 10,000 migrants disappeared within a period of six months in 2009. These are borne out by investigations and reports by various concerned entities such as Mexico's National Human Rights Commission, Amnesty International, Diocese of Saltillo, Miguel Agustin Pro Human Rights Center, the Catholic Church's network of migrant shelters and rights defenders, and the independent researcher Father Nieto.

³³ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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Surviving migrants and the mothers and families of disappeared migrants have made multiple testimonies which have found their way into media reports, investigative reporting, books and documentaries since 2007.

Tumaulipas has become a notorious field of forced disappearances, massacres and unmarked graves. It is a trap devised by the US imperialist government and the Mexican government for disappearing and murdering the migrant workers who desperately try to enter the US after losing their means of livelihood in their countries of origin under the ruthless US policy of neoliberal globalization.



Free Julian Assange! Hands Off Wikileaks!³⁴

December 10, 2010

The International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) condemns in the strongest terms the unjust arrest of Julian Assange in the United Kingdom and the assault on Wikileaks by the US, UK and Australian governments, giant US financial corporations and powerful US neo-conservative politicians.

Assange was arrested and jailed without bail last December 8 in the UK on the basis of a warrant issued by Sweden after two women accused him of spurious sex crimes. The website Wikileaks is being harassed and sabotaged as Paypal, Mastercard, Visa, EveryDNS.net, and Amazon dropped it. There is a proposal from the US Congress to designate Wikileaks as a terrorist organization. Assange is in fact the target of prominent North American politicians publicly urging his assassination. The US is pressuring Scotland Yard to extradite him to face espionage charges.

These are clearly **ultrareactionary** assaults in the wake of Cablegate, Wikileaks' release to the public domain of an unprecedented trove of more than a quarter million secret US State Department cables from around the world that expose the vile US imperialist designs against oppressed countries, rival capitalist countries and even longstanding allies; and the previous release of thousands upon thousands of secret multimedia files from US military forces exposing criminal and bloody operations in the US wars of aggression in Iraq and Afghanistan.

In targeting Wikileaks and Assange, the US imperialists and their acolytes have attacked the people's right to freedom of expression and to the free flow of **information**; and freedom of the press. They have shown their utter disdain for transparency in governance and for holding public officials accountable.

The sex assault case against Assange is a direct result of covert official Western operations against his person, setting him up particularly

³⁴ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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in an insidious “honey trap.” One of the complainants has confirmed ties to the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

We contradict the claim that Assange and Wikileaks have violated any laws of the US or of other countries. The Cablegate exposes have proven that far from having an open political system, the US in pursuit of world hegemony systematically indulges in state secrecy to hide its criminal enterprises and acts from the world's peoples who bear the brunt of suffering from these heinous crimes. The US imperialists are fearful that the people would rebel once they are made aware of these grievous crimes that amount to fascism.

The vicious attacks against Wikileaks form part of a broader US objective to foil the Internet as a potent tool of the peoples of the world against imperialist designs. Among the recent moves along this line are:

1. The US government's unprecedented clampdown on at least 82 websites on the deceitful claim that these were distributing and selling illegal copyrighted works and counterfeit goods;

2. Proposed US laws to stifle freedom of expression on the Internet, like **Combating** Online Infringement and Counterfeits Act (COICA) internet censorship bill, that would allow the US Attorney General to censor the Internet in the name of copyright enforcement; and

3. The longstanding spin of US media supermonopolies since 9/11 on an “internet jihad” by Al Qaida and its allied terrorist groups.

We laud Wikileaks for persevering to defy the powerful assault against it by pushing ahead with its steady public release of Cablegate information despite the unprecedented attacks. We also laud the corps of thousands of Wikileaks supporters for their multiple replication of the disputed contents of the website all over the World Wide Web. Similar acts of defiance have been made in the face of similar repressive acts against other websites. A US group of former CIA employees, Sam Adams Associates for Integrity in Intelligence, has in fact given its annual award for integrity to Assange.

Indeed, let a thousand Wikileaks flourish! We call on conscience-stricken fellowmen in a position of doing so to blow the whistle on the crimes, shenanigans and nefarious schemes of imperialists and their cohorts by making use of Wikileaks and other similar tools available to the people. As US imperialism is beset by an unprecedented crisis, it will resort to ever more desperate measures to the detriment of

humanity. To be a whistleblower against such criminal measures is completely justified.

We call for the immediate release of Assange and the dismissal of the trumped-up charges against him. We call on the member-organizations of the ILPS and their friends to mount in their respective countries pickets at the US, UK and Australian embassies and at the offices of the corporations harassing Wikileaks as well as other related direct concerted actions to demand: Free Julian Assange! Hands off Wikileaks! No to Internet censorship, war, plunder and fascism!

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Develop the People's Power

Salute the Morong 43 and Express Appreciation to all Concerned³⁵

December 17, 2010

I wish to salute the Morong 43 health workers for their perseverance in fighting for their rights and for a just cause. I congratulate them for their successful struggle and release. I am confident that their unjust imprisonment has strengthened their resolve to serve the exploited and impoverished people and render health services to them. I wish them still greater success in their noble endeavor.

I appreciate the lawyers who ably and steadfastly defended them and the millions of people and all the organizations and personages in the Philippines and abroad who clamored for the release of the Morong 43. I congratulate all of them, including Deputy Speaker Lorenzo Tañada III and the senior statesman former Senator Wigberto Tañada, who visited the NDFP Negotiating Panel sometime ago and pledged to work for the release of the Morong 43 and all political prisoners.

I wish to express appreciation to GRP President Benigno Aquino III for his order to withdraw the false charges against the Morong 43 health workers, thus paving the way for their release. He heeded the **long-running** public clamor for their release and adhered to his own expressed conviction that any fruit of the poisoned tree cannot be tolerated in the case of the Morong 43.

The prospects are looking bright for the forthcoming preliminary talks between representatives of the GRP and NDFP negotiating panels from January 14 to 18, 2011 in view of the GRP's show of respect for the safety and immunity guarantees for NDFP negotiating panel chairperson Luis Jalandoni during his current Manila visit, the current ceasefire between the armed forces of the GRP and NDFP and the release of the Morong 43.

The preliminary talks are meant to pave the way for the resumption of the formal talks in the GRP-NDFP peace **negotiations** on February 15 to 21, 2011 by setting the agenda, ensuring further compliance with the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees and other

³⁵ Statement issued as Chief Political Consultant of the NDFP Negotiating Panel.

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existing agreements and agreeing on goodwill and confidence-building measures, including the long-expected release of political prisoners.

Millions of people and respected organizations and personages in the Philippines and abroad have called for the release of the political prisoners, especially in the aftermath of the release of close to 400 military prisoners and the Morong 43. The NDFP negotiating panel is hoping that the Aquino government is already preparing the way for the release of the political prisoners.

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Condolences to the Family of Comrade Eliseo "Ely" Cadiang and Celebration of his Shining Example³⁶

December 21, 2010

My family and I condole with the family of Comrade Eliseo "Ely" Cadiang. We are sad at his **passing** but we celebrate his deeds as a patriot and progressive.

His contributions to the struggle of the Filipino people for national freedom and democracy against US imperialism and the local ruling classes of big compradors and landlords are significant.

He was the prime Kabatang Makabayan organizer in Tarlac in the decade of the 70s until he was detained and tortured under the fascist dictatorship. When he was released he continued to be vigorously active.

Ka Ely was one of the organizers of BAYAN Tarlac in the decade of the 80s. He served as its chairman for a long time. He was with Ka Satur Ocampo and Rafael Baylosis in establishing and developing Bayan Muna.

Ka Ely always had a lofty spirit and dedication in serving the masses. He worked among the masses and underwent intense struggle and sacrifices for the movement to achieve gains and victories. We can consider Ka Ely's passing as **a deserved** rest.

He left us all a rich heritage. **He** is a shining example of honest, steadfast and militant service to the Filipino people, an inspiration to all are his patriotic and progressive stand, leadership and action.

He deserves the movement's highest salute. Ka Ely's memory will live on as we adhere to his patriotic and progressive objectives and example and as we continue and advance the struggle for national freedom, democracy social justice, progress and just peace.

Long live the memory of Ka Eliseo Cadiang!

Long live the Philippine revolution!

Long live the Filipino people!

³⁶ Issued as CPP Founding Chairman.

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On Taxation and Peace Negotiations³⁷

Interview with Lira Dalangin Fernandez, *Philippine Daily Inquirer*

December 29, 2010

1. *Several officials here say that the issue of revolutionary tax being imposed on firms, such as mining companies, should be among the agenda in the talks. What's your take on this?*

JMS: There is yet no peace agreement. The two conflicting sides of the civil war in the Philippines are still negotiating. Everyone must recognize the fact that there are two governments in the Philippines. One is the reactionary government of the big compradors and landlords seated in Manila and headed by Noynoy Aquino. The other is the revolutionary government of workers and peasants based in the countryside and led by the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The revolutionary government has always made it clear that it collects taxes in order to cover the costs of administration, defense, land reform, promotion of production and social programs, including public education, health, cultural and other activities.

The GRP civilian and military officials are wrong and are engaged in disinformation when they say that the revolutionary forces are collecting taxes from foreign mining companies. My understanding of the policy of the revolutionary government is banning, disabling and dismantling such mining companies because they damage the economy and environment and take away land from land reform. Please read the latest policy statements of the CPP in www.philippinerevolution.net These are the 42nd anniversary statement of the CPP on December 26 and the reiteration of policy regarding mining on December 29.

May I add that the foreign mining companies take away nonrenewable mineral resources and damage permanently the people's aspiration for national industrialization. The CPP and other major patriotic organizations as well as the main religious organizations are opposed to the treasonous plunder of mineral resources by 100 percent foreign-owned mining companies.

³⁷ Interview given as **NDFP** Chief Political Consultant.

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2. *While not a precondition, do you agree that this should stop as confidence-building measure for the talks?*

JMS: It is the duty and prerogative of the people's revolutionary government to collect taxes for purposes beneficial to the people. In contrast, the reactionary government collects taxes and engages in excessive foreign and domestic borrowing to serve the purposes of the foreign monopolies, the big compradors, landlords and the corrupt officials.

My understanding of the policy pronouncements of the CPP as leading party in the people's revolutionary government is that it will not collect taxes from the foreign mining companies but will ban, disable and dismantle such companies. That should raise the confidence of the people in their revolutionary government and expose the treasonous character of the reactionary government.

3. *What are the other possible agenda in both the January and February meetings?*

JMS: The January 14-18 preliminary meeting in Oslo aims to resolve certain issues and thus pave the way for the resumption of formal talks from February 15 to 21. The most important issues in the preliminary meeting pertain to compliance with the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees, the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law and certain confidence-building and goodwill measures.

The agenda in the resumption of formal talks will include:

- 1) exchange of credentials between the two panels,
- 2) the **reaffirmation** of the existing agreements,
- 3) compliance with JASIG,
- 4) **implementation** of CARHRIHL,
- 5) accelerated negotiations on social and economic reforms by the Reciprocal Working Committees,
- 6) **the concept of working group on political and constitutional reforms, and**
- 7) **confidence-building and goodwill measures.**

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Prolonged Ceasefire ahead of Basic Reforms Amounts to Pacification and Capitulation³⁸

Email Interview by Sonny Mallari, *Philippine Daily Inquirer*

January 9, 2011

Dear Sonny,

Because of hectic preparations for the Oslo preliminary talks, I do not have the time to linger on the general tenor of your letter or the onesided spins in the PDI editorial. Let me just answer what are clearly your two bunches of questions:

1. *The Sierra Madre natives even wondered how the two parties can sincerely talk peace when their armed groups continue to shoot each other to death. Is a ceasefire not really possible while there are talks? According to Alex Padilla, he will propose this during the informal phase of the talks next week. Can I have your reaction on this?*

JMS: Prolonged and indefinite ceasefire without first addressing the roots of the armed conflict through basic social, economic and political reforms to lay the ground for a just peace would amount to mere pacification and capitulation of the revolutionary forces and people to the unjust US-dominated ruling system of the exploiting classes, the big compradors and landlords, who are responsible for the ever-worsening levels of oppression and exploitation, the poverty, underdevelopment, corruption and state terrorism.

The revolutionary forces and people have always made it clear that the root causes of all the aforesaid social evils and the consequent revolutionary resistance of the people are foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. It is perverse for anyone to suggest that the resistance of the suffering people to their oppressors and exploiters is the cause of the grave maladies and daily violence of the unjust ruling system.

³⁸ Interview given as NDFP Chief Political Consultant.

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Like some of his predecessors, Alex Padilla might propose a prolonged and indefinite ceasefire without first addressing the roots of the armed conflict in accordance with The Hague Joint Declaration of 1992. If he does, that is his own lookout. But I think that he will not force his hand in order to angle for the pacification and capitulation of the NDFP and to replace substantive peace negotiations with prolonged ceasefire talks and the prospect of ceaseless preoccupation with claims and counterclaims of ceasefire violations. I do not expect Alex to abandon the substantive peace negotiations in favor of ceasefire talks.

The NDFP side will remind the other side that the NDFP has long put forward the proposal to accelerate negotiations on social and economic reforms in order to pave the way for negotiations on political and constitutional reforms within a few months. Any proposal to frontload the end of hostilities is regarded by the NDFP as a clear attempt to lay aside the need to negotiate first the social, economic and political reforms. But without doing away with the existing substantive agenda, the NDFP has also proposed an immediate alliance and truce on the basis of a common declaration of patriotic and progressive principles, including national independence, people's empowerment, democracy and respect for human rights, economic development through national industrialization and land reform, upholding the rights and livelihood of the working people, promotion of a patriotic, democratic and scientific culture and a truly independent foreign policy.

2. May I ask sir, with this new bid for peace, what can you promise to the Filipino people? I don't know how to ask this but many doubt the communists' sincerity in the new round of peace talks.

JMS: I do not make promises to the people unlike those in power who take turns in oppressing and exploiting them. What I have always done in my life and what so many other people have done is to arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people to fight for their own national and democratic rights and interests. I have always pointed out the people's own demands and aspirations for genuine national independence, democracy, economic development, social justice, cultural progress and world peace. These should be expressed in realistic and realizable terms in the comprehensive agreements on social, economic, political and constitutional reforms through the substantive peace negotiations.

Those who merely doubt, denigrate or even demonize the revolutionary forces of the CPP, NPA and NDFP and the millions of Filipino people in the revolutionary mass movement obviously benefit from the unjust system of oppression and exploitation. They keep on dreaming that they can destroy the people's revolution with sheer military force, **psywar** tactics and attempts to push the revolutionary forces towards pacification and capitulation. They seem not to realize that the revolutionary movement has overcome all the military campaigns of suppression and deception unleashed by the Marcos fascist dictatorship and the subsequent pseudo-democratic regimes.

At the moment, the GRP and NDFP sides are determined to hold preliminary talks to pave the way for formal talks in accordance with The Hague Joint Declaration and other existing agreements. The continuing coordinated propaganda and military attacks on the revolutionary forces and people might be calculated to interfere with the efforts to resume the formal talks next month. But so far the responsible leaders of the GRP and NDFP themselves have decided to carry forward the peace negotiations. In this regard, I do not get distracted by comments, **innuendoes**, spins and suggestions to do away with the peace negotiations.

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Develop the People's Power

Consolidate your Gains, Strengthen Asian Peasant Unity and Intensify the Struggle³⁹

Keynote address to the 3rd General Assembly of the Asian Peasant Coalition (APC), Sri Lanka

January 23-24, 2011

I wish to convey to the Asian Peasant Coalition (APC) the warmest greetings of solidarity and reiteration of support from the International League of Peoples' Struggle. I thank you for inviting me to be the keynote speaker of your 3rd General Assembly. I feel doubly honored as I recall having been the keynote speaker of your 2nd General Assembly in Bandung in 2006.

We congratulate you for striving to unite and mobilize the peasant masses to struggle for their rights against the imperialist and domestic forces that deprive them of land, exploit them and oppress them. Your coalition stands as a developing bulwark of the hundreds of millions of peasant masses in Asia.

We congratulate you for the significant achievements that you have won since the last assembly. You have gained a certain level of strength to serve as the basis for expanding and further strengthening your ranks. The forces that your coalition and the peasant masses confront are becoming ever more rapacious and repressive.

As the theme of your assembly precisely demands, it is imperative that you consolidate your gains and strengthen Asian peasant unity, persevere in the struggle for land and national sovereignty and intensify the resistance against imperialist globalization and war. Landlessness in Asia and violations of peasant rights are intensifying at an alarming rate over the last ten years as a result of the policy of neoliberal globalization.

The persistence of this policy has aggravated the economic, financial and social crisis and has prevented any real economic recovery

³⁹ Speech delivered as ILPS Chairperson.

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in terms of production and employment in both the imperialist and underdeveloped countries. The crisis is driving the US and the corporate giants to make up for the declining rates of profit in the imperialist countries by intensifying exploitation and oppression and by raising further their superprofits in the underdeveloped countries.

The corporate giants in the US and other imperialist countries are engaged in landgrabbing in collusion with corrupt domestic bureaucrats, big compradors and landlords, emboldening the traditional landlords to engage in further land accumulation and are preventing genuine land reform by drumming up the market as the way to solve the land problem. The foreign and domestic vultures are preoccupied with exploiting the natural and human resources and providing cheap raw materials and docile labor for the imperialist corporations.

The persistence of feudalism and semifeudalism, characterized by landlessness among the peasant masses and aggravated by the intrusions of foreign agroc Corporations, and the consequent lack of comprehensive and well-balanced industrial development are the fundamental reasons behind the widespread state of poverty and hunger among Asian farmers and other people in the rural areas who live on less than \$1 a day.

You are correct in pointing out that neoliberal policies have inflicted extreme suffering on the people. These policies include the reduction of subsidies in food, agriculture and social services as part of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs); the constraints imposed by the Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) and Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) in favor of TNCs; the integration of agriculture under the World Trade Organization's (WTO)/Agreement on Agriculture (AOA); and large-scale corporatization of agriculture.

The lack of genuine land reform and industrial development under the banner of national sovereignty is further pushing down the agrarian economies in Asia. There is a crying need for genuine agrarian reform and free land distribution and for agricultural cooperativization. But schemes of land concentration by a few have run fast ahead. They include the Compulsory Acquisition of Land, Special Economic Zones and so many other **land-extensive** projects not only in corporate agriculture but also for mining, logging, tourism and real estate speculation.

The imperialist countries collectively and bilaterally impose their policies on the puppet states in Asia at the expense of the peasant

masses, farmworkers, peasant women fisherfolk and other rural producers. They use the agencies like the IMF, the World Bank, ADB and WTO, and regional trade formations like APEC and ASEAN to perpetuate their dominance.

When multilateral trade agreements fail, like the Doha Round and the 6th WTO Ministerial Meeting in Hong Kong, the US and other centers of world capitalism pursue bilateral talks in the form of free trade agreements (FTAs) and the so-called 'Aid for Trade' which was supposed to complement the Doha Agenda.

We in the ILPS admire and highly appreciate the victories that the APC has achieved since 2003 in waging struggles for genuine land reform and defending human rights against repression, state terrorism and imperialist wars. You have accumulated strength by raising the level of consciousness, organization and mobilization of the peasant masses in Asia. You have acted effectively in a collective way as an alliance as well as individually in the different countries where your members are.

You have launched fact finding missions, exchange programs, coordinated researches, workshops, forums, tribunals, mobilizations, petition signing, dialogues, conferences, solidarity missions and other enlightening activities. You have carried out mass campaigns for genuine agrarian reform against tremendous odds and difficulties. And you have learned from each other's struggles by exchanging ideas and experiences and engaging in various forms of practical cooperation. We are therefore confident that you have the basis for advancing further.

We salute all the peasant masses, their organizations and their leaders that have resolutely and militantly waged mass struggles for their political, economic, social and cultural rights. We join you in acknowledging and celebrating the peasant struggles and victories in India, Bangladesh, Nepal, the Philippines, Indonesia and Malaysia. We have read reports about these in your website and in your briefing paper. We suggest that you include in the scope of your study and work the peasant masses of China, Indochina and possibly Central Asia.

We in the ILPS are proud that from July 2009 to April 2010, APC and ILPS Commission No. 6 cooperated in sponsoring the "Asia-wide

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Peasants' Caravan for Land and Livelihood" with the theme "Stop Global Landgrabbing! Struggle for Genuine Agrarian Reform and Peoples' Food Sovereignty." The caravan culminated in the Philippines on April 11, 2010 with 12 international participants coming from 9 countries in Asia.

We consider that the 3rd general assembly is highly important and consequential. It serves as the venue to evaluate your work, to discuss, to brainstorm and to strengthen perspectives, strategies and collective action for your future work in the whole of Asia and in your respective countries. We are hopeful that the assembly fulfils all its objectives.

It is a requirement for the next harvest of victories and for your long-term advance that you evaluate the work of APC (and its secretariat) and highlight its assessment points to guide its work ahead; unify your ranks on the practical application of principles and framework in your struggle for genuine agrarian reform as well as your networking, alliance and solidarity building; to consolidate and strengthen APC leadership, membership and its secretariat to effectively fulfil its mandate and tasks; and come up with a general program of action, thrust and directions and a common Asia-wide campaign.

I take this opportunity to invite the Asian Peasant Coalition and all its organizations to send delegations to the Fourth International Assembly of the ILPS to be held in Manila from July 7 to 9. You shall be able to present your just cause before Commission No. 6 and the plenary, to draw up a resolution on land reform and peasant rights and integrate it with the general resolution and with the over-all struggle of the people of the world and to network with various delegations representing people's organizations on a global scale.

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Salute the People of Tunisia for their Victorious Uprising and Welcome the Spread of Resistance in the Middle East⁴⁰

January 27, 2011

The International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) salutes the brave people of Tunisia for their great victory in rising up and toppling the corrupt and repressive regime of Tunisian President Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali. This US-supported dictator who fled Tunisia on January 14 had ruled the country with an iron hand for 23 years.

The protests that eventually led to the ouster of Ben Ali were sparked by the sacrifice of a young college graduate, Mohamed Bouazizi. Having a college degree but unable to find work, he was selling fruits and vegetables in the streets of Sidi Bouzid, a city in central Tunisia. The police confiscated his wares saying he had no license. In protest, he set himself on fire in front of the city hall.

This act became the catalyst for the people's uprising, igniting demonstrations and riots throughout Tunisia in protest against high unemployment, rising food prices, political repression and poor living conditions in the country. Weeks of street protests followed mobilizing broad sectors of society. Ben Ali declared a state of emergency in an effort to crush the uprising. But the people prevailed and Ben Ali was forced to flee into exile.

Tunisia suffers from high unemployment of more than 14%. The unemployment rate for young people is even higher at more than 31%. Tunisia's economic problems stem from IMF-dictated neoliberal policies and aggravated by the rampant corruption of the ruling clique.

Ben Ali came into power in 1987 in a bloodless coup when a team of doctors pronounced the incumbent President Habib Bourguiba unfit to rule due to senility. Habib Bourguiba had led the struggle for independence against the French and introduced progressive socio-economic policies. The US found in Ben Ali a willing ally in carrying

⁴⁰ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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out the **free market** policies that the imperialists have been trying to impose in Africa and the rest of the third world. He was also considered by the US as a key ally in the region in “fighting Islamic terrorism” and in maintaining “stability.”

The neoliberal policies promoted by the US and carried out by Ben Ali included attacks on the rights of labor, trade liberalization and privatization of public services. These policies have been responsible for the high unemployment and other economic problems in Tunisia these past years.

The protests continue despite the resignations of Ben Ali and his prime minister with the people demanding sweeping changes. They are demanding the complete clean up of government from the remnants of Ben Ali's clique and the dismantling of Ben Ali's party the Constitutional Democratic Rally (RCD).

The US and other repressive regimes in the region are now afraid that the social turmoil in Tunisia might spread to other countries. Protest actions have broken out in Algeria over lack of housing and high food prices. In Jordan, demonstrations led by trade unions and Left parties have called for the resignation of the Rifai government over high food and fuel prices. Protesters in Egypt demonstrating in solidarity with the Tunisian people chanted “Kefaya” (enough) and “We are next, we are next, Ben Ali tell Mubarak he is next.”

The French, German and British ruling cliques had always praised Ben Ali for being a “friend” of civilized Europe for “keeping a firm hand on all those Islamists.” They are now hypocritically calling for democratic reforms in Tunisia and the rest of the region.

The International League of Peoples' Struggle wholeheartedly supports the Tunisian people in their present struggle against unemployment, government corruption and repression and in their long-term struggle for national and social liberation from imperialism and local reaction. We welcome the spread of people's resistance to the US and oppressive regimes in the Middle East.

We call on all progressive forces and people in the world to give their support to the legitimate aspirations of the people of Tunisia and other countries in the Middle East for national liberation, democracy, social justice, development, international solidarity and peace.

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Salute and Congratulate the People of Egypt for Rising Up to Overthrow the Mubarak Regime⁴¹

January 30, 2011

The mass uprisings sweeping several Arab countries have shifted their focus from Tunisia to Egypt, a country much bigger in terms of land size, population (more than 80 million) and strategic value in the conflict between the US-Zionist combine on the one hand and the Palestinian and Arab peoples on the other hand and in the US global war of terror unleashing state terrorism, wars of aggression, occupation and the rendition of US foes to the torture chambers of Egypt.

Since January 25 tens of thousands of people have poured out into the streets of major cities of Egypt in order to demand the ouster of President Mohammed Hosni Mubarak and his ruling clique. They have defied the police and military forces even as more than 150 of the protesters have been killed and hundreds have been injured by US-made weapons. In a vain attempt to appease the people, Mubarak has reshuffled his cabinet and is maneuvering to stay in power or glide into a less disgraceful exit by a promise to allow new elections according to the US formula of transition to sham democracy.

At any rate, Mubarak is apparently on the verge of losing power. His ruling party headquarters has been burnt down. He has sent out of Egypt his closest relatives and a major part of their bureaucratic loot. The police have begun to abandon their posts in several cities. And various military units are showing either a friendly or hostile face to the people in the streets. There are indications that behind the scenes the US and the generals are trying to engineer a new arrangement.

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, salute and congratulate the people of Egypt for rising up and striving to overthrow the US-supported Mubarak regime which has long oppressed and exploited them. The people have courageously acted to repudiate the regime for its oppressiveness, its servility to US imperialism and its

⁴¹ Statement issued as Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

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conformity to the US-dictated "neoliberal" economic policy which has brought about the high rate of unemployment, decline of the economy and breakdown of social services.

While the mass uprisings have been successful at isolating and debilitating the **long-hated** oppressive regime, the US-controlled military machinery is intact and is poised to play a key role in rearranging the political setup in the interest of the US and local exploiting classes. The Egyptian state is dependent on a wide range of economic, financial and political relations with the US and other imperialist countries. Since 1975 the US alone has poured more than US\$50 billion into Egypt in order to coopt its rulers and use them as tools of US hegemonism.

The Egyptian military is dependent on a huge amount of US military assistance amounting to more than US\$1.38 billion, which is next in size only to that given to Israel. The US also gives economic assistance amounting to more than US\$800 million. The US is highly interested in the restabilization of the situation in Egypt in order to **forestall** the rise of anti-imperialist forces and thus maintain a balance of forces in favor of the US-Zionist combine in the region.

At any rate, through the mass uprisings, the people are asserting and exercising their sovereign power. They are opening the way to further advances and further possibilities in the struggle for national liberation, democracy, development and social justice. The revolutionary forces have the chance to expand and consolidate their strength.

To any extent that their struggle is frustrated, derailed or hijacked by their enemies, the people of Egypt can raise the level of their fighting consciousness and capabilities and go through various forms of revolutionary struggle until they muster the strength to smash the bureaucratic and military machinery of the ruling classes.

The conditions for advancing the revolutionary struggle are more fertile than ever before on the scale of Egypt, North Africa and the Middle East and the entire world because of the grave crisis of the world capitalist system and depredations of the US-instigated policies of neoliberal globalization, state terrorism and aggression.

It has been repeatedly demonstrated in recent history that particular despotic regimes can be overthrown, such as those of **Duvalier**, Marcos, Somoza, Pinochet, Mobutu and Suharto. But the subsequent false facade of democracy can only be fleeting for as long as the US and the local exploiting classes can rule through a bureaucratic and military machinery beholden to them.

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, are in solidarity with and support the people of Egypt in their great cause to build their revolutionary strength and wage various forms of mass struggle against imperialism and reaction. They need to defeat the armed counterrevolution and accomplish the people's democratic revolution. Thus they can move forward on the path of national liberation and social revolution.

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Develop the People's Power

Continuing Relevance of the Book, *Philippine Society and Revolution*⁴²

Message to the Cebu Forum *on Philippine Society and Revolution*

February 4, 2011

On behalf of the global leadership and entirety of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), I wish to convey warmest greetings of solidarity to the League of Filipino Students (LFS) and the Nagkahiusang Kusog sa Estudyante (Strength of Students' United-NKE).

We join you in celebrating the anniversary of the publication of *Philippine Society and Revolution*, the First Quarter Storm of 1970 and the Nationalist Youth Week in the University of the Philippines Cebu College.

We welcome and support your thematic call, "Ignite the flame of nationalism, learn to struggle and defend the rights of the youth and the people towards genuine freedom." Your theme is in consonance with the spirit of the First Quarter Storm.

We thank the LFS and Nagkahiusang Kusog sa Estudyante (NKE) for inviting us to participate in the forum entitled "LIPUNAN AT REBOLUSYONG PILIPINO: Revisiting the Past and Its Undying Struggle."

As the author with the *nom de plume et de guerre* of Amado Guerrero, I am honored and delighted that the forum seeks to elucidate the relevance of the book, *Philippine Society and Revolution* and its analysis on the current social conditions.

I am not in a position now to be one of the panelists via Skype because of previous commitments related to preparations for the resumption of formal talks in the GPH-NDFP peace negotiations. But I am glad that you give me the leeway to write to you a few thoughts.

The book is not only a historical document of great significance, having inspired and guided millions of youth and people in more than

⁴² Message delivered as ILPS Chairperson.

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four decades of revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy against foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

It is a book of continuing relevance because it sheds light on the persistent semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society. It unfolds the contending revolutionary and counterrevolutionary classes and forces. It continues to give revolutionary direction to the revolutionary forces and people that persevere in the new democratic revolution with a socialist perspective.

The semicolonial and semifeudal conditions have not only persisted but they have become far worse, deeper and graver. We continue to confront and fight an ever rotting ruling system of big compradors and landlords servile to the imperialist powers, chiefly the US.

The Marcos fascist dictatorship and the series of post-Marcos pseudo-democratic regimes have all proven to be fundamentally the same. They ride roughshod over the people and they reek of the intolerable stink of puppetry, corruption, brutality and mendacity. They know no limits to exploiting and oppressing the Filipino people.

The new US-supported Aquino regime has not offered anything to satisfy the people's demands for national liberation and democracy. It has failed to fulfil even its promise of holding its predecessor Arroyo regime to account for gross and systematic corruption and human rights violations. It has released from prison 400 military prisoners but has so far refused to release some 349 political prisoners who have sacrificed and contributed greatly to the struggle against the Arroyo regime.

The Arroyo regime obviously relies on sheer [gimmickry](#) and on manipulation of the bourgeois mass media and the poll surveys to conjure the illusion of popularity. It continues to toe the US line of neoliberal globalization. This has brought about the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, the worst forms of exploitation, high rate of unemployment, the soaring prices of basic commodities and the breakdown of social services.

The regime is carrying out Oplan Bayanihan under the US Counterinsurgency Guide and the US global policy of terror. The new oplan is a futile attempt at making state terrorism and US military intervention look acceptable and become effective against the revolutionary forces and the people through palliatives and psywar claims

of good governance, delivery of services, economic development and security reform.

Nevertheless, through the peace negotiations between the reactionary government and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, the revolutionary forces and people are challenging the Aquino regime to come to an alliance and truce in order to assert national independence, empower the people, carry out land reform and national industrialization, promote a patriotic, scientific and democratic culture and contribute to international solidarity and peace. Let us see how the Aquino regime reacts to the call for patriotism and progress.

There is the continuing necessity and urgency for the broad masses of the people, especially the toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle social strata, to unite and fight for national and social liberation against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. We all hunger for genuine national independence, democracy, social justice, development and peace.

As the class leadership of the working classes prevails in the people's democratic revolution, the subsequent stage of socialist revolution becomes possible in order to make a radical rupture from all systematic forms of exploitation and oppression. Through revolutionary struggle, we take our destiny into our own hands and we can look forward to a bright future.

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Develop the People's Power

Strengthen the Ranks of Migrant Workers in South Korea

Message of solidarity to the Katipunan ng Samahang Manggagawa sa Korea [Alliance of Workers' Associations in Korea]⁴³

February 4, 2011

The International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) conveys **our** warmest and most militant greetings of solidarity to the members and officers of the Katipunan ng Samahang Manggagawa sa Korea (KASAMMAKO) on the occasion of your 13th anniversary with the apt theme "**Strengthen and expand our organizations and families in advancing genuine change in Filipino society.**"

As the foremost progressive alliance of Filipino organizations in South Korea, KASAMMAKO has led the movement of Filipino migrants towards victories for the rights and well-being of overseas Filipino workers (OFWs). KASAMMAKO has shown that even **under the extreme conditions** of frequent and vicious crackdown operations by the Korean authorities, the migrant's movement can be established and can flourish. Even more importantly, you have shown that under such **conditions**, the need to arouse, organize and mobilize migrants becomes even more paramount.

We salute you for your continuing efforts to strengthen the movement of migrant workers of different nationalities to face the intensifying attacks of the South Korean government on the rights of all foreign workers. The support that KASAMMAKO has generated from local trade unions and organizations played a vital role in resisting violations of the rights of migrants.

For the past 13 years, KASAMMAKO has also been very active in contributing to the struggles of the Filipino people by mobilizing Filipino migrants on national issues and generating solidarity, especially on the issues of worker's rights and against extrajudicial killings of activists in the Philippines. Reciprocally, KASAMMAKO performs its

⁴³ Message issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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internationalist duty by supporting the various issues that concern the Korean people. The work you do and the victories you have achieved serve as inspiration to other migrants and people struggling for rights and fundamental **social change**.

As imperialist crisis rages and plunder of the world intensifies, the plight of Filipino migrant workers in South Korea will continue to worsen. The attacks on the rights of migrants especially the undocumented migrant workers will continue. Undocumented migrant workers are among the first to be blamed for the economic problems that plague countries like South Korea that play host to hundreds of thousands of migrants. They are made as scapegoats for various problems—even including rising criminality—to curb the tide of the host people's discontent.

Meanwhile, the Philippine government cannot be relied on to defend nor protect OFWs as its only interest lies on **how the labor** export program can **keep** the economy afloat and diffuse the social unrest brewing from the widespread poverty and massive dislocation of the people.

We are confident that KASAMMAKO will remain steadfast in its determination and drive to expand and strengthen the ranks of the migrant workers in South Korea. We know you will further build on the gains you have achieved and the lessons you have learned to pursue the struggle for migrant's rights, contribute to the Filipino people's movement for genuine social change and stand with the people of South Korea and the **rest of** the world in resisting imperialist exploitation, oppression and aggression.

KASAMMAKO has blazed the trail for the militant struggle of OFWs in South Korea. We know that you shall continue on this path and achieve more victories in the future.

Long live KASAMMAKO!

Long live the migrant workers!

Long live international solidarity!

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On the Impending GPH-NDFP Peace Talks in Oslo⁴⁴

Interview by Mynardo Macaraig, Reporter, *Agence France Presse* Manila Bureau

February 11, 2011

I am a reporter for the international news agency, Agence France Presse, Manila and we are doing a story on the impending peace talks between the Philippine government and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP).

As someone familiar with the operations of the NDFP, I hope you would answer some questions on the prospects of the negotiations.

Some of these questions are as follows:

1. Do you think the talks can succeed considering the recent spate of attacks by the New People's Army (NPA)?

JMS: Please bear in mind that the armed conflict is **two-sided**. The military, police and paramilitary forces of the Government of the Philippines (GPH) wage armed offensives against the New People's Army (NPA) like the NPA does. There are peace negotiations precisely because there is a two-sided armed conflict going on. The peace negotiations can move forward and succeed if the The Hague Joint Declaration and subsequent agreements are reaffirmed and the two conflicting sides negotiate in order to address the roots of the armed conflict with basic social, economic and political reforms and thereby establish the basis for a just and lasting peace.

2. The government negotiating panel has put a three-year deadline for peace talks to succeed. Do you think that is realistic? Do you think the NDFP will demand an extension?

JMS: In tactful terms, the GPH negotiating panel chairperson Alex Padilla has declared that best efforts be exerted by both sides to forge comprehensive agreements on the three remaining items in the

⁴⁴ Interviewed as NDFP Chief Political Consultant.

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substantive agenda and thus to make the over-all peace agreement within three years so that this can be implemented in earnest in the last three years of the Aquino regime. The GPH has not made any threatening deadline or ultimatum. I think that the three year estimate for making the comprehensive agreements is reasonable and realistic and may be even too long if the two sides are earnest in negotiating and making agreements along a patriotic and progressive line.

3. What will the NDFP ask for in the talks? Congressman Satur Ocampo has said that they will call for a complete reversal of Aquino's economic policies. If this is true, won't this virtually assure that the talks will reach a stalemate?

JMS: The NDF asks for nothing from the GPH, except for what is just and beneficial to the Filipino people as a matter of national and democratic right. The two sides ought to agree on asserting and strengthening national independence, widening democracy by empowering the working people, carrying out economic development through land reform and national industrialization, promoting a patriotic, scientific and democratic culture and fostering international relations for peace and development.

The US-dictated policy of neoliberal globalization has brought about a severe crisis in the Philippines and entire world capitalist system. For his own good, Aquino should veer away from that policy as Satur Ocampo has suggested. He should also veer away from the policy of state terrorism and from the US Counterinsurgency Guide. If he is willing, the NDFP and the Filipino people can help him in overcoming the social and economic crisis through a patriotic and democratic alliance and truce.

4. Will the NPA ever agree to disarm if the talks are successful? Will the NDFP negotiators walk out if the government calls for the disarming of the NPA?

JMS: The end of hostilities and disposition of forces are the last item to be negotiated in the substantive agenda. This is not up for discussion in the forthcoming Oslo talks this February. The comprehensive agreement on social and economic reforms and that on political and constitutional reforms must first be made by the two sides and approved by their principals before any side can propose the disarming of the other side.

Even in the future when the comprehensive agreements are reached on social, economic, political and constitutional reforms but are not yet fully implemented, it is best for the two sides to opt for a truce rather than for one side to demand the disarming of the other side. At the moment, it is premature to talk about disarming any side in the ongoing armed conflict.

5. The government has said there will be no preconditions in the talks. But are there issues that the NDF considers non-negotiable, where they will stop the talks unless the government gives in to them?

JMS: The NDF agrees with the GPH that there should be no preconditions to negotiations. But existing agreements require the joint or separate compliance by the negotiating parties. Both sides have agreed that formal talks of the negotiating panels can be resumed upon the validity and full effectivity of the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG). The GRP-NDFP negotiations have produced twelve (12) agreements since 1992. These must be respected, reaffirmed and complied with so that the peace negotiations can move forward.

*6. How much is the NDF willing to concede to keep the talks alive? Will they call on the NPA to stop their attacks? Will they drop such previous demands like the **delisting** from the US and EU 'terror' lists?*

JMS: I do not know exactly what you mean by asking what the NDFP is willing to concede to keep the talks alive. The GPH has not demanded that the NPA stop the revolutionary armed struggle or else stop the peace negotiations. Neither has the NDFP asked the AFP, PNP and CAFGU to stop their counterrevolutionary armed struggle. There are prior items to negotiate in the substantive agenda.

Regarding the terrorist blacklists of foreign governments, the NDFP continues to demand that the GPH withdraw its treasonous acts of having requested the US, EU and other foreign governments to put the CPP, NPA and myself in the so-called terrorist lists and stop arguing shamelessly that those foreign governments have the sovereign right to intervene in the internal affairs of the Filipino people.

7. Do you see the possibility of the public turning against the NDF if they are seen as being intransigent?

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JMS: The Filipino people will always fight for their national and democratic rights and build and support such revolutionary forces as the CPP, NPA and NDFP. It is the Aquino regime that will become totally isolated and detested by the people if it continues to serve the interests of foreign monopoly capitalists, the big compradors, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists. No amount of doleouts, palliatives and psywar can prettify a puppet, corrupt, brutal and mendacious regime. The people are already asking why Aquino has failed to deliver on his promise of holding the Arroyo clique accountable for corruption and human rights violations.

8. Critics say the NDFP is engaging in talks simply for publicity mileage and have no real desire to seek peace. They predict that once they get enough attention, the NDFP will find an excuse to call off the talks? Do you think that is true? Will the NDF use the talks for other purposes?

JMS: Would such critics prefer that the NDFP withdraw from the peace negotiations? Would not the NPA also make publicity mileage by intensifying the armed struggle? I think that the NDFP is negotiating in good faith. It has devoted so many years of hard work in the peace negotiations and has gone so far as to propose to the GPH a concise agreement for an immediate just peace through alliance and truce in order to strengthen national independence and transform the agrarian economy to an industrial one through land reform and national industrialization. Of course, if the Aquino regime spurns such a patriotic and progressive demand of the people, then the revolutionary forces of the people would be further motivated to wage armed revolution and gain further ground in the crisis-stricken Philippines.

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On the Resumption of Formal Talks in GPH-NDFP Peace Negotiations

Interview by Floris van Straaten, Asia Editor, *NRC Handelsblad*⁴⁵

February 25, 2011

I'm writing to you as I'd like to discuss with you the recent peace negotiations in Oslo and their outcome. It would be great if you would be willing to talk to me. In that case, I'd like to raise the following issues with you:

Are the Philippines finally really heading for peace, as the negotiators from both sides suggested?

JMS: The formal meetings in the GPH-NDFP have just been resumed. There is still a long way to go before the three comprehensive agreements on social and economic reforms, political and constitutional reforms and the end of hostilities and deployment of forces can be forged one after the other. The announced time frame of 18 months is quite optimistic. But it is based on estimate of best efforts imputing six months for the forging of every comprehensive agreement.

What is the reason that such an apparent breakthrough could occur after such a long stalemate?

JMS: Both the NDFP and the GPH agree that there is a need for resuming the peace negotiations because of the dire conditions of the Philippines as a result of the depredations made by the corrupt and brutal Arroyo regime and because of the ever-worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the Philippine ruling system.

Some commentators have suggested that the relatively advanced age of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines played a part in the decision to negotiate. Is that correct?

⁴⁵ Floris van Straaten has been Asia editor of the *NRC Handelsblad* since the beginning of the year. She has been with the publication for more than 20 years. She was a correspondent in London, diplomatic editor and correspondent in New Delhi.

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JMS: The aging of the first generation leadership of the reestablished CPP is of no importance. What is of great importance is the desire of the CPP to advance the people's cause of national and social liberation through every possible means, including peace negotiations. Since the fall of the Marcos dictatorship in 1986, the CPP and other revolutionary forces in the NDFP have been committed to carrying out peace negotiations with the GPH in order to address the roots of the civil war through basic social, economic and political reforms and thus lay the basis for a just and lasting peace.

Which reforms would you demand from the government before you would sign any peace agreement?

JMS: The most important political and constitutional reforms involve the strengthening of national independence through the removal of unequal treaties and agreements with foreign powers and the expansion of democracy through the empowerment of the people. The social and economic reforms include assertion of economic sovereignty, the conservation of the national patrimony for the benefit of the people, land reform and national industrialization and raising the standard of living.

To what extent have the Philippines changed since you started your struggle in the late 1960's?

JMS: The basically agrarian and underdeveloped character of the Philippine economy has been aggravated and deepened. The workers and peasants are subjected to worsening levels of exploitation and oppression. The foreign multinational firms and banks, the big compradors, landlords and the corrupt bureaucrats have been extremely rapacious. The glossy towers and glittering shops in the upscale sections of major cities and the consumerism of the upper classes are made possible by superprofits by a few from the cheap labor of the people and from the export of raw materials, sweatshop products and overseas contract workers.

Do you expect to return to the Philippines any time soon?

JMS: I hope to be able to do so soon enough, depending on the progress or success of the peace negotiations.

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Perspective on the Peoples' Uprisings against Autocratic Regimes in North Africa and Middle East⁴⁶

February 27, 2011

The International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) steadfastly stands in solidarity with and supports the peoples of the North African and Middle East countries in their mass uprisings and revolutionary struggles for national liberation and democracy against the autocratic regimes long maintained by imperialist powers and local reactionary classes.

At the same time, the ILPS is keenly aware that the overthrow of a dictator by a rapid spontaneous surge of the masses does not necessarily result in the revolutionary overthrow of the ruling system. In the absence of a strong revolutionary party of the proletariat and revolutionary mass organizations, the imperialist powers and **their** puppets among the competing political and military factions of the local exploiting classes can arrange a new regime that pretends to be better than the previous one.

Are **peoples** perpetually and hopelessly trapped in a system **controlled** and manipulated by the imperialists and their reactionary agents? No! The crisis of the ruling system and the mass uprisings can result not only in the overthrow of the autocratic regimes but also in the further development of the revolutionary parties, mass organizations and alliances for the continuous advance of the people's cause of national and social liberation.

The peoples' uprisings in North Africa and the Middle East are not the deliberate creation of the imperialists, their mass media and smart political agents. They are the people's resistance to the oppression and exploitation that they have long suffered. Their suffering has been made more than ever intolerable by the crisis of the world capitalist system and domestic ruling systems under the bankrupt US-imposed

⁴⁶ Statement issued as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the ILPS.

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policy of neoliberal globalization and the US global war of terror characterized by state terrorism and aggression.

While the revolutionary strength of the people is not yet enough to overthrow the ruling system, the US and its puppets deck themselves out as democrats by trying to forge new constitutions and instituting periodic elections and term limits for elective officials even as **shifting** balances of political and military factions continue to make the ruling system appear stable although really more unstable, remaining ripe for the next autocratic regime or servile to monarchies most favored by the US as in Saudi Arabia and the emirates.

The big prize for the US, its imperialist allies and its biggest local puppets in North Africa and the Middle East is the stepped-up super-profit-taking from the cheap labor of the working people, exploitation of oil and other natural resources, the huge sales of armaments to the **oil producing** countries and many other kinds of businesses.

The imperialist powers headed by the US are **hellbent** on tightening their control over all the major sources of oil and gas and cannot tolerate the degree of national independence or anti-imperialism that Iraq and Libya exercised in extended periods in the past and that Iran is striving hard to maintain. The US is now flagrantly seeking to grab and tighten its control over the oil resources of Libya as in Iraq. It is taking the lead in applying sanctions and threatening to unleash the atrocities that it used to take over the oil resources of Iraq.

Once more the irony of autocrats being subservient or pliant to US imperialism but eventually being junked by it is being demonstrated in North Africa and the Middle East. New sets of puppets are being arranged to further exploit and oppress the people. But through perseverance in revolutionary struggle in the long course of history the people can develop their own strength to realize their national and social liberation.

On the scale of North Africa and the Middle East and particular countries, the course and outcomes of the peoples' uprisings follow the law of uneven development. Under any circumstances, the ILPS stands in solidarity with and supports the broad masses of the people and the **anti-imperialist** and democratic forces and encourage them to be vigilant and militant against the persistence of imperialist domination and the puppetry of the local reactionary forces.

The International League of Peoples' Struggle looks forward to far greater revolutionary struggles now and in the future. Whatever are

the temporary arrangements that can be made by the imperialists and their reactionary agents, the revolutionary energy and forces already released by the peoples' uprisings will find fertile ground to grow in strength and advance against the crisis-stricken world capitalist system and the local ruling systems.

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Develop the People's Power

Support Continuation of the People's Revolutionary Struggle in Tunisia⁴⁷

February 28, 2011

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, express our highest appreciation for the 14th of January Front as a revolutionary alliance of patriotic and progressive forces of the people of Tunisia. We vigorously support the Front in resisting the so-called transitional government, which includes leaders of Ben Ali's party, the RCD (Rassemblement constitutionnel démocratique), and in building a popular government based on the **vigilante** committees formed in neighborhoods in Tunisia for the defense of the people against the terror unleashed by RCD thugs and the presidential police.

Named after the date of the fall of Ben Ali, the 14th of January Front was founded on the 20th of January 2011 by a number of Tunisian radical left organisations, including Ligue de la gauche travailliste (Left Labor League), Mouvement des unionistes nassériens (Nasserite Unionist Movement), Nationalist Democratic Movement (Al-Watad), Courant Baasiste (Baasist Current), Gauche Indépendante (Independent Left), Parti communiste des ouvriers de Tunisie (Communist Party of the Workers of Tunisia) and Parti du Travail Patriotique et Démocratique (Patriotic and Democratic Labour Party).

The Front has declared:

In asserting our commitment to the revolution of our people who have been fighting for their rights to freedom and to national dignity, and have made great sacrifices, dozens of martyrs, thousands of wounded and imprisoned, in our struggle to overcome internal and external enemies and to thwart attempts to crush the fruit of these sacrifices, we have constituted the "14 of January Front," a political framework "which will work for the advancement of the popular revolution for the realization of its objectives and oppose the forces of counterrevolution. This framework consists of parties, progressive and democratic national organizations.

We support the call of the Front to all the progressive political, trade-union, associative forces, urging them to fulfil the objectives

⁴⁷ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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intended by the popular Tunisian revolution. And we quote hereunder the Front's immediate urgent tasks:

1. To overturn the present Ghannouchi government or any other government that adopts the old regime's symbols and its antinational, antipopular policy that benefited the fallen president.

2. To dissolve the RCD, confiscate its head-office, property, assets and funds, given that they all belong to the people.

3. To form an interim government enjoying the trust of the people and the progressive militant political, associative, trade-union and youth forces.

4. To dissolve the House of Representatives, the Senate, all fictitious organs as well as the High Magisterial Council. To dismantle the political structure of the old regime and to prepare the election of a Constituent Assembly, which within a year at the most, is to formulate a new democratic constitution and lay the foundations for a new juridical system covering public life, and guaranteeing political, economic and cultural rights to the people.

5. To dissolve the political police and adopt a new security policy founded on the respect for human rights and the primacy of the law.

6. To bring to justice all those guilty of having stolen public funds, committed crimes against the people such as: repression, imprisonment, torture and humiliating treatment—from decision taking to execution—; and finally all those found guilty of corruption and embezzlement of public property.

7. To dispossess the old ruling family, their kin, associates and all civil servants who misused their position to enrich themselves at the expense of the people.

8. To provide jobs for the unemployed, urgently grant unemployment benefits, improve social care, increase the purchasing power of wage earners.

9. To restructure the national economy so that it serves the people and ensure that the State supervises vital strategic sectors. To renationalize the institutions that have been privatized by the previous regime and to set an economic and social policy that will break away from the [capitalist neoliberal](#) approach.

10. To guarantee civil and individual liberties, particularly the freedoms to demonstrate, to organize, of expression, of the press, of information and thought, the release of prisoners and the promulgation of an amnesty law.

11. The Front salutes the support of the Tunisian revolution by the popular masses and the progressive forces in the Arab countries and internationally, and invites them all to pursue their support by all possible means.

12. The Front calls for resistance to the normalization of relations with the Zionist entity and its punishment, and the support of national liberation movements in the Arab countries as well as worldwide.

13. The Front calls all popular masses and nationalist and progressive forces to pursue the mobilization and the struggle in all legitimate forms, particularly in the streets, in order to achieve their objectives.

14. The Front greets all committees, associations and forms of popular auto-organisation and invites them to enlarge their area of intervention in all that concerns the exercise of public affairs and other aspects of daily life.

We call on all the member-organizations and allied forces of the ILPS throughout the world to disseminate the above information concerning the continuous struggle of the Tunisian people for national and social liberation and express their support to the 14th of January Front and the Tunisian people by word and deed of militant solidarity.

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Develop the People's Power

Condemn US and NATO Preparations for Military Intervention against Libya⁴⁸

March 4, 2011

The International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) views with grave concern and condemns the preparations being made by US imperialism and its European NATO allies for outright military intervention in Libya in order to tighten their grip on the rich oil resources of that country by installing a reliable puppet regime.

Two US warships have been sent to the Mediterranean and there has been talk in the corridors of Washington and London about imposing a no-fly zone to prevent pro-Gaddafi forces from launching air strikes against rebel forces. To impose the fly zone, the US would have to destroy first the defense capabilities of Libya and inflict massive damage to Libyan lives and property as previously seen in Iraq.

Upon the instigation of the US, the United Nations was quick to apply sanctions on Gaddafi's government. These have never been applied on the Zionist butchers of the Palestinian people and have not been considered as applicable to the pro-US regimes in Egypt, Tunisia, Bahrain and other countries that have used violence against the masses marching in the streets demanding democracy and social reforms.

Libya's Moammar Gaddafi had been considered an enemy by Western governments for nationalizing the oil industry after he seized power in a bloodless coup that overthrew the King Idris monarchy in 1969. From the increased oil income due to nationalization, he improved the Libyan economy and implemented social programs for the benefit of the people. Gaddafi also supported anti-imperialist movements in the 1970s and 1980s.

Because of these he had been the target of demonization, economic sanctions and assassination attempts by the US. In 1986, the US bombed one his residences killing 60 people including Gaddafi's infant daughter. His wife and seven other children suffered various injuries.

⁴⁸ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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To stave off attacks against Libya similar to those against Iraq, he has made compromises with the imperialist powers and allowed them increased investment privileges in Libya. He opened the door to foreign banks and corporations. He submitted to IMF demands for "structural adjustment." He privatized state-owned enterprises and cut state subsidies on necessities like food and fuel.

The people of Libya certainly have the right to struggle for national and social liberation or democracy as do the rest of the people in the Middle East and North Africa who have risen up in their millions in asserting their rights. The Western imperialist powers do not have the moral ground to preach democracy by having supported for decades and continuing to support repressive monarchies and dictatorships in exchange for the right to plunder the wealth and natural resources of this region as well as the rest of third world.

Being favored by the imperialist powers to serve as their puppets are monarchists and other reactionaries belonging to the National Front for Salvation of Libya, which has long been financed by the US CIA. They have been played up in the BBC pulling down the green flag of the Jamahiriya and raising the flag of King Idris.

ILPS supports the just demands of the Libyan people for national liberation and democracy and condemns any attempts by the imperialist powers to take advantage of the present turmoil in Libya to promote their imperialist interests and put their puppets in power.

Imperialists, hands off Libya!

Let the Libyan people decide their own fate and future!

Support the struggle of the Libyan people for national and social liberation!

Long live the anti-imperialist and democratic solidarity of the peoples!

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Celebrate the Centennial of the First International Toiling Women's Day⁴⁹

March 8, 2011

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, express our most militant greetings to women all over the world and join you in the celebration of the centennial of the International Women's Day. The history and current trend of militant women's struggle must be highlighted in the midst of the global depression and chaos that pervade the various regions of the world today.

The first International Toiling Women's Day was proclaimed in 1911, to mark the role of women in the industrial revolution and celebrate the gains of the women who marched to the streets to fight for their rights and welfare. During that time, the exploitation of women and children in the factories, in the fields and in their homes fed capitalism and allowed it to flourish.

One hundred years later, women continue to struggle, this time against global monopoly capitalism that unleashes the worst forms of exploitation on the toiling classes. Imperialism has worsened the condition of women. Although women produce 60 to 80 percent of the food, they comprise 75% of the 1.3 billion people who subsist on less than \$1 per day. They are the majority of the more than 800 million people who are deprived of food security.

In the countries impoverished by imperialism and local reactionaries, women are displaced from their lands and livelihood as peasants and agricultural workers. As workers, they receive lower wages and are deprived of benefits—from health care and social security to overtime pay—as labor contractualization has become the norm to extract more profits for the capitalists.

They comprise **almost** 50% of migrant workers who are forced to leave their families to seek employment abroad only to face discrimination and abuse in the host countries. The exploitative labor export policy in their home countries is within the imperialist scheme of extracting superprofits from cheap labor. In extreme circumstances,

⁴⁹ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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women fall prey to human trafficking and are forced into prostitution because of sheer lack of viable and decent employment opportunities and systematic deprivation of rights.

With the current protracted global economic depression, women and the rest of the people are increasingly exploited and abused. As imperialism tries to save its decadent and moribund rule, it directs the servile local reactionary powers and its puppet regimes to adopt uniform measures of intensified exploitation through neoliberal economic policies, constitutional reforms, and outright repression under the US-instigated global war of terror.

The miserable conditions, made more intolerable by the global crisis, incite the people to resist and build their revolutionary strength. Across the continents, mass uprisings and revolutionary struggles for national liberation and democracy are toppling dictators and lackeys of imperialism and are opposing the intervention and aggression of the US and other imperialist powers. Women are rising up in great numbers with the men and taking a prominent role in all the mass struggles in Asia, Africa and the Middle East.

In the current sweep of people's uprisings in North Africa and the Middle East, the authoritarian regimes of Tunisia and Egypt have collapsed. Those in Bahrain and Yemen are tottering. A **full-blown** civil war is in progress in Libya and the imperialist powers headed by the US are maneuvering to launch aggression and seize the oil wealth for themselves. As part of the people's movement, women in these countries have found their voices and raised their strength to fight for their rights, welfare, and emancipation, despite the **deep-seated** feudal and patriarchal culture.

There is no room for complacency as the struggle of the peoples against their oppressors intensifies and spreads. Imperialist powers led by US will not allow their grip on the global economy to loosen and slip with the fall of their lackeys and the rise of the people's movements across the world. They will try with might and main to retain or regain their dominance and apply measures for their client-states to appear stable.

As part of the people's revolutionary struggle, the women's movement is continuously challenged to maintain vigilance and engage in militant work against the imperialist powers and all their machinations. The seeds for the triumph of a people's democratic revolution have been planted and the ground is fertile to nurture the revolutionary

fervor that is spreading across the world. It is essential for women to play their vital and crucial role in the people's struggle for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

Long live the toiling women of the world!

Resist imperialism and all forms of reaction!

Strive for women's liberation!

Fight for social revolution!

Long live the proletariat and peoples of the world!

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Marxian Critique of the Neoliberal Economic Agenda

Remarks to the Marxian Study Group, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague

March 9, 2011

Thank you for inviting me to speak on the Marxian critique of the neoliberal economic agenda.

1. Let me begin by reviewing briefly with you basic concepts in the Marxist critique of the capitalist political economy.

a. There is the contradiction between the social character of production in large-scale machine production by collective labor in factories on the one hand and the private appropriation of the product of labor due to private ownership of the means of production on the other hand. A small part of the new material values created by the workers goes to them as wages for their subsistence. The surplus value is divided among the capitalists as profit, the banks as interest on loans and the landlord as rent.

b. To maximize profits, the capitalists keep on enlarging the constant capital for equipment and raw materials and keeping down the variable capital for wages. Every commodity contains the old material values (previously congealed labor) from the use of the raw materials and depreciation of equipment and new material values that only living labor power (expressible in average socially necessary labor time) can create.

c. The drive of the capitalists to maximize profits by enlarging constant capital and pushing down wages is that it results in the crisis of relative overproduction. It becomes more difficult for workers to buy what they produce as the capitalist profit rises and their real purchasing power declines. The rising ratio of constant capital to variable capital also results in the tendency of the profit rate to fall.

d. Expanding the money supply and credit can be used to stimulate production, trade and consumption of the goods. But it has also been increasingly used by the capitalists to accelerate capital accumulation,

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overvalue assets and rake in higher profits not only from production but more so from the financial markets in an effort to counter the crisis of overproduction and the tendency of the profit rate to fall. Ultimately the boom goes bust, with economic and financial crisis breaking out.

e. In the development of the free market economy of the 19th century to the monopoly capitalism or modern imperialism of the 20th and thereafter, the role of finance capital has become dominant and decisive upon the merger of industrial capital and bank capital and the higher importance of the export of surplus capital over the export of commodities.

2. The state always plays a necessary role in the running of the modern economy, be it industrial capitalist, socialist or semifeudal. It accounts for a large chunk of the economy and its policies can shape the economy one way or the other.

a. In opposition to the capitalist system, the Marxists or the scientific socialists advocate the overthrow of the bourgeois state, the socialization of the private ownership of the means of production and the adoption of state economic planning to ensure the balanced functioning and development of the economy and prevent the economic and financial crises that have afflicted capitalist society. Socialist societies have in fact arisen and developed until undermined and destroyed by modern revisionism and restoration of capitalism.

b. In a capitalist economy, at any level of development, the state accounts for a large part of the economy as the biggest single employer and as the collector and spender of tax revenues. It can shape the economy through monetary and fiscal policies. It can play a pivotal role in further developing an economy. It can use the power of taxation to reallocate resources and provide social services. It can cause economic and financial crisis through misallocation of resources. And when economic and financial crisis strikes, state intervention is called for to counter or solve the crisis.

c. During the Great Depression, state intervention was deemed necessary as an instrument for countering crisis and reviving demand, production and employment. The Roosevelt administration proclaimed the New Deal and created the Works Progress Administration in order to reemploy large numbers of the unemployed in public works projects intended to pumpprime the economy. Subsequently, the use

of fiscal policy and public works projects would become known as Keynesianism under Keynes' theory of general equilibrium.

d. The use of Keynesianism in civil construction projects did not solve the crisis but it did salve the social and economic situation where fascism did not take over the capitalist state and society. In Hitlerite Germany, the use of public works to stimulate the economy glided into feverish military production. The worst consequences of the Great Depression were fascism and World War II. In the United States, expanded and intensified civil and military production for the war effort overcame the crisis and stagnation brought about by the Great Depression.

3. Let us now look at neoliberalism arising and holding sway in the capitalist world as a reaction to Keynesianism and **state intervention**.

a. Up to the 1970s, Keynesianism was touted as the economic policy of state intervention that countered the Great Depression, strengthened the US as the **bulwark** of capitalism, guided the reconstruction of the war-devastated capitalist economies under the Marshall Plan and maintained equilibrium in capitalist economies. But the reconstruction and revival of the countries defeated in World War II would bring up once more the crisis of overproduction and the **recurrent** bouts of recession, despite the frantic efforts of the now united imperialist countries to arrange and rearrange the market in the world and in global regions.

b. The phenomenon of stagflation became starkly clear. When the economic policymakers deployed monetary and fiscal measures to stimulate the stagnant economy inflation would surge and when they applied the measures to dampen inflation stagnation would further deepen. Dogmatic exponents of the "free market" based in the University of Chicago School of Economics took the lead in attacking Keynesianism and state intervention in the economy. They blamed wage inflation and social spending as the product of state interventionism and the cause of stagflation. They conveniently obscured the **demand-pull** inflation caused by the rising levels of military production and expenditures, massive overseas deployment of US military forces, wars of aggression in Korea and Indochina and space research and development.

c. The exponents of neoliberal economic policy stressed that the market must be given free rein and that the state must limit itself

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to the monetarist policy of adjusting the money supply and interest rates in order to cope with fluctuations in the market. They demanded the pushing down of wages and the cutback on social spending by government and making more capital available to the capitalists for investment by reducing taxes on them and giving all opportunities to raise capital and profits through trade and investment liberalization, privatization of state assets, deregulation and the denationalization of the economies of client-states. The neoliberal policy was also used as an offensive weapon against the vestiges of socialism and public ownership of the means of production in the countries already ruled by revisionist cliques.

d. The neoliberal economic policy started to become dominant in the world capitalist system in the years 1979-1981, with Thatcher and Reagan touting and using it against the working class. They claimed that more savings or capital in the hands of the monopoly capitalists translate automatically into productive investment in the so-called free market. In the next three decades, it was made to appear that there was no economic problem that could not be solved by helicoptering and pouring unlimited money and credit on it firstly on the so-called supply side of the monopoly bourgeoisie and secondly on the demand side of the consumers.

4. Let us look at how the neoliberal economic policy went bankrupt, inflicting great suffering on the people and devastating entire economies in both developed and underdeveloped countries.

a. The US started raising **interest rates** in 1979, practically calling in the loans from the third world and causing the so-called Latin American debt crisis in 1982. Reagan went for accelerated spending for the production of **hightech** weaponry in **the** 1980s. This could not generate any significant amount of employment. The US slowed down on the manufacture of consumer goods and started to import these at an escalating rate in the hope that the suppliers of these (Europe and East Asia) would become buyers of big items from the US. In less than a decade, the US would incur huge trade deficits and become the **world's No. 1**.

b. Clinton tried to revive US manufacturing in the 1990s by allowing the commercial production of electronic technology that used to be restricted to the military for national security reasons. But the US corporations, especially in the **military-industrial** complex, opted to

produce and export the more profitable big items. China became the big supplier of consumer goods to the US and the US proceeded to incur trade deficits far bigger than ever before. US manufacturing further declined. The US went further into the financialization of its economy and at a maddening speed after the repeal of the Glass-Steagall Act and the liberalization of finance, removing the difference between the banks and investment companies and allowing both the privilege of unrestricted generation of the money supply, credit and derivatives.

c. Job security was attacked. **Part-time** jobs in the service sector replaced secure jobs in the manufacturing sector. The real income of workers declined. Social insurance and social services were subjected to privatization and higher fees. **Trade union** rights and social benefits were eroded in the imperialist countries and much more so elsewhere. But still through offers of debt financing, portions of the working class were pushed to engage in consumerist credit card spending, buy shares of stocks in the years of the hightech bubble from 1995 to 2000 and acquire houses on mortgage that they could not really afford during the 2002-2007 housing bubble.

d. Above them, the finance oligarchy and the monopoly bourgeoisie made profits rapidly, continued to overvalue their assets and went berserk with the most fantastic and incomprehensible kinds of derivatives, like mortgage-backed securities, collateralized debt obligations and credit default swaps, until the moment of truth came in September 2008, when the crisis of overproduction became so severe and the financial markets collapsed. The worthlessness of the derivatives became exposed when the increasing unemployed could not pay for their mortgages.

e. In the less developed economies of the world, particularly the so-called emerging markets, the neoliberal economic policy was already exposed as unsustainable during the so-called Asian financial crisis in 1997. But even then debt financing continued to be used to support booms of private construction and importation of consumer goods in countries that produced for export raw materials and a few semimanufactures. In the ongoing crisis, such countries are suffering from the falling prices of their exports, the rising prices of imports, widening

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trade deficits and a mounting debt burden. These spell economic and social devastation.

5. The global economic and financial crisis has protracted and worsened since 2008. There seems to be no end in sight. Before the current crisis can be solved or modulated, another bigger crisis is anticipated in 2016.

a. That is because the political and business leaders in the imperialist countries stick to the dogma of neoliberalism and dictate upon their client states. Summit after summit has been held by the rulers of the major capitalist countries but to no avail. Conference after conference has been held by the IMF, World Bank and WTO but to no avail. The monopoly bourgeoisie, especially the financial oligarchy, does not want to give up the rapid accumulation of capital and easy profits under the neoliberal economic policy.

b. The big banks and firms that created the economic and financial crisis have been bailed out by public money to cover their losses and make book profits. Thus, there are sporadic claims to recovery, especially in the stock market. But public money that is supposed to be earmarked for generating production and employment in infrastructure, social services and green energy is subject to labor-cost saving and profitmaking by the private corporations under the continuing neoliberal policy. Thus, there is no real economic recovery, no expansion of production and employment.

c. Public deficits and public debt have mounted to aggravate and deepen the economic and financial crisis as a result of the bailouts, tax benefits and other forms of bonanza for the banks, corporations and the upper class. Now, the rulers of the capitalist states are adopting austerity measures and raising taxes and fees in order to shift more of the burden of the crisis to the people. Public sector employees are being thrown out of jobs or their salaries and pensions are being reduced. Social services are being reduced and made more expensive than ever before. The toiling masses of workers and peasants and the middle class are being deprived of their jobs, homes, livelihood and basic social services. They are being subjected to worse forms of exploitation and oppression.

d. There is therefore widespread discontent in the world, in both the developed and underdeveloped countries. In certain parts of the world, the broad masses of the people have begun to rise up against the

US-directed neoliberal economic policy and its extremely exploitative and oppressive features and consequences. It is our duty to further arouse, organize and mobilize the people to repudiate this policy and to demand their national and social liberation from those who exploit and oppress them under the slogan and dogma of the so-called free market.

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The Current Imperialist Crisis and the Peoples' Struggles: Tasks of Filipino Workers in Concert with the Workers of the World⁵⁰

Keynote address to the 10th National Congress of Kilusang Mayo Uno, Teachers' Camp, Baguio City

March 16, 2011

On behalf of the International League of Peoples' Struggle, I convey warmest greetings of solidarity to the Kilusang Mayo Uno on the occasion of **your** 10th National Congress. We congratulate you for having achieved great victories and for **standing** as the genuine and most progressive labor center in the Philippines.

We welcome your resolve to hold fast to the lessons of KMU's three decades, to boldly expand and consolidate your ranks and to advance the struggle for genuine land reform and national industrialization to a new and higher level.

We are confident that by reviewing your work in the last three years you can evaluate your strengths and weaknesses, and formulate a General Plan and Program for 2011-2013. You can also study collectively the various issues affecting workers nationwide and worldwide.

We join you in paying special tribute to the late KMU Chairperson Emeritus and Anakpawis Representative Crispin "Ka Bel" Beltran, KMU Secretary-General Wilson Baldonaza, KMU Federation Affairs Officer Douglas Dumanon, and PISTON-KMU President Emeritus Medardo Roda. Their exemplary lives of service to the proletariat and the people continue to inspire us.

I thank you for inviting me as the keynote speaker at so important a milestone as your 10th National Congress. It is my honor and privilege to discuss the present crisis of imperialism and the struggles of the people in various countries and clarify the tasks of Filipino workers in solidarity with the international working class movement.

⁵⁰ Message delivered as ILPS Chairperson.

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Present crisis of imperialism

In the course of more than three decades, the imperialist powers headed by the US and their puppet regimes have carried out the US-dictated neoliberal policy of globalization in order to attack the democratic rights of the working class, press down the wage level, erode the **hard-won** social benefits and cut back on government spending for social services.

They have claimed that so-called wage inflation and social spending by government caused the phenomenon of stagflation in the 1970s by reducing the amount of capital available for expanding production and employment. Thus, they have devised the neoliberal policy to put more capital and profit opportunities in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the financial oligarchy through tax cuts, trade and investment liberalization, privatization of public resources, deregulation and the denationalization of client economies.

They have obscured the real causes of the growing crisis of overproduction and recurrent recessions in the 1970s, such as the reconstruction and growth of the economies devastated by World War II and the demand-pull inflation due to the runaway US government spending for the arms and space race, overseas military bases and wars of aggression in Korea and Indochina.

In the system of imperialism, the monopoly bourgeoisie always strives to maximize profits by raising constant capital for equipment and raw materials and reducing the wage fund for buying labor power. The fall in the income of the workers lessens their ability to buy their own products. Thus, the crisis of relative overproduction arises. To counter this and the tendency of the profit rate to fall in the real economy, the monopoly bourgeoisie tries to make bigger profits and accumulate capital more rapidly in the financial markets through speculation and overvaluation of assets with the use of fictitious capital.

In their homegrounds, the US and other imperialists have also drawn sections of the working class into borrowing sprees for consumption, for buying shares of stocks in the period of the hightech bubble **from** 1995 to 2000 and acquiring houses on mortgage at eventually unaffordable interest rates in the period of the housing bubble **from** 2002 to 2006, leading to the economic and financial crisis that broke out in 2008. In some of the underdeveloped countries, which export cheap raw materials and some semimanufactures, foreign debt (in

ever mounting levels) has been used to finance booms in private construction, import-dependent consumerism and widening trade and budgetary deficits.

The neoliberal policy of globalization has resulted in the gravest economic and financial crisis since the Great Depression. Public money has been used to bail out the very malefactors that have caused the crisis, such as the financial oligarchy and the corporations in the military-industrial complex in the US and elsewhere. There is no economic recovery in terms of expanding production and employment. The recovery is in the books of the banks, in certain major corporations and in the financial markets.

The International Labor Organization reports, even with understated figures, that real wages have plunged, while global unemployment has stood at an all-time high, with little hope of returning to **precrisis** levels in the near future. In contrast, American and European corporations appear to have bounced back and are logging record-high profits this soon since the crisis. For instance, in the third quarter of 2010, American business collectively reported a record-high US\$1.66 trillion in profits.

Even public money that is supposed to generate production and employment must pass through the hands of private corporations which make book profits by cutting labor costs in line with the neoliberal policy which shuns the Keynesian policy of mass employment under the direct auspices of the state and gives all the leeway to the private corporations to acquire more assets and make profits in the so-called free market. The persistence of the neoliberal policy is protracting the conditions of global depression.

The recent turn of events in the global crisis is the adoption of austerity measures by imperialist and puppet governments in the face of the rapidly growing public deficits and public debt to bail out the crisis makers and maintain government operations at higher cost. Government employees are being laid off in great numbers and their salaries and pensions are being eroded. Education, health and other public services are deteriorating while becoming expensive to the people.

Since last year, governments across Europe have announced upwards of US\$200 billion in public spending cuts over the next two

Develop the People's Power

to four years—cuts that amount to public sector layoffs, pay cuts, and caps on benefits—alongside draconian labor reforms that aim to curtail workers' collective bargaining rights. We see the same policy running in state and local governments in the United States. Wealth and power are being further redistributed upwards.

Whatever meager incomes workers are left with are being eaten away by **spiraling** rise of energy and food prices. Recently, these have climbed dangerously close to the peaks reached during the shock of 2008. Crude oil is again trading over US\$100 per barrel, while the price of internationally traded cereals is at its highest since July 2008. Surging prices of basic commodities are mercilessly battering the workers even before they can recover from the previous round of mass layoff and inflation and the previous fuel and food crisis.

The resistance of the people

The neoliberal policy has impoverished the toiling masses of workers and peasants through the worst forms of exploitation enforced by state terrorism. The resultant global crisis involves high rates of **unemployment** and soaring prices of oil, food and other basic commodities. It is wreaking havoc on the lives of the people all over the world in an unprecedented way. Thus, the suffering people are rising up on a wide scale against their oppressors and exploiters in various developed and underdeveloped countries and entire global regions, such as currently in Latin America, South Asia, North Africa and the Middle East.

The mass uprisings of unarmed people are releasing a tremendous amount of revolutionary energy for the formation and strengthening of revolutionary parties of the proletariat, people's organizations, mass movements and armed revolutions for national liberation, democracy and socialism. The **long-running** mass movements of the toiling masses and the armed revolutionary movements for national liberation and democracy can expect to grow in strength and advance as the global crisis protracts, worsens and deepens.

The proletariat and people in the imperialist countries have been victimized by the neoliberal policy of globalization. They have launched mass protest and general strikes against the worsening conditions of unemployment, homelessness and loss of social benefits. The monopoly bourgeoisie has increasing difficulties in obscuring the root

causes of the crisis in the capitalist system and trying to deceive and divide the people with the reactionary currents of chauvinism, racism, fascism and war hysteria.

In one summit after another from year to year, the rulers of the imperialist countries and major less developed countries have exposed their inability to solve the grave economic, social and political problems spawned by the neoliberal policy of globalization. In endless series of conferences, the IMF, World Bank, WTO and other multilateral agencies have failed to offer any solution to the crisis.

By and large, the imperialist powers are still united against the oppressed people and nations and vent their aggressiveness on national liberation movements and countries assertive of independence. But they are increasingly competing and contending for a redivision of the world. The protracted crisis carries the threat of fascism and further wars instigated by the imperialists. At the same time, it is inciting the people to engage in militant mass actions and in revolutionary struggles for national and social liberation.

The role of KMU

It is the task of the KMU to carry forward the struggle of the working class and the broad masses of the people for national liberation and democracy in the Philippines against the US-Aquino regime and the entire ruling system. We must confront and oppose the continuing subservience of the reactionary government under Aquino to the US and its policy dictates.

The so-called development plan of the regime is governed by the US policy of neoliberal globalization. The so-called internal peace and security plan, Oplan Bayanihan, is a continuation of Oplan Bantay Laya and is guided by the US Counterinsurgency Guide and the US global war of terror. You must be resolved to oppose all these policies and plans which are aimed at exploiting and oppressing the working class and the entire Filipino people.

You must do everything possible to arouse, organize and mobilize the people in order to assert their national sovereignty, expand democracy, promote economic development through land reform and national industrialization, raise employment and improve the people's

Develop the People's Power

livelihood, make science and technology serve development and the people, realize social justice and achieve a just and lasting peace.

We are deeply pleased that KMU is prepared to take on the challenge of our time. It is correct that you call for bolder expansion and the steady consolidation of your mass membership and for the relentless mobilization of the Filipino workers and people for the cause of national and social liberation. Your victories in the Philippines constitute a contribution to the struggle of peoples of the world for a new, just and better world.

By becoming strong, you are in a position to take initiatives or participate in international activities in which you cooperate with the workers and people of other countries in opposing the neoliberal economic policy, the attacks on workers' rights, the cheapening of labor, widespread unemployment and austerity measures and demanding what needs to be done in order to fight exploitation and oppression and achieve social justice and fundamental social change.

We are aware of how much KMU has succeeded in developing fraternal relations with other labor organizations abroad and how much effort it has exerted in maintaining and promoting the International Solidarity Affair. We urge you to consider how to revitalize and expand this. You must give priority to communicating and cooperating with the labor unions and other worker organizations that are active abroad in waging anti-imperialist and democratic mass struggles.

We have always highly appreciated the role of the KMU within the frame of the ILPS. We are happy to know that the 10th National Congress is a preparation for the 4th International Assembly of the ILPS. We hope that you can contribute greatly to the success of the assembly and the work of the commission concerned with labor.

We are confident that your Congress will be a resounding success. We congratulate in advance the new set of KMU national officers to be elected by the congress. We wish all the delegations, the member-unions and allied unions of Kilusang Mayo Uno to win ever greater victories in all the years to come.

Long live the Kilusang Mayo Uno!

Long live the class leadership of the working class!

Long live the broad masses of the Filipino people!

Carry forward the national democratic movement!

Strengthen solidarity with the workers and peoples of the world!

☆ ☆ ☆

Develop the People's Power

Sign a Concise Agreement with the NDFP for Alliance and Truce in order to Complete the National Democratic Revolution of the Filipino People⁵¹

Interview by Jeffrey Tupas, Davao Correspondent, *Philippine Daily Inquirer*

March 18, 2011

1. Padilla said the NDFP panel refused to agree to their request for a declaration of ceasefire while the joint monitoring committee is being convened in Manila. He said it would be ridiculous if the team is convened in Manila while there is a “shooting war.” It was unfortunate, he said, that the NDFP refused to agree to a ceasefire because “ceasefire is always important.” Question is, why did the NDFP turn down the request (if it were even a request in the first place).

JMS: The repeated request of the Government of the Philippines (GPH) for ceasefire to coincide with every formal meeting at panel and subpanel levels is calculated to undermine the revolutionary will of the people and the revolutionary forces, impose the precondition of pacification and capitulation and avoid addressing the roots of the armed conflict through basic social, economic and political reforms.

If GPH is in a hurry to end the shooting war, why does it not agree with the proposal of the NDFP for a concise agreement for an immediate just peace, without prejudice to the peace negotiations? The concise agreement is a declaration of principles to establish a common ground and justify an alliance or partnership and truce of indefinite duration in order to complete the people’s struggle for national independence, democracy, industrial development and social justice.

2. He said that within three years all the comprehensive agreements are expected to be closed—meaning, signed. With this, he said the NDFP and the CCP-NPA must take the three-year target as

⁵¹ Interview given as NDFP Chief Political Consultant.

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an opportunity to come to terms with the government for a negotiated settlement. Along this line, he said communism is a dying ideology.

JMS: It is self-contradictory for the GPH to be setting what amounts to an ultimatum while putting up obstacles like attacking The Hague Joint Declaration as a document of perpetual division, preconditioning and negating the peace negotiations with a demand for the capitulation and pacification of the revolutionary forces and preconditioning every meeting of the panels and subpanels with a ceasefire.

The NDFP is simply aiming for the completion of the bourgeois democratic revolution against foreign and feudal domination in the Philippines. The issue now in the Philippines is neither socialism nor communism, even as the people's demands for national liberation, democracy and socialism are resonating throughout the world because of the bankruptcy and depredations of the US-dictated policy of neoliberal or imperialist globalization.

3. He also said that the while it is true that communism cannot be toppled by the government's war policy, the communists cannot also win the war through arm struggle.

JMS: The Communist Party of the Philippines and the NDFP have a realistic program of national democratic revolution. The people's war led by the CPP is growing in strength and advancing precisely because it carries forward such a program and serves the people's demand for national and social liberation.

Why does not the Aquino regime come to terms with the patriotic and progressive demands of the people in order to make a just and lasting peace with the NDFP? The people and revolutionary forces are convinced that if they continue their revolutionary struggle they have a chance of winning the national democratic revolution or making way for an anti-imperialist and democratic government of national unity, reconciliation and industrial development.

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Sison Challenges Aquino Regime to Accept NDFP Proposal for Alliance and Truce⁵²

Interview by Diana Lhyd Suelto, *Mindanao Daily Mirror*

March 18, 2011

Earlier in a press conference Alexander Padilla, GRP chief negotiator, raised some points regarding the peace talks between the GRP and NDF. I would like to get your comment.

1. The NDF refused to agree to a ceasefire while the joint monitoring committee is being convened in Manila.

JMS: The NDFP does not agree with the GPH in preconditioning with ceasefire every formal meeting of the GPH and NDFP negotiating panels and even of the committees at the subpanel level because the repeated ceasefires seek to undermine the revolutionary will of the people and the revolutionary forces, impose capitulation and pacification on the NDFP and lay aside the need to address the roots of the armed conflict through basic social, economic and political reforms.

2. While the insurgency cannot be won by armed might, the CPP-NPA-NDF cannot win by armed struggle.

JMS: The revolutionary forces of the CPP, NPA and NDFP are in fact growing in strength and advancing. They are now in the process of advancing from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate within the next five years. Thus, there is an urgent need for the GPH to negotiate with the NDFP and forge agreements to address the roots of the armed conflict with basic reforms. The peace negotiations aim for national unity and reconciliation in order to complete the struggle of the people for national independence, democracy, industrial development and social justice.

3. Communism is a dead ideology so now is the best time for the NDF to negotiate.

⁵² Interview given as NDFP Chief Political Consultant.

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JMS: The NDFP and the Filipino people are fighting for the completion of the national democratic revolution started by Andres Bonifacio and the Katipunan. The issue now in the Philippines is neither socialism nor communism. However, communism is not a dead ideology. The epochal struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie is continuing. The proletariat and people are interested in the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism because of the rapacity of monopoly capitalism and [the](#) bankruptcy of the neoliberal globalization.

4. That the peace treaty will be signed in three years.

JMS: A time allowance of three years for serious and sustained peace negotiations is reasonable. In the meantime, the Aquino regime can opt to agree with the NDFP proposal [of](#) a concise agreement for an immediate just peace. The agreement carries a declaration of common principles and policies to enable the GPH and NDFP to come to an alliance and truce of indefinite duration, without prejudice to the ongoing peace negotiations. The common principles and policies refer to asserting national independence, expanding democracy, undertaking land reform and industrial development, realizing social justice and developing international relations for peace and development.

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Condemn the US, UK and French Imperialist War of Aggression against Libya and its People⁵³

March 20, 2011

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, condemn in the strongest terms the imperialist war of aggression being launched by the United States of America, United Kingdom, France and their allies and puppets against Libya and the people of Libya.

This war of aggression is a gross violation of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Libya. It is being carried out under the pretext of saving the lives of Libyan civilians but in fact it is planned to kill and injure great numbers of Libyans and destroy not only the air defense capabilities but also the social infrastructure of Libya, as earlier demonstrated in the devastation of Iraq.

The objective of the imperialist powers headed by the US is to **install** a puppet regime of ultrareactionary pro-imperialists masquerading as democrats but shamelessly flying the old flag of the defunct Kingdom of Libya and to tighten foreign monopoly capitalist control over the oil, gas and other natural resources of Libya and the Libyan people.

The bombardments by war planes, cruise missiles and naval artillery so far carried out against Libya by the Western imperialist powers are the beginning of a **multi-phased** scheme to destroy the economic, social and defense facilities of Libya, allow the Libyan puppets to receive weapons from abroad, exacerbate the conditions of civil war and ultimately throw wide open the door to the imperialists as in Iraq.

Unlike in the other mass uprisings in North Africa and Middle East where anti-imperialist, communist and other Left organizations are involved, ultrareactionary politicians and military officers long cultivated by the Western powers through educational and military exchanges are overwhelmingly and openly in control of the anti-government actions in Libya.

We call on all member-organizations and allies of the ILPS throughout the world to initiate and participate in campaigns and activities to

⁵³ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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arouse, organize and mobilize the broad masses of the people against the imperialist powers headed by the US for launching the war of aggression and likewise against the Libyan puppets.

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In Honor of Leonard Weinglass⁵⁴

March 24, 2011

In representation of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) and on my personal behalf, I express **sincerest condolences to the family, close colleagues and friends over the passing away of the world-renowned human rights lawyer and fighter for justice Leonard Weinglass.**

We share their deep sense of loss. At the same time, we find comfort in his many outstanding achievements in defense of the oppressed and exploited people and all those persecuted for standing up for the rights and interests of the people.

We consider Lenny's death as an occasion for celebrating his meaningful life of service to the people, for expressing gratitude to him and for drawing lasting inspiration from his sacrifices, struggles and successes.

Among the many cases in which he acted as defense counsel included those of the Chicago Seven, Kathy Boudin of the Weather Underground, Angela Davis, Daniel Ellsberg, Mumia Abu-Jamal, The Cuban Five and Julian Assange of Wikileaks.

Weinglass was a leading figure in the US Civil Rights Movement and international struggles for justice. He was the co-chair of the international committee of the National Lawyers Guild for many years.

He was very active in supporting the Filipino people's struggle against the Marcos fascist dictatorship. He attended and assisted the Permanent People's Tribunal that tried Marcos et al. in Antwerp in 1980.

He continued to cooperate with Filipino human rights and lawyers' organizations in exposing human rights violations under the post-Marcos regimes. In recent years, he took up the case of Melissa Roxas and was involved in preparations for possible legal action in the US against Gloria M. Arroyo et al. for human rights violations.

I take this occasion to make a personal note and thank him for being my lawyer of record, together with Leonard Boudin, in my efforts since the late 1980s to secure a visa to visit my mother and siblings in

⁵⁴ Message issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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California and to consult with my lawyers in the human rights litigation against the Marcos estate.

He also provided legal advice to me and my chief Philippine legal counsel Atty. Romeo T. Capulong in connection with the false charge of multiple murder heard before Philippine Senate committees in 1989 and 1990 and likewise in connection with my being arbitrarily listed as terrorist by the US and other governments from 2002 onwards.

I first met Lenny personally in Manila soon after the downfall of Marcos when he went there to greet and congratulate political prisoners like me who had just been released from military detention. We continued to be in touch with each other regarding my visa case as well as the series of causes that he took up, including the Mumia Abu-Jamal and Cuban 5 cases which brought him to Amsterdam a number of times.

We of the International League of Peoples' Struggle accord the highest honor and express the deepest sense of gratitude to Leonard Weinglass for his ardent support for the principles and objectives of the ILPS and for his constant willingness to provide legal assistance to all the organizations and people involved in the 18 concerns of the ILPS.

May his memory, his commitment to the cause of justice and liberation and all his service to the oppressed peoples and the victims of human right violations continue to inspire all of us now and in coming generations!

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Support Rallies of United National Antiwar Committee in New York on April 9 and San Francisco on April 10⁵⁵

April 1, 2011

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, firmly endorse and vigorously support the anti-imperialist and **antiwar** marches and rallies to be held in New York City on April 9 and in San Francisco on April 10 under the auspices of the United National Antiwar Committee (UNAC).

We are deeply pleased that the ILPS member-organizations in the US have been active in mobilizing people to join the protest mass actions in the two American cities. We are calling on ILPS member-organizations throughout the world to hold solidarity actions on April 9 or thereabouts.

We must unite with the people in the belly of the superpower beast who stand up and fight for their rights against the escalating levels of exploitation and oppression right within the US and abroad. Their struggle is of crucial global importance because they are in a position to strike at the very heart of the world capitalist system and at the very center of imperialism from which crisis, plunder and war are generated and unleashed.

The American people are fed up with an unjust and irrational system in which the monopoly bourgeoisie has all the privileges of tax cuts, gilded contracts with the state, liberalization, privatization, deregulation and the denationalization of underdeveloped economies and all the freedom to extract superprofits from the exploitation of the working people and further accumulate capital through sheer financial manipulation and speculation.

And when the economic and financial crisis results from the decline of wages and the abuse of debt financing, public money is used to bail out the big banks and corporations, to let them make profits in their books of accounts and to revive the financial markets and not to generate production and employment in the real economy.

⁵⁵ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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As the crisis in public deficits and public debt escalates, austerity measures are adopted at the expense of the working class and the entire people. Education, health and other social services are cut back and become expensive. The wage level, unemployment relief, health insurance, pensions and other **hard-won** social benefits are eroded. The trade union and other democratic rights of the public sector employees and the rest of the working class are further attacked and curtailed.

And yet the monopoly bourgeoisie continues to get tax cuts, **overpriced supply contracts from the state for the military and civil bureaucracy** and all kinds of financial and military guarantees for US investments abroad. Public appropriations for social services are being squeezed but military expenditures keep on expanding for weapons production, deployment of military forces and wars of aggression.

We support the American people in marching and rallying against the government, corporate and financial powers that wage war, ravage the environment and the economy and trample on democratic rights and liberties. Like the rest of the people of the world, the American people want social justice and peace, a healthy environment and a society that prioritizes human needs, democracy and civil liberties.

We support the just demand of the American people for the withdrawal of US troops, mercenaries and war contractors from Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan and other countries. The US must end the sanctions and war threats against the people of Iran, North Korea, Libya and Yemen. The US must cease and desist from plunder and war in Latin America, Caribbean, Asia and Africa. US aid to Israel and US support for the Israeli occupation of Palestine and the siege on Gaza must end. The US must cease to support repressive regimes.

We support the just demand of the American people that trillions of dollars of public money, originating from the hard work and taxation of the people, must be used to create jobs, guarantee education, provide social services, end all foreclosures on homes, provide quality single-payer healthcare for all, realize sustainable and planet-saving energy systems, expand the public transport system and provide reparations to the victims of US terror at home and abroad.

We support the just demand of the American people for the end of the following: FBI raids on antiwar, social justice and international solidarity activists; the racist persecution of Muslim communities, organizations and individuals; police terror in Black, Latino and Native

American communities; the criminalization and violation of the rights of immigrants; the repression and punishment of the Wikileaks founders and contributors; and abductions and torture, rendition, secret trials, drone bombings and death squads.

We of the ILPS look forward to the success of the marches and rallies in the US and elsewhere on April 9 and 10 and in subsequent times. We are ever hopeful that a growing anti-imperialist and democratic mass movement in the US will counter the escalating rapacity and barbarity of the US monopoly bourgeoisie and will bring about better conditions not only for the American people but also for the people of the world.

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Develop the People's Power

Join the Global Day of Action against Nuclear Reactors on April 26⁵⁶

April 10, 2011

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, hereby call on all its member-organization, its allied forces and the broad masses of the people to join the Global Day of Action and carry out mass actions against nuclear reactors on April 26, 2011 in order to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear plant disaster, to protest the multiple meltdowns occurring at the Fukushima 1 nuclear complex, to demand immediate measures to protect the Japanese people and to call for the banning of nuclear reactors as the source of energy.

The monopoly bourgeoisie and the governments they control have not learned the most serious lessons from the Chernobyl nuclear plant disaster. Now, we are confronted by a nuclear plant disaster far bigger than that of Chernobyl. At Fukushima nuclear complex 1 of Tokyo Electric Power Co. (TEPCO), four nuclear reactors are involved in the process of meltdown. At Chernobyl, **only one reactor exploded after two weeks and put a stop to the meltdown.**

In the aforesaid four nuclear reactors, all cooling systems, including the emergency core cooling system, have broken down since March 11, as a result of the magnitude 9 earthquake and the big tsunami. Hydrogen explosions have destroyed the building housing the reactors. The nuclear fuel rods attached to the pressure vessels of reactors Nos. 1, 2 and 3 are melting upon the decrease of water and exposure of the fuel rods. Moreover, there is a hole in the containment vessel of reactor No. 2.

Extremely high levels of radiation, far exceeding that of the Chernobyl meltdown, are coming from the reactors, especially from the damaged mixed oxide fuel rods which have a high amount of uranium and plutonium. They are life threatening and poisonous to the environment over wide areas. Highly-concentrated radioactive material has been spread further by the release of internal gas to the atmosphere.

⁵⁶ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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Large amounts of water used to cool down the reactors have seeped down into the water table and have flowed out to the ocean.

Since more than a week ago, the level of nuclear disaster has risen to the highest, which is level 7 of the International Nuclear Event Scale (INES). But the officials of the Japanese government and TEPCO have been engaged in disinformation, understating the dangers and giving out false assurances. The Japanese government is more concerned with seeking to maintain and promote the nuclear power development policy in obedience to its US imperialist master. The main technology is provided and **controlled** by General Electric and Westinghouse.

It is of the highest importance and urgency for internationally coordinated mass actions **to be** started and sustained in order to demand the evacuation, relief and assistance to the latest victims of nuclear disaster, protection of the people and the environment and the banning of nuclear power plants. In this regard, the International League of Peoples' Struggle have agreed with the International Coordination of Revolutionary Parties and Organizations and other international formations to cooperate in carrying out the Global Day of Action on April 26.

We demand the following:

1. Evacuate immediately the population threatened by the meltdown in Japan!
2. Bring to safety the children and pregnant women!
3. Publish the whole truth about the Fukushima disaster without any reservation!
4. Mobilize all international relief organizations for conducting extensive evacuations!
5. Supply the population with uncontaminated food and water!
6. Organize continuous airlifts and shipping convoys for this purpose!
7. Appoint immediately an investigative commission of the best qualified scientists and experts in the world!
8. Shut down the nuclear power plants!

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Appreciation for my Visitors from Nottingham University⁵⁷

April 10, 2011

I was delighted and honored when forty two masteral students in diplomacy and security and terrorism studies and five academic supervisors headed by Prof. Pauline Eadie came all the way from Nottingham University to Utrecht, The Netherlands last April 6 for an **interface** discussion with me on matters of mutual interest.

I was impressed that the students come from as many as 18 countries, including the United States, Canada, United Kingdom, The Netherlands, France, Sweden, Portugal, Czech Republic, Poland, Bulgaria, Azerbaijan, Turkey, Egypt, China, Vietnam, Indonesia, Thailand and Pakistan.

I was deeply thankful for and highly appreciative of the visit of my academic colleagues from Nottingham because they **fulfilled** to a significant extent my previously frustrated wish to visit their university in 2009 and 2010 and in effect overcame the obstacle put up by the Dutch authorities to my going to the UK.

Since 2009, Prof. Eadie on behalf of the University of Nottingham had invited me to deliver the Stanley Tomlinson Memorial Lecture. But unfortunately, the Dutch authorities refused to issue to me the *laissez passer* and thus I was not able to apply for other travel documents from the Dutch and British authorities.

While I was still on the terrorist blacklist of the European Union, the Dutch authorities used it as a reason for not issuing to me the *laissez passer*. After the September 30, 2009 judgment of the European Court of Justice removing me from the list took effect on December 10, 2009, they used my lack of residence permit in The Netherlands as the reason for refusing to give me the aforesaid travel document.

The Dutch authorities have been quite absurd in dealing with me since 1988 when I applied for political asylum as a result of the

⁵⁷ Remarks at a lecture forum on Philippine and International Politics with masteral students and academic supervisors arranged by Prof. Pauline Eadie of the Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies and School of Politics and International Relations of the University of Nottingham.

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cancellation of my Philippine passport by Philippine authorities who had reacted to my academic lectures abroad and wanted to suppress my freedom of speech and force my return to the Philippines. I had to apply for political asylum in The Netherlands even as I had a residence permit then by being a research consultant of the Utrecht University.

The Dutch executive authorities refused to grant me asylum despite the clear fact that I was a continuing target of persecution by the Philippine authorities. They did so even after the highest administrative court, the Dutch Council of State, recognized me in 1992 and 1995 as a political refugee under Article 1 A of the Refugee Convention and also as someone protected by Article 3 of the European Convention on Human Rights. Somehow the Dutch authorities have managed to use specious arguments and maneuvers to refuse me legal admission as refugee and a residence permit.

They have used secret intelligence dossiers against me and invoked the general interest of the Dutch state, particularly its diplomatic relations with the US and Philippine governments, as outweighing my individual interest and basic human rights guaranteed by the European Convention on Human Rights.

To this day, the aforesaid dossiers have not amounted to anything as basis for starting any criminal investigation. In 2007 the Dutch authorities connived with the Arroyo regime to trump up against me false criminal charges of inciting murder. The purpose was obviously to humiliate me and make me suffer once more the pain of solitary confinement, which I had to endure under the Marcos dictatorship. But the Dutch courts made short shrift of the false charges.

Prof. Eadie told me that my experience of persecution and current privations in The Netherlands are as interesting as what I can say about major issues as the founding chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), as a teacher of political science, as chief political consultant of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) in peace negotiations with the Manila government and as chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

However, I think that far interesting was the exchange of ideas and views between the students and me about socioeconomic and political issues and developments of varying scales: Philippines, ASEAN, East Asia and the whole wide world that has been the target of the US-instigated policies of so-called neoliberal globalization and the so-called war on terror.

Indeed, as Prof. Eadie informed me in advance, the students were interested in what I had to say about the Philippine situation, the armed conflict between the Manila government and the revolutionary forces, the status and programs or plans of the contending forces, the issues of corruption, state terrorism and human rights violations and the peace negotiations between the Manila government and the NDFP.

I described the Philippine situation as crisis-stricken economically, socially and politically due to the severe global economic and financial crisis as well as the frailties of a semicolonial and semifeudal society. I referred to the conditions of rapid polarization in society and the intensification of armed conflict between the revolutionary movement of the people and the US-directed government of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class.

Under the US Counterinsurgency Guide, the Aquino regime has issued an internal peace and security plan called Oplan Bayanihan which aims to destroy or reduce the armed revolutionary movement to inconsequentiality. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army aims to advance the people's war from the stage of the strategic defensive to the stage of the strategic stalemate within the next five years.

I expressed the view that corruption, state terrorism and human rights violations would continue and even escalate under the Aquino regime because of the rotten character of the ruling system, the worsening crisis and the conspicuous lack of will of the rulers to change policies. But why should the National Democratic Front of the Philippines resume the peace negotiations with the regime?

I explained that the worsening crisis might push the regime to listen to proposals that the NDFP is offering through the peace negotiations. The NDFP has offered the acceleration of the peace negotiations and the immediate prospect of alliance and truce in order to assert national independence, expand democracy, carry out economic development through land reform and national industrialization and achieve social justice. The regime may accept or spurn the offer. But the people come to know better what the NDFP and all the revolutionary forces stand for.

The masteral students raised many questions, including the following: how popular is the NDFP in the Philippines? What kind of solidarity does the NDFP receive from abroad? Are my writings available to Filipino students in the Philippines? What personal factors were

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involved in developing my revolutionary standpoint? How relevant is communism and would it work in the Philippines?

I cited the millions of Filipinos supporting the NDFP through revolutionary mass organizations, organs of democratic power and mass mobilizations. I said that the revolutionary movement gets no foreign material support but enjoys the international solidarity and the moral and political support of anti-imperialist and democratic forces abroad.

I said that my writings are available in the Philippines through the progressives in schools as well as in the bookstores, internet and mass organizations. I recalled the personal factors in my family, in the schools and in the social environment that motivated me to become a revolutionary since I was in grade school. I pointed out that the issue in the Philippines is not communism but the people's demand for national liberation, democracy, development and social justice.

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Honoring Comrade Philip Koritz⁵⁸

April 18, 2011

Dear Richard,

Please convey to the entire family of your beloved father, Philip Koritz, our most heartfelt condolences over his passing.

We cherish the moment when we met him in the Philippines in 1986, soon after our release from prison and while he was attending the International Solidarity Affair of the Kilusang Mayo Uno.

We developed further our friendship and comradeship with him in the course of many years of cooperation, including a number of visits to The Netherlands.

We are all proud of his long outstanding record as a highly principled communist fighter, as a militant and effective trade union leader for many decades and as a fearless champion of civil rights and interracial unity in trade unions, under the most difficult circumstances such as those in North Carolina when he organized and led the strike of tobacco factory workers in the mid-forties.

We honor Comrade Philip Koritz for propagating the revolutionary ideas of the working class, for exerting arduous efforts and making sacrifices in the course of revolutionary work, for contributing significantly to the American trade union movement and for dedicating his life to the socialist and communist goals of the proletariat and to the cause of proletarian internationalism.

As his Filipino comrades, we wish to express our deepest sense of gratitude to him for his steadfast solidarity with and support for the new democratic revolution led by the working class in the Philippines. He was constantly interested in the Philippine situation and in the development of the revolutionary forces. He shared with the Filipino people the hope that upon the basic completion of the democratic revolution the socialist revolution would follow.

He was always determined to help the Philippine trade union movement and build its relations with the American trade union movement. He gave his advice on the American political and trade union situation

⁵⁸ Message of condolence of Jose Maria Sison and Julieta de Lima.

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and contributed to fostering solidarity and cooperation with the Filipino people and the Filipinos in the US.

We are aware that Filipino organizations have acknowledged his work and contributions in support of the proletariat and people of the Philippines. We are aware that no less than the Communist Party of the Philippines has expressed to him the highest appreciation.

Comrade Philip Koritz has lived a full and meaningful life in the service of the American and international proletariat. He leaves a legacy that will continue to grow. He shall always live through the continuing struggles and victories of the workers and peoples of the world.

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Fight for Land, Life and Honor

Message of solidarity on Cordillera Day 2011⁵⁹

April 26, 2011

On the occasion of Cordillera Day 2011, we the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) express our warmest greetings of solidarity to all the delegates and distinguished guests and to all the people of Cordillera, the overall host **Cordillera Peoples Alliance** and the local hosts Kakailian **Salakniban Tay Amin a Nagtaudan (People's Defense of Ancestral Domain, KASTAN)**, Timpuyog dagiti Umili iti Lacub [**Association of Lacub Residents**], Bantayan Ekolohiya ken Kinabaknang (Lacub People's Federation for Ecological and Resource Protection).

We have the highest appreciation for the **Cordillera Peoples Alliance** and the people of Cordillera in faithfully celebrating Cordillera Day since 1985 on the basis of the earlier Macliing Memorials (1980-1984), in order to affirm the Cordillera people's unity in defending their ancestral domain and in struggling for self-determination and national democracy.

Cordillera Day has been consecrated by the blood of martyrs, starting with Ama Macliing Dulag and Pedro Dungoc who led the struggle against the World Bank-funded Chico River Basin Hydroelectric Dam Project of the dictator Ferdinand Marcos. The day is annually celebrated by the people in the Philippines and abroad to refresh our collective memory and renew our resolve to continue with the struggle for national liberation, democracy, social justice and development in the interest of the people.

We welcome your current theme, Live Out Our Glorious History of Struggle! Fight for Land, Life and **Honor!** In this regard, it is of great importance that you focus on such burning issues as mining, militarization, and human rights violations. These involve the exploitation and oppression of the people of Cordillera and require their resolute and militant resistance and the active support of the entire Filipino people and the people of the world.

⁵⁹ Message delivered as ILPS Chairperson.

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A million hectares or 51% of the Cordillera land area is covered by the licensed operations and pending applications of transnational corporations and their Filipino partners. This involves grabbing the land, the mineral resources, the forests and the rivers from the people for the purpose of plunder and in the process causing environmental destruction and pollution at the expense of the indigenous Cordillera communities as well as the people in the lowlands.

Militarization and human rights violations are concomitant to mining. To suppress the people's resistance and impose the large mining projects, the state has deployed four regular battalions and three special battalions of the Philippine Army to the mining areas in the Cordillera region. As a result, gross and systematic human rights violations occur.

It is appropriate to hold Cordillera Day 2011 in Lacub because this municipality is rich in gold ore deposits and several mining companies, like the Golden Lake Mineral Resources and the Titan Exploration and Development Corporation, are determined to exploit several sites. It is necessary for us to join the people of Lacub in their struggle against the mining companies and to manifest to them our sympathy and support for their struggle.

It is always inspiring to recall and highlight the historic resistance of the indigenous Tinggians of Abra to the logging of their forests by Cellophil Resources Corporation during the years of the US-Marcos dictatorship. Once more we must draw lessons from this successful struggle in addressing the urgent issues confronting the Cordillera peoples today.

Taking the cue from reactionary national officials, certain provincial and local officials claim that mining will bring progress and prosperity. They deliberately obscure the fact that areas in Cordillera like Tuba, Itogon, Tublay, Kibungan and Mankayan, which have been heavily mined for decades, have nothing to show but **the** severe poverty of the people and **the** devastation of the land. That is also true in other gold mining areas such as Marinduque, Toledo in Cebu and those in Mindanao.

The mining companies promise to repair the Lacub road and build a bridge across the Malanas River. But, of course, they will do so in order to facilitate their mining operations. After they deplete the nonrenewable gold resource, they will leave the area and its already overused road and bridge in a state of disrepair. They are no different

from the corrupt politicians who steal year in and year out the public money that is appropriated for building the infrastructure.

Mining projects are accompanied by militarization. Lacub is now surrounded by large semipermanent detachments of the Philippine Army in the nearby municipalities of Lagangilang, Baay-Licuan, and Malibcong. At increasing frequency, the Philippine Army fields platoons to Lacub, to undertake so-called counterinsurgency operations. In 2008, a Special Operations Team (SOT) of the 41st IB controlled the village of Talampac for a full year in order to destroy the community organization.

In the province of Abra, both the Philippine Army and the private armies of corrupt politicians are flagrantly serving the interest of the mining companies. Two battalions of the Philippine Army's 5th Infantry Division are deployed here—the 41st IB in the north and the 50th IB in the south. In addition, there are the so-called counterinsurgency strike force, the 52nd DRC (Division Reconnaissance Company) and a company of the 77th IB, which serves as the cadre corps for the paramilitary Civilian Armed Forces Geographical Units (CAFGU).

Their announced mission is to destroy the New People's Army (NPA) and to enable so-called developers, such as the large mining companies, to plunder the natural resources and destroy the environment. But the indigenous people of Lacub are determined to assert their right of ancestral domain and to build their strength. They are proud of their long history of struggle to defend land, life and honor.

They continue to live up to their heroic record of having played the central role in the successful Tinggian resistance to the logging operations of the Marcos dictatorship's Cellophil. They have repeatedly played a crucial role in preventing various administrations from implementing the Marcos plan to dam the Binongan river. The community of Buneg, in particular, has been courageous in stopping a local warlord from seizing their small-scale mining sites.

We look forward to the success of Cordillera Day 2011 in assessing the Cordillera situation in the context of the Philippine and world situation and in defining the tasks of the **Cordillera Peoples Alliance** on the ample basis of your appraisal of the situations in Abra, Apayao, Kalinga, Benguet, Ifugao, Mountain Province and Baguio City.

We hope that you can arrive at a comprehensive and incisive understanding of the Cordillera situation and the challenges. The workshops on regional autonomy and self-determination; mining: small scale and

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large scale; human rights and Oplan Bayanihan; climate change and disaster management should be able to help you define and deal with the issues.

We wish you maximum success in formulating the Unity Pact by combining the wisdom of the elders and tribal leaders, the dynamism of the mass organizations and the available expertise from the relevant disciplines. It is of urgent importance that the elders and tribal leaders preside over the forging of a multilateral unity pact to resist mining plunder and human rights violations. In view of the government's attempt to make a third organic act for a Cordillera autonomous region, it is also necessary to take a clear and firm stand on the subject of genuine regional autonomy and self-determination.

We are hopeful that Cordillera Day 2011 enables you to sum up the situation and the experience of struggle, learn both positive and negative lessons, consolidate achievements, overcome shortcomings and set forth the tasks for strengthening your fighting will and capabilities, achieving greater victories and raising to a new and higher level the struggle of the people of Cordillera for self-determination and national democracy.



Strengthening Communist Parties in the Worsening Global Capitalist Crisis⁶⁰

May 13-15, 2011

On a global scale, the objective conditions for strengthening communist parties are favorable. The crisis of the world capitalist system keeps on worsening. And the broad masses of the people are rising up simultaneously in many countries in various continents to resist the dire consequences of the global crisis.

Communist parties have the opportunity to strengthen themselves in an all-round way: ideologically, politically and organizationally. The ever-worsening crisis exposes the bankruptcy and rottenness of the entire world capitalist system and points to the necessity of revolutionary struggles for national liberation, democracy and socialism under the leadership of the proletariat and its revolutionary party.

1. Worsening crisis and aggressiveness of imperialism

The economic and financial crisis that burst out in the US and spread throughout the world in 2008 has persisted and become aggravated as a global depression. That is because the imperialist states have continued to cling to the US-dictated policy of neoliberal globalization. Under the auspices of this policy, the financial oligarchy and the rest of the monopoly bourgeoisie have continued to make profits in the real economy by pressing down the incomes and social benefits of the working people and in the financial markets by generating and manipulating speculative capital.

Public money has been used to bail out the big banks and corporations, improve their balance sheets and revive the stock market. Even the **much-touted** stimulus packages doled out to the favored corporations are subject to their labor-cost saving and profitmaking decisions. Thus, there is no real economic recovery. The general

⁶⁰ Paper prepared as CPP contribution to the 20th Brussels Communist Seminar.

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trend is for production and employment to stagnate and decline. Underconsumption and poverty are increasing as more people suffer unemployment, lower income and rising prices of basic commodities and services.

Public deficits and the public debt have soared because of tax cuts, subsidies, overpriced contracts and bailouts for the big bourgeoisie and quite conspicuously because of the mounting debt service and the rising expenditures for military production and for military intervention and aggression. But the public sector employees and the rest of the working people and even the decreasing level of government social spending are blamed for the soaring public deficits and publicly. They are all scapegoated for the adoption of austerity measures which pass further the burden of crisis to the working people.

The imperialist powers are united in applying the anti-worker, anti-social and anti-environment bias of the neoliberal economic policy. But among them there are increasing contradictions regarding economic, financial and trade policies. There are growing trends of protectionism and the use of fiscal measures to stimulate demand and rebuild the infrastructure. Amidst the growing indecisiveness of the G-8 and the G-20 and such multilateral agencies as the IMF, World Bank and the WTO, China, Russia, India, Brazil and South Africa are combining to develop their own position relative to the crisis of the world capitalist system.

In more than three decades of neoliberal economic policy, the chronic crisis of overproduction in the world capitalist system was accelerated, deepened and aggravated. But it was made to appear that the crisis was always being solved or overcome by limitless debt financing at the level of the households, the corporations and the states. The constant creation of money, credit and derivatives was supposed to perpetuate a happy world of expanding production, **upvaluation** of assets and speculative bubbles.

While the big bourgeois railed against supposed wage inflation and big social spending by government, they had no compunction about pouring public funds into military production and deployment of military forces abroad. The military-industrial complex **profited** from the overpriced contracts with the state. These are considered to have buoyed up the US economy since the Reagan **high-speed** spending for hightech military production in the 1980s, down to the

military Keynesianism of Bush junior and the continuing rising military expenditures for military production and wars of aggression.

The ever-worsening crisis of the world capitalist system is driving the imperialist powers headed by the US to increase military production and launch wars of aggression. The end of the Cold War upon the implosion of the Soviet Union has served to embolden the US and its NATO allies to engage in wars of aggression such as those against Yugoslavia, Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya. The increasing aggressiveness of the imperialist powers is driven by the domestic profit-seeking of the monopoly bourgeoisie and its scheme to expand economic territory abroad, as cheap sources of labor, oil and other raw materials, as markets and fields of investment and as spheres of influence.

The imperialist powers are united against the oppressed peoples and nations and underdeveloped countries that assert national independence. But among themselves they are increasingly beset by contradictions as they struggle for a redivision of the world. Certain countries that collaborated with the US and NATO in the aggression against Iraq subsequently became wary and formed the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Most recently, China, Russia, India, Brazil and even Germany would not support the aggression on Libya.

2. Growing peoples' resistance

In the imperialist countries, there is widespread discontent among the people because of the high rate of unemployment, the erosion of hard-won social benefits, the curtailment of trade union and other democratic rights and the austerity measures being adopted against the working class and the people in general. There are outbursts of general strikes and militant mass protests by the workers, youth and students, women and other sectors of society. The public sector workers, the migrant workers, the youth and women are often in the forefront of mass protests in the streets.

The strikes and mass protests break out in countries more often where crisis conditions and austerity measures are most severe, where the authorities are most reactionary and repressive and where there are communist parties, mass organizations or coordinating centers that call for concerted actions on the burning issues. In most imperialist countries, there is still political inertia due to the absence of a strong

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communist party and a strong mass movement of the working class, youth, women and other sectors.

At the same time, the monopoly bourgeoisie has been quite adept at using the mass media, the political parties and the schools in propagating anti-communist ideas and prejudices and playing up chauvinism, **anti-migrant prejudice**, racism, religious bigotry, war hysteria and fascism to divide the people, to divert public sentiment and to obscure the roots of the crisis in the world capitalist system. Elections are being used to absorb the swings of political moods from Right to Left and from Left to Right and to keep them within the frame of the capitalist ruling system.

Nevertheless, the crisis conditions persist and provide the opportunities for the subjective forces of the revolution to arise and grow in strength. The communist parties and mass organizations under their leadership are manifesting various degrees of success in developing their strength. They are conscious that a principled and effective communist party generates a strong mass movement and in turn the latter provides the base for increasing the ranks of communists.

In the underdeveloped countries, the people are carrying out and intensifying various forms of resistance against the imperialist powers and the local reactionary forces. The people wage armed resistance against imperialist aggression and occupation as in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Palestine. They do likewise in civil wars against repressive ruling systems as in India, the Philippines, Colombia, Peru, Turkey and elsewhere. Whether they wage armed resistance or not, the people engage in mass movements for national and social liberation and intensify these against the ever rising level of oppression and exploitation.

The people who wage armed revolutions for new democracy and wars of national liberation against foreign aggression and occupation have the best chances of seizing political power and establishing a state with an anti-imperialist and democratic character.

Legal mass movements and mass uprisings without arms, as in North Africa and the Middle East recently, cannot by themselves change the reactionary ruling system even if they succeed, with the direct or indirect support of the reactionary military, in overthrowing autocrats or authoritarian regimes. But they can assist existing armed revolutions or engender these as a subsequent development.

The protraction of the global depression since 2008 has set the stage for great disorder and upheavals in the second decade of the 21st century. The rise of new democratic revolutions through people's wars in the underdeveloped countries can inspire and stimulate revolutionary mass movements in the developed countries. The more imperialist countries engage in military intervention or aggression against other countries the more they take the risk of undermining political and economic stability in their home grounds.

The growing contradictions among imperialist countries can result in the general weakening of the hold of the most repulsive imperialist powers like the US on the underdeveloped countries and in wider room for underdeveloped countries in asserting national independence and anti-imperialist and democratic mass movements to surge forward. The inter-imperialist contradictions involve imperialist powers backing different governments in underdeveloped countries and in exchanging provocations and threats of igniting national, regional or global wars.

3. Strengthening the CPs in the worsening global crisis

In the last three decades, the imperialist powers headed by the US have blamed the working class and government social spending for the phenomenon of stagflation in the 1970s and have relentlessly pursued a ruthless class war to press down wage levels and attack the rights of the working class in order to enable the monopoly bourgeoisie to accumulate more capital and enjoy the widest opportunities for profitmaking under the policy of neoliberal globalization.

And in the last more than two decades, the imperialist powers have also gloated over the revisionist betrayal of socialism, the fall of revisionist regimes and the full restoration of capitalism in revisionist-ruled countries and described these as proof that the history of mankind does not go farther than capitalism and liberal democracy. With the obvious intention of perpetuating capitalism and further burying socialism, the monopoly bourgeoisie has intensified ideological, political, economic and military offensives against the working class and all anti-imperialist forces.

But the evils of capitalism and imperialism are once more totally exposed upon the bankruptcy of the imperialist policy of neoliberal globalization. **This** policy is inflicting horrendous conditions of exploitation and oppression on the broad masses of the people and **is** inciting

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them to engage in various forms of resistance. The conditions are favorable for waging revolutionary struggles and demand that communist parties take the lead in the struggles of the people and to strengthen themselves for the purpose.

Ideological strengthening of CPs

Communist parties must strengthen themselves ideologically. They must uphold Marxism-Leninism as the universal theory of the proletariat and apply it on the history and current circumstances of the people's struggle for national and social liberation against imperialism and all reaction. Ideological building is the first requisite in building the revolutionary party of the proletariat. Without theory, there can be no revolutionary party and no revolutionary movement.

We now hear from an increasing number of **serious-minded** people, who are not even communists, of the need to read and study Marx in the face of the grave crisis and depression of the world capitalist system. They are disgusted with the bourgeois subjectivism and the dogma of personal greed that have been pushed by the monopoly bourgeoisie in the anti-communist and anti-socialist ideological offensive and that have resulted in grave harm to the broad masses of the people under the policy of neoliberal globalization.

To make a living and useful study of Marxism-Leninism, we must focus on the current dire circumstances as a result of the laws of motion and internal contradictions of the capitalist system. We must apply the theory not only to critique and interpret the decadent system but more importantly to adopt an outlook, methodology and plan for overthrowing it and replacing it with a new system through the revolutionary process.

We must reaffirm the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and the historical victories in their application. But we must avoid dogmatism by going into the concrete analysis of concrete conditions in accordance with materialist dialectics. We must also shun empiricism, which deprives us of revolutionary direction in the welter of facts and impressions. We must continue to be most vigilant and active against reformism and revisionism, which have been the most lethal to communist parties that have been in power or not yet in power.

Communist Parties must strengthen their ranks ideologically through definite courses of study and through the revolutionary application of

the principles and lessons learned. A general level of understanding materialist dialectics and class struggle must be ensured among the rank and file. They must be able to carry out a resolute and vigorous ideological offensive against the ideological trends generated by imperialism and all reaction.

The propagation of Marxist-Leninist ideas among the Party rank and file and among the mass activists should be faster than ever before, with the use of various electronic media.

The monopoly bourgeoisie still owns and control the major mass media. But the reality reflected in the electronic media used by the proletarian revolutionaries can in the long run speak louder than the false ideas and claims of the imperialists and reactionaries.

Communist parties must grasp the new factors in the new situation. In the first instance, the monopoly bourgeoisie owns and controls the high technology for production, distribution and communications. But this accelerates the profitmaking, the concentration of capital, the crisis of overproduction, the abuse of finance capital, the global depression and the people's resistance. In fact, high technology is suitable to socialism and not to capitalism in terms of knowing and satisfying human needs and demands.

Political strengthening of CPs

Communist parties must strengthen themselves politically by drawing correctly the general line of the people's revolutionary struggle on the basis of concrete conditions and steadfastly pursuing this line until complete victory is obtained with the seizure of political power and establishment of the new revolutionary state system. In semicolonial and semifeudal conditions, communist parties must pursue the line of bourgeois democratic revolution of the new type. In industrial capitalist conditions, they must pursue the line of socialist revolution, taking into account the necessity of democratic struggle against the threat or reality of fascism.

The revolutionary struggle of the people must be led by the working class through the Communist Party as its advanced detachment. The working class must be the leading class because it is the most productive and most progressive force. It is the agency for supplanting

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the bourgeois ownership and management of the means of production and for bringing about socialism. It has the vantage point of recognizing the need for the liberation of all working people and for leading the process of overthrowing the reactionary state and establishing the revolutionary state.

In political struggle, communist parties must avoid the pitfalls of Right and "Left" opportunism. Right opportunism usually takes the form of reformism and revisionism, keeping the struggle for reforms always within the confines of the reactionary state and going so far as to revise and depart from the fundamental principle of overthrowing the reactionary state. "Left" opportunism means calling for violent actions that are not yet justified by the ongoing conditions and putting the revolutionary forces and people in a losing position. Adventurism is "Left" in form but Rightist in content because it spells defeat for the revolution.

What principal form of struggle to pursue, whether violent or non-violent, depends on the concrete conditions. In certain semicolonial and semifeudal countries, where the peasants are the most numerous class, it is possible to wage a protracted people's war in order to accumulate armed strength for the ultimate overthrow of the reactionary state. But in industrial capitalist countries, it is impossible to wage such a protracted people's war in which a people's army and its areas of operation grow in stages in the countryside. Under conditions when it is not yet possible to transform an imperialist war into a civil war, it is possible to learn the teachings of the great communist leaders on state and revolution, to build self-defense units against the fascist disrupters of strikes and protest mass actions and to arouse, organize and mobilize the people to engage in giant marches and rallies.

In any given period, a communist party can only have a certain number of members, always limited in relation to the total number of the exploited and oppressed people. It cannot make revolution or any kind of political progress without leading a mass movement. It must build the mass organizations of various classes and sectors: workers (trade unions), peasants, fishermen, urban poor, women, youth, professionals, cultural activists, and so on. It must also build mass organizations focused on important issues of popular or multisectoral interest.

Communist parties must have a united front policy, engage in united front work and build various types of united front or alliances formally and informally in order to amplify, extend and maximize the strength

and influence of communists and the masses that they have organized. Communist parties must constantly seek to reach the masses that are unorganized or that belong to other parties, mass organizations and institutions. They can do so through multisectoral, sectoral and issue-based alliances. Success in united front can verify whether the general line of the Party is valid and acceptable to the people.

Communist parties must avail of both the traditional and new methods for arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people. The traditional forms of communications, such as speaking without any amplifier, handwriting and printing on hard copy, are indispensable and basic. But the new forms of communications made available by high technology should be used in order to accelerate, intensify and expand the agitation and education, mass organizing and mobilization of the people.

We are confronted by the forces of imperialism which exploit and oppress the working class and the people on a global [scale](#) and use all sorts of instruments, including the multinational firms and banks, agencies of political and cultural subversion and military forces. It is absolutely necessary to uphold the principle of proletarian internationalism among communist and workers' parties and to build solidarity [movements](#) of the proletariat and people of the world for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism and all reaction.

Organizational strengthening of CPs

Communist parties must strengthen themselves organizationally by following the principle of democratic centralism. This means centralism based on democracy and democracy under centralized leadership. Leading organs of the Party at all levels are elected and responsible to the Party organization or conference that elected them. After free and thorough discussion of issues, decisions are taken and implemented, giving due respect to the following: the individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level and the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee and the National Congress.

The Party should combat the opposite extremes of bureaucratism or top-down commandism and ultra-democracy or anarchism. Leading organs should always pay close attention to the reports and views of lower Party organizations and the masses of Party members and

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constantly study concrete experiences and give prompt guidance and assistance in the solution of problems. Lower Party organizations should give regular and timely reports about their work to the organization above them and request instructions concerning problems that require the decision of a higher Party organization. All Party organizations must follow the principle of collective leadership and all important decisions must be decided collectively.

At the beginning, a Communist party may be built by recruiting a few Party members from Marxist study circles and from the ranks of trade unions and other forms of mass organizations. But no matter how still small in size, the Party strives to build a nationwide structure and take deeper roots among the toiling masses. The opportunities for building a Party that is nationwide and deeply-rooted among the masses become wider when the crisis of the ruling system worsens and the Party leads a growing mass movement. From this the Party can recruit a far greater number of Party members than before.

Under the present conditions of global capitalist crisis and depression, it should be easier than ever before to **build** communist parties where there are none, to **rebuild** those previously destroyed by the enemy or degenerated by revisionism and to **strengthen** those that have persevered under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism. Communist parties must lead the mass movement in **protesting** and **making** demands against the worsening conditions of oppression and exploitation. From this growing mass movement, they can and must recruit an increasing number of Party members.

In living up to its character as the revolutionary party of the proletariat, a party in an industrial capitalist country or in an underdeveloped country must have as top priority the recruitment of members from the ranks of the workers. The period of candidature for workers may be as short as six months in order to ensure the predominance of workers in the Party and one year for those coming from the petty bourgeoisie. In the underdeveloped countries, where the bourgeois democratic revolution is going on, the poor peasants and farmworkers may have a six-month period of candidature like the workers.

It is best for communist parties to have in their ranks cadres and ordinary members. Cadres are those capable of leading a committee or any other collective unit of work. They are trained and developed within the Party in the course of struggle. They may also be previously leaders in the mass organizations from which they are recruited.

Limiting the Party membership to cadres slows the growth of the Party. The Party must have a fast growing number of ordinary members in order to carry out tasks that require mass strength and in order to have within the Party a wide base for developing cadres.

Communist parties must build and strengthen themselves self-reliantly. To do so, they must learn from their own study of Marxism-Leninism and their experiences and set the tasks for advancing and winning greater victories. They must also learn from the teachings and successful experiences of communist leaders and parties on an international scale. In this regard, they can benefit from exchanges of ideas and experiences with other parties through publications, bilateral meetings, multilateral meetings and practical cooperation.

At the moment, several international conferences of communist and workers' parties wish to establish and develop a new Communist International. Communist parties can contribute their ideas and proposals and learn a lot that is helpful from the debates and documentary output of conferences that uphold Marxism-Leninism and oppose revisionism. But it is still too difficult or even impossible to single out which of these conferences is already on the way to [being](#) the new Communist International or the new center of the world proletarian revolution.

The advance of a communist party in any country does not depend on the claims of any international conference as the new center of the world revolution. It depends on the line that the party correctly adopts and implements. It is better to look forward to communist parties victorious in revolution initiating a new Communist International than to expect any of the current international conferences to directly lead to the new Communist International or enable specific parties to win revolution in their respective countries.

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Role of the Youth and Tasks of Anakbayan in the National Democratic Struggle⁶¹

Message to the 6th Congress of Anakbayan (May 16-18, 2011)

May 15, 2011

I am delighted to express my solidarity with the leadership and membership of Anakbayan. In spirit, I am with you in your 6th Congress. I am confident that you will be able to achieve the important objectives of the congress.

Do your best in assessing the situation and experience, in forming resolutions, new policies and program, and in improving your national organization. The lessons you will learn from analyzing the 12-year experience of Anakbayan and improving the quality of the basic documents of the organization such as the Constitution, Orientation and Program is very important.

It is necessary to know the objective and subjective factors of the fast growth of Anakbayan from 1998 to 2001 and the decline in the membership up to this year. Anakbayan and the youth alliance played a big role in ousting Estrada in 2001. It is also important to investigate why Arroyo remained in power for so long in spite of her rotting stench and the people's loathing for her.

I am glad that you are determined to overcome the hardships, to solve the problems, and to strengthen and advance the youth movement further. The theme of the congress is the precise response to the challenges of the time: "Advance the Upsurge: Rely on the revolutionary lessons and solid strength of the masses! Boldly expand and strengthen yourselves towards a new level of the national democratic struggle!"

I am thankful for the presentation by Kilusang Mayo Uno of the worsening crisis of global capitalism and for that of Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas of the crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system in

⁶¹ Message delivered as Founding Chairperson of Kabataang Makabayan.

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the Philippines. Thus, the general basis is clear for my discussion of the historic role of the Filipino youth, the current tasks, and prospects of the youth and the Filipino people.

Based on my knowledge of history and my own experience, the role of the youth in waging the revolution or advancing the patriotic and progressive mass movement is important and decisive. The youth are characterized by having vigor both in thought and action, the readiness to accept new and revolutionary ideas and ways, daring in the fight against the unjust system, bravery in taking part in the revolution, and the desire to create a bright future.

In the old democratic revolution, almost all the leaders and members of the Katipunan and the revolutionary government and army to which it gave birth were from the youth. In the new democratic revolution, Kabataang Makabayan was deliberately established as a comprehensive youth organization to link the students with their fellow youth in the toiling masses and other sectors and classes of the petty bourgeoisie and middle bourgeoisie.

From the very beginning, Kabataang Makabayan was inspired by the Katipunan and the old democratic revolution. But based on the conditions of modern imperialism and world proletarian revolution, KM considered itself as an assistant of the proletariat's revolutionary party in advancing the new democratic revolution in the Philippines.

KM quickly spread throughout the Philippines. Because the old party of the communist and socialist merger party strayed into revisionism, the communists within KM became part of establishing the new revolutionary party of the proletariat. The veteran party members who were loyal to Marxism-Leninism and Maoism joined them. A new party was quickly born which was national in scope and was rooted in the toiling masses because of the broadness and depth of KM's organization.

Many members of the Party and fighters of the New People's Army came from KM. During the period of the fascist dictatorship, KM acted underground and secretly in the cities and towns. The Party recognized KM as the League of Communist Youth. This increased its membership among students, workers, peasants, urban poor, professionals and other sectors of the petty bourgeois and middle bourgeois. The role of KM in advancing the underground and the legal mass movement was decisive in bringing down the fascist dictatorship.

The role of youth organizations that uphold the national democratic line such as Anakbayan is always important. Foreign monopoly

capitalism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism continue to exacerbate the exploitation and oppression of the Filipino youth and the people. The constant crisis of the ruling semicolonial and semifeudal system is ever-worsening, especially now that the world capitalist system is being shaken by a crisis comparable to the Great Depression.

Those from the toiling masses as well as those from the middle strata are now experiencing extreme hardship. Unemployment is widespread. Incomes are not increasing and their real value is constantly decreasing due to the rapid increase in the prices of food, oil and other basic commodities that the masses need. Social services such as education, health, housing and others have been privatized and the extraction of profit from these is worsening. With regard to the remaining social services from the reactionary government, the fees being charged are high while the indirect taxes included in the prices of basic commodities are already high.

The Aquino regime continues and aggravates the bad policies and programs dictated by the imperialists led by the US. The economy is being opened up further to the foreign monopolies for the exploitation of the toiling masses, natural resources, and the extraction of superprofits. The landlords' exploitation of peasants and farmworkers continues and is getting worse. The corruption of those in power in the reactionary state continues and is getting worse.

The grievances of the masses are widespread and resound everywhere. But the state responds to their cries with repression. In accordance with the orders of US imperialism, the Aquino regime is carrying out brutal and bloody campaigns of suppression against the patriotic and progressive forces of the Filipino youth and the people. Military, police and paramilitary violence is accompanied by pretense at peace negotiations, and military operations are being labeled as peace and development operations. There is more and more evidence that the US and the Aquino regime is aggravating the civil war in our country.

Do your best in attracting and enlightening the Filipino youth on the line of the national democratic revolution. Ignite their emotions and raise the level of their consciousness through different methods of agitation, propaganda and education. On every issue, you should immediately reach a large number of the youth through agitation

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and propaganda. You should widely circulate the pamphlet of the Constitution and Program and Q & A which help in the quick understanding of the contents, especially among the youth who do not have a high level of formal education.

Find out from the youth of various oppressed classes, strata and sectors about their conditions, grievances and needs. Thus, you can draw from them the correct slogans and ideas to be spread among them. Thus, Anakbayan chapters can more easily and more deeply take root among the youth. In your actions, confront the problems of the students while building a chapter in schools, the problems of young workers in factories, the problems of young peasants in the countryside, the problems of the urban poor youth in their communities, and the problems of young professionals among the ranks of the professionals.

Use the traditional methods of agitation, propaganda and education that will never disappear, such as speeches, writings, printed publications, flyers, wall slogans, posters, songs, poems, plays and cultural presentations. Also use modern methods from electronic technology, such as e-mail, websites, blogging, social media, videos, texting, twitter, etc. By these means, the work of agitation, propaganda and education should be far quicker than ever before.

During my youth, it was very hard to find revolutionary literature as it was banned by the American imperialists and the puppet reactionaries in accordance with the Anti-Subversion Act. Now, various kinds of material for studying the national democratic revolution and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism can be found on the internet. Revolutionary ideas should now spread quickly and it should be easier than before to inflame the passion and raise the consciousness of the Filipino youth and people.

Do your best in organizing the youth. It will be a waste if you do not recruit a big number of those who are reached by the agitation and propaganda and join in mass mobilizations. It is a basic task of each member to recruit new members in the daily course of mass work and in the occasional mass gatherings. Recruit from the ranks of students, workers, fisherfolk, urban poor, peasants, farmworkers, professionals and the urban petty bourgeoisie. It is also possible to recruit members of Anakbayan from various types of organizations and from the members and volunteers of the electoral youth party.

Make recruitment simple, systematic and fast. First, use the tried and tested combination of OD (organizing department) and ED (education department), especially in places where there are still no chapters of Anakbayan. The OD cadre is responsible for holding the meeting for recruitment, accepting applications and the swearing-in of new members before the meeting ends. The ED cadre is responsible for explaining the most important points in the constitution and program of Anakbayan. Second, the existing chapter and the OD and ED cadres must take the initiative in inviting applicants and holding a meeting every week or setting a part of the meeting for recruitment. Third, each member of Anakbayan can gather any number of applicants anytime and anywhere that s/he can reach as long as the clear process of recruitment is followed.

Any applicant can be sworn in as a member who has been enlightened and accepts the Constitution and Program of Anakbayan, is recommended by one member and examined by the officer in charge of recruitment, and is ready to go through the course on the youth and the national democratic movement. The understanding and acceptance of the Program and Constitution is enough for an applicant to be a member. Follow it up with the courses that take more than two whole days and give tasks according to the collective need and the personal ability of the member.

Remember that it is meaningful and is a big thing for the applicant and for Anakbayan for the applicant to take the oath and become a member. This is a recognition of the patriotic and progressive aspirations of the applicant. In this recognition, surely or most probably the applicant will strive further to raise the level of his/her consciousness and actions. Any applicant would lose interest if subjected to difficulties in becoming a member because of the absence or complexity of steps in recruitment or because of promises to be given long and many courses that are not promptly fulfilled. Do not use the word consolidation to stifle expansion. Expand to have people to consolidate, especially if the number of members is declining.

Every recruit needs to be enlisted in a chapter that is already existing or one that is going to be immediately built. The chapter is the anchor and the basic collective of the members. In the beginning, it is enough to have three or five members to build a chapter in a certain place. If the membership reaches thirty, a new chapter can be built. The new

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members should be encouraged to recruit from their old and new acquaintances. It is the basic task of each member to recruit others.

Anakbayan should be made a wellspring of new cadres and members for various types of revolutionary formations and work. Before or after members of Anakbayan pass the maximum age limit, they should be prepared to become active in other suitable formations or work. In this connection, Anakbayan should emulate the Kabataang Makabayan in developing cadres and members for various formations and work. Those who were members of Anakbayan who exceed the maximum age limit should remain in the suitable progressive and patriotic formations.

The mobilization of the masses in centers and the streets is very important. Through these, important issues are fully exposed and the people's anger is expressed. If truly large and strong, the campaigns can result in substantial changes, even up to ousting leaders such as Marcos and Estrada. They strengthen the patriotic and progressive forces of the Filipino people. They open and widen the path towards bringing down the rotten ruling system in the future.

The strength of Kabataang Makabayan took a great leap because of the First Quarter Storm in 1971. So did the strength of different organizations from the campaign to bring down the fascist dictatorship in 1983-86 and of Anakbayan from the successful campaign to oust Estrada in 1999-2001. The Arroyo regime remained in power until 2010 because there were no big and militant mass actions on the streets. At any point then, there were no protest actions that reached 100,000 in spite of the strong propaganda against the regime and the intense anger of the masses. In such a situation, the membership of Anakbayan decreased and weakened.

Do your best in mobilizing the youth for collective actions on boiling issues that concern the youth and the Filipino people. You must mobilize the organized masses to reach and mobilize the bigger number of masses that are not yet organized or are under other organizations or institutions. Use the united front policy to reach and mobilize the youth who are not yet organized by Anakbayan.

Maintain the integrity, initiative and militancy of Anakbayan and other progressive forces. Use the broad united front to increase the mass participation, not only to carry out token protests nor to just tail after allies that do not bring any mass of people. Do not be content with rallies in Ayala Avenue, Makati, or any other particular places, but

launch mass actions on many streets. Those in power become more arrogant and oppressive if the protest actions of the masses are not big, widespread and militant.

To increase participation in mobilizations, such as in marches and rallies, time should be allotted for preparations that include wide scale agitation and propaganda and local meetings and rallies. On the designated day of mobilization, agitation and propaganda should reach its peak and as much as possible, the primary and secondary columns of marching demonstrators should be increased to converge on the central meeting place.

In the activities to prepare and carry out mobilizations, those who turn out to be active should be recruited to Anakbayan in order to have a prompt, solid organizing in the midst of a broad campaign. Organizers should always carry with them the basic pamphlet (Constitution and Program) and application forms of Anakbayan to give out to those participating in the mass actions. After the mobilization, continue recruiting those who turn out to be active. The mobilization would be a waste if the masses who attend would just disappear like bubbles. There should be immediate solid outcomes through the recruitment of new members of Anakbayan.

Anakbayan can hope to make great and meaningful contributions to the advance and triumph of the national democratic movement if the work is effective and fruitful in arousing, organizing and mobilizing hundreds of thousands and even millions of Filipino youth.

Like Kabataang Makabayan, in the course of struggle, Anakbayan can contribute many resolute activists or militants to strengthen and advance various types of organizations, work, and forms of struggle for national independence and democracy.

Long live Anakbayan!

Advance the National Democratic Movement!

Long live the Filipino youth and people!

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Develop the People's Power

The Urgency and Significance of Founding ILPS-Canada⁶²

May 21, 2011

Thank you for inviting me as the keynote speaker. As chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee, I convey to you the warmest greetings of the entire International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS).

All member-organizations of the ILPS wholeheartedly welcome and applaud the founding of ILPS-Canada as a national chapter. We congratulate all the Canadian member-organizations for the success of their preparatory work.

We are grateful for the steadfast and fruitful participation of the Canadian member-organizations of ILPS in the assemblies, campaigns and activities initiated, organized or coordinated by the ILPS during the last ten years. You have a major share in making the ILPS the strongest global alliance of anti-imperialist and democratic forces.

The founding of ILPS-Canada is a culmination of your contributions to the advance of the anti-imperialist and democratic mass movement in Canada and the whole world. It is a major contribution to the celebration of the tenth founding anniversary of the ILPS.

We are deeply pleased that the founding of ILPS-Canada comes as a consolidation of all member-organizations from the west coast to the east and opens the way to further expansion and a higher level of unity, coordination and militancy in developing an anti-imperialist and democratic mass movement in Canada.

Your draft Constitution is in consonance with the general principles, concerns, aims and purposes and organizational structure of the ILPS as laid down in its Charter. At the same time, it takes into account the concrete conditions of Canada, the needs and demands of the Canadian people of various nationalities.

We are confident that ILPS-Canada will develop at a faster rate than before as an anti-imperialist and democratic coalition of organizations that take up the concerns and issues of the workers, farmers, youth,

⁶² Message delivered as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the ILPS.

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indigenous peoples, professionals and other sectors of society against the economic, political, military, social and cultural domination and attacks of imperialism and reaction.

We unite with you and support you in all the struggles that you have spelled out in your statement of aims in your draft Constitution. We appreciate your clear-sightedness about the key issues to which you must pay attention.

We stand with you in defending the workers' right to organize and unionize and to give special attention to winning full rights for all migrant workers, including temporary "foreign" workers, seasonal agricultural workers, live-in caregivers, workers who are victims of trafficking and undocumented workers.

We support you in defending civil rights and democratic liberties, including freedom from police harassment, profiling and brutality which target particularly racialized communities, indigenous people and working class youth. We are vigorously against chauvinism, xenophobia, racism and fascism.

We struggle against all forms of national oppression, dispossession, and impoverishment of indigenous peoples. We stand for the right to self-determination and we fight for national and social liberation. We are for gender equality and the liberation of women from exploitation, male chauvinist domination and oppression by capitalism and imperialism.

We struggle vigorously against the rise of unemployment, the deterioration of wage and living conditions, the erosion of social benefits and social services, the rising costs of basic goods and services. We struggle for the improvement of public services, including health, education, housing, childcare, and transport. We oppose the privatization of public utilities and services.

We oppose the "War on Terror" in Canada as elsewhere in the world. This has whipped up racial profiling, unjust deportations, criminalization of people's resistance and discrimination against people of color, migrants in general, new immigrants and indigenous communities.

We are against the marginalization, persecution and criminalization of refugees and asylum seekers who flee state terror, imperialist aggression and national oppression. We are especially concerned with the plight of the Tamils, Palestinians and other people escaping repressive regimes which enjoy the support of the Canadian government.

We support you in promoting the peace with justice movement and demanding the dismantling of US foreign military bases. We oppose Canada's role as a global supplier of military equipment and materiel.

We support your demand to **end Canada's participation** in all imperialist wars, to withdraw Canadian military and police personnel from all zones of foreign occupation (particularly Haiti and Afghanistan) and to withdraw Canada from all imperialist military alliances, including NATO and NORAD.

We oppose the Canadian state's active support for the Israeli state's aggression, expansion and furthering of imperialist objectives. We support the Palestinian peoples' struggle for their homeland, liberty and justice and their boycott, divestment and sanctions campaign against Zionist Israel.

We endorse your demand against the dismantling of Canada's industrial base under the US-dictated policy of neoliberal globalization. At the same time, we oppose Canada's use of so-called "free trade agreements" to open the door **to** other countries for plunder by Canadian monopoly firms.

We are against Canada's use of tied aid within and outside the frames of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund and other global agencies to promote and support its imperialist interests. We oppose the role of Canadian mining companies in plundering mineral resources abroad, trampling on the rights of the peoples, particularly the indigenous populations, and wreaking massive environmental destruction.

We defend the natural environment against destruction and pollution by the US and other imperialist powers. We oppose the development of the nuclear power and nuclear waste industries and we support total nuclear disarmament through the scrapping of all nuclear weapons.

We commend your determination to promote and carry forward the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles in Canada and to support those of the people of the world, particularly throughout the Americas.

We appreciate your support for the International Migrants' Alliance, the International Women's Alliance, RESIST! (International people's campaign to confront crisis and war) and other ILPS-sponsored formations and initiatives.

We agree with your proposed campaign for the decriminalization of the people's struggle for liberation and self-determination. This campaign will serve to unify the struggles of the anti-imperialist

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people's organizations with those of the indigenous peoples and other nationalities.

You must struggle resolutely and militantly in order to stop the continuing attack on democratic rights being carried out under the Anti-Terrorism Act, which introduced amendments to numerous other laws, including the Criminal Code, the Official Secrets Act, the Canada Evidence Act, the Proceeds of Crime (Money Laundering) Act, the Income Tax Act, and others.

Enabling the executive department and its intelligence agents to criminalize groups on mere suspicion of being involved in what is loosely defined as terrorist activity is fascism. Such supposed terrorist activity includes any violent act committed with a political goal, irrespective of the context. It also conflates legitimate people's resistance with dictatorial and oppressive regimes.

The so-called anti-terror laws have provided a sweeping basis for witchhunt and for the criminalization of the people, their struggles and the liberation organizations like those of the people of Colombia, El Salvador, Kurdistan, Lebanon, Pakistan, Palestine, Peru, Philippines, Somalia, and Tamil Eelam.

Under the pretext of anti-terrorism, Canada has supported the regimes in Israel, Colombia, Sri Lanka, and the Philippines, which systematically engage in state terrorism. The so-called war on terror has given the US imperialists and their allies the license to engage in wars of aggression and state terrorism in order to suppress peoples resisting neoliberal globalization across the world.

We appreciate that the campaign aims to unite the broad masses of the people under the banner of anti-imperialism and democracy and assert the people's right to national and social liberation in Canada and throughout the world. We also appreciate that the campaign is not limited to legalistic liberal-democratic challenges to the rulers but is aimed mainly at developing the political struggle for the people to realize their aspirations for liberation and just peace.

We agree with ILPS-Canada's description of Canada as a capitalist-imperialist society, with its large corporations deriving much of their wealth from the exploitation of labor and plunder of resources from all around the world as well as from the continuing colonization of indigenous people's treaty lands and the plunder of their resources. It is necessary to unite the global anti-imperialist struggles with the

anti-colonial self-determination struggles of indigenous peoples throughout Canada.

The founding of ILPS-Canada is timely and highly significant in the face of the persistent and ever-worsening crisis of the world capitalist system. The financial oligarchy and the entire monopoly bourgeoisie have become more rapacious and repressive than ever before.

They continue to maximize profits by pressing down wages, appropriating public funds and manipulating the financial markets. The more they pass on the burden of crisis to the working people, the more they use the means of mass deception and mass coercion to preempt, prevent and suppress the rising resistance of the people. The people must stand up and fight the exploiters and oppressors.

ILPS-Canada is urgently needed in order to focus on the problems of the Canadian people and organize popular resistance in Canada as well as to participate actively in the campaigns and activities initiated or joined by the ILPS against the global system of imperialist plunder and war.

ILPS-Canada must always do its best to arouse, organize and mobilize the people of Canada upholding, defending and promoting their rights and interests; and contribute to common understanding, solidarity and cooperation among the people's organizations in Canada, across the region and throughout the world.

Long live ILPS-Canada!

Advance the peoples' struggle for national and social liberation!

Long live the ILPS!

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Develop the People's Power

Strengthen the Alliance of Anti-imperialist and Democratic Forces

Message to the founding of ILPS-Hong Kong⁶³

May 22, 2011

As Chairperson, I wish to convey to you the warmest greetings of solidarity of the International Coordinating Committee, the commissions, the territorial organizations and all the member-organizations of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) on the occasion of the founding of ILPS-Hong Kong.

We congratulate the ILPS member-organizations in Hong Kong for their successful preparations. We are confident that the founding of ILPS-Hong Kong will result in the strengthening of ILPS-Hong Kong as an alliance of anti-imperialist and democratic forces.

We anticipate that this chapter will further raise the level of political consciousness of the member-organizations, their organized strength and their ability to mobilize themselves, their allies and the people in general. You shall be in a better position to carry your mission forward and contribute to the advance of the ILPS on a global scale.

The founding of ILPS-Hong Kong is timely and highly significant. It is a major contribution to the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the ILPS. It prepares your delegations for the Fourth International Assembly in Manila. Most importantly, it is a consolidation of your forces for greater struggles ahead in the face of the ever-worsening crisis of the world capitalist system.

The global economic and financial crisis is persistent, protracted and ever deepening. It is not being solved but being aggravated by the imperialist powers because they cling to the dogma of neoliberal globalization. They believe perversely that everything would turn out alright so long as the financial oligarchy and the entire monopoly bourgeoisie continue to accumulate capital, press down the wage level and government social spending and get more profitmaking opportunities

⁶³ Message delivered as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the ILPS.

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through liberalization, privatization, deregulation and denationalization of the developing economies.

For causing the crisis of overproduction and financial meltdown, the banks and the big corporations have been rewarded with public money in the form of bailouts and stimulus packages. These have improved the balance sheets of the favored banks and companies and stimulated the stock market but have not resulted in economic recovery in terms of the steady expansion of production and employment.

The biggest bubble has been created by the rapidly expanding public deficits and public debt. The reaction of the imperialist powers and their puppet states is to adopt a policy of austerity measures, reducing public employment and social services and further passing on the burden of crisis to the people. The rapidly rising public deficits and public debt are blamed on social spending but not the tax cuts for the corporations and wealthy, overpriced contracts with private companies and rising costs of military production and wars of aggression.

The imperialist powers and the puppet states are becoming more repressive and aggressive as they become more rapacious in plundering the world. The so-called war on terror instigated by the United States continues to whip up state terrorism, military intervention and wars of aggression.

The imperialist powers and the puppet states are more prone than ever before to use state terrorism against the people. But the people are not cowed and keep on rising up in various parts of the world. Their **need for socioeconomic well-being** and for fundamental freedoms and democratic rights drive them to wage resistance, be this in the form of mass protests or armed revolution.

The imperialist powers are more prone than ever before to engage in military intervention and wars of aggression. They bully and attack countries that show a significant degree of national independence or that have precious natural resources over which the imperialists wish to have a tighter control. Thus, the world has become turbulent with several wars of aggression going on at the same time.

The imperialist powers appear united against the developing countries. But increasingly contradictions are arising among them over economic, financial, trade, political and military issues as well as over the division of spoils in the wars of aggression. The struggle among the imperialist powers for a redivision of the world is becoming more conspicuous than ever.

The founding of ILPS-Hong Kong is a significant step forward in meeting the challenges that arise from the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the growing world of turmoil and disorder. We are cognizant of the fact that member-organizations of ILPS-Hong Kong are composed of overseas contract workers. Further restrictions and repression can arise in Hong Kong even while the socioeconomic and political conditions deteriorate in your home countries.

It is important that you consider and study the problems that you now face and seek the solutions to these during your founding assembly. You can further discuss the problems and solutions in the forthcoming international conference of migrants and in the Fourth International Assembly. We look forward to the resolutions and decisions that you take in order to uphold, defend and advance the rights and interests of your constituency.

Long live ILPS-Hong Kong!

Carry forward the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles of the people!

Long live the ILPS!

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On Literature and Revolutionary Politics⁶⁴

Contribution to Literary Interrelations: Conference in Celebration of the Centennial of the UP Department of English and Comparative Literature,

May 27, 2011

First of all, let me thank the UP Department of English and Comparative Literature (DECL) for inviting me to participate in this conference titled Literary Interrelations. I feel highly privileged as I am aware that this conference is a major activity in the celebration of the centennial of the department and is in honor of the late UP President Salvador P. Lopez on his centenary and in celebration of the 81st anniversary of his work, *Literature and Society*.

Literature and politics in general

1. To be serious and significant, literature draws content from the economic, political and cultural aspects of society and processes such content to present a concise and concentrated expression of social life through the **contexting** and interactions of a cast of fictional characters. All great and major works of literature in ancient and modern times are similar in this regard. The great epics of ancient times contained a great amount of knowledge. So **have** the great novels of modern times.

2. Even in slave-owning and feudal times, when they had no sustained theory of classes and class struggle to go by, the creative writers observed and studied the mode of production in the concrete and learned how the various groups of people were differentiated by property ownership, the need to work and the unequal distribution of the social product. They had to know how society ran even if their

⁶⁴ This essay was contributed by the author as a graduate of the Bachelor of Arts, Major In English (Creative Writing and Journalism) in 1959.

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works seldom focused on the antagonism between the exploiting and exploited class.

3. Ancient literature was always linked to politics. The creative writers were obeisant to the rulers, to the entire ruling political system and to the God or gods that had supposedly preordained them. But the literary masterpieces of ancient times have the most lasting value when the theme is the struggle for freedom and justice against the tyranny and oppression by rulers who usurp authority or who lose their mandate from heaven or by invaders who have an overreaching political and economic interest and different system of religious belief.

4. Literature resides in the cultural sphere of society and has a vantage point over the political and economic aspects of society. It derives certain benefits from being in the same neighborhood as the other components of culture. On top of his observation of daily life or any focused social investigation, the creative writer can gain erudition and profundity by the reading and study of philosophy, sacred theology, mythology, earlier works of literature, the natural and social sciences, law and so on.

5. The theory of classes and class struggle was first put forward by French revolutionary democrats during the French revolution. It spread fast and motivated the rise of the [socially-conscious](#) novels in the 19th century in Europe. These were sharply critical of the exploitative conditions of bourgeois society, the proletarianization of the peasantry, the long and harsh working hours and the conspicuous poverty of working class families in the urban areas. Rizal was definitely influenced by some 19th century European novels.

6. Marx adopted the theory of classes and class struggle and extended it to the theory of the class dictatorship of the proletariat. Related to this was the development of materialist dialectics in philosophy, the critique of capitalist political economy and the theory of scientific socialism. Eventually, literature guided by Marxism would emerge vigorously under the banner of social realism. This would flourish in the Soviet Union and elsewhere.

7. A further major development in the theory of literature and art in the 20th century would be Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*. This has widespread influence among the creative writers of the new democratic revolution in the Philippines. Mao answers a series of questions. For whom is literature? How related is it to the classes and class struggle in society? Who are the heroes?

Should we not learn from from the masses first? What is the relationship of popularization and aesthetic standards?

Literature and revolutionary politics in the Philippines

1. The prototype of patriotic Filipino literature was provided by Francisco Balagtas' *Florante at Laura*, written in 1838. It is a long poem in the main about the romantic relationship of the Christian lovers Florante and Laura being oppressed in Albania and about the Muslim lovers Aladdin and Florida from Persia. Florante was tied to a tree in the forest and was about to be devoured by lions when Aladdin rescued him. The utterances of Florante against social and political conditions and against the tyrant tormenting him and coveting Laura may be interpreted as directed against the rulers in the Philippines. The story ends like a comedia with the Muslim lovers converting to Christianity.

2. The novels *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo* of Dr. Jose Rizal may be considered the great literature of the old democratic revolution. They were the best and long-lasting literary contributions of Rizal to the Philippine revolution, despite his refusal to join the leadership of that revolution. The *Noli* gives us a penetrating criticism of the Spanish colonial system, especially the domineering friars and their pliant *indio* collaborators like Capitan Tiago, and explores reforms as advocated by Crisostomo Ibarra who is ultimately frustrated. In the *Fili*, he becomes Simoun the jeweler who takes the stance of the anarchist, **keynotes** the denunciation of the entire colonial system and seeks to overthrow it but fails. The poems of Rizal (*Mi Ultimo Adios*) [**My Last Farewell**], and of Andres Bonifacio (*Pag-ibig sa Tinubuang Lupa*) [**Love for Motherland**] and many other patriots are gems of patriotism and revolutionary politics.

3. The best known theatrical play against US imperialism in its first decade of dominating the Philippines was *Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas* (*Larawan ng Inang Bayan*) [**Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow (Portrait of Motherland)**] written by Aurelio Tolentino in 1903. It unfolds the triumph of Inang Bayan over her tormentors, Haring Bata [**Young King**] (China), Halimaw [**Monster**] (the Spanish friars who continued to control the church and influence local politics), Dilat na Bulag [**Opened but Blind Eye**] (Spain) and Bagong Sibol [**New Shoot**] (US the new colonial power). The main scene is the liberation of Taga-Ilog [**River Dweller**]

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or Juan de la Cruz who at the beginning of the play is shackled and in prison. In this scene, he throws the American flag to the ground and tramples upon it until it is torn and he breaks the shackles and opens the jail, while all characters of the play shout, "Long live freedom! Long live the Motherland!"

4. The novel *Banaag at Sikat* [[Dawn and Daylight](#)] written by Lope K. Santos in 1906 lets its characters talk explicitly about the great divide between the rich and the poor, the work of the associations of workers, capitalism and socialism. It tells of the story of Delfin in love with daughter of a landlord. Delfin is a socialist who wishes to spread the principles of socialism among the people and believes in change through peaceful means. His friend Felipe is an anarchist who believes in the violent overthrow of the rulers and the end of the cruelty of the landlords. Lope K. Santos has a naïve understanding of socialism and appears not to have studied scientific socialism. He also glosses over the issue of national independence. The conflicts among characters in the novel do not manifest class struggle but merely the cruel and exploitative behavior of rich persons towards certain individuals within their ambit.

5. Many more works (novels, plays and collections of poems) may be subjected to analysis and literary criticism in order to determine whether they belong to the old democratic revolution or to the new democratic revolution or neither or whether they may be considered as being on the road to the new democratic revolution even if they do not suggest revolution, because they expose and denounce enough of the exploitativeness and oppressiveness of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system. We must also take into account that some creative writers fall short of indicating or espousing the new democratic revolution because of repressive laws and censorship by popular publications or because of inability to break free from their petty bourgeois mode of thinking.

6. The novels and poetic works of Amado V. Hernandez are definitely literature of the new democratic revolution. They include *Mga Ibong Mandaragit* [[Birds of Prey](#)] (1969) and *Luha ng Buwaya* [[Crocodile Tears](#)] (1972) and his collection of poetry, *Isang Dipang Langit* [[An Arms Length of Sky](#)]. The works of Hernandez are based on his experiences as a resistance fighter, as a labor leader and as a political detainee. His sociopolitical novels and poems expose and denounce the exploitative and oppressive conditions of the ruling

system, point to the need for revolution by the working class and the people and actually call for revolutionary change. The works of Hernandez and Mao's *Talks at the Yen-an Forum* inspired the young creative writers in the 1960s to write in the service of the people and the new democratic revolution.

7. Since the 1960s, a great deal of creative writing has been done along the line of the new democratic revolution, in the countryside, in the urban underground and even quite openly. This includes novels, short stories, plays and poems. The quantity and quality of the output are high and are already more formidable than the output of those creative writers in the short-lived old democratic revolution. But the output of the revolutionary creative writers is still small relative to the abundant material offered by more than 50 years of the people's legal mass movement and more than 40 years of armed revolution. I leave to others interested in literary history and literary criticism to keep on surveying the literary field and appraising the literary output of the revolutionary writers.

8. I am confident that the revolutionary creative writers will keep on surpassing themselves and producing more literary works of higher quality, because the revolutionary practice keeps on expanding as possible material for creating the literature of the new democratic revolution.

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Develop the People's Power

Further Strengthen ILPS-Australia and Help Build the ILPS in the Region⁶⁵

Keynote to the 3rd National Conference of ILPS-Australia

May 28, 2011

As Chairperson, I convey warmest greetings of solidarity from the International Coordinating Committee, the commissions, territorial organs and all member-organizations of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) on the occasion of the Third National Conference of ILPS-Australia.

We are deeply pleased to know that you are holding the conference in order to raise the level of your political consciousness and work in Australia by defining and taking up issues along the anti-imperialist and democratic line as well as in order to prepare yourselves, especially your delegation, for the Fourth International Assembly in Manila in July.

As you have informed us, the issues that you are going to discuss are of urgent importance and are the main content of your Country Report. We see certain issues as mainly the outgrowth of the US-instigated plunderous policy of neoliberal globalization and the concomitant policy of state terrorism, military intervention and wars of aggression, all misrepresented as war on terror, especially since 9/11.

Because the US and its camp followers like Australia continue to cling to these policies, the crisis of the world capitalist system, which plunged to a new depth in 2008, has worsened, aggravated and deepened. The financial oligarchy and the entire monopoly bourgeoisie continue to escalate the level of exploitation and oppression and pass the burden of crisis to the working class and the middle social strata.

In more than three decades of neoliberal globalization, the monopoly bourgeoisie has failed to recognize and address the crisis of overproduction and tried in vain to overcome it by abusing debt financing at the level of governments, corporations and households and by waging a vicious class war against the working class, blaming so-called wage

⁶⁵ [Speech](#) delivered as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the ILPS.

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inflation and government social spending as the cause of crisis and consequently doing everything to press down the wage level and cut back on social spending.

The monopoly bourgeoisie has propagated the dogma that economic prosperity can be maintained by its having all the opportunities to accumulate capital and increase profits through liberalization, privatization, deregulation and denationalization of developing economies. Within this context, the monopoly bourgeoisie has denigrated social welfare in favor of corporate welfare, used new technology to split the work force and resort to outsourcing, played off the previous immigrants against the new ones and adopt oppressive laws to suppress and curtail workers' rights, especially the right to unionize and to strike.

For sometime and to some extent Australia has buffered itself from the crisis that we have described above by benefiting from the mining boom and the export of mineral ores and food (wheat and meat) to China, India and other countries. However, the Australian state in the service of the monopoly bourgeoisie has harmed the interest of the Australian people from the very beginning by following the US-dictated neoliberal economic policy and letting the monopoly firms and the banks increase their profits, pay less taxes, press down the wage level, require the working people to work longer hours and subject them to the rising prices of basic goods and services.

The pro-US neoliberal economic policy is a systematic attack on the working class, the small farmers and the local manufacturing industry. The Australian state has churned out anti-worker and anti-union laws and regulations that limit the workers' ability to unionize and to strike. Now, it is pushing harsh austerity measures and cutbacks on social spending to overcome the government deficit. The working people now increasingly see that their standard of living is under attack. They run up personal debt and receive less social services from government.

The Australian state continues the long history of dispossessing and discriminating against the indigenous Australians and attacking the poorest sections of the people. It widens the scope of "intervention" in the Aboriginal communities of the Northern Territory. It plans to extend "income maintenance" into new areas, including welfare recipients. It pushes "welfare to work" conditions to reduce the number of people on pension and welfare aid.

It panders to foreign and domestic monopoly firms with tax concessions and infrastructure spending. It is pushing further the privatization of government services, education and health care. It gives big concessions to the big polluting energy and mining companies, while skimping on funding for clean alternatives.

Australia is bound by the Australia-US Free Trade Agreement which lopsidedly favors the US. It blocks certain investments from China in order to favor the US, Europe and Japan. The latest “free trade” agreement now being pushed and negotiated behind closed doors by both the US and Australia is the so-called Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA) which is supposed to include Brunei, Chile, Malaysia, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, and Vietnam.

The TPPA aims to further liberalize trade among the Asia-Pacific nations, but the main objective of the US is to use it as a one-sided mechanism to protect and enforce its copyright interests. As the world’s largest exporter of copyright content, the US is poised to benefit from tougher copyright standards. The other participants in TPPA are net importers and will be made to pay royalty to US companies without receiving any countervailing benefit.

The US continues to impose on the Asia-Pacific countries an energy policy that favors the profitmaking by the US oil companies in control of oil and gas resources. Thus carbon dioxide emissions continue to increase the pollution of the environment in the Asia-Pacific region. The conditions and factors of global warming have not been restrained but have in fact increased.

As in economic policy, the Australian government is subservient to the US in security policy. The US-Australian military alliance is the key element in Australian foreign policy. Thus, Australia has followed the US policy of “global war on terror.” The US has major military bases in Australia that are used in wars of aggression it unleashes. These US military bases are being expanded as part of the encirclement of China as potential US enemy. Instruments of electronic surveillance, which receive and transmit real time images from spy satellites, are based in Australia. They cover not only the Asia-Pacific region but also other parts of the world.

Australian military strategy is subordinate to that of the US. Thus, Australia is required to acquire planes, ships, weapons and other

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equipment that are compatible with those of US military forces. It keeps Australian troops and military specialists in Afghanistan. It supports the bombing and subversion of Libya. It consistently follows US positions regarding Palestine, China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and every other major country.

In following the US policy of "global war on terror," the Australian state has adopted "anti-terror" laws to undercut and curtail most civil rights of the people. It maintains harsh detention policies for refugees and **asylum seekers**. It has instituted greater powers of electronic surveillance by intelligence agencies.

The crisis of the world capitalist system continues to worsen. Thus, the Australian people have reason to worry that the global crisis would harm them more than ever before in terms of jobs, incomes and social benefits. They are concerned about the consequences of the mining boom, such as the loss of manufacturing industries, skills and uneven development. They are wary about the growing contradictions between the US and China. They are also concerned about climate change and related events that have afflicted Australia: the forest fires, floods, cyclones and rising level of carbon dioxide pollution.

The dominance of Labor Party bureaucrats and labor aristocrats, who have collaborated with the monopoly bourgeoisie over decades, has undermined and weakened the trade union movement. At the same time, the Liberal Party opposition is pushing more extreme antipeople policies, flagrantly whipping up the most reactionary fears and prejudices, including chauvinism, xenophobia, racism and religious bigotry. Fascists are being emboldened as the monopoly media ridicule, marginalize or completely ignore progressive voices.

At any rate, fighting unions and militant leaders still command the respect and loyalty of their members and their community. In recent years, a significant solidarity movement has been developed across the trade union movement in support of strikes and picket lines. Union activists and sympathetic community members have been successful in gathering wider support, especially when unions on strike need to counter the threat of prosecution, heavy fines and detention.

The working people are dissatisfied and are in a protesting mood. The trend is steadily shifting towards militant resistance. The Australian people have a fine history of struggle and are now being goaded by sharpening crisis conditions to rise up. In recent years they have engaged in massive rallies against war in Iraq and Afghanistan,

against Howard's industrial laws and **against nonculpability** of the monopoly firms for environmental damage and disasters.

The US continues to impose its hegemony over Asia-Pacific countries and transgress their national sovereignty and territorial integrity by economic, financial, commercial, political, cultural and cultural means. The broad masses of the people are outraged by the anti-national, antidemocratic and antipeople policies of the US and its rabid followers. They demand the end of imperialist plunder and war, the oppressive laws that stifle the right to form unions and strike, the pollution of the environment and aggravation of global warming and the persistence of US military bases and other military outposts in the region.

It is imperative for the organizations affiliated with ILPS-Australia and the organizations cooperating with them to clarify and carry the issues and proceed to arouse, **organize** and mobilize the broad masses of the people, including the workers, the migrants, the women, youth, the intelligentsia and indigenous people, for the purpose of resistance against the evils of capitalism and imperialism.

ILPS-Australia must further strengthen itself and generate a mass movement in Australia in order to take a key role in building the ILPS in the Asia-Pacific and Oceania. There are now several chapters of the ILPS in the region and eventually more shall be formed. We are hopeful that they shall soon be able to establish a coordinating committee for the entire region. The 4th International Assembly of the ILPS presents itself as the occasion for discussing this prospect.

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Develop the People's Power

Support the People of Greece in their Struggle against Austerity Measures⁶⁶

June 9, 2011

The International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) salutes the people of Greece for coming together in their hundreds of thousands in a militant show of unity to condemn the harsh austerity measures that the Greek government is imposing on them and to demand its resignation for selling out national sovereignty to the IMF-EU-ECB troika.

On June 5, up to 500,000 people gathered in Syntagma Square and in front of the Parliament in Athens and thousands more in public squares in 30 other cities around the country to show their outrage and opposition to the austerity measures that inflict further suffering on the people on top of the rising rate of unemployment and the soaring prices of basic commodities and services.

These austerity measures are being imposed because of the huge debt that the state has incurred in undertaking nonproductive programs and projects and in bailing out the failing banks and monopoly companies. Thus, the people have cried out: "This debt is not ours. We shall not pay for it!"

Inspired by the uprisings in the Middle East and North Africa and most recently in Spain, the people of Greece have decided to gather in Syntagma Square and in front of Parliament every day to demand the resignation of the government. Since May 25, the people have been gathering at the Syntagma Square united under the slogan: "We will not quit until this government goes and until the IMF-EU-ECB troika is thrown away!"

The financial and economic crisis that hit the world capitalist system in 2008 has continued to worsen because bourgeois governments persist on implementing neoliberal policies. The worst hit by the global crisis are the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Among the developed capitalist countries in Europe, the worst affected are Portugal, Italy, Ireland, **Greece and Spain (PIIGS)**. In

⁶⁶ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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these countries, the people have risen up to protest the austerity measures that make the people shoulder the burden of the crisis of the capitalist system.

The ILPS commends the Union of Working People, a member organization of ILPS, for uniting with the masses at Syntagma Square and for being **at** the forefront of the mass movement that has developed to demand the resignation of the government that carries out anti-worker and antipeople policies.

The ILPS extends its militant solidarity with the people of Greece and calls on its more than 300 member-organizations worldwide to show their solidarity and support to the people of Greece in their present struggle against the austerity measures and in their long-term struggle for genuine democracy, national freedom and social liberation.

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Tribute to Comrade Ludo Martens (March 12, 1946-June 5, 2011), Founder and Former Chairman of the Workers' Party of Belgium⁶⁷

June 26, 2011

We wish to express our sincerest **condolences over the passing of Comrade Ludo Martens to his beloved family and all his comrades in the Workers' Party of Belgium (PTB)**. We share your deep sense of loss but at the same time we celebrate his achievements as an outstanding communist leader, thinker and writer and proletarian internationalist.

We recall that Comrade Ludo started as a student leader who founded the Student Union Movement and gave a progressive direction to the student movement in Belgium in the 1960s in opposition to conservatism, narrow nationalism and racism. After learning the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, he called for the unity and common stand of the workers and students on fundamental social issues.

He continuously developed into a proletarian revolutionary by encouraging his fellow student activists to work in the factories and participate in the workers' strike movement.

Subsequently, he proposed the establishment of a party of the working class and the national newspaper *Solidarity*. Thus arose AMADA (the acronym of Alle macht aan de arbeiders [**All power to the workers**]), which prepared for ten years the founding of the PTB.

Together with Kris Merckx, Comrade Ludo, **the former medical student who** gave up his medical course to concentrate on revolutionary political work, conceived of the association Medicine for the People to provide primary medical care to workers and migrants. The highly impressive network of clinics of the association, ever growing since 1971, is a monument to Comrade Ludo and all his dedicated comrades.

Comrade Ludo was **a** highly principled communist fighter. He had an analytic mind, was hardworking and prolific, very demanding on himself in study and work and had an austere style of life. He could

⁶⁷ Message delivered as Founding Chairman of the CPP.

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debate with comrades and find common ground with them. It was not surprising that in every party convention he was reelected as party chairman until 1999 when he asked to be allowed to focus on his work in the Congo.

Comrade Ludo had long been deeply interested in the Congolese revolution. He had sought to foster this revolution started by Patrice Lumumba and continued by Pierre Mulele and subsequent leaders. At the same time, as a proletarian internationalist, he had a full view of the proletariat and people of the world, their urgent needs and revolutionary demands, and he encouraged his comrades to engage in solidarity work in various countries, including the Philippines.

Together with Comrade Boudewijn Deckers, Comrade Ludo had signified interest in solidarity work for the Filipino people in their revolutionary struggle since [meeting](#) the international representative of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, Luis Jalandoni, soon after the establishment of the PTB. Various forms of concrete political cooperation followed.

After the downfall of the Marcos dictatorship in 1986, Comrade Boudewijn visited the Philippines and encouraged me as the founding chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines to make a lecture tour in Belgium and other countries in Europe. In advance, *Solidarity* published in French and Flemish *Philippine Crisis and Revolution*. In 1987 and 1988 I was able to give a lecture in every university in Belgium and in some universities in France and Switzerland, arranged with the assistance of Comrade Ludo and the PTB.

Since then, I became a frequent speaker on the Philippines and other topics in seminars under the auspices of the PTB, the School of Third World Studies, the May First festival or special courses for Belgian solidarity activists destined for the Philippines. Comrade Ludo and I frequently exchanged views on the international communist movement and the need for annually convening the communist and workers parties and publishing their articles.

Eventually the International Communist Seminar would arise in 1992. Comrade Ludo conceived of this as a forum of parties belonging to varied and even conflicting currents and wanted a decision-making body to run it. But he heeded our advice that the PTB act as the single host party with option to be assisted by an advisory committee. The arrangement has proven tenable for two decades. We have

sent a delegation to it annually and made our contributions and have benefited from interacting with a wide range of parties in the seminar.

We have the highest appreciation for the ideas and views of Comrade Ludo regarding his commitment to the working class as the leading revolutionary force, his criticism and condemnation of US, Belgian and European imperialism, his recognition of certain achievements of Mao, his defense of Stalin, his denunciation of Khrushchov and Gorbachov as revisionist traitors, his support for the legacy of Lumumba and Mulele and his advocacy of new democratic revolutions, the working class mission of building socialism and communism.

We have also disagreed with Comrade Ludo on certain issues. But even when we had disagreements, he had an honesty of conviction according what he deemed as his perception and judgment on the basis of the facts available to him. He engaged us in debate always with the desire of reaching a new and higher level of common understanding and unity.

Comrade Ludo always kept in mind that we had more agreements than disagreements or that we had enough agreements in order to make viable and strengthen our comradely relations. He always desired that the fraternal bonds of the Workers Party of Belgium and the Communist Party of the Philippines **are** guided by the spirit of proletarian internationalism and continue to be strong and grow stronger.

Comrade Ludo made highly significant contributions to the development of revolutionary struggle in Belgium and elsewhere. His ideas and deeds are therefore perpetuated and carried by the revolutionary movement and inspire the proletariat and people of the world to continue waging the revolutionary struggle.

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Develop the People's Power

Uphold the Rights of Migrant Workers, Resist Imperialist Attacks and Win Greater Victories⁶⁸

Message to the 2nd General Assembly of the International Migrants' Alliance, Manila, Philippines

July 3, 2011

As chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), I convey warmest greetings of solidarity from the League to the International Migrants' Alliance (IMA) and all its member-organizations on the occasion of its 2nd General Assembly.

We are glad that your assembly is a major event in the International Festival for People's Rights and Struggle (IFPRS), which is supportive of the Fourth International Assembly of the ILPS.

We highly appreciate the **purposiveness** of the theme of your assembly: Strengthen and Expand our Movement! Migrants, Resist Intensified Imperialist Attacks! Achieve Victories in our Struggle!

We are confident that your assembly can lay the basis for realizing your purposes by assessing the past three years of your alliance, formally accepting new members, planning work for the next three years and electing new members in your International Coordinating Body.

We have full trust in the ability of the alliance, its member-organizations and the solidarity organizations in host countries to strengthen themselves politically and organizationally, engage in mass struggles against imperialist attacks and win still greater victories.

The large-scale migration of workers, now more than 214 million, to more developed countries has been the consequence of imperialist exploitation under the policy of neoliberal globalization. Workers are driven to migrate from their countries by poverty, underdevelopment and lack of employment. Oppression has also generated large numbers of political refugees.

⁶⁸ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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The more developed countries are the destination of more than 60 percent of the migrant workers, **most of whom are women**, who provide cheap labor for menial jobs, allow the workers of the host countries to take comparatively higher-paying jobs and help to improve the quality of **life**.

But the governments of the more developed countries, in collaboration with the countries of origin, keep the migrant workers deprived of the basic democratic rights of workers and even of the most basic human rights. They delayed and diluted the formulation of the UN International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of Migrant Workers and Members of **their** Families.

This convention is a comprehensive international treaty regarding the protection of migrant workers' rights. It aims to uphold human rights and protect migrant workers and members of their families and serve as a guide and standard for the promotion of the rights of migrant workers. It does not create new rights for migrant workers but draws from previous human rights instruments of the UN and other major relevant documents of the International Labor Organization.

It seeks to guarantee a minimum standard of protection to all migrants, ensuring freedom from discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, sex, religion or any other status, in all aspects of work, including hiring, conditions of work and promotion, access to housing, health care and basic services. It aims for equality of treatment, and the same working conditions for migrants and nationals. It also recognizes the right of migrant workers to join labor unions like the nationals.

It seeks to ensure freedom from arbitrary expulsion from the host country and protection from violence, physical injury, threats and intimidation by public officials or by private individuals, groups or institutions. It recognizes that legal migrants have the legitimacy to claim more rights than undocumented migrants, but it requires respect for the fundamental human rights of undocumented migrants.

It also proposes actions to counter and eliminate clandestine movements of migrant workers, through information campaigns against illegal or irregular migration, and through sanctions against trafficking and employers of undocumented migrants.

After the Convention was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1990, it took 13 years to come into force through ratification as a treaty primarily by 20 underdeveloped countries from which migrant workers

originate. To this [date](#), the Western developed countries that benefit most from migrant workers have not ratified the Convention on the specious argument that this would limit their control over immigration, especially in relation to the right of family reunification and the provision of social services, despite the fact that the Convention makes countervailing assurances conceding and bending to the prerogative of the state to make its immigration policy and law.

The countries in Europe and North America, where the overwhelming majority of migrant workers live, still refuse to ratify the Convention. Other major hosts of migrant workers, like Australia, the Arab states of the Persian Gulf and India have also refused to ratify the Convention. Thus, the Committee on Migrant Workers (CMW), which monitors implementation of the convention, has been hampered or even rendered impotent.

But even as the Convention is not effective in many countries where the migrant workers are, the IMA can use it as a basis for drawing up a [checklist](#) of rights which need to be upheld, defended and protected. The checklist of rights can inspire and guide the actions for asserting, exercising and realizing these rights.

Of the highest importance is your resolve to be ever vigilant and militant in the face of the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system. We can anticipate the escalation of exploitation and oppression of migrant workers by the imperialist countries as well as by the reactionary rulers of the underdeveloped countries from which the migrant workers come.

The global economy continues to be in a state of protracted depression because the imperialist powers cling to the US-directed policy of neoliberal globalization. The big banks and favored corporations that caused the abrupt plunge of the global economy in 2008 are causing another abrupt and more disastrous plunge.

They have been rewarded with public funds to improve their books of accounts and have not expanded production and employment. At the same time, they have continued to extract superprofits by pressing down the incomes of the working people and inflate the value of corporate assets through speculation and manipulation of the financial markets.

Huge public deficits have occurred due to the [bailout](#) money given to the banks and corporations, the tax exemptions and reductions that these enjoy, the stagnation of the economy and the enlargement

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of expenditures for military production and wars of aggression as in Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya.

The public deficits have resulted in the public debt bubble, which is now the biggest financial bubble, and is now bursting in both the developed and underdeveloped countries. The imperialist powers and puppet governments are resorting to austerity measures by cutting back social services, health insurance and pensions. They are further shifting the burden of the crisis to the toiling masses and even to the middle class.

Worse times are already conspicuous and ever **worse** ones are in the offing. In the underdeveloped countries from which the migrant workers originate, the economic depression means far more unemployment than ever before. The reactionary rulers urge the unemployed to seek employment abroad and extort from them higher fees for all sorts of reasons. And yet in the destination or host countries, the social, economic and political conditions are deteriorating and becoming ever harsher for migrant workers.

In the imperialist countries, rates of unemployment are rising and are resulting in currents of chauvinism, racism, religious bigotry and fascism against migrant workers. In certain trading centers, like Hong Kong, Singapore and Dubai, the economic **downtrend** is also generating reactionary currents. In oil producing countries, as in the Middle East and North Africa, social turbulence and political turmoil have arisen, forcing the exit of the migrant workers or subjecting them to harsh and hazardous conditions.

IMA, its member-organizations and solidarity partner organizations are more than ever before needed to uphold, protect and promote the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the migrant workers in the host countries. They must stand up against the increasingly harsh laws and reactionary currents against the migrant workers.

They must demand that the sending governments fulfil their obligations. They must resist the impositions by sending governments of exorbitant fees on migrant workers. They must demand that reasonable fees collected from them be used for their benefit. They must demand that sending governments protect the migrant workers from the unjust laws and rules in the host countries and be prepared to evacuate the migrants when necessary.

The foreign exchange earnings of the migrant workers must contribute to the development of their homeland so that workers would

find local employment and not be separated from their beloved families. The home governments must cease to use the foreign exchange merely to feed the profitmaking of the imperialist and big comprador firms and service the ever growing foreign debt.

As the crisis of the world capitalist system worsens and the global depression protracts, job opportunities abroad for migrant workers will decrease and the working and living conditions there will deteriorate. Reactionary movements are also scapegoating the migrant workers for the economic crisis and making the host countries inhospitable to them. Reactionary laws and regulations are being adopted and implemented to pressure, hamper and reduce migrant workers.

It is therefore necessary for the people to demand real economic development and employment in their underdeveloped countries. The limits and difficulties of depending on the export of men and women to provide cheap labor are already starkly clear. The broad masses of the people must struggle to end the conditions that deprive them of real development and employment and force many of them to become migrant workers and suffer separation from their beloved families.

We hope that your assembly will be successful in taking stock of your current strength, learning lessons from your experience and setting forth the tasks for further strengthening your alliance and movement, for waging struggles for the rights and interests of the migrant workers and winning victories for their benefit as well as for joining and supporting the struggles of the people in your respective homelands for national and social liberation, democracy, development and just peace.

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Develop the People's Power

Uphold the Role of Art in Fundamental Social Change

Message of solidarity to the International Festival for Peoples' Rights and Struggles (IFPRS)⁶⁹

July 5, 2011

On behalf of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), I wish to convey warmest greetings of solidarity to all the workers, peasants, women, youth, indigenous peoples, migrants, artists and cultural workers and all the people from other sectors and communities from all over the world who are now gathered in Manila for the first International Festival for Peoples' Rights and Struggles.

For their success in jointly organizing this festival, we congratulate the International Migrants' Alliance (IMA), the International Women's Alliance (IWA), Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (BAYAN), League of Filipino Students, Concerned Artists of the Philippines, Habi Arts, RESIST, IBON, Peace for Life, People's Action Network, People's Coalition on Food Sovereignty (PCFS), the People's Movement on Climate Change (PMCC), Asian Peasant Coalition, the UP College of Mass Communications, the ILPS Commission 14 and many other entities.

We welcome this festival for serving as an occasion for social activists in Asia-Pacific, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, North America and Europe to exchange ideas and experiences, to learn from each other regarding the vital issues that confront them, to network and build relations of solidarity and to celebrate the struggles and victories of the people.

We are grateful that this happy and enlightening occasion comes immediately before the Fourth International Assembly of the ILPS. The festival promotes the assembly, brings to it a significant number of delegates and enriches their journey and brightens their horizon. The conferences, colloquium, seminars, forums, workshops and speak out

⁶⁹ Message issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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under the auspices of the festival will certainly be helpful to several commissions during the Fourth International Assembly.

We appreciate that the festival confronts the global depression and the handful of imperialist powers that have caused it, protracting and deepening it under the piratical banner of neoliberal globalization and continuously passing the burden of crisis to the working people and the middle class. Trillions of dollars of public money have been used to bail out the big banks and favored corporations and serve their profitmaking interests and have not resulted in real economic recovery in terms of production and employment.

The public debt bubble is bursting and the monopoly bourgeoisie is adopting and carrying out austerity measures at the expense of the people. The incomes of the working people are being pressed down further and social services are being cut back. The prices of basic goods and services are soaring. While the big corporations and upper class pay less taxes, the tax burden falls heavier on the broad masses of the people.

The imperialist countries are accelerating superprofit-taking at the expense of the underdeveloped countries through the practice of international usury, investment and trade liberalization, privatization, deregulation, denationalization, the takeover of natural resources and the rapid extraction of raw materials [at grave](#) costs to the people and the environment.

The imperialist powers are whipping up state terrorism and unleashing wars of aggression as in Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya under the pretext of anti-terrorism or humanitarian intervention in order to suppress the people's resistance and attack countries that assert independence. But the people's resistance is irrepressible and continues to arise on the scale of entire countries and global regions.

Mass protests and strikes against austerity measures have spread across Europe, South Asia, Africa, Palestine, Thailand and the Philippines. In the Middle East and North Africa, the people's uprisings have been set off by protests against unemployment, food scarcity, corruption and despotic rule. The worsening crises of global capitalism and the local reactionary ruling systems are generating conditions that are favorable to the waging of armed revolution.

The crisis of the world capitalist system is inflicting terrible suffering on the people and is inciting them to rise up. As the imperialist powers and the puppet governments escalate the oppression and

exploitation, we can expect the people to wage far greater resistance than ever before in both the underdeveloped and developed countries. We laud the festival for seeking to inspire the people to be resolute and militant in the struggle for national and social liberation against imperialism and all reaction.

We appreciate highly the RESIST Colloquium for seeking to analyze the crisis of the world capitalist system and the new world disorder and present the challenges and opportunities for the people's movement. A deeper understanding of the character and course of the crisis and the scope and intensity of the people's resistance can lead to further advances in the struggle for a new international political and economic order.

We are deeply pleased that the recently-founded International Women's Alliance (IWA) is holding its First General Assembly as part of the festival. We are confident that this assembly with the theme of building a militant women's alliance in the 21st century, will further strengthen IWA as an anti-imperialist, anti-patriarchal, anti-racist and anti-sexist force and will contribute to advancing the women's movement as a vital part of the people's movement for national and social liberation.

We anticipate fervently the International Conference on Progressive Culture: People's Art Shaping the Society of the Future. This is an opportunity for artists and creative writers from different parts of the world to come together, share their work and reinvigorate the role of art in the struggle for fundamental social change. The entire festival shall be enlivened by the art exhibit, film showings, workshops and the Kafe Kultura as the space for music jamming, mural painting, sculpting and social media.

We welcome the 2nd International Assembly of the International Migrants' Alliance, with the theme "Strengthen and expand our movement! Migrants, resist intensified imperialist attacks, achieve victories in our struggle!" The assembly will sum up and evaluate the level of struggle in relation to the major issues confronting migrants.

We also welcome the forum on "The Global Movement of Migrants: Current Situation and Resistance Against Imperialist Attacks." We wish to know more about how the migrants are adversely affected by the crisis of global capitalism and how they are resisting the escalating attacks from the proponents of neoliberal globalization and the worst

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reactionaries, including the chauvinists, the racists, the religious bigots and the fascists.

We look forward to the seminar on the US War on Terror and Counterinsurgency. We must examine the US national security doctrine, the various dimensions and forms of US intervention abroad, the latest version of its counterinsurgency doctrine and its implications and consequences on the rights of peoples. An excellent case study can be the application of the US Counterinsurgency Guide in the Philippines through Oplan Bayanihan.

We also look forward to the International Panel Discussion and open forum on US Foreign Military Bases. We must ventilate the demands of the people for the dismantling of US military bases, forward stations and covert intelligence teams and for the repeal of military treaties and agreements that allow these. We wish to hear the reports of resistance against US military bases in Asia and Oceania, Middle East, Latin America and Europe.

We welcome the People's Speak Out for the Right to Land and Life, a forum organized by the People's Coalition on Food Sovereignty. It underscores the struggle for land and life amidst the food crisis and intensifying landgrabbing by foreign agroc corporations and their local reactionary partners. It is appropriate that the forum will be followed by a people's march to the Department of Agrarian Reform.

We also welcome the  International Forum on Democracy and Cooperation which aims to amplify the voices from Asia in promoting active citizenship and realizing truly participatory democracy and at the same time seeks to build synergies and solidarity beyond geographical and regional borders as a way forward in finding alternatives.

We have high expectations from the Seminar on People's Resistance and Struggles for Liberation, which features the testimonies from leaders, activists and representatives of liberation movements from various countries, including Egypt, Tunisia, Sri Lanka, Greece, Palestine and the Philippines. We hope that in this regard there are no obstacles to the travel of outstanding leaders who are iconic of revolutionary struggle.

We anticipate to learn so much from the Workshop on the Permanent People's Tribunal. This intends to present its experiences as an opinion tribunal and a collective research effort towards the implementation of the principles of the Universal Declaration of Rights of Peoples (Algiers Declaration), to examine cases from Latin America to the Philippines

involving the impunity of so-called democracies and to show several initiatives that challenge such impunity through condonation by as well as circumvention of international law.

We look forward to the Solidarity Forum on Youth Struggles. It will gather young people from various countries to depict and analyze their situation in relation to the crisis of global capitalism, to share experiences and learn from each other in resisting imperialism and advancing their struggles, and to draw up a declaration to inspire the further spread and intensification of the struggles of the youth and the people for a fundamentally new and better world free from imperialism and all reaction.

We are confident that the International Festival of People's Rights and Struggles will obtain resounding success and will lead to further festivals in conjunction with the international assemblies of the International League of Peoples' Struggles. May all our efforts contribute to the advance and triumph of the people's struggles for greater freedom, democracy, social justice, all-round development and world peace.

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Develop the People's Power

Advance Cultural Work as Integral Part of the People's Struggle against Imperialism

Message of solidarity and inputs on Millenium Development Goals and the Convention on Cultural Diversity⁷⁰

July 5, 2011

On the occasion of the International Conference on Progressive Culture: People's Art Shaping the Society of the Future, may I as chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) convey warmest greetings of solidarity from the League to all the participating artists, cultural workers and media practitioners from different parts of the world who are all engaged in anti-imperialist and democratic movements for fundamental change in their respective countries and milieus.

For their initiative and success in preparing and convening the conference, we congratulate all the participants, the Concerned Artists of the Philippines (CAP), the US-based Habi-Arts and the New York Committee for Human Rights in the Philippines (NYCHRP) and the member-organizations of Commission 14 of the International League of Peoples' Struggle in cooperation with the College of Mass Communication of the University of the Philippines.

We welcome and applaud the theme of the conference, "Cultural work as an integral part of the struggle of the peoples of the world against imperialism." We are deeply pleased to observe that the progressive artists, cultural workers and media practitioners have the opportunity to interface, share their ideas, experience and work, to discuss and clarify further the role of art, culture and media in the struggle for social change, to exhibit their works and to foster unity, networks and practical forms of cooperation.

I thank the International Organizing Committee of the First International Conference on Progressive Culture for inviting me to

⁷⁰ Message given as ILPS Chairperson.

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recite my poem, "The Guerrilla Is Like a Poet," and to make inputs on the Millennium Development Goals and its impact on arts and culture and the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of Diverse Cultural Expressions or in brief the Convention on Cultural Diversity. These two documents may be discussed in relation to the neoliberal economic policy of imperialist plunder and to your concern on arts and culture.

The severe problems that the Millennium Development Goals seek to address have been the consequence of relentless imperialist plunder, accelerated and aggravated by the neoliberal economic policy instigated by the US and known as the Washington Consensus. They are subject matter involving the suffering of hundreds of millions of people, mainly in the underdeveloped countries, who cry out for attention and expression by artists, cultural workers and media practitioners.

However, the Millennium Development Goals do not call on them for help and not one of the goals refers to arts and culture. Since the declaration of these goals in 2000, under the baton of the imperialist countries, not any of these has had any significant direct and positive consequence to arts and culture. And certainly the nonfulfilment of the goals and the aggravation of the economic and social problems provide rich raw material for the critical study and creative work by people involved in the arts and culture.

The Millennium Development Goals are as follows: 1. to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, 2. to achieve universal primary education, 3. to promote gender equality and empower women, 4. to reduce child mortality rates, 5. to improve maternal health, 6. to combat HIV-AIDS, malaria and other diseases, 7. to ensure environmental sustainability and 8. to develop a global partnership for development.

The goals are supposed to be fully realized in 2015. But they, together with all previous claims of success to some extent here and there, have always been overtaken by the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the local reactionary ruling system. The problems sought to be solved have been further exacerbated and deepened. In declaring these goals, the imperialist countries and the puppet regimes in the underdeveloped countries have been engaged essentially in a mere exercise of shedding crocodile tears and obfuscating the root causes of problems.

What the MDG identifies as the No. 1 problem, extreme poverty and hunger, as well as the other problems are rooted in the global system of people's exploitation and oppression by the imperialist powers and the reactionary ruling systems in the underdeveloped countries. So long as imperialism and reaction persist, such goals as spelled out in the MDG cannot be solved but are in fact worsened in the underdeveloped countries under conditions of chronic crisis and protracted global depression, relentless superprofit-taking by the multinational banks and firms, rising rates of unemployment, soaring prices of basic goods and services and the plunder of the natural resources of the underdeveloped countries.

In this connection, I urge the artists, cultural workers and media practitioners to intensify their efforts to depict the suffering, demands and struggles of the people, denounce such root causes of poverty and underdevelopment as imperialism and reaction and contribute their best efforts to the arousal, organization and mobilization of the broad masses of the people, especially the toiling masses, for their own national and social liberation and for building a fundamentally new and better world of greater freedom, democracy, social justice, all-round development and world peace.

The Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions or the Convention on Cultural Diversity was adopted by 148 member states at the UNESCO General Conference on October 20, 2005. Since then, it has been ratified as a treaty by 116 member-states and the European Union. The Convention recognizes the rights of Parties to adopt and implement policies and measures to protect and promote the diversity of cultural expressions, and impose obligations on the Parties at both domestic and international levels.

The key term "cultural expressions" is defined in Article 4.3 of the Convention as "those expressions that result from the creativity of individuals, groups and societies, and that have cultural content." Cultural content refers to "the symbolic meaning, artistic dimension and cultural values that originate from or express cultural identities" (Article 4.2).

The general objectives of the Convention are as follows: 1. to reaffirm the sovereign right of States to adopt cultural policies while ensuring the free movement of ideas and works, 2. to recognize the distinct nature of cultural goods and services as vehicles of values, identity and meaning, 3. to define a new framework for international cultural cooperation, the keystone of the Convention, 4. to create the

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conditions for cultures to flourish and freely interact in a mutually beneficial manner, 5. to ensure that civil society plays a major role in the implementation of the Convention.

The Convention is supposed to ensure that artists, cultural professionals, practitioners and citizens worldwide can create, produce, disseminate and enjoy a broad range of cultural goods, services and activities, including their own. It has been considered as a response to the growing pressure exerted on countries to waive their right to enforce cultural policies and to put all aspects of the cultural sector on the negotiating table under international trade agreements and to subordinate intellectual property rights to the commercial and profit-seeking of the multinational corporations.

The Convention recognizes: 1. the distinctive nature of cultural goods, services and activities as vehicles of identity, values and meaning; and 2. that while cultural goods, services and activities have important economic value, they are not mere commodities or consumer goods that can only be regarded as objects of trade.

The main objective of the Convention is to uphold the sovereign right of States to adopt cultural policies that support their cultural industries. The Convention asserts and respects the diversity of cultural expressions as cherished and treasured assets for individuals and societies. It therefore regards the protection, promotion and maintenance of cultural diversity as an essential requirement for sustainable development for the benefit of present and future generations.

Some commentators have considered the Convention as a breach on the neoliberal economic policy, on the WTO scheme to commodify and make everything for sale and on the dominance of US cultural imperialism, especially Hollywood movies. The Convention seems to support the premise that cultural goods cannot be treated as mere commodities.

Articles 5 and 6 of the Convention grant nations the sovereign right to protect and promote the diversity of cultural expressions within their territory against the sweeping tide of neoliberal globalization. Article 8 recognizes that special situations may arise where cultural expressions (movies, music, magazines and other cultural industries) in a state's territory are at risk of extinction, are under serious threat, or are otherwise in need of urgent safeguarding. In such cases, "states parties may take all appropriate measures" to protect and preserve

cultural expressions in a manner consistent with the provisions of the convention.

Article 18 sets up an International Fund for Cultural Diversity to be funded by voluntary contributions made by the Parties. But above all, the Convention assures governments of the right to favor domestic cultural activities, goods and services rather than a positive commitment to ensure minimum standards of protection or to allocate resources for the benefit of the artists, cultural workers and media practitioners.

The Convention has been interpreted as an expression of the critical attitude of France and Canada towards the dominance of American cultural goods. Indeed, the United States together with Israel, has provided evidence of its own narrow self-interest by objecting to the Convention, calling it a “deeply flawed, protectionist, and a threat to freedom of expression.” This is the US way of pushing its ultra-national protectionist position under the cover of such slogans as the “free market” and the “free flow of ideas.”

The US has the least or no concern for different cultures flourishing in various countries. Its concern is about the protection of cultural industries going against US cultural dominance, which has been effected through existing free trade rules and intellectual property rights under the WTO. While it has not signed the Convention, the US has succeeded in pushing the second paragraph of Article 20 which stipulates that the Convention does not modify other treaties, especially the WTO and whole gamut of trade agreements.

In case of any conflict between the WTO and the UNESCO Convention on Cultural Diversity, US cultural imperialism can use WTO and subsidiary bilateral and multilateral trade agreements to its advantage. Furthermore, the UNESCO Convention is binding only to those countries that ratify it. The US has the upperhand in its competition with other imperialist powers and in compelling the underdeveloped countries to submit to US cultural imperialism.

I wish to admonish the participants of the International Conference on Progressive Culture to invoke and avail of just and fair principles and standards that are enunciated in the UNESCO Convention and that can be deployed against US cultural imperialism and the WTO. But there is no administrative or judicial venue offered by the UN, UNESCO or by any government for winning a case against the WTO and US cultural imperialism. What is needed is a powerful mass movement of the artists, cultural workers and media workers and the broad

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masses of the people for the revolutionary transformation of all major aspects of society—socioeconomic, political and cultural.



Celebrate the Achievements of the League, Resolve to Further Advance the Struggle⁷¹

Keynote Address and General Report to the Fourth International Assembly, Manila

July 7, 2011

Dear colleagues and friends, distinguished guests,

Let me express warmest greetings of solidarity to all of you and thank you for joining us in this Fourth International Assembly of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS). Let us all congratulate the International Coordinating Group (ICG), the Host Country Committee and the entire Philippine chapter of the League for their success in preparing this assembly.

Let us celebrate the achievements of our League and pay our respects to all who have made sacrifices in the course of struggles, especially those who have been martyred. Let us renew our resolve to carry the struggle forward and win ever greater victories. The road is still long and tortuous before we can defeat imperialism and reaction on a global scale and free the world from these monsters. But we can succeed in bringing the struggle to a new and higher level within our time.

It is my duty as chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee (ICC) to make a comprehensive report on the political and organizational work of the League since the Third International Assembly in 2008. At the same time, the ICC has instructed me to make the report within the context of the 10th founding anniversary of the League by way of delivering the keynote address to the Fourth International Assembly.

We are guided by the assembly's theme: "Build a Bright Future! Mobilize the People to Resist Exploitation and Oppression Amidst

⁷¹ Report given as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the ILPS.

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the Protracted Global Depression, State Terrorism and Wars of Aggression”!

I. Conception, struggles and achievements of the League

I propose to present in broad strokes the conception, major struggles and achievements of the League in the first ten years of its existence, the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system and the rise of the people's resistance and the tasks the League must carry out in order to advance the people's struggle along the anti-imperialist and democratic line.

Conception of the League

As early as 1994, I presented and discussed before an international conference of working class parties the need for establishing an international united front of anti-imperialist and democratic mass organizations. From year to year, we persevered in proposing the formation of such an international united front before formal and informal meetings until 1999 when representatives of several mass organizations from several countries agreed to constitute the International Initiative Committee for the purpose of establishing the League.

I announced the plan to form the League in my keynote speech to the People's Assembly and March-Rally against the World Trade Organization in Seattle, Washington on November 28, 1999, the eve of the Battle of Seattle. It was my distinct honor to convene the International Initiative Committee on January 15-16, 2000 and to be elected as the chairperson of the committee for preparing the founding assembly of the League.

The preparatory work included the drafting of the Charter of the League and the Rules of Participation, planning the First International Assembly and inviting mass organizations to participate in the assembly. We of the International Initiative Committee conceived of the League as a force for promoting, supporting and developing the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world in order to oppose the ideological, political, military, economic and cultural domination and attacks of imperialism and reaction.

We were determined to build the League as an alliance of mass formations and mass **movements** to expose and oppose the inhuman policies and acts of the multinational companies, their governments and international instruments such as the IMF, World Bank, WTO and military alliances and to realize the unity, cooperation and coordination of such organized forces of the people as trade unions and organizations of women, youth, peasants, teachers, health workers, journalists, writers, scientists, technologists, lawyers and other professionals, as well as popular movements, campaigns and just causes involving major concerns and issues.

Political education

Since its founding through the First International Assembly (FIA) on May 25-27, 2001 in Zutphen, The Netherlands, the League has been outstanding in undertaking and generating political education along the anti-imperialist and democratic line **on** a comprehensive range of major concerns and issues. Every international assembly is an occasion for raising political consciousness through the plenary deliberations and the workshops of the commissions.

Between international assemblies, the League intensifies efforts to propagate its Charter, current General Declaration and commission resolutions. In accordance with the foregoing, the Chairperson, the International Coordinating Committee, the International Coordinating Group, the commissions, the global region committees, the national chapters and member-organizations of the League have promptly taken up within their respective scopes the issues of the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles through statements and calls to action.

The ICC and the commissions have undertaken study meetings, seminars and conferences to discuss and draw up conclusions and resolutions on various concerns and issues. Researches and publications have been done. The educational materials of the League, including its basic documents, primers, position papers and the like have been published in the print and electronic media. The League has effected a constant flow of information and study materials through its website, mailing lists and list serves.

We have analyzed and expressed our position on major events in the period after every international assembly. In the period from 2001 to 2004 after the FIA, the League issued statements on such

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highly important issues as the bursting of the hightech bubble, the bankruptcy of the neoliberal globalization and the wars of aggression against Afghanistan and Iraq in the wake of 9/11.

In the period from 2004 to 2008 after the Second International Assembly (SIA) and from 2008 to the present after the Third International Assembly (TIA), the ICC and the ICG have issued resolutions and the Chairperson statements on many major events and issues of international significance. In accordance with the Charter and under the principles and policies of the League as well as on the basis of ICC resolutions, the Chairperson has issued statements in his capacity as chief representative and spokesperson of the League.

Because of effective political education on the anti-imperialist united front and people's solidarity, the League has achieved a high level of political unity and militancy against imperialism and reaction. It has succeeded in frustrating the attempts of a few pseudo-Maoist sectarians to undermine the unity of the League and to isolate the League in some obscure anarchist or even Trotskyite ideological corner of denying the major role of anti-imperialist states and countries and their contradictions with imperialist powers.

Failing in their disruptive acts, the sectarians have attacked and declared a boycott on the League, ICC and the Fourth International Assembly and have thereby excluded themselves from these. Their latest act of sabotage reminds us of their vicious attempt to paralyze and scuttle the Second International Assembly in 2004 by filibustering, walking out and preventing plenary sessions for more than one day after they failed to impose on the assembly the weird notion that countries which assert or invoke national independence are of no consequence and that contradictions between such countries (like Cuba, DPR of Korea, Venezuela, Iran and Syria) and the imperialist powers are of no significance.

The League stands today as the foremost global formation of mass organizations comprehensively covering all major concerns and issues in the people's struggle for national and social liberation and promptly issuing analyses, statements and calls to action for the benefit of the broad masses of the people. Whatever position or action the League takes is based on the needs and demands of the people and is aimed at advancing the political struggle of the people and achieving their goals.

Organization

The First International Assembly of the League was attended by 339 delegates and guests, representing 232 mass organizations from 40 countries. It ratified the Charter of the League, which upheld our view in the International Initiative Committee that the League shall have a broad mass character, shall not be subordinate to any political party, government or church, shall afford equality to all participating organizations and shall strive to realize the unity, cooperation and coordination of anti-imperialist and democratic struggles throughout the world.

The Second International Assembly (SIA) from November 11 to 13, 2004 in Eindhoven, The Netherlands, carried the theme, "Advance the people's solidarity and struggle for liberation and democracy against imperialist plunder and war." It was attended by 240 delegates representing 136 mass organizations in 33 countries as well as by observers representing 39 organizations in various global regions. The number of delegates was less than that of the FIA because the organizational growth of the League had been stunted by failure of the ultra-Leftist sectarians to perform their assignments and because Dutch and other European governments refused to grant visa to many delegates from the Philippines, Nigeria, Nepal, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and other countries.

The Third International Assembly (TIA) from June 18 to 20, 2008 in Hong Kong carried the theme, "Strengthen the peoples' struggle, unite to build a new world against imperialist aggression, state terrorism, plunder and social destruction!" and was attended by 265 delegates representing 165 peoples' organizations. Because we had begun to counter the obstacles put up by the ultra-Left sectarians, the number of delegates in TIA was higher than that of the SIA but still lower than that of FIA because of financial constraints on member-organizations.

After the TIA, the ICC approved the **By Laws** of the Charter in order to have a clearer guide for the organizational development of the League. It also urged the building of national chapters more strongly than ever before. It invited more participating organizations, especially from countries and global regions like Africa, Latin America, Central Asia, South Asia and Eastern Europe and encouraged the setting up of coordinating committees at the level of the global regions (Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe, North America and Oceania). But the

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results in building chapters and global region coordinating committees have been modest because of the continuing obstacles put up by the ultra-Left sectarians.

Until now, the ICC, ICG and General Secretariat of the League connect directly with the hundreds of member organizations. The League has national chapters in the Philippines, Australia, Indonesia, Canada and Hong Kong and Macau. The ultra-Left sectarians established a national chapter in Turkey after the FIA but soon scuttled it because they could not maintain united front with other organizations, especially the more significant ones.

The global region coordinating committee for East Asia and Oceania was formed in Hong Kong in 2005 and held a consultative meeting in Cebu in 2006. It is the only functioning global region coordinating committee, with four national chapters under its oversight. The sectarians preempted the task of forming global region committees in Europe, the Middle East and Latin America but failed to form any. Moreover, they turned off many organizations that had joined or had wished to join the League.

We consider as major cause for the slow development of the multi-level structure of the League the sectarianism of ultra-Left elements who sought to impose a narrow pseudo-Maoist ideological position on the League's united front policy and line of people's anti-imperialist solidarity. They did not only fail to carry out the tasks that they had volunteered for and preempted but also systematically **repelled** organizations that did not share their narrow ideological position which runs counter to the character of a broad political alliance or movement of mass formations.

These sectarians have at certain times asserted that the united front policy is opportunism. They sought to prevent the participation of some anti-imperialist groups in the ILPS-sponsored International Conference of Migrants and Refugees in Athens in November 2009. And when the ICC Chairperson in his inspirational message credited the aforesaid groups for their active cooperation one of the sectarians in the ICG publicly declared that the Chairperson had no authority to speak. As a consequence, the Chairperson asked for a vote of confidence in the ICC meeting on November 21, 2009, resulting in the reconstitution of the ICG.

The commissions have been responsible for inviting many reliable anti-imperialist mass formations to become members of the League.

But they tend to become active only when they organize the workshops for the international assembly. In the years between such workshops, many of the commissions survive through a secretariat or a lead organization. Only a few commissions (such as those concerned with labor, peasants, youth, women, migrants and refugees, war and peace and socioeconomic development) are active in issuing timely papers and statements, launching seminars and conferences and bringing about or helping bring about new international organizations or alliances on a sectoral or issue basis.

We are proud that we can hold international assemblies and other international events by relying on membership dues and cooperation of our member-organizations and thus we do not have to depend on funding from any imperialist or reactionary source. But the financial constraints have compelled us to have an uncompensated staff shared by the Chairperson and the General Secretariat.

We have also used the proxy method and skype to overcome the financial inability of members to travel from afar and attend ICC and ICG meetings. But to become stronger organizationally, we must build our financial capability through the efficient collection of membership dues and donations, [fundraising](#) through cultural presentations and other activities such as the sale of publications, t-shirts, artistic works, memorabilia and the like.

We are all happy to know today that the number of delegates in the Fourth International Assembly far surpasses that of any of the previous assemblies. We have new member-organizations and delegations from Africa, Middle East, Latin America and other continents. We congratulate the ICC, the ICG, the General Secretariat, the commissions, national chapters and the Host Country Committee for this signal achievement. This can be attributed to the correctness of our application of the ILPS united front policy and our determination and perseverance [in surmounting](#) all obstacles in advancing our anti-imperialist and democratic line.

The work of the League has become far more effective since November 2009 when the ICC confronted and solved the problem of obstructions and disruptions by the sectarians. What has been achieved since then puts the sectarians to shame for their desperate attacks and calls for boycott and liquidation against the League, the ICC and the Fourth International Assembly.

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Despite all kinds of difficulties due to the objective conditions of dominance by imperialism and reaction and due to some glitches caused by a few ultra-Left sectarians, the League stands today as the largest global formation of its kind, militantly anti-imperialist and democratic, with hundreds of member-organizations which in turn have millions of individual members in scores of countries and in all continents.

Mass mobilization

The League is guided by the international united front policy. It can initiate or join mass campaigns or occasional activities of mass mobilization and broad international conferences along the anti-imperialist and democratic line of struggle. By its nature, the League is a united front of mass formations at the international, global region and national levels. It brings together and coordinates the people's organizations according to common multisectoral and sectoral interests and purposes. It initiates and launches mass campaigns and various types of activities and seeks the cooperation of other anti-imperialist and democratic forces. At the same time, it joins and supports their initiatives.

We have covered a wide range of major issues, whether these arose in the imperialist countries or in the most numerous countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. To mention a few, we have expressed our position and have called for people's action on the imperialist policies, the crisis of the world capitalist system, environmental plunder, the US war of terror and continuing US occupation of Iraq and US-Zionist occupation of Palestine, the exploitation and oppression of peoples, the counterrevolutionary campaigns against people's wars in various countries, various forms of discrimination (chauvinist, racial, gender, religious and others), the digital divide and the antilabor, anti-immigrant and anti-youth policies in imperialist countries.

After the first international assembly

After the FIA, the League called on its member-organizations to initiate or join campaigns and activities against the US-instigated policies of neoliberal globalization and so-called perpetual war on terror which unleashed state terrorism and wars of aggression, as in Afghanistan and Iraq. The League established cooperative relations

with other anti-imperialist and democratic forces and alliances in the home grounds of imperialism and many other countries. ILPS member-organizations all over the world mobilized in full force on February 15, 2003 to join the millions of people in scores of cities all over the world [who](#) poured into the streets to condemn the war of aggression against Iraq and support the Iraqi people.

We joined protest actions against imperialist plunder during summits of the imperialist leaders and during meetings of such imperialist-controlled institutions as the IMF, WB, WTO and the World Economic Forum. We started to initiate campaigns in Asia and Africa against the Millennium Development Goals as a form of shedding crocodile tears and glossing over the problem of imperialist plunder. We sponsored and promoted the international women's conference held in Vancouver, Canada in November 2002 which carried the theme: "Towards our Liberation: Against Imperialist War and Plunder."

We co-organized with Greek organizations an anti-imperialist camp in Thessaloniki, Greece from June 15 to 22, 2003 parallel to the European Social Forum in the same city. Several thousand people came to form a strong anti-imperialist bloc in the mass demonstrations against the EU summit. We also co-sponsored the conference on US military bases on September 20-22, 2003 in Chania, Greece and launched an international campaign for the dismantling of overseas US military bases.

We launched campaigns to demand the release of political prisoners, such as ILPS vice-chairman Memik Horuz who was arrested by Turkish authorities soon after coming from the First International Assembly and the ILPS Auditor Irene Fernandez who was arrested by the Malaysian government for exposing the sad plight of migrant workers and fighting for their rights.

When the ILPS General Consultant was put on the so-called terrorist blacklist of the US, Dutch and European Union in 2002, participating organizations of the League carried out a campaign to defend his democratic rights. DEFEND Committees were formed, with ILPS participating organizations at the core of these committees to conduct information meetings and mass actions.

A conference titled Laws, Label and Liberation focusing on my case was held in Montreal, Canada in May 2004 under the auspices of the League. My case served to illustrate the intensified attacks by the imperialists and reactionaries on human rights and on the right of

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oppressed peoples to national liberation through legislation using as [pretext the](#) so-called war on terror.

In cooperation with the All-India People's Resistance Forum and other progressive Indian organizations, the League organized the Mumbai Resistance 2004 to confront the problem of imperialism and to call for system change in opposition to the reformist line of the Mumbai World Social Forum in January 2004. Over 300 Indian mass organizations and hundreds of representatives from scores of mass organizations from Asia, North America, South America, Europe, Middle East and Africa participated in MR 2004.

After the second international assembly

After the SIA, we carried out solidarity campaigns for the peoples of Iraq, Palestine, Nepal, India and other countries, against imperialist war in Iraq and Afghanistan and against foreign military bases, for the release of Memik Horuz, for the defense of the rights of the ILPS Chairperson and for his delisting from the so-called terrorist list.

We supported the international women's conference on March 8, 2005. We joined the March 19 protest actions against the US occupation of Iraq and the conference on political prisoners "From Attica to Abu Ghraib" in the US in 2005. We joined the conference against the war of aggression on Iraq in Germany on March 20, 2005.

We sponsored the conference in Bandung in April 2005 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the historic Bandung Conference that gave birth to the Non-Aligned Movement. We participated in the formation of [the](#) Palestinian Committee on May 15, 2005. We sponsored a symposium on political prisoners in order to denounce and demand the end of torture and isolation in Turkey in June 2005.

We joined the commemoration of the 60th anniversary of Hiroshima and Nagasaki [atomic](#) bombing in August 2005. Brazilian member-organizations of the League manifested in Porto Alegre our criticism of the World Social Forum. We co-sponsored the conference on Iraq on October 1-2, 2005 in Rome. We were among the main organizers of the People's Action Week against the WTO in Hong Kong on December 8-18, 2005.

We co-organized the Conference on US Militarism and War of Terror in Asia-Pacific from December 9 to 10, 2006. The ILPS East Asia Coordinating Committee initiated the formation and launching of

the Asia-Pacific Anti-US Bases Network. We endorsed and supported the various activities organized and sponsored by the member-organizations of the League, such as the International Solidarity Mission in Defense of a People Under Siege (Philippines), Conference Towards a Just and Lasting Peace in Canada and the Conference on Trade Union and Labor in Turkey.

In many cases, the League generated information campaigns on a global scale but member-organizations engaged in the action campaigns on the issues that they had started in their respective countries. The issues included human rights violations in the Philippines, Turkey, India, Brazil and other countries, the royal coup in Nepal, the apartheid wall in Palestine, displacement of people in Nandigram, repression of Turkish activists in Germany and France, the occupation of Iraq and so on.

Officers of the ICC continued to be targeted for persecution by reactionary governments. Soon after coming from the Second International Assembly, our colleague in the ICC, the Palestinian health activist Dr. Ahmad Maslamani was arrested and imprisoned by the Israeli Zionist authorities. Our first Chairperson and subsequently honorary chairperson Rep. Crispin Beltran was also arrested and imprisoned for more than a year from 2006 to 2007 on the trumped-up charge of rebellion by the Arroyo regime in the Philippines.

On the same charge of rebellion, the Chairperson was placed at the top of the 50 accused social activists, including the Chairperson of the Philippine chapter, other progressive members of Congress and anti-Arroyo military officers. The charge was dismissed by the Philippine Supreme Court in June 2007. But shortly after, your chairperson was arrested and imprisoned in The Netherlands on the false charge of inciting murder in August 2007, on the basis of specifications nullified by the aforesaid court. A global campaign was undertaken to defend my rights and the rights of other Filipino refugees and to demand my release from the Scheveningen prison.

In all cases, the League defended its persecuted leaders, carried out protest actions and initiated petition campaigns for their release. It spearheaded the global campaign to defend my rights and those other Filipino progressives abroad and succeeded in generating protest rallies against the Dutch government in more than 20 cities of the world and helping cause my release from prison in September 2007.

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The League and particularly its Commission on Migrant Workers and Refugees held the First International Conference on Migrant Workers and Refugees and subsequently in 2008 launched the International Migrants Association in Hong Kong on the eve of our Third International Assembly.

Since the third international assembly

Since the TIA, the League has initiated and carried out the following campaigns: against the global financial and economic crisis and the G20; against the US-led imperialist wars of aggression and occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan; against intensifying US militarism and intervention; against US foreign military bases; against Israel's illegal settlement expansion and in support of the Palestinian right to return; against the oppressive policy aimed at the ILPS Chairperson; against the extrajudicial killings of progressive leaders and activists in the Philippines; against the illegal arrest, torture and unjust detention of 43 Health Workers (Morong 43) in the Philippines; in support of the struggles of the workers of Hacienda Luisita; against displacements of indigenous people and Operation Greenhunt in India; in defense of jobs; for the release of political prisoners; against the Global Forum on Migrants and Development; against threats of war on Iran; and against nuclear reactors and power plants.

The League has also engaged in a number of campaigns initiated by other organizations since July 2008, such as the following: against the G-8 Summit in Hokkaido; against the US plan to launch a war on Iran; against growing repression in Iran; against US and NATO maneuvers in the Russia-Georgia conflict; for the bailout of the American people and not of the big bankers; for supporting the Greek people against the Karamanlis regime; for the Palestinian people against Israeli attacks, invasion and massacres; against the Israeli invasion of Gaza and massacres of the Palestinians; against the criminal record of the Bush regime; for supporting the general strike of the French people; and against the brutal attacks by the Italian police on Italian revolutionaries.

Commission No. 2 of the League reactivated RESIST as an international campaign against neoliberal globalization and war. It planned and organized an international forum of prominent economic experts and social scientists on the economic and financial crisis which broke out in September 2008. The forum on the root causes

and consequences of the crisis was held on January 30, 2009 in Amsterdam, The Netherlands, with the cooperation of IBON-Europe. The Chairperson of the League contributed to the forum the paper entitled "What the People Can and Must Do About the Financial and Economic Crisis."

RESIST co-organized a series of forums on the crisis in Bali, Indonesia, in New York City, in Nairobi and in Manila. It conducted a workshop on US militarism and human rights at the US Social Forum in Pittsburgh with BAYAN USA. It held a symposium on "charting alternatives for the global economy" as part of Peoples' Summit vs. the G20 in Seoul, Korea. It put forward and distributed the "People's Manifesto for Jobs and Justice" at the Peoples' Summit in Pittsburgh G20.

The League participated in the Beirut International Forum for Resistance, Solidarity Between Peoples and Alternatives [from January 16 to 19](#), 2009 for the following purposes: to know more about the nature, forces and plans of the Beirut International Forum; to disseminate among the participants basic information about the ILPS; to explore the possibility of alliance between ILPS and the forum; and to prospect for ILPS member-organizations and allies, especially in the Middle East and Africa. The ultra-Left sectarians fiercely opposed the participation of the League on the argument that the forum included Muslim and other organizations from Palestine, Lebanon, Syria and Iran.

From February 2009 onwards, the League participated in information campaigns for land and justice for the peasants and farmworkers of Hacienda Luisita; for the people's struggle in the Niger Delta against foreign oil monopolies; for the cause of replacing capitalism with socialism; against political repression in the Philippines; for the immediate and unconditional release of Revolutionary Democratic Front leaders and activists in India; against the false claims of economic recovery; against the US global war of terror; against the US-RoK military exercises against the DPRK; and for livelihood and social justice in the Philippines and other countries impoverished by imperialism and reaction.

We joined the opposition to the L'Aquila G8 Summit. We persevered in condemning the US invasion and occupation of Iraq and demanding the US and other forces of aggression. We participated in the celebration of International Women's Day on March 8, 2009. We defended the rights of the indigenous peoples in the Lalgarrh Solidarity

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Convention on August 6, 2009. We endorsed and supported the Second International Assembly of Migrants and Refugee in Athens, Greece, on November 1-4, 2009. We continued to defend the rights of Italian revolutionaries persecuted by the Berlusconi government.

We promoted the anti-imperialist and democratic line of the League in the International Conference on Education, Imperialism and Resistance at the Shih Hsin University in Taipei on August 10, 2009. The Alliance of Concerned Teachers, a member-organization of the League, was the key organizer.

Last year the League either called for, joined or supported campaigns for defending the DPRK from US and RoK war provocations, against the NATO during its summit, for the New Social Congress in Mexico City, against Operation Greenhunt and the US-India military partnership, for the general strike of French workers and youth, for the human rights of political prisoners and the disappeared, for the national demonstration led by the Italian metal workers, for the American people against the fascist current, for the Europe-wide Day of Action against austerity measures and for jobs and economic growth, against the massacre of migrant workers in Tamaulipas, Mexico, for the commemoration of 9/11 and condemnation of US terrorism and against the mounting burden of crisis on the backs of the people and against the barbaric Israeli attack on the Freedom Flotilla.

In the current year, the League also called for, joined or supported campaigns for the celebration of the Centennial of the International Toiling Women's Day, for the mass uprisings in North Africa and the Middle East, against the US and NATO military attacks on Libya, for peasant unity in Asia, for the human rights of political prisoners and the disappeared, for the freedom of Julian Assange, for the banning of nuclear reactors and power plants and for the people of Greece in their struggle against austerity measures. The year is still far from over. The League will involve itself in further campaigns.

With the Fourth International Assembly being held in the Philippines, I find it appropriate and relevant to mention the fact that, in all the years since the TIA, we have promoted the anti-imperialist and democratic line of the League in various campaigns, conferences and other gatherings organized by progressive organizations of Filipino workers, peasants, youth, women, cultural workers and others in the Philippines as well as Filipino compatriots and their friends in various countries.

The League stands today as the global formation of mass organizations that has the widest range of involvement in informative gatherings and mass actions by initiating them or by joining the initiatives of other organizations, alliances and campaign centers. We have our own mass strength in the millions of members of our member-organizations but by carrying out the united front policy and direct appeals to the masses we have been able to augment and amplify our own organized mass strength and we have been able to take advantage of contradictions among the imperialists and reactionaries.

II. Ever-worsening crisis of global capitalism

The International League of Peoples' Struggle had been conceived of since 1994 to confront the world capitalist system, its policy of neoliberal globalization, its policy of aggression in the new world disorder and, of course, the emergence of the US as the sole superpower in a so-called unipolar world as a consequence of the full restoration of capitalism in former socialist countries.

In the 1990s those who boasted of capitalism and liberal democracy as the end of history glossed over the fact that the US had become the biggest debtor of the world in the 1980s, that the revisionist regimes of pseudo-socialist countries had long been trapped in the web of global capitalism, that Japan had fallen into stagnation since the beginning of the 1990s and the policy of neoliberal globalization began to be discredited in a big way by the so-called Asian financial crisis of 1997 and further crises in South Korea, Russia and elsewhere.

By the time that the League was established in 2001, the US and the world capitalist system had fallen into a new round of severe crisis, characterized by the bursting of the hightech bubble and the unraveling of Clinton's new economy (touted as ever growing upon the impetus of high technology and the absence of wage inflation). This economy was the centerpiece and lead factor of the US-directed policy of neoliberal globalization.

The new US administration under Bush junior wanted to continue the policy and thought of keeping the US economy vibrant by further loosening credit, fueling consumerism and going into the direction of generating the housing bubble that would start to burst in 2006 and become a full-blown mortgage meltdown in 2008. The Bush administration also added to the neoliberal policy a heavy dose of Keynesian

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militarism, driven by the hysteria and wars of aggression as a consequence of 9/11.

As we hold the Fourth International Assembly and celebrate the 10th anniversary of the League, we are keenly aware of how far the crisis of the capitalist system has worsened. The abuses of monopoly finance capitalism in a futile attempt to overcome the crisis of overproduction and raise the profits rates of the financial oligarchy and the monopoly bourgeoisie have led to an unprecedented economic and financial crisis and a global depression, the worst since the Great Depression.

The current global depression escalates exploitation and oppression and inflicts terrible suffering on the broad masses of the people. At the same time, it incites the people to fight back and to develop the forces by which they can win victory in the struggle for national liberation, democracy and socialism. It is a boon to the people that the League has existed and has developed for ten years as their instrument and is prepared to confront the dismal objective conditions of the world capitalist system by arousing, organizing and mobilizing the people to wage anti-imperialist and democratic struggles for fundamental change.

The current grave crisis of the world capitalist system is rooted in the relentless drive of the monopoly bourgeoisie to maximize profits by raising productivity while pushing down the wages of the working class. This results in the recurrent crisis of overproduction. The income of the workers decreases and they cannot buy what they produce. The rising productivity amidst market constriction **results** in the tendency of the profit rates to fall.

As a consequence, the monopoly bourgeoisie resorts to finance capitalism, the rapid expansion of money and credit, unregulated debt financing and the generation of derivatives, to boost the rate of profit far above the real economy, overvalue assets and accelerate the accumulation and concentration of both real and fictitious capital. The hightech bubble conjured the illusion of endless economic growth in the second half of the 1990s. More than 40 percent of American households bought shares of stocks, mainly by using pension funds and bank credit.

After the hightech bubble burst, the monopoly bourgeoisie thought next of making the housing bubble. This was made possible by the further abuse of debt financing at every level: the state, corporations and the household. The mortgage meltdown occurred and resulted

in the collapse of big banks and corporations. The imperialist states used huge amounts of public money to bail them out, let them improve their financial statements, cut down labor costs and avoid the risks of expanding production in a narrowed market.

The bailout in trillions of dollars combined with the continuing tax cuts for corporations and the upper class and the rising military expenditures also in the trillions have resulted in huge public deficits and public debts while failing to stimulate production. The biggest and the worst of the financial bubbles have conspicuously appeared in the form of the public debt bubble. Now, this bubble is bursting in the imperialist countries and spreading like an epidemic to other countries. And the reaction of the imperialist and client states is to adopt austerity measures at the further expense of the working people and even the middle class.

The austerity measures involve further pressing down wages, eroding pensions and social benefits and cutting back on government spending for social services. The burden of the worsening crisis is further being passed on to the broad masses of the people. At the same time, the imperialist states do not take the initiative to expand production and employment. They stick to the dogma of neoliberal globalization, blaming wage inflation and government social spending for the crisis and leaving all the initiative to the big banks and corporations to accumulate capital and make profits, without having to plan and expand production and employment.

The epicenter of the global economic and financial crisis is the US, the leading economy and main market of global capitalism. It is necessary and appropriate to focus on the US **for understanding** the global crisis and depression. It is both a beneficiary and victim of its own greed under the policy of neoliberal globalization. It has outsourced to China the production of cheap consumer goods and has sought bigger profits in hightech production and financializing its economy. But the ever rising US foreign trade deficits have enlarged its foreign debt at a runaway rate. The US has overshot the current limit on its public debt and is about to raise the limit further in order to avoid default on its debts in the international market.

The abuse of debt financing at home and the huge foreign debt of the US have gravely undermined its economic and financial standing. Any major US attempt to solve these problems and counter the global crisis by reviving domestic manufacturing and generating employment,

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is bound to upset the balance of forces among the imperialist powers. Nevertheless, China, its main partner under the policy of neoliberal globalization, has become wary of decreasing orders for consumer goods from the US and the weakening of the US dollar and is maneuvering to develop other trade partners, fields of investment and sources of fuel and other raw materials.

Not so long ago, the traditional imperialist states were jubilant over the notion that the full restoration of capitalism in revisionist-ruled countries spelled the final victory of capitalism and the final doom of socialism and the national liberation movements. But the rising capitalist countries, like China and Russia, together with Brazil, India and South Africa, exert pressure on the dominance of the US and the balance of forces among the imperialist powers in several ways.

The imperialist powers still manage to unite against the proletariat and people of the world, especially in the underdeveloped countries. But they continue to fail to solve the global economic and financial crisis and are increasingly in contradiction with each other over economic, financial, trade, political and security issues. The G-8, the G-20, the OECD, the conferences of the IMF, World Bank and WTO have failed to solve the crisis and many related problems.

There was unanimity among the imperialist powers in launching wars of aggression against Afghanistan and Iraq in the first half of the current decade. But since then, China and Russia have become very wary over the expansionism and maneuvers of the US and NATO in Central Asia, the Middle East and South Asia. They have formed the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the Collective Security Treaty Organization to countervail US incursions. Currently, no unanimity exists among the imperialist powers over the war of aggression being carried out against Libya as well as on the proposal to launch aggression on Syria and Iran.

The US and other imperialist powers tend to be more aggressive as the global economic and financial crisis worsens. Under the deceptive schemes of waging war on terror, humanitarian intervention and promoting democracy, the US has taken the lead among the imperialist powers in stepping up war production and engaging in aggressive actions as a way of satisfying the military-industrial complex, maintaining some measure of economic growth, expanding economic territory abroad and selling arms to client-states. But by being bogged down in Iraq and Afghanistan, the US incurs heavy costs of war and the

growing resistance of the American people. It has difficulty in launching further wars of aggression.

As a result of the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system, the contradictions between capital and labor, and between the monopoly bourgeoisie and working class are becoming acute at an accelerating rate. The workers, the youth, the women, the migrant workers and the rest of the people have launched general strikes and massive protest actions in France, Italy, Spain, Greece, Ireland and Portugal against the growing loss of employment, the plummeting of income, the erosion of social benefits and social services. The austerity measures that aggravate these problems and the rise of state violence to suppress the people are goading them to resist in large numbers.

The factors that have blunted the resistance of the proletariat and people are being countered by the gravity of the crisis and by the steady efforts of progressive and revolutionary forces to build their political strength. The worsening of the crisis and rise of people's resistance are steadily pushing back the influence of the previous decades of relative affluence and consumerism, revisionism and opportunism in the working class movement and are contesting the reactionary currents of fascism, chauvinism, racism and religious bigotry.

At the moment, there is a see-saw in the electoral strength of the reactionary and progressive parties in Europe. In contrast, the Democratic and Republican parties in the US compete as do Coca Cola and Pepsi Cola in flagrantly carrying out the policy dictates of the financial oligarchy and the military-industrial complex. Both parties agree on raising the US debt ceiling. And to blunt public protests, they promise to bring down the public deficit, with the Democrats wishing to reduce the tax cuts for the corporations and upper class and the Republicans demanding the further reduction of government social spending.

Countries in the third world play a major role in either serving or opposing imperialism. In every country, such role is decided by the character of the ruling system or the political leadership obtaining at a particular time. Certainly, the Philippines now is a country dominated by reactionary classes and leaders subservient to US imperialism. But a country that is socialist or has bourgeois nationalist leadership and asserts national independence can oppose or stand against imperialism. A country is not onesidedly a plaything of imperialist powers. It can reflect the dominant patriotic trend in the mass movement and the

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national and democratic aspirations of the people against imperialism and reaction.

It is fine that the group of ultra-Left sectarian elements has left the League after failing to impose on us the anarchist notion of some among them that non-imperialist countries are incapable of playing a positive role in the anti-imperialist movement and can only be marionettes of one or another imperialist power. Although they do not deny the phenomena of contradictions among imperialist countries, they deny the contradictions between the non-imperialist countries invoking or asserting national independence and the imperialist countries attacking or suppressing them.

They practically deny that the revolutionary party of the proletariat can and ought to seize state power in a country and assert the national sovereignty and independence of that country. Despite their lip service to Mao and Maoism, they condemn Mao for the participation of socialist China in the Bandung Conference of 1956 in order to join up with the anti-imperialist leaders of other countries and establish the five principles of peaceful coexistence in diplomatic relations and oppose imperialist maneuvers to divide and rule the countries, nations and people of Asia and Africa. The infantile sectarians confuse peaceful coexistence in diplomacy with Krushchov's revisionist line of peaceful coexistence.

They also deny the fact that countries like the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, China, Cuba, Venezuela, Bolivia and others are capable of asserting national independence and opposing the US and other imperialist powers on major issues. The worst notion expressed by some ultra-Left sectarian elements is that the united front policy and tactics do not apply on Iran and cannot be used to counter the theocratic premise of the current Iranian state and its claim to being the defender of national independence. Some among them have the puerile notion that the League should not be involved in any effort to support Palestine because Syria and Iran support it.

The League draws a certain measure of political and organizational consolidation from no longer being hampered, disrupted or threatened with liquidation by the sectarian elements who try to impose on it some weird and obscure ideological considerations and prevent its development as an international united front of mass formations and as a political movement of a broad range of anti-imperialist and democratic forces. Such sectarian elements have turned off many

organizations from joining the League. Now that they have left, the League can expand more easily than before.

The broad masses of the people in Asia, Africa, Latin America and several countries of Eastern Europe suffer the worst of imperialist plunder, intervention and aggression. As the crisis of global capitalism worsens, the imperialist powers impose on them ever more exploitative and oppressive policies, further pass on to them the burden of crisis and suppress their demands for national and social liberation. But precisely because of the escalating level of exploitation and oppression, the people are driven to resist the enemy. They steadily build their strength and wage various forms of struggle.

Legal protest movements are rising on a global scale **in an unprecedented way**. They are fueled by pro-imperialist and reactionary policies and **concrete conditions generated by these**, such as rising mass unemployment, soaring prices of food, fuel and other basic commodities and increasingly violent reaction of states to unarmed protests. As a result of the mass uprisings, revolutionary parties of the proletariat, mass organizations and alliances have arisen.

Most outstanding recently are the mass uprisings against US-supported autocratic regimes in North Africa and the Middle East. The uprisings have resulted in the overthrow of such regimes as those in Tunisia and Egypt. But the ruling system of the same reactionary classes persists in the absence of a revolutionary party and people's army to overthrow it. In other cases, the same autocratic regime of the same family or clique stays in power. The Western powers led by the US have taken advantage of political disorder to launch aggression against Libya or threaten to launch this against Syria.

The most outstanding armed struggles are those being waged by the people of Iraq and Afghanistan against the US-led invasion and occupation of their countries, the Palestinian people against US-supported Zionist Israel, the people of Columbia, Peru, the Philippines, India, Turkey, North Kurdistan, Nigeria and other countries for national liberation and democracy against US imperialism and the local reactionaries.

As the crisis of global capitalism protracts and worsens, more armed revolutionary movements are bound to arise and advance in various countries and continents. By their own example of counterrevolutionary violence, the imperialists and local reactionaries are pushing the people to rise up in arms. The revolutionary armed struggles are

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responding to the crucial demand for the seizure of state power in order to defeat the enemy and achieve all-round social revolution.

III. Constant and new tasks of the League

On behalf of the outgoing ICC of the League, I urge all the delegations and all member-organizations of the League to take guidance from and carry out the constant tasks stated in our Charter and the new tasks to be spelled out by the General Declaration of the Fourth International Assembly and by resolutions of the commissions.

Let me present some points about political education, organization and mass mobilization by way of guiding and stimulating the discussion, consensus-building and **decision-making** on the basis of your experience and analysis thereof. I am sure that many correct and useful ideas will come up to enrich our understanding and statement of our tasks in political education, organization building and mass mobilization

Tasks in political education

We call on you to intensify political education among the individual members of all the member-organizations of the League on the need for a broad anti-imperialist and democratic united front and international people's solidarity in accordance with our Charter, General Declaration and the resolutions of the commissions. We propagate the content of these documents in order to strengthen the League politically and organizationally.

We must always have an acute awareness of the political reality around us and take up issues promptly as these arise in the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles. The ICC, ICG, the Chairperson, the commissions, the global region committees, the national chapters and member-organizations must put forward their analyses and views as current events and issues arise within their respective scopes of responsibility. They must issue timely statements and conduct study meetings, seminars and conferences on major issues in order to raise the political consciousness of their ranks and those that they wish to invite as member-organizations or as allies.

The commissions have the special task of undertaking research and publications on the various concerns for expanding and deepening the

knowledge of all our constituents and for raising the consciousness of our friendly organizations to the level that they decide to join because of their interest in one, several or all concerns of the League. They must use the print and electronic media to spread the basic documents, primers, position papers, statements and other reading materials.

Organizational tasks

At this Fourth International Assembly, you must elect to the International Coordinating Committee those whom you consider capable of contributing significantly to the further all-round development and fulfilment of the tasks of the League. To strengthen the ICC and the entire League organizationally, we must adhere to the Charter and to the By Laws which stipulates in detail the duties and functions of the leading organs and their officers at various levels.

We must recruit more member-organizations through the efforts of our existing member-organizations, the national chapters and the global region committees as well as through the efforts of the commissions on various concerns. We must carry out the longstanding guideline that a national chapter may be formed in a country where there are already three member-organizations of the League and the global region coordinating committee may be formed in a global region where there are already three national chapters.

We must build the national chapters and the global region coordinating committees in order to reduce the work load of the ICC, ICG and the General Secretariat and develop a more solid mass base of the League. We must cover the regions of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe, North America and Oceania. We must pay special attention to the attraction of member-organizations in the global regions of Africa, Latin America, Central Asia, South Asia and Eastern Europe.

We must complete and strengthen the organization of the commissions. These should not be allowed to slacken after international assemblies. They must have continuous organizational life and activities. The lead organizations and secretariats must make sure that the commissions develop in full through internal communications and meetings and through conferences to engage other organizations at the national, global region and international levels.

Inter-commission cooperation and coordination and joint projects or activities must also be undertaken and availed of to augment and

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combine capabilities, especially those that are closely related and on specific issues, campaigns and activities of mutual concern. But the commissions should always bear in mind that they primarily serve the entire League as the main engine for informing, educating and mobilizing the entire League and the people on various concerns.

We must collect efficiently the membership dues and donations from the better off member-organizations and from friends. We must recognize the disparity of circumstances and incomes in the South and North of the world and allow member-organizations in the South to pay annual membership dues less than the US\$150 which member-organizations in the North can afford to pay. The incoming ICC should spell out the specific guidelines, criteria and the corresponding amounts for rationalizing the membership dues accordingly.

We must also raise funds by soliciting donations and funding for programs, projects and campaigns and by undertaking cultural performances, sale of publications, t-shirts, paraphernalia and the like. We must continue to strengthen the self-reliant financial standing of the League and strive to raise the much-needed resources for the League to function more effectively and launch more campaigns and other activities.

Tasks in mass mobilization

Under the policy of the international united front, we must aim for and initiate more widely-coordinated mass campaigns, more frequent activities of mass mobilization and more broad international conferences along the anti-imperialist and democratic line of struggle. We invite other organizations and alliances to participate for the purpose of advancing the common cause and attaining mutual benefit. We thereby augment and amplify the given strength of our League with the strength of other forces. In turn they do likewise for their benefit. Under the same policy, we can participate in campaigns and activities initiated by other organizations and alliances.

We must intensify our efforts to initiate or join the aforesaid campaigns and conferences on various multisectoral and sectoral concerns and issues and in varying geographic scales. We must calendar in advance these activities in order to prepare well and carry out well the tasks of arousing and mobilizing our member-organizations and the broad masses of the people.

We must further develop our capacity to hold globally coordinated actions on major global issues as well as specific regional or national issues that have global implications. There has been a number of positive experiences where a local struggle initiated or participated in by our member-organizations was augmented or bolstered by supportive actions by the League member-organizations in other countries, thereby visibly manifesting the breadth and strength of our League and attracting more organizations to join.

We must seek the cooperation of national liberation movements, campaign centers, organizations, institutions and alliances for the purpose of mass mobilizations. We must take advantage of the contradictions among the imperialist powers and among the local reactionaries to expose and isolate the worst and most reactionary targets at any given time and place. We must further strengthen the League by availing of the mass mobilizations and broad international conferences to increase our member-organizations.

We must ceaselessly study, clarify to ourselves and carry out our tasks for strengthening our League and our movement, in accordance with our basic documents, on the basis of the consensus we reach and the decisions we make in this assembly. Our current assembly serves to chart our course and line of advance and open a further stretch of the road towards our ultimate goal.

A bright future

The people have a bright future because they wage revolutionary struggles and build their strength against those forces that oppress and exploit them. As the ever-worsening crisis of the world capitalist system wreaks havoc on their lives, they have no choice but to fight back. The anti-imperialist and democratic forces of the people ensure the rise of mass protests and revolutionary struggles for national and social liberation against imperialism and reaction.

The broad masses of the people are inexorably moving in the direction of a fundamentally new and better world. Through resolute and militant struggles, the people and the people alone can liberate themselves and create a bright future for themselves.



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Condemn the Mass Killing in Norway⁷²

July 24, 2011

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, condemn with all our strength the mass killing of at least 92 people (including at least 85 youth) and the wounding of many others in Norway last Friday. We convey most heartfelt condolences to the bereaved families, to the organizations of the victims and the Norwegian people.

A blond blue-eyed Norwegian **right-winger** by the name of Anders Behring Breivik, who reportedly takes pride in describing himself as an anti-Marxist, anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant Christian conservative, has been apprehended by the police as prime suspect in the horrendous crimes of exploding a bomb **at** the center of Oslo and shooting to death scores of young people at the youth camp on the small island of Utoya near Oslo.

These crimes manifest the ultrareactionary currents of hatred generated by the ideologues, publicists and demagogues of the monopoly bourgeoisie and financial oligarchy to conceal the roots of the ever-worsening crisis of global capitalism and to put the blame for the crisis on the progressive forces, the working people, the immigrants, the underdeveloped countries and foreign cultures.

The biggest and worst forms of terrorism in the world today do not come from believers of Islam or even such notorious organizations as the Al Qaida but from the imperialist powers that whip up chauvinism, racism, religious bigotry and fascism, oppress and exploit the billions of working people and launch wars of aggression to kill people in the hundreds of thousands and millions.

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⁷² Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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Resist Threats from Nuclear Weapons and Power Plants⁷³

In Commemoration of the 66th Anniversary of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki Bombings

August 5, 2011

On the occasion of the 66th anniversary of the barbaric bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the US, the International League of Peoples' Struggle joins the Japanese people and all **peaceloving** peoples in commemorating the event and in condemning the continuing nuclear threat from the US and its imperialist allies.

On August 6, 1945, Hiroshima was incinerated by a nuclear weapon with a core of enriched uranium released by the US over the city. The nuclear radiation, explosion, heat and resulting fires killed 90,000 people almost immediately. This number rose to more than a hundred thousand by the end of 1945.

On August 9, 1945, Nagasaki was destroyed by a second atomic weapon with a core of plutonium 239 killing immediately some 40,000 and left 70,000 more dying by the end of the year. Tens of thousands more died later from radiation sickness. The combined death toll from the two atomic attacks run up to nearly two hundred thousand.

Despite the passage of 66 years, the surviving victims of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings suffer from the after effects and the second and third generations of the victims live in fear of consequences adverse to their health. The Japanese government has not provided to the victims state compensation and the necessary medical services.

The atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki 66 years ago **are** an exercise of unnecessary and excessive force. With the objective of **enabling the US military to test the effects and destructive power of the newly developed atomic bomb**, the US chose the two cities that were relatively unscathed by aerial bombing for its atrocious experiment.

⁷³ Statement issued as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the ILPS.

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The twin bombing ranks as one of the worst war crimes and crimes against humanity ever committed in history. Yet despite this horrifying example of destruction, the threat of nuclear weapons remains from the only country that has used these weapons of mass destruction.

There are still roughly 20,500 nuclear weapons in the world. Fourteen thousand of these are in military stockpiles and around 4,830 are deployed **strategic operations**. More than 95 percent of nuclear weapons are in the hands of the US and Russia which continue to integrate use of these weapons into their military strategies. The rest of the weapons are with the UK, France, China, Israel, India, Pakistan and North Korea.

Although both the US and Russia have **recently** said that nuclear war between them is now “unthinkable,” their strategic war plans still put nuclear strikes with hundreds of targets as options. Both countries still have the capacity to initiate a nuclear attack in a matter of a few seconds. Between the two, there are more than 800 ready-to-fire ballistic missiles armed with nearly 2,000 strategic nuclear warheads on high alert, ready for use on short notice.

The US continues to test its intercontinental ballistic missiles such as the Minuteman III for readiness and keeps its Global Strike capability to hit targets anywhere in the globe in less than an hour. As the US puts the prevention of nuclear terrorism and proliferation in its 2010 Nuclear Posture Review, it has increased funding for the rebuilding of its “aging” nuclear infrastructure.

The Obama administration plans to spend \$6.3 billion until 2016 to extend the lifetime and usage capabilities of the warheads in their stockpile. It seeks to finish the construction of nuclear materials production facilities which costs more than \$10 billion and pledged another \$6.24 billion to modernize its missiles, SSBN submarines, Joint Strike fighter planes and B-2 and B-52 bombers that are designed to deliver nuclear warheads.

The US military budget of \$698 billion in 2010 is nearly 43% of the world's total military spending. The US also remains the largest arms exporter in the world selling nearly \$38 billion last year which is predicted to surge up to \$50 billion in 2011. Saudi Arabia, Israel, and Egypt consistently rank among the top five importers of US weaponry.

The US continues to expand its war foothold with new military bases such as that on Jeju Island in South Korea and in Okinawa despite resistance from local residents. It uses bilateral military agreements

such as status of forces and base sharing agreements to virtually convert whole countries as their military base.

The new NATO Strategic Concept at the Lisbon Summit in 2010 reaffirmed the importance of nuclear weapons in the designs of the alliance in Europe. NATO's nuclear posture with roughly 200 non-strategic warheads remains tied directly to US interests. Plans to retrofit strategic nuclear bombs currently deployed in Europe as well as to build new F-35 planes to carry these bombs are being pushed to enhance NATO's capability to knock out military targets.

The US promotes double standards in nuclear proliferation—one set of rules for Israel and India and another set for potential enemies such as North Korea and Iran. It expands its role in assigning itself as global cop to hold “fully accountable any state, terrorist group, or other non-state actor that supports or enables terrorist efforts to obtain or use weapons of mass destruction, whether by facilitating, financing, or providing expertise or safe haven for such efforts.”

It enforces this through US-led agreements such as the Proliferation Security Initiative which lets US allies interdict ships unilaterally on the high seas on mere suspicion that these are carrying “nuclear materials and contraband.” Such initiatives which inflame tensions are mainly focused on such states as Iran and the DPRK and are seen as aggressive moves by these countries.

In 1954, the US used nuclear technology to entice and bring into its fold other countries such as Japan in order to counteract Soviet influence. The US uses the same tactic, in reverse, in denying Iran and the DPRK nuclear technologies to counter proliferation. This introduction of nuclear technology to Japan brought in US-designed reactors such as the Fukushima Daiichi plants that melted down last March 2011. **Even as devastating nuclear disasters in the civil use of nuclear power have been shown by the meltdown of the reactors in Fukushima, the threat of nuclear war still remains with us.**

Through nuclear intimidation and blackmail, the US has caused the suffering of tens of millions of people who came under its wars of aggression and intervention in Korea, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, and elsewhere. Further, the US has enabled its puppet regimes to massacre and maim millions more of people. The oppressive and exploitative globalization policies unleashed by the US and its local partners have put hundreds of millions of people into misery and poverty.

Develop the People's Power

In commemorating the **atomic** bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, we stand in solidarity with the people of the world against any form of imperialist war, military intervention and oppression. We are moved to resist imperialist aggression as we witness today the extremely high numbers of people being killed and injured in Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya.

We vigorously oppose the US-Japanese military alliance and its core strategic policy of nuclear blackmail. It is just for the people of Japan and the world to condemn and resist the scheme of the US and Japanese governments in the consolidation of US bases in Okinawa, Iwakuni and Kanagawa. These are meant to perpetuate US domination **over** the Asia-Pacific region

Since the latter half of the 1960s, the US and Japanese monopoly bourgeoisie have undermined and weakened the yearly commemoration of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki **atomic** bombings in order to reduce remembrance of these, lessen fears about nuclear radiation and pave the way for the rapid construction of nuclear power plants in Japan. There are now more than 55 nuclear reactors in Japan, with 14 more power plants previously planned.

Now, we are confronted with a grave nuclear disaster, the meltdown of reactors in Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant. Radiation leaks continue and spread. A great number of people are exposed to radiation in the Fukushima and neighboring prefectures. Land, seawater and crops are polluted and local communities are victimized. The myths of safety in the use of nuclear power plants have been exposed.

We hereby express our firm and continuing support to the Japanese people in their demands for the state to provide compensation and medical services to the A-bomb victims and their second and third generations, for banning and shutting down all the nuclear power plants and stopping the construction of new ones, for holding the Japanese state responsible for acts of aggression during World War II and for indemnifying all war victims in Asia, for **stopping** the nuclear armament of Japan, for scrapping the US-Japan security alliance and dismantling the US military bases in Japan and for the withdrawal of all US military forces in Asia.

The anniversaries of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are reminders of the continued peril that the peoples of the world face under imperialist aggression. The ILPS calls on all the world's peoples to intensify their struggle against US imperialism and its barbaric and terrorist policy of

producing, maintaining, using and threatening to use nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

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Develop the People's Power

Youth and Working People Rise Up against the Ruling System in the UK⁷⁴

August 14, 2011

Long pent-up social tensions exploded into four days of pitched and running battles between mainly young protesters and the police in London and other major English cities last week. The trigger was the racist killing of Mark Duggan, a black man and father of three, at the hands of the police in a “stop and search operation” in Tottenham in London on August 4.

As the uprisings progressed, adults of the working class and of all races joined the mostly young militants. Both young and adult unleashed their anger against the oppressive and exploitative ruling system. They denounced explicitly the gross inequality of income, widespread unemployment, discrimination, state brutality and the austerity measures. They targeted mainly the upscale chain stores catering to the upper class.

The mainstream media and bourgeois politicians of all stripes condemned the “violence” and misrepresented the mass uprising as nothing but the handiwork of juvenile gangs and criminals. In fact, the hundreds of people who **have been** arrested and detained during and after the protest actions come from a wide spectrum of working people and youth of various races.

Prime Minister David Cameron was quick to dismiss the charge that the protests were the result of his austerity measures and called for more repressive measures, including mass arrests, use of the army, use of water cannons and rubber bullets, extra dispersal and curfew powers and blocking access to social networking media supposedly during times of social unrest.

Cameron’s austerity measures in response to the crisis of British capitalism have hit the **working people, especially the youth, the hardest**. Under Cameron’s austerity measures, young people have seen their EMA (Educational Maintenance Allowance) college grant scrapped, costs for bus travel skyrocket and university fees raised to

⁷⁴ Statement issued as Chairperson of the International League of Peoples’ Struggle.

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£9,000 on top of mass unemployment, scarcity of jobs, cutbacks on basic social services and rising prices of basic goods and services.

Youth unemployment is at a record high, fanning fears that Britain's young people could become a "lost generation" who cannot find work for a long period of time. The total number of adults under 25 who are out of work is close to 1 million or 20.3% of employable youth. This is the highest level since 1992. In Liverpool for instance, one-third of children are in households with no one working.

Mark Duggan's shooting drew so much anger because the police tried at first to cover up the real story. As with the shooting of Jean Charles de Menezes in 2005 and the death of Ian Tomlinson in 2009, the truth of what happened was initially suppressed.

A peaceful protest vigil organized by the family and friends of Mark Duggan **had** marched to the police station on the evening of August 6 to ask for an explanation. The police refused to respond to the call for dialogue. Later at a stand-off between protesters and the police, a 16-year old girl was dragged, pounced upon and beaten up by 15 police officers. That is when the stone-throwing and car-burning started.

The revolt spread quickly from Tottenham into other areas of London and further to such major cities as Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Nottingham and others. The issue of police brutality led to the widespread venting of popular anger on other basic social issues against the ruling system.

This is the biggest urban uprising in Britain for decades. It is bound to break out again and again so long as the crisis of the world capitalist system and inflicts terrible suffering on the broad masses of the people. The global crisis has become so grave that it has goaded the people to revolt not only in the imperialist-dominated countries but also in the imperialist countries.

We in the International League of Peoples' Struggle express our solidarity with the working people and youth in the United Kingdom in their struggle for a truly democratic, just and more humane society. Life under the oppressive and exploitative rule of Capital is teaching the working people lessons in political economy **as well as in what is to be done** in relation to state and revolution.

The people are moved by their hardship and suffering to understand more deeply the fundamental problems of society, the real roots of poverty, unemployment, police brutality and corruption in high places and arrive at an understanding of the long-term solutions. They organize

themselves and rise up in order to assert, defend and advance their rights against their oppressors and exploiters and seek to build a fundamentally new and better world.

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Develop the People's Power

Condemn and Demand Immediate Stop to the Bombing of the Kurdish People⁷⁵

August 18, 2011

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), vigorously condemn the bombing attacks on Kurdish communities by the reactionary Turkish air force and demand a stop to such blind and vicious attacks on the Kurdish people.

Some 15 US-supplied Turkish F-16 jet fighter planes dropped bombs yesterday on the civilian population in Hakkari and elsewhere on the pretext that they were raiding bases of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in retaliation for a successful ambush by a PKK fighting unit on a Turkish army unit.

The Turkish war planes also attacked Qandil, a mountain on the Iraqi-Iranian border, and in the process crossed the border. The Turkish reactionaries are hellbent on carrying an air and ground offensive in Kurdistan and across borders even before the end of Ramadan.

We stand firmly in solidarity with the Kurdish people and militantly support their struggle for national self-determination and democracy against the Turkish chauvinists and fascists and their imperialist masters. It is reprehensible that the US and the European Union and their Turkish puppets misrepresent as terrorist the Kurdish national liberation movement.

We call on all member-organizations of the ILPS, their allies and the broad masses of the people throughout the world to expose and oppose the barbaric attacks on the Kurdish people by the Turkish reactionaries and to undertake protest actions to demand the immediate end of such attacks.

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⁷⁵ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

Develop the People's Power

On the GPH-NDFP Peace Negotiations and Revolutionaries from Ateneo

Interview by Kevin Mizon, *The Guidon*, Ateneo de Manila University

August 20, 2011

1. The second agenda in the peace process is the CASER. What are the exact, specific socioeconomic reforms that CPP-NPA-NDF is heavily pushing for?

JMS: The socioeconomic reforms include mainly upholding economic sovereignty and conserving the national patrimony, land reform and national industrialization, defending the rights of workers, promoting the people's livelihood, cancellation of odious debts, respecting the right of ancestral domain of indigenous peoples and equitable economic and trade relations with all foreign countries for the purpose of development.

2. The third agenda is the CAPCR. What are the exact, specific political and constitutional reforms that the CPP-NPA-NDF is heavily pushing for?

JMS: The political and constitutional reforms include upholding national sovereignty and abrogation of unequal treaties, agreements and arrangements, empowerment of the working people, gender equality, respect for the right of self-determination of the indigenous peoples, a patriotic, democratic and people-oriented system of education and culture, elimination of corruption, overhaul of the electoral system, revamp of the judicial system and independent foreign policy for development and world peace.

3. Once these reforms have been institutionalized, how different will Philippine society be? How drastic and different will the consequences and implications be?

JMS: If the aforementioned reforms are adopted and implemented, the Philippines will be greatly and substantially different from what it is now.

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The implications and consequences will be drastically different in favor of the broad masses of the people. The long-frustrated aspirations of the people for national independence, democracy, social justice and all-round development shall be advanced.

4. As a general question, what are the different scenarios of the CPP/NPA/NDF's future? First, if the current round of negotiations finishes successfully in the three-year timeline? Next, if it doesn't?

JMS: If the peace negotiations are successfully completed in three year's time or sometime after, then the CPP, NPA and NDFP abide by the mutual agreements with GPH and there shall be just and lasting peace on a good foundation. If the GPH tries to impose capitulation and violation of principles on the aforesaid revolutionary forces, then the armed conflict shall continue and shall probably escalate to a new and higher level.

5. How viable is the armed struggle right now? Detractors of the CPP-NPA-NDF believe that your army's physical strength isn't enough to overthrow the government.

JMS: Since the Second Great Rectification Movement in the 1990s, which repudiated and rectified major errors in the 1980s, the CPP, NPA and NDFP have become not just viable but far stronger than before.

Of course, the armed strength of the NPA is not yet enough to overthrow the entire ruling system. But the NPA and other revolutionary forces are now carrying out a plan to advance from strategic defensive to strategic stalemate.

The broad united front of revolutionary forces and legal opposition forces has high potential of overthrowing at any time a particular administration that is too repressive or too corrupt and thus hated by the people, like the regimes of Marcos and Estrada.

6. Sir, you have called parties working for radical reforms (such as Akbayan) as counterrevolutionaries. That in your side, there exists a false dichotomy between reforms and revolution. Any thoughts on this, sir?

JMS: I do not remember having said or written publicly that the Akbayan is counterrevolutionary. But of course I am aware that CPP publications and statements of known progressives have criticized

the Akbayan for being **pseudo-revolutionary**, reformist and even counterrevolutionary.

There is a difference between reformism and reforms that are necessary and useful for the people, such as those reforms demanded by the NDFP in peace negotiations with the GPH. Reformism is the systematic pretense for reforms or use of some reforms to block fundamental or revolutionary social change. In that sense, reformism is counterrevolutionary.

7. In the over 40 rounds of peace talks conducted and in the numerous interruptions, where would you say was the GPH's fault? Alternately, where would you say the CPP-NPA-NDF was at fault?

JMS: Since the formal opening of GRP-NDFP peace negotiations in Brussels in June 1995, sixteen years ago, the GRP (now called the GPH) has been responsible for interruptions amounting to 14 years under GRP declarations of suspension, collapse and JASIG termination, aggravating GRP violations of agreements.

If one misconstrues the ceasefire agreement in 1986-87 as the beginning of peace negotiations, the GRP has been responsible for interruptions amounting to some 22 years out of 24 years. Remember that Cory Aquino unsheathed the sword of war in 1987 and swung her sword in vain for so many years against the NPA.

The NDFP has never made any declaration of suspension, collapse and JASIG termination to interrupt the peace negotiations. Only twice has it declared postponement of the formal talks of the panels. The first one was in August 2004 when it asked for postponement of formal talks to allow the GRP the time to fulfil its obligation to release JASIG-protected persons. The second one was in June 2011 when it called for postponement once more to allow the GPH the time to release JASIG-protected persons.

8. There is the study of a certain Japanese sociologist. He makes this provocative observation that revolutions lasting for more than one generation (20 years) tended to degenerate, not just in the actual military victories of the revolutionary group, but in the quality of its operations and its own cadres and fighters. That this holds true for the NPA, who has committed their own human rights violations, destruction of civilian infrastructures in the guise of a noble revolution, collecting revolutionary taxes—very anti-poor and trapo. Any response to this?

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JMS: That Japanese sociologist you refer to is obviously ignorant of Philippine history. Since the first of the more than 200 armed uprisings under the Spanish colonial regime, the Filipinos have waged wider and better armed resistance culminating in the Philippine revolution of 1896 onwards. The current new democratic revolution through people's war is in basic respects wider, deeper and better than the Philippine revolution of 1896 and the armed revolution that extended from the anti-Japan struggle in World War II.

The NPA is so far the biggest and strongest armed force of the revolutionary mass movement in Philippine history. It is led by the CPP which practises criticism and self-criticism on a daily basis and knows how to carry out a rectification movement as an educational mass endeavor to repudiate and rectify errors and set forth the new tasks for advancing the revolutionary struggle to a new and higher level.

I have no time or space here to answer such vicious claims as that the NPA is anti-poor and trapo. My suggestion is that those who make such claims go for social investigation in the guerrilla fronts of the NPA.

9. The Oplan Bayanihan is a widely debated issue as a sugarcoated counterinsurgency program. (It's arguably highly similar to Arroyo's Oplan Bantay Laya.) Does it mitigate or does it exacerbate? Any personal response to this program of the current Aquino administration?

JMS: Oplan Bayanihan is the same dog as Oplan Bantay Laya. The only difference is that Oplan Bayanihan is even more deceptive as it becomes more brutal. It misrepresents its military campaigns of suppression as peace and development operations and its human rights violations as defense of human rights and human security. It is guided by US advisors who believe that more effective psywar results in more effective intelligence and military operations.

The Aquino regime is continuing basically the same policies of the Arroyo regime. It is also the same dog of the US and the local big compradors and landlords. It tries to present itself as better than the previous regime through sheer propaganda and it insults the people by trying to fool them through gimmicks. Aquino seems to be oblivious of the fact that there is now an unprecedentedly severe global and Philippine economic and social crisis which demands basic reforms.

There is now a growing estimate by the revolutionary forces that the Aquino regime is not sincerely and seriously interested in the peace negotiations with the NDFP and is about to stop its masquerade about

peace negotiations. Since the beginning, the OPAPP and the GPH negotiating panel have been obsessed with seeking to disembowel and negate The Hague Joint Declaration, the JASIG and CARHRIHL and not to pursue the negotiations on CASER.

10. Ateneans have been highly involved in the past, especially in the chaotic decades of the 70s and 80s. What do you think of this Ateneo? What are your thoughts on Atenean activists, such as Edgar Jopson and Emmanuel Lacaba, who joined the armed struggle and even died for the movement?

JMS: I have the highest respect and admiration for Edgar Jopson and Emmanuel Lacaba as Filipino patriots, proletarian revolutionaries and freedom fighters. I knew them personally and worked with them. They served the people and contributed greatly to the development of the new democratic revolution through hard work, militant struggle and their martyrdom.

There are many others from the Ateneo who have served the Filipino people like Edgar Jopson and Emmanuel Lacaba. They are products of that side of the Ateneo which inculcates social conscience and a strong sense of patriotism and social justice. Let us have more of such Ateneans. Not the type that is self-indulgent and bound by the dictates of foreign monopoly interests and the local exploiting classes.

11. The current Ateneo is identified as an “elite institution” but whose main educational framework springs from Liberation Theology. How about a critique of the Ateneo today? Also, on the Atenean revolutionaries involved with the party before, but have withdrawn support now?

JMS: The current students of the Ateneo can better describe and critique the Ateneo of today. At any rate, I agree that the Ateneo is an elite institution even as there are elements that are progressive rather than reactionary. Most of the Ateneo students come from well-to-do families. It is understandable that their main tendency is to stay in comfort within the ruling system even if oppressive and exploitative.

I do not think that this interview is the place for me to criticize anyone from the Ateneo who was supposedly revolutionary before but withdrew subsequently from the revolutionary movement. I can only say in general that any person has contradictory sides. One side can

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prevail at one time and another side at another time, depending on the will, the tests and circumstances of the person concerned.

12. In a nutshell, where do you think should Ateneo put itself in the ongoing people's war?

JMS: I personally knew one Jesuit priest at the Ateneo who belonged to the Christians for National Liberation and supported the people's war for national liberation and democracy. But I think that the Ateneo as an institution is in opposition to the ongoing people's war. At any rate, it has been sober and decorous in dealing with the issue and seems to acknowledge the social roots of the armed conflict.

Ateneo is not known to be strident, vicious or inquisitorial against faculty members and students who might be suspected by military authorities as [sympathetic to](#) or even part of the revolutionary movement. You have to correct me if my observation from afar is wrong.

When I was at the Ateneo in the fifties, one teacher of mine scorned the communist Casto Alejandrino and the anti-imperialist Claro Mayo Recto, both Ateneo alumni, and another teacher was proud of them in the classroom. When we took the papal social encyclicals in class, my Jesuit teachers focused on the theme of social justice and refrained from talking like rabid anti-communists. They also recognized the root causes of the armed conflict that had raged in the Philippines since the 1930s.

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Public Debt Crisis Worsens Global Depression and further Inflames Peoples' Resistance⁷⁶

August 22, 2011

The top officials of the IMF and World Bank, corporate moguls, the bourgeois politicians, the experts and media pundits admit the gravity of the ongoing public debt crisis in the US and in the Euro zone and warn of a new recession on the false assumption that there was an economic recovery in 2010 from the financial meltdown in 2008. The current tumbling of the stock markets on a global scale one week after another calls attention to the much-worsened crisis.

Indeed, the current public debt crisis is grave and marks a new phase in the worsening of the already protracted crisis of global capitalism. There has been no recovery from a continuing global depression and not merely from a recession since 2008. The admission of gravity among the big bourgeois rulers is more than anything else a signal for a further squeeze on the people, especially in the form of austerity measures, supposedly in order to reduce public deficits and avoid or lessen inflation that **printing** of money (quantitative easing) would engender.

On both sides of the Atlantic, the financial oligarchy and the monopoly bourgeoisie cling to the neoliberal dogma that they are the creators of wealth and jobs and as such they must have all the opportunities to accumulate capital and make profits, enjoy tax cutbacks and all kinds of state support. Thus, the state has practically no leeway to avoid incurring more deficits and raising the level of public debt because the capacity of the working people and the middle classes to carry the tax burden is reduced by high rates of unemployment and rising prices of commodities that they consume.

Together with their political agents in the state, the monopoly bourgeoisie and financial oligarchy prevaricate and prate that the public deficits that have resulted in unsustainable public debt have been due

⁷⁶ Statement issued as Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

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to big social spending by government. They obfuscate and conceal the huge amounts of tax cutbacks for the corporations and the most wealthy individuals, the overpriced supply contracts and other [support](#) for corporations, the trillions of dollars for the wars of aggression and likewise the trillions of dollars to bail out the big banks and corporations culpable for the hightech and housing bubbles and their bursting.

Since the adoption and enforcement of the neoliberal policy of imperialist globalization 30 years ago, the monopoly bourgeoisie and the financial oligarchy have maximized at an accelerated rate their profits by pressing down the incomes of the working people in the real economy. They have used finance capital and the financial markets to override in vain the ever recurrent and worsening crisis of overproduction. They have used fictitious capital to overvalue assets and draw bigger profits in cycles of boom and bust. They have cut back on government social spending and eroded social benefits. They have privatized public resources. And they have been quick [to privatize](#) profits and to socialize their losses.

The monopoly bourgeoisie and financial oligarchy have bankrupted their own states and are now pushing them to carry out austerity measures at the further expense of the working people. Social services, including education, medical care, low-rent housing, unemployment relief, pensions and public sector employment are being cut back at a time that the rate of unemployment is rising and the prices of basic commodities are soaring. The youth suffer the highest rates of unemployment and are being pushed by the circumstances to rebel.

At any rate, the public deficits and consequently the public debt continue to mount because of the continuing tax exemption privileges of corporations and the most wealthy and because of the mass unemployment and the concomitant reduction of direct and indirect taxes paid by the people. The increasing aggressiveness of imperialism is also continuing to divert huge amounts of public resources to military production, military force [build-up](#) and wars of aggression.

Stubbornly clinging to the neoliberal dogma, the monopoly bourgeoisie and financial oligarchy and their political agents always assert under the slogan of the free market that economic recovery must be left completely to the initiative of the businessmen and that the state must not take any initiative to stimulate and generate production and employment without transferring the public funds first to the private corporations for their labor cost-saving and profitmaking purposes.

Under the current circumstances, there is no end in sight to the economic and financial crisis afflicting both the developed and underdeveloped countries. The depressed growth rates in the developed countries mean lower demand for the raw material and semimanufacture exports from the underdeveloped countries. Even those countries much vaunted for high growth rates, like China, India and Brazil, are seeing their growth rates being pressed down.

The general conditions of global depression have spread and deepened on an unprecedented scale because for more than three decades already the puppet rulers of the underdeveloped countries have mimicked the developed countries in carrying out liberalization, privatization and deregulation. Worst of all, they in general have accepted the denationalization and de-industrialization of their economies.

Economic crisis breeds social unrest and inflames the people's resistance. The world today is like a boiling cauldron. The revolutionary armed struggles in a number of countries are reinvigorated by the mass protests against the crisis and are inspiring the people in other countries to wage armed revolution. People's uprisings have swept North Africa and the Middle East against deeply entrenched autocratic regimes. General strikes and mass protests of various types have arisen in France, Spain, Greece, Ireland, Portugal and the United Kingdom. More are expected to arise soon.

Economic crisis breeds fascism and war. In an attempt to distract the people from the root causes of the crisis and the need for class struggle, the exploiters and oppressors whip up chauvinism, racism, religious bigotry, fascism and war hysteria. The most reactionary forces in the imperialist countries consider war production and the launching of aggressive wars as a way of unifying the nation, stimulating the economy and expanding the sources of raw materials, markets, fields of investments and spheres of influence.

The anti-imperialist and democratic forces that are developing in the course of the people's struggle against the escalating levels of exploitation and oppression are becoming increasingly aware of the need to strengthen themselves, to prepare themselves for turning the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war and to aim for socialism as the replacement of monopoly capitalism.

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Develop the People's Power

Condemn the US, NATO and Puppet Forces for their Barbaric Attacks on the People in Libya⁷⁷

August 26, 2011

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), condemn in the strongest terms the US, NATO and their puppet forces for their barbaric military campaign against the people in the whole of Libya since several months ago and in Tripoli currently. The combination of escalated NATO air bombardments and ground movement of Libyan puppet forces and NATO special forces against Tripoli since August 20 aims to deliver the final blow on the Gaddafi regime.

The invasion of Tripoli is the culmination of the bloody bombing campaign against the people of Libya by the air and naval forces of the US, UK, France, Italy and other NATO powers since March in collusion with Qatar and the United Arab Emirates and the most reactionary and treasonous elements of Libyan society, including high bureaucrats recruited by the CIA from the Gaddafi regime, monarchists, warlords and Islamic fundamentalists associated with the CIA and Al Qaida.

The brutal campaign against Libya and the Gaddafi regime has been unleashed by the US and NATO under the pretext of saving civilian lives under Resolution 1973 of the UN Security Council. In fact, this so-called humanitarian intervention has been characterized by wanton bombings of homes, churches and civilian infrastructure, including power and water utilities, hospitals, children creches and schools, resulting in the killing and maiming of thousands of Libyans.

Accompanied by covert agents and special forces of the US and NATO, the anti-Gaddafi Libyan mercenaries have been able to advance from one point to another only after being preceded by NATO bombardments on the military positions of the regime as well on civilian communities regarded as pro-Gaddafi. Subsequently, the anti-Gaddafi mercenaries mostly play-act as fighters before the TV camera, attack helpless civilians off the camera and serve as bait to

⁷⁷ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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lure out the pro-Gaddafi forces for attack by helicopter gunships and predatory drones.

The cowardly military campaign of bombardments, involving more than 20,000 sorties by the air forces of the US and NATO and already costing more US\$1 billion are intended not only to ruin and subjugate Libya but also to test the accuracy and killing efficiency of the weapons systems. The murderous campaign has been complemented by an internationally-coordinated psywar campaign by the biggest media conglomerates to justify foreign military intervention and aggression against the national sovereignty of Libya and the Libyan people and to misrepresent the puppets as democratic forces.

By their brazen acts, the US, UK, France and Italy have exposed their scheme of turning Libya into a neocolony deprived of sovereignty, putting the country's oil and other natural resources under their absolute control through puppets and punishing Gaddafi for his refusal to allow the US African Command to build its military base in Libya, and for declaring that he wants to retract and **renationalize** what he has conceded to the imperialists since 2003 and to replace the US dollar with the gold dinar as the medium of buying oil from Libya in the face of the sharp worsening of the crisis of global capitalism.

When the US unleashed its war of aggression on Iraq in 2003, the Gaddafi regime worried as never before that the US could unleash a similar war against Libya. Thus, it decided to have rapprochement with the US, Britain and the other NATO powers. This enabled the imperialist powers to impose fully the policy of neoliberal globalization on Libya, which resulted in extreme privileges for the multinational corporations, wanton corruption among the regime's officials as well as Gaddafi relatives and in significant rises in the prices of basic commodities, in erosion of social benefits and in the mismatch of qualifications and jobs among the youth even as Libya continues to have the highest standard of living in Africa.

The Gaddafi regime also went into military and intelligence cooperation with the US and the other NATO powers, especially with regard to military supplies and the so-called US global policy of war on terror. Through expanded economic and military relations with Libya, the imperialists and particularly their intelligence operatives were able to gain influence among the officials of the Gaddafi regime, to recruit some of them and turn them against Gaddafi and his relatives. Thus,

we now see former high officials of the Gaddafi regime in leading positions in the Transition National Council.

The strategy of the US and NATO to overthrow the Gaddafi regime involves the use of bombardments on military positions and formations, on communities deemed as hostile and on the social infrastructure; the freezing of financial assets abroad; and the blockade on essential supplies, especially food and medicine. These brutal measures are calculated to allow the puppet opposition on the ground to rouse the people against the regime.

The imperialist powers have boasted that they shall have finished off Gaddafi by the 27th of June. But they have failed and have reset their deadline to end of September. They have also boasted that they do not have to put their boots on the Libyan sand. In fact, they are planning to deploy their troops in Libya under the cover of UN peacekeeping. Their covert agents, advisors and special forces are already in Libya to guide the puppets.

The people of Libya have suffered from the steady erosion of their national economic rights and standard of living under the neoliberal policy of imperialist globalization since the last decade. The imperialist powers aim to tighten their squeeze on the people of Libya and grab the huge oil resources and all major related businesses. They have wreaked havoc on the lives and properties of the Libyan peoples and are planning to make them pay for the costs of the war of aggression. The Libyan masses stand to lose their access to free education, free health care and other ample socioeconomic benefits

Under the imperialist powers, the Libyan constitution will be replaced with one that institutes a puppet republic serving the economic, political, military and cultural interests of the imperialists. Libya will be made to accept the establishment of the military base of the US African Command and thus become another military outpost of US imperialism like Kosovo, Afghanistan, Iraq and elsewhere.

To dominate Libya, the US and NATO will certainly continue to promote puppetry and treason and to manipulate the differences among the various puppet political forces, the tribes, the secularists and Islamic fundamentalists in order to divide and rule the Libyan people as in Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere.

The ILPS wishes the Libyan people and their anti-imperialist and democratic forces to take advantage of the current social and political turmoil in their country in order to gain strength and override the

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current conflict of the pro-Gaddafi and anti-Gaddafi forces. The turbulent conditions and the widespread distribution of arms in Libya today are favorable for establishing a revolutionary party of the working class as well as for developing a national liberation movement.

The Libyan people should not be limited to choosing between the Gaddafi regime and a new regime of puppets extremely servile to the US and NATO. At any rate, a new regime of traitors conflicting with each other and having their respective armed groups is bound to be unstable. Whether Gaddafi becomes a martyr or remains alive to exercise leadership over his followers, the Gaddafi camp can redeem itself through continued anti-imperialist struggle and remain a major force for fighting the imperialists and traitors and for contributing significantly to the rise and growth of a national liberation movement.

We are confident that the Libyan people will continue to draw courage and strength from their long and proud tradition of fighting colonialism and imperialism and to advance on the road of national independence, democracy, social justice and development. They should not allow the Arab spring to be merely a way of empowering a new set of rulers that is more servile to US imperialism than a previous one.

We stand firmly in solidarity with all the people of Libya in fighting for national independence and democracy. We call on ILPS member-organizations and all friendly forces to promptly mount protest actions at the embassies of the US and other NATO powers involved in the current assault on Tripoli and in the entire barbaric campaign against Libya and the people of Libya.

Uphold and defend the national sovereignty and democratic rights of the people of Libya!

Down with US and the other imperialist powers in NATO! Get out of Libya!

Long live the people of Libya! Onward with the struggle for national liberation and democracy!

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Support the Kurdish People in their Just Struggle for National Self-Determination⁷⁸

Message of greetings to YEK-KOM (Federation of Kurdish Associations in Germany)

September 3, 2011

On behalf of the more than 200 member-organizations of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), I wish to extend warmest and most militant greetings to YEK-KOM (Federation of Kurdish Associations in Germany) and to the Kurdish people on the occasion of this cultural festival to highlight the unity of the Kurdish people in their just struggle for national self-determination. We thank YEK-KOM for graciously inviting us to this great festival. We are delighted to send a delegation bearing this message.

We salute the Kurdish people for their long and glorious history of revolutionary struggle for national self-determination. We support their struggle for the recognition of their social, economic, political and cultural rights. The Kurdish people have the right to genuine autonomy in a non-oppressive multinational state but they have the right and duty to fight for secession and the establishment of their own state against an oppressive state.

We condemn the collusion between US imperialism and the Turkish government in their violent suppression of the Kurdish people and their attempt to crush the movement for national self-determination. We condemn the attempt to wipe out the national identity of the Kurdish people by suppressing their language and culture and forcing them to be completely assimilated and deprived of their Kurdish identity.

We are confident that the Kurdish people will continue their heroic just struggle for national self-determination and win more victories in the future. We in [the ILPS](#) shall always be on the side of the Kurdish people in their courageous struggle as [the ILPS](#) has always been on

⁷⁸ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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the side of the peoples of Palestine, Iraq and Afghanistan who are waging armed resistance against Zionist and US aggression and occupation, and the peoples of Colombia, India, the Philippines and others who are waging revolutionary armed struggle for national and social liberation.

Long live the struggle of the Kurdish people for national self-determination!

Down with imperialism, Zionism and all forms of reaction!

Long live international solidarity!

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9/11 Is a Blowback on US Imperialism, Condemn both Al Qaida and the US for Terrorism⁷⁹

ILPS statement on the 10th Anniversary of 9/11

September 10, 2011

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), join the entire people of the world in commemorating the tenth anniversary of the September 11 terrorist attacks which claimed the lives of nearly 3,000 people in the United States. In no uncertain terms, we strongly condemn these horrendous attacks on civilians and Al Qaida as the self-admitted perpetrator. We stand in solidarity with all the victims, their families and the entire people in denouncing and opposing terrorism of whatever scale.

9/11 is a blowback on US imperialism. The US has long promoted Islamic fundamentalism as an ideological and political weapon against communism as well as against secular nationalism, especially since the Cold War. Al Qaida emerged from the Islamic fundamentalists who were used by the US against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan but who subsequently became disgruntled with the US after Soviet occupation ended. It has vowed to combat the US and its imperialist allies for their policies and acts of plunder and aggression victimizing Islamic peoples and countries.

Instead of being remorseful for fostering Islamic fundamentalism and the ground for Al Qaida, the US has used the attacks on the Twin Towers in New York City and the Pentagon as pretext for terrorism on a far greater scale under the policy of "global war on terror." This has generated state terrorism and wars of aggression and has inflicted atrocities of monstrous proportions on peoples and countries worldwide. For the last ten years, we have witnessed the lopsided contest of two monstrosities, the mega-terrorism of the US and NATO powers and the mini-terrorism of Al Qaida.

⁷⁹ Statement issued as Chairperson of ILPS.

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The US policy of “global war on terror,” designed as a “perpetual” and “borderless” war, is in fact a global war of terror against the people of the world and against anti-imperialist and democratic forces. It has resulted in millions of civilian deaths and the destruction of social infrastructure. The US and its imperialist allies have seized 9/11 as the opportunity to justify and use wars of aggression and expansionism as a means to counter the ever-deepening crisis of monopoly capitalism.

9/11 has given rise to the doctrine of “preemptive first strike” used by the US to invade Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2002. It has been invoked by the US to declare countries like Iraq, Iran and North Korea as the “axis of evil”; and to vilify Libya (up to 2004), Syria and Cuba in the same vein. These countries have been in the crosshairs of the US military machine. They are the target of war threats and provocations, psychological warfare and special operations, vilification by the corporate mass media, political and diplomatic isolation, economic and trade sanctions.

The US has complemented its open wars of aggression with various forms of military intervention, including **high-profile** and **low-profile** killings of opponents in various countries, rendition and torture, the recruitment, training, arming and financing of puppet armed units and joint military operations with them. In connection with these, US Special Forces and CIA operatives are deployed in 120 countries and are carrying out a “special war.”

The US imperialists have encroached on the territory of other countries and engaged in drone attacks on civilian populations as in Pakistan, the permanent stationing of US forces and covert US combat and related operations as in the Philippines and the opening of new US military bases, forward stations and other installations as in a number of countries in Central Asia, Latin America and elsewhere. The number and deployment of US Special Forces under the Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC) have increased significantly under the regime of Obama.

So-called anti-terror legislation such as the USA PATRIOT Act as well as the designation of groups and individuals as “foreign terrorists” **have** also followed the 9/11 attacks. The PATRIOT Act legitimizes violations of the rights and civil liberties of the American people. It allows limitless surveillance, warrantless arrests and indeterminate detention without charges in the name of security. Hard-won civil and political liberties and constitutional rights of the people long established in

bourgeois jurisprudence are set aside or violated with impunity in the name of countering “terrorism.” The PATRIOT Act has set the pattern for developing the legal infrastructure for fascism on a global scale.

Detention facilities similar to Guantanamo prison and Abu Ghraib have been established in many countries for detaining suspected terrorists and “unlawful combatants” of different nationalities indefinitely without charges. Torture and murder have been committed, especially in secret CIA prisons across the world. The US, with or without the connivance or consent of host governments, [has](#) carried out rendition operations in many parts of the world whereby alleged suspected terrorists are covertly abducted and brought to secret detention centers for interrogation, torture and indefinite detention.

National liberation movements, anti-imperialist leaders and even law-abiding Islamic organizations and charitable foundations have been designated as “terrorist” and subjected to political persecution, including arbitrary arrests, trumped-up charges, freezing of assets, denial of political refugee status and related protection and deprivation of social benefits, as well public defamation and incitement to violence on persons labeled as “terrorist.” Under the aegis of the US-led war of terror, the United Nations, the International Criminal Court and the international monopoly media have been used as instruments and willing accomplices to justify wars of aggression and crimes against humanity.

While condemning the 9/11 attacks on civilians, the ILPS also condemns the far more destructive and vicious war of terror being waged by the US and its allies in the name of fighting “terrorism.” This war of terror is nothing less than the unrelenting attempts by US imperialism to impose political, military, socioeconomic and cultural hegemony on the peoples of the world through the use of military might. The wars of aggression and military occupation of Afghanistan, Iraq and now Libya have brought about far larger civilian casualties than the original 9/11 attacks. The US-NATO “global war [on](#) terror” has masqueraded as humanitarian intervention, protection of civilians and defense of human rights to kill and maim great numbers of people.

In his inhuman and bizarre way, Al Qaida’s Osama bin Laden has been extremely successful in provoking and bringing out the unbridled aggressive and terrorist character of imperialism. Even his killing, considered by the US as a major victory in its so-called war on terror, has

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served to whet the appetite of the US and its NATO partners for worse acts of **mega-terrorism**. It is also quite ironical that the US and NATO have once more connived with the Al Qaida through its branch, the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group, against the Gaddafi government, thus utterly exposing the “war on terror” as a monstrous and murderous lie.

Estimates show that since 9/11 the US has already spent as much as \$4 trillion to fund its wars, occupation and intervention worldwide. The US government under Bush and subsequently Obama, has delivered hundreds of billions of dollars to the US military-industrial complex while reducing spending for social services, entitlements and benefits. The gargantuan military spending of the US is one of the immediate causes of the current US debt crisis.

Ten years after 9/11, the US finds itself bogged down in a historic debt crisis and protracted global depression. Its military forces are overstretched and pinned down in several theaters of war around the globe. The US retains more than 150,000 troops in Afghanistan and Iraq and is now engaged with NATO in a war of aggression in Libya.

Over the past decade, antiwar, anti-imperialist and armed revolutionary movements have risen to resist the US wars of aggression. The American people have repeatedly manifested their opposition to the use of 9/11 for justifying wars of aggression. They have pressed for the withdrawal of troops from Iraq and Afghanistan while protesting the huge military spending at the expense of real economic recovery, state subsidies and social services.

The peoples of Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya and Palestine continue to wage armed resistance to US-led and US-sponsored occupation and aggression. Revolutionary and progressive movements in Asia, Latin America and Africa are at the forefront of the people's struggles for national and social liberation. Countries like Cuba, People's Democratic Republic of Korea and Venezuela are asserting their sovereignty against US threats of aggression. Exploited and oppressed peoples in both imperialist and dominated countries are advancing the struggle against imperialist wars and for redirecting resources to jobs, livelihood, fair wages and social welfare.

It is imperative that the peoples of the world wage militant and sustained struggles against the US and NATO wars of aggression, state terrorism and counterrevolution. It is only through the struggle of the people that the people can hope to eliminate all forms of terrorism

and achieve a new and better world of greater freedom, democracy, social justice, all-round development and world peace.

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Stop Construction of Naval Base on Jeju Island⁸⁰

September 10, 2011

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, join all other concerned forces of the people of the world in supporting the struggle of the Korean people, particularly the residents of Gangjeong, against the construction of the naval base on Jeju island. We demand that the construction be stopped,

The voice of the people on Jeju island must be heeded. They have voted against the base and availed of every possible democratic means to oppose its construction. The South Korean government is reprehensible for being adamant in building the base as a US missile site in accordance with the US-designed provocative strategy to encircle China.

Such a base will not improve the Korean peoples' security but will further destabilize the Asia-Pacific region and make the island a prime target for military retaliation. The Jeju people can never forget the April 3, 1948 massacre of 80,000 civilians on the island as a result of militarization.

They want the South Korean government to adhere to its own apology for the massacre and to respect the designation of the island as an Island of Peace. We condemn the violence that has been used on a peace activist who tried to prevent a construction vessel from pouring concrete onto the coral reefs. We are also concerned about the health and safety of several more peace activists who have been imprisoned because of their hunger strike and other nonviolent protests.

Jeju island is home to three designated UNESCO World Heritage Sites. It is a shame that its extraordinary beauty and pristine environment, including the soft coral habitat and rich marine life, are ruined by dredging the Jeju coastline just to accommodate US Aegis destroyer warships, the South Korean Navy and Samsung Corporation.

The construction of the naval base is bound to destroy the livelihood of the people who depend on diving for seafood and kelp, key

⁸⁰ Statement issued as Chairperson of ILPS.

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staples of the Korean diet. The lands are also being confiscated, the greenhouses demolished and fruit trees uprooted. The people are being made to suffer **all** for the sake of a naval base cum US missile site that is a provocation or invitation to an annihilative attack.

We firmly stand in solidarity with the people of Jeju in their just struggle to protect not only their own community, their way of life and environment but also to promote the cause of peace in a region that is being increasingly militarized by the US, Japan and South Korea. We call on all our member-organizations and allies to support the people of Jeju and to add strength to the demand for stopping the construction of the naval base.

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Support the Comrades in Ecuador in their Struggle against Imperialism and Reaction⁸¹

October 4, 2011

We in the International Coordinating Committee of the International League of Peoples' Struggle express our greetings of solidarity and salute you for your firm struggle for national independence and democracy against imperialism and reaction.

We are deeply pleased that the leaders of the member-organizations of Frente Popular, the confederation of people's and sectoral organizations in Ecuador and other allied organizations are present to listen to the reports of comrades who attended the Fourth International Assembly of the League in the Philippines last July.

We are hopeful that this meeting can succeed in introducing the League to the progressive mass movement in Ecuador, in spreading the results of the Fourth International Assembly and in encouraging Ecuadorian mass organizations to join the League and form a national chapter.

It is of urgent necessity that we exert all efforts to continuously strengthen the anti-imperialist and democratic movement of the people by raising their political consciousness and fighting will, to organize the progressive forces in every country and continent and to mobilize ever greater masses against imperialist plunder and war.

The crisis of monopoly capitalism has been accelerated and aggravated by the US-instigated policy of neoliberal globalization in the last three decades. The entire world capitalist system is now afflicted by protracted depression, the worst since the Great Depression.

As the crisis worsens and deepens, the monopoly bourgeoisie becomes more greedy and exploitative than ever before and more violent and more aggressive than ever before. It tries in vain to overcome the economic and financial crisis through military production and war of aggression. In this connection, it whips up all forms of reactionary currents, including fascism, chauvinism, racism and religious bigotry.

⁸¹ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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But the economic, social and political crisis of global capitalism worsens and deepens. The basic contradictions in the world are exacerbated: those between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations, between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat and even among the imperialist powers themselves.

In times of the grave crisis of monopoly capitalism, the broad masses of the people suffer the worst forms of exploitation and oppression. At the same time, they are goaded and driven to fight back. They struggle for national and social liberation. They aspire for national independence, democracy and socialism.

In this regard, we urge you to study and grasp the basic principles and policies of the League with regard to as many as 18 major concerns. The Fourth International Assembly has put forward the General Declaration and resolutions to sharpen motivation and provide guidance to the peoples of the world in the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle.

We are hopeful that more organizations join the League immediately and to form national chapters subsequently. Further, the national chapters can form global region coordinating committees. As in any other global region, it is possible for two or more national chapters to form the global region coordinating committee in Latin America and the Caribbean. The International Coordinating Committee of the League will become more efficient and effective if supported by national chapters and global regional coordinating committees.

We look forward to the further rise of militant mass movements, spreading like a conflagration to bring down the power of the imperialists and their puppets in entire continents. The conditions of severe crisis are favorable for the rise of various forms of mass struggles throughout the world. It is our fervent desire that the League plays an important role in mobilizing the people for more extensive and more intensive anti-imperialist and democratic struggles on a global scale.



A Legacy of Fearless Commitment and Resolute Struggle: Tribute to Ka Roger⁸²

October 15, 2011

Julie and I wish to convey our most heartfelt condolences to the **daughters** and entire family of Comrade Gregorio “Ka Roger” Rosal and to all cadres and members of the Communist Party of the Philippines, all the Red commanders and fighters of the New People’s Army, all adherents of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and the broad masses of the Filipino people.

All of us mourn the passing **away** of Ka Roger and feel a deep sense of loss. But more importantly, we celebrate his outstanding achievements in loyal revolutionary service to the proletariat and people. We honor him as an exemplary communist cadre, as an outstanding Filipino patriot, as a valiant Red fighter, as a lucid communicator and as an effective educator and organizer among the toiling masses.

We join the CPP, NPA, the NDFP, the organs of democratic power, the mass organizations and the entire people in paying tribute to Ka Roger. His revolutionary record is well summed up in the statement of the Central Committee of the CPP, giving him the Red salute, and in the statement of the Southern Luzon Regional Party Committee, describing him as the undying voice of the Philippine revolution and the Filipino people.

Julie and I have always admired Ka Roger for having come from a family of peasants and farmworkers in Batangas and having done hard work in order to augment the income of his family and save money for getting a certain amount of formal education. We have been proud that he joined the Kabataang Makabayan and subsequently developed his patriotic and progressive consciousness and activism to the level of a proletarian revolutionary.

⁸² Message given as Founding Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines and Chief Political Consultant of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines.

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We were happy to know that he was among those who escaped from Camp Vicente Lim in 1973. And we laughed a lot when we learned from some of his co-escapees that he had a great sense of humor and they narrated to us some of his jokes which **had** carried serious political content against the US and the Marcos fascist dictatorship. We were amused by the fact that he had not been informed about the escape plan but sensed it eventually and insisted on being included in the escape.

He excelled as an educator and organizer in Party and mass work. Thus, he rose to high positions in the Party, especially in the Southern Tagalog region. But the job that he loved most was that of being a radio broadcaster. He enjoyed making his own broadcasts from the Sierra Madre radio station and answering questions from his fellow broadcasters in the big Manila-based radio networks.

He was serious when he often said that he would not like to occupy any high position in the revolutionary government but his ambition was to become a steady radio broadcaster after the victory of the new democratic revolution. At any rate, he was so good at propaganda work that he would be promoted to central positions as spokesperson of the CPP and the NDFP and as head of the CPP Information Bureau.

Whenever I slackened in making radio interviews in the 1990s, because I had other work to do, I was always happy that Ka Roger was the frequent voice of the Philippine revolution and the Filipino people. He had the superlative advantage of speaking right within the Philippines and from among the revolutionary forces and masses. And he had a clear and direct style that expressed in simple terms for the benefit of the masses the most complex situations and analysis.

We, in the NDFP Negotiating Panel, had a plan in the early years of the previous decade to bring him abroad as a political consultant, not so much to provide him with medical care because he was getting excellent care from competent doctors in the Philippines but to take him away from conditions **by** which he always demanded to do hard work and take long walks on rough terrain. But unfortunately, the peace talks started to flounder in June 2001.

We refer to the frustrated wish to show how much love and concern we who were abroad had for Ka Roger. But of course our comrades and friends in the Philippines gave him excellent care and comfort despite the risks and difficulties. No amount of help is enough to show gratitude for the selfless dedication and service of Ka Roger to the people.

The revolutionary movement also showed strength of character and organization by being able to secure him from constant manhunt by the enemy as well as from the recurrent inquiries from his fellow broadcasters in the big mass media.

We are grateful to Ka Roger for his legacy of fearless commitment and resolute struggle that he has left with his people and the revolutionary forces. His revolutionary life and deeds have become part and parcel of the ever growing and ever advancing forces of the Philippine revolution. His legacy inspires the current generation and future ones. His example will always be emulated by the revolutionary youth and the entire people.

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Philippine Revolution and Just Peace, Prospects in the Global Context⁸³

Letter to Dr. Bienvenido Lumbera, National Artist
and Professor Emeritus, University of the Philippines

October 17, 2011

Dear Bien,

I am honored and delighted to participate in the festschrift in your honor on the occasion of your 80th birthday. In this regard, I am contributing this open letter. I understand that I can deal with any subject that is of interest to you. I have chosen to write on the question of revolution and just peace. But first let me reminisce.

It was sometime in November 1986 when we last met in Osaka where you were teaching Philippine studies at the Foreign Languages University. You expressed regrets that you were abroad when the Marcos fascist dictatorship fell. And I retorted that you had contributed a lot towards the downfall of Marcos since a long time ago and that even if I had been in the Philippines I was under maximum security detention and had no chance to be with the masses at Edsa in February 1986.

At any rate, I have always thought that we belong to the same revolutionary tradition of the Filipino people and to the same continuum of struggle for national liberation and democracy. There are so many ways for us to contribute to the Philippine revolution and even if this were not completely realized in our lifetime we are confident that it would go on and carry forward our contributions until the people win complete victory.

Since I became aware of your revolutionary work in the cultural field in the late 1960s and early 1970s, I have always kept you in the highest comradely regard. I have also been grateful to you for giving serious attention to my critical work on social consciousness in Philippine poetry and to my creative output of poems. You have generously expressed appreciation for *Prison and Beyond* and you have

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even more generously written the dalit for the musicale, Ang Makata'y Mandirigma, Ang Mandirigma'y Makata [The Poet is a Warrior, the Warrior a Poet].

We have a common cause in seeking the fulfilment of the people's aspirations for greater freedom, democracy, social justice, development and international solidarity. And I presume that you might be interested in an assessment of realities and possibilities in the last lap of our existence.

Philippine revolution and just peace

The semicolonial and semifeudal character of Philippine society persists. The US and its imperialist allies continue to dominate our country economically, financially, politically and culturally despite the grant of nominal independence in 1946. The local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords are extremely servile to their foreign masters. So are their political representatives and agents who lord over the people.

The reactionary state uses all kinds of deception and violence to obfuscate the three evil forces: foreign monopoly capitalism, domestic feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. These forces mercilessly exploit the people and cause their poverty and underdevelopment of our country. But the rulers of our country spread the **obvious** lie that the revolutionary resistance of the people is to blame for the widespread poverty and gross underdevelopment. They insult the victims by misrepresenting them as culprits.

They are hostile to the patriotic and progressive demands of the people, such as **the following**: the assertion and exercise of national independence to do away with unequal treaties, agreements and arrangements; the democratic empowerment of the people against the oligarchy of big compradors and landlords; land reform and national industrialization; promotion of a national, scientific and mass culture; and an independent foreign policy for development and world peace.

The Aquino regime is no different from the Arroyo regime. It is an instrument of big comprador-landlord rule. It does not propose anything to change the semicolonial and semifeudal character of society. It is so obsessed with seeking to destroy the revolutionary movement. Yet the ruling system is now so weak because of its own chronic crisis as well as the grave crisis of the world capitalist system. It has increasing

difficulties in getting new foreign loans to cover the growing trade and budgetary deficits and the mounting foreign debt.

It is so desperate like the previous regime that it has wantonly opened the entire country to mining by foreign and big comprador firms, merely for the export of mineral ores at dirt cheap prices. The remittances of overseas contract workers are now being reduced by the crisis. The regime is corrupt no matter how much it tries to look clean. The people see how officials continue to enrich themselves by collaborating with foreign banks and firms in the perpetuation of consumption-oriented imports and in the plunder of our natural resources. The regime condones the gross human rights violations by the previous regime and is perpetrating them at an alarming rate.

Oplan Bayanihan is a plan of military suppression designed under the US Counterinsurgency Guide. It is no different from Oplan Bantay Laya in terms of pursuing the triad of military psywar, intelligence gathering and combat operations. But the Aquino regime tries in vain to make it look different by using Orwellian language, misrepresenting outright military operations as peace and development operations. It is appropriating billions of pesos as handouts under a sham anti-poverty program for the purpose of undermining the mass base of the revolutionary movement and funding base-denial operations of the AFP.

The people's clamor for a just peace is resounding. But the Aquino administration and the particular office of the reactionary government (GPH) in charge of peace negotiations with the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) are hellbent on paralyzing and scuttling said negotiations, unless the latter submits to a scheme of capitulation and pacification. They have made it indubitably clear that they have no intention of addressing the roots of the armed conflict and forging agreements on basic social, economic and political reforms.

They have openly derided The Hague Joint Declaration as a document of "perpetual division," the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees as devoid of any obligation on the part of the reactionary government and the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Laws as of no value with regard to the gross violations of human rights and the more than 350 political prisoners detained on trumped-up charges of common crimes.

Like the Arroyo regime, the Aquino regime keeps on demanding ceasefire as a way of blocking and putting away the urgent need to

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address the roots of the armed conflict and agree on basic reforms. In response, the NDFP has proposed truce and alliance on the basis of a general statement of common intent to realize certain basic demands of the people, including the assertion of national independence, democratic empowerment of the working people, land reform and national industrialization and prioritizing education, health and other social services over the military and foreign debt service. But the Aquino regime has refused to seriously consider the NDFP proposal like all previous anti-national and antidemocratic regimes.

The Filipino people are keenly aware of the scheme of the US and the Aquino regime to destroy the revolutionary forces. They have therefore become more than ever resolved to pursue the general line of struggle for national liberation and democracy through protracted people's war; and to realize in five years' time the advance from the stage of strategic defensive to that of strategic stalemate.

Being the chief political consultant of the NDFP in peace negotiations with the Manila government, I am a daily visitor of www.philippinerevolution.net. Basing myself on the publications of the Communist Party of the Philippines, I am aware of the determination of the revolutionary forces to carry out the political prerequisites and the politico-military strategy and tactics for achieving the advance from strategic defensive to strategic stalemate.

The first political prerequisite is further strengthening the CPP as the advanced detachment of the working class and leading force of the Philippine revolution. The announced objective is to recruit at least 200,000 CPP members, educate them in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and on the program of people's democratic revolution, develop cadres and members through mass struggles and in various fields of activity and to build Party branches and groups in the people's army and the localities.

The CPP is responsible for expanding and deepening the mass movement along the new democratic line through the people's army, the mass organizations and the national united front. More than ever the broad masses of the people are to be aroused, organized and mobilized. The mass organizations of workers, peasants, fishermen, urban poor, youth, women, professionals, cultural activists and children are to be strengthened. The cultural revolution, in which you are so deeply interested, plays a decisive role in enlightening and militating the masses.

The organs of democratic political power (starting with appointive barrio organizing committees and elected barrio revolutionary committees) are to be increased at various possible levels, from the village upwards. They function as the people's government replacing the reactionary government of the big compradors and landlords in the guerrilla fronts. They are based on the mass organizations and the unorganized masses and they are assisted by such working committees as [those in](#) public education, health, land reform, production, finance, defense, arbitration and cultural activities.

The CPP ensures that revolutionary politics is in command and exercises absolute leadership over the New People's Army. Together they are responsible for providing politico-military training to the NPA commanders and fighters as well as to the people's militia and self-defense units. The objective is to have an ever increasing number of Red commanders and fighters with firm revolutionary stand, proficient in combat and capable of mass work, base building and production.

The NPA is expected to increase its rifle strength to 25,000 and build 180 guerrilla fronts in order to reach the stage of the strategic stalemate. The people's militia shall be strong in tens of thousands and the self-defense units of the mass organizations shall be in hundreds of thousands. They are to be strengthened as reserve and augmentation force for the people's army. They serve as the local internal security force to allow the full-time NPA units to engage in more tactical offensives on a wider scale, with short rest periods.

The strategic line of the people's war is to encircle the cities from the countryside and accumulate armed strength until it becomes possible to seize power in the cities and on a nationwide scale. The enemy strength is divided by the expanse of the countryside and by the archipelagic character of the country. Whenever possible, rural-based commandos of the people's army and armed city partisans can deliver head blows to the enemy.

The people's army is conceived of going through three probable strategic stages of development: defensive, stalemate and offensive. At the current stage of the strategic defensive for the NPA, the enemy forces may be ten times strategically superior in terms of trained personnel and equipment. But at the tactical level, the NPA can be ten times superior by taking the initiative to choose the time and place

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to attack a weak part of the enemy and mustering the superior force to annihilate it.

The NPA launches quick tactical offensives that it is sure of winning and avoids protracted battles **at which** the outcome is uncertain. It is engaged in a war of fluid movement. It does not have fixed points or fixed structures to defend. It trades space for time to be able to gain a favorable position for launching tactical offensives. As required by circumstances, it can use flexibly such tactics of guerrilla warfare as dispersal, shifting and concentration.

Dispersal is a tactic for depriving the enemy of a visible target or for doing mass work under favorable conditions in certain areas. Shifting is a tactic for getting out of the way of a superior enemy force or getting out of an encirclement and going to a more advantageous position. Concentration is a tactic for gathering enough force for offensives or enforcing the policy or law of the revolutionary government.

The main and essential strength of the NPA is that it upholds, defends and fights for the national and democratic rights and interests of the people. For being puppets and mercenaries of the US and the exploiting classes, the reactionary army, police and the paramilitary forces are hated by the people and are kept blind and deaf by them. They also show off their strength and expose their weaknesses. They attack the people and incur their ire. Thus, the NPA has ample opportunities to discover the weak points of the enemy and to create the opportunities for tactical offensives. So many small army detachments, police stations, paramilitary units and private armed guards are so vulnerable to NPA offensives. In fact, the NPA is targeting them at an increasing frequency.

In the course of the people's war, the main objective of the people's army is to launch tactical offensives and annihilate enemy units in order to seize weapons from the enemy, accumulate armed strength and form more fighting units. Thus, the NPA weakens the enemy over time, steadily changes the balance of forces and realizes eventually the advance from one strategic stage to another. Many tactics are available for carrying out tactical offensives in the form of ambushes and raids with the element of surprise and quick decision.

Ambushes are carried out against enemy units traveling on vehicles or marching; and raids are launched against fixed positions of the enemy through subterfuge, surprise and superior force. The NPA gives priority to the seizure of weapons from the hands of enemy personnel

or from their armories. An enemy position or unit may be wiped out or harassed and the reinforcement may be the main target for annihilation. When NPA offensives draw enemy reaction to concentrate on a certain area, the NPA can launch offensives in other areas where enemy forces are weak. A series of tactical offensives may be carried out according to a definite plan or according to general guidelines on the scale of a guerrilla front, a district, a province, region or the entire country.

Attrition is a secondary objective of the people's war but it is very important in weakening and demoralizing the enemy. Teams are formed and deployed for sniping, laying mines, harassing enemy detachments and sabotaging or destroying enemy equipment and facilities, such as military transport and fuel depots. Such actions have the effect of throwing off balance and deterring even to the extent of completely frustrating enemy offensive operations. Strategically, the **cumulation** of losses from attritive actions by the NPA, the people's militia, the commando teams and armed city partisans contribute to weakening the enemy armed forces.

More and more enemy personnel can be forced to assume guard duties and become dispersed and vulnerable as the NPA carries out arrest orders against tyrants, human rights violators and other criminal bigwigs and dismantles or disables plantations, logging companies, mines and other business enterprises that disobey the laws and regulations of the people's government, engage in extreme exploitation, violently oppose land reform and ruin the environment. I suppose that the NPA is pleased whenever the rulers react by assigning armed units for guard duty or passive defense at disparate points, especially in the hinterlands.

As proven in the last more than forty years, the exploited and oppressed masses of the people are not helpless and hopeless. They have a clear general line of struggle for national liberation and democracy and have a clear perspective of socialism. The revolutionary forces and the people have overcome the terrible campaigns of suppression against them, including a 14-year long fascist dictatorship, the deceptive pseudo-democratic regimes after Marcos and the ten-year murderous and corrupt Arroyo regime.

They have also prevailed over major "Left" and Right opportunist errors and over the wrecking operations by the incorrigible opportunists who eventually went over to the enemy side. They have carried

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out successfully the Second Great Rectification Movement and have become far stronger than ever before. The strength of the NPA in 1986 would have been far more than 6,100 rifles (falsely claimed by the AFP to be 25,000) if not for the major opportunist errors in the 1980s and the earlier failure to set a policy of multiplying platoons on a nationwide scale as the strike force since 1979.

As a result of the rectification movement, the revolutionary forces have revitalized themselves and are now in the process of striving to advance from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate. The plan to advance to the strategic stalemate is well-grounded on the current revolutionary strength and capabilities. It can be anticipated that upon reaching the threshold of the strategic stalemate the revolutionary movement would advance at a faster rate than ever before. The US can be expected to become more aggressive against the Philippine revolution even as it is now bogged down in several wars of aggression and preoccupied with a severe domestic crisis.

Prospects in the global context

At this point, I wish to consider the prospects for the Philippine revolution in the global context. The world capitalist system is now in a grave economic and financial crisis. A protracted kind of depression, comparable to and in some ways even worse than the Great Depression in the 1930s, afflicts the people of the world. It is generating fascism and related ultrareactionary currents and causing further wars of aggression. The broad masses of the people are suffering severely from the relentless escalation of exploitation and oppression. But they are being driven to rise up and resist on a global scale.

When the neoliberal policy of "free market" globalization was launched more than thirty years ago, it was considered by the US and its imperialist partners as the surefire way of solving the problem of stagflation by pressing down wages and cutting back on government social spending and by liberalizing trade and investments, privatizing state assets and doing away with regulations. The one-sided premise is that the monopoly bourgeoisie is the creator of wealth and provider of jobs and must be provided with an abundance of capital and profitmaking opportunities in order to ensure economic growth.

As the monopoly bourgeoisie, together with its ideologists and publicists, have preached against class struggle by the workers, it

has waged the most ruthless class warfare against the workers by **accusing them falsely** of causing inflation through wage hikes, by bringing down real wage levels and social benefits and suppressing trade union and basic democratic rights. Indeed, under the neoliberal policy, capital accumulation in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie has accelerated from the intensified exploitation of the working people in both developed and underdeveloped countries.

As Marx pointed out a long time ago, the fundamental problem of capitalism is that the crisis of overproduction or the contraction of the market results from the capitalist minimizing the fund for wages and maximizing profits and further accumulating capital. The problem is aggravated when in the course of competition, the capitalists further press down wages to raise profits. It is still further aggravated when finance capital is generated above the real economy in order to counter the contraction of the market and the tendency of the rate of profit to fall by resorting increasingly to debt financing at the level of the state, corporations and households in order to expand consumption.

The neoliberal dogma is that there is no limit to the so-called free market and free flow of bank money in solving every crisis. But certainly there are limits to consumption and production that are dependent on excessive cumulative borrowing while wages continue to be pressed down and the money is created by banks and investment firms in the form of derivatives and at computer speed. Financial bubbles are exciting for a while until they burst.

The neoliberal policy has resulted in more than 100 financial crises in the global centers of capitalism and in particular global regions. Colossal amounts of bank credit have been poured on them every time. Thus, the public can remember only the biggest financial crises. But in over three decades the global debt has accumulated and mounted to the point that no less than the US and other industrial capitalist countries are confronted with the worst economic and financial crisis since the Great Depression.

In the first decade of the neoliberal policy, the major crises included the debt crisis of the third world countries (Latin America, Africa and Asia) and the revisionist-ruled countries (the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe), the US becoming a debtor country after high-speed spending for hightech military production and outsourcing the production of basic consumer goods, the economic and political turbulence in China, the long-running economic stagnation resulting in political crisis that

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would soon topple the revisionist regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union and the beginning of the prolonged stagnation of Japan that extends to the present.

In the second decade of the neoliberal policy, contrary to expectations of a peace dividend from the **collapse** of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, the US and NATO unleashed wars of aggression aimed at grabbing oil resources and controlling pipelines (Iraq and the Balkans). The crisis of Mexico burst out, exposing the fragility of third world economies **depending** on stocks and bonds bought by foreign investors in the privatization of telecommunications and other enterprises. The structural adjustment programs and austerity measures imposed by the IMF resulted in desperate economic and political situations and in extremely bloody civil wars (Rwanda and the Congo).

The so-called Asian financial crisis of 1997 broke out and jolted the global economy. It showed the disastrous outcome of excessive borrowing for real estate speculation and consumerism in Southeast Asia and in other regions and even for the expansion of production in durable and nondurable consumer goods as in South Korea, Japan and China. The Asian financial crisis adversely affected the US and Europe, even as they still boasted of economies boosted by high technology production and low inflation rates realized as a result of wage freeze and cheap consumer goods from China.

At the very start of the third decade of the neoliberal policy, the hightech bubble burst in the US and other developed countries. The US took the lead in countering economic and financial crisis and trying to invigorate the economy by generating what would become the housing bubble and by stepping up military production and unleashing wars of aggression under the pretext of a "global war on terror" in retaliation for 9/11 (Afghanistan and Iraq) and later on under the pretext of humanitarian intervention (Libya).

We are now in the midst of a grave economic and financial crisis resulting from the unsustainability of consumption based on excessive debt, the bursting of the financial bubbles, the collapse of financial markets and the drastic fall of production and employment. The crisis is not being solved because the imperialist rulers stubbornly cling to the neoliberal policy and prohibit the state from directly undertaking any program to raise production and employment.

Huge amounts of public funds are used to bail out the big banks and corporations. And when certain amounts are appropriated to

stimulate production and employment, these are delivered first to the favored giant corporations which subject the funds to saving on labor costs and widening the profit margin before any production is undertaken. Thus, unemployment remains high and incomes of the working people are kept low. The crisis has consequently worsened, deepened and protracted.

Since the open and rapid restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China, the adversaries of socialism and communism have proclaimed that communist parties and the socialist cause are hopeless and that history cannot go any farther than capitalism and liberal democracy. They have misrepresented the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and the revolutionary mass movement as ideologically and materially dependent on the revisionist regimes and that therefore they can no longer preserve themselves and advance.

In the course of its Second Great Rectification Movement, the CPP renewed its stand for socialism against modern revisionism. It asserted that the people's democratic revolution can definitely go forward amidst the semicolonial and semifeudal conditions and strive for victory against US imperialism and the local exploiting classes. As regards the future of socialist revolution, that is prepared for by the strengthening and victorious advance of the revolutionary forces and people in the course of the new democratic revolution.

Since the fall of the revisionist regimes and full restoration of capitalism in Eastern Europe, the former republics of the Soviet Union and China, the CPP and the revolutionary mass movement have succeeded in preserving their strength and advancing the Philippine revolution, rectifying the major ultra-Left and Rightist opportunist errors and opposing steadfastly the US-instigated policies of neoliberal globalization and war on terror. They have also exposed the pro-imperialist and reactionary character of the various anti-communist petty bourgeois groups that assisted the US and the local exploiting classes in trying to taunt the CPP and the Philippine revolution to death.

What are the prospects of the Philippine revolution in the next five to ten years? That is more than enough time for the revolutionary forces and the people to advance from the strategic defensive to the

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strategic stalemate and consequently aim for the strategic offensive. Definitely, the strategic offensive shall already be in sight or in progress, depending on the accumulation of strength by the revolutionary forces, the state of disintegration of the ruling system, the gravity of the world capitalist system and the overextension of US imperialism on a global scale.

All major contradictions within the world capitalist system are well on the way to intensifying right within the global centers of capitalism. The crisis is causing the class struggle between labor and capital to surface. The struggle for a redivision of the world is intensifying among the imperialist powers. Governments that assert national independence and invoke socialism are in increasing contradiction with the imperialist powers. The oppressed peoples and nations in the underdeveloped and impoverished countries are the most victimized by imperialism and reaction and are being goaded by the crisis to wage armed and other forms of struggle.

The adoption of higher technology has further sharpened the contradiction between the social character of production and the private monopoly character of appropriation. The monopoly bourgeoisie accelerates the extraction of profits not only from the process of production but also at a faster rate from the abuse of finance capital. The US and other global centers of capitalism have rapidly accumulated and centralized capital through ownership and control of high technology and through generation of money printing and financial derivatives practically without restraint.

The proletarian revolutionaries, social activists and the broad masses of the people refer to the rising social character of production and the escalation of exploitation and use information technology to advocate socialism. They are outraged that precisely when working class productivity is so high workers are subjected to mass layoffs and reduction of income while the parasitic finance oligarchs and their minions suck up private profits and public funds. Together with the rest of the people, the working class in the industrial capitalist countries is resisting the high rates of unemployment, the rising cost of living and the austerity measures and all other attempts of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the financial oligarchy to shift the burden of crisis to the people.

Such ultrareactionary currents as fascism, chauvinism, racism, religious bigotry and war hysteria are being used by the monopoly

bourgeoisie and their big media minions to obfuscate the capitalist roots of the crisis in the effort to mislead people. An increasing number of workers and youth are taking up the study of Marxism-Leninism and are proposing socialism as the alternative to capitalism. In the course of practical struggles the advanced sections of working class parties and the trade union movements are increasingly critical of revisionism, reformism and bureaucratism. The rise of anti-imperialist and progressive forces and movements in the developed countries is certainly of great support to the revolutionary struggle in the Philippines.

The integration into the world capitalist system of former socialist countries with a significant industrial base, like Russia and China; the rapid rise of the social character of production through high technology; the intensified forms of accumulating profits from the real economy and the financial markets; and the relentless need for expanded markets, sources of fuel and other raw materials, and fields of investment have combined to make the world capitalist system tighter and more implosive. The economic competition and political rivalries among the imperialist powers intensify and drive them inexorably to struggle for a redivision of the world.

At any rate, the imperialist powers in the G8 and G20 still manage to maintain their unity in exploiting the working class and the people on a global scale and launching wars of aggression against certain third world countries. There is yet no conspicuous alignment and counter-alignment of imperialist powers poised to wage war against each other. The imperialist powers are still at that stage of holding different positions vis a vis the national policies and natural resources of particular countries, maintaining good economic and diplomatic relations and supplying arms to their clients and allies in the third world. Even now, if the new democratic revolution in the Philippines were victorious, it would be in a position to take advantage of the contradictions among the imperialist powers.

The US and its major imperialist allies in the NATO have applied high technology in the development and manufacture of weapons for the purpose of dominating the world, aggressing against states deemed as enemies, making profits on huge weapon sales to other states, especially the oil producing ones, and satisfying the dictates of

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corporations in the military-industrial complex. They have also applied high technology for the purpose of surveilling and threatening entire countries and peoples, for equipping and assisting reactionary puppets in campaigns of state terrorism and for unleashing propaganda against peoples and government opposed to imperialism and reaction.

The aggressive character of US imperialism and its NATO allies is evident in launching wars of aggression against third world countries. The United States takes the lead in conducting either covert or overt military operations in at least ten countries: Iraq, Afghanistan, Yemen, Somalia, Iran, Libya, Pakistan, the Philippines, Colombia and now Uganda. It has 820 military installations in at least 135 countries. In recent memory, the people in imperialist countries rose up in millions to oppose the wars of aggression against Iraq in 2003. **We estimate that the overextension of the US and its domestic problems will increasingly limit its capability for intervention and aggression. We hope that in the long run they would be able to stop the imperialist wars of aggression.**

The US and China have been the main partners in implementing the neoliberal policy of globalization. The US has used its economic, trade and financial relations to concentrate on the production of big items and more profitable industrial goods of civil and military or dual character, to financialize the US economy and have a more effective handle on the global economy, to outsource to China the production of consumer goods on cheap Chinese labor and to have it use its export surplus earnings to buy US treasury bills and other securities.

The relationship seemed to work well until the US financial bubbles burst one after the other and the US started to worry over the shrinkage of its manufacturing sector in relation to high unemployment and the huge US public debt in relation to China's export surpluses. The contradictions between the US and China over economic, financial, political and military issues can be a source of tensions in East Asia but can also provide to the Philippine revolution some room for maneuver.

Certain countries in the third world are governed by parties and leaders that assert national independence and invoke socialism in order to oppose imperialism and its most reactionary agents, seek to improve their country's economic and social condition and win the political support of their own people and gain the sympathy and support of patriotic and progressive forces in other third world countries. **Such countries like** China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea,

Cuba, Venezuela and Bolivia can be helpful to the Philippines, especially after victory in the national democratic revolution.

Certain countries have been victimized by imperialist wars of aggression such as Iraq, the Balkans, Afghanistan and Libya. The **peoples** in most of these countries are waging wars of national liberation against invasion and occupation. Right now, as they fight imperialism, they inspire the Filipino people to advance Philippine revolution. They are helpful because they bog down much of the war personnel and resources of the US and its imperialist allies and lessen their capability for military intervention and aggression elsewhere. The Filipino revolutionaries view the growing tendency of the imperialist powers to wage aggression as unwittingly promotive of anti-imperialist armed resistance not only in the countries directly victimized but also further afield.

The overwhelming majority of the underdeveloped and impoverished countries are governed by such exploiting classes as the big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats acting as puppets of the US and other imperialist powers. Even before the imposition of the neoliberal economic policy, they have been afflicted by chronic economic and political crisis resulting in armed conflicts of various types. Under the aforesaid policy, they have been subjected to worse exploitation and oppression and kept in neocolonial bondage.

The dire conditions in such countries are favorable for the rise of new democratic revolutions through people's war. The armed revolutionary movements in Colombia, India, Nepal, Peru, Turkey and elsewhere contribute to weakening imperialism and reaction worldwide and serve to inspire other peoples to wage armed struggles for freedom and democracy.

As the crisis of the world capitalist system worsens and protracts, the imperialist powers find it easiest to shift the burden of crisis to the oppressed peoples and nations and plunder their natural resources. But the broad masses of the people are further driven to wage resistance. The neoliberal economic policy has devastated the general run of third world countries so much so that opportunities have opened for the rise of armed revolutionary resistance in so many countries and in entire global regions. The spread of the conflagration will certainly facilitate the advance and victory of the people's democratic revolution in the Philippines.

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I am confident that in our retirement years and thereafter the Philippine revolution will win far greater victories than we have seen since the start of the people's war in 1969. In writing you this long letter, I wish to share with you the optimism and confidence that our contributions to the Filipino people's struggle for national and social liberation are not in vain and that they are part of a growing and advancing revolutionary movement that will ultimately win complete victory and lead to socialism.

Fraternally,
Joma

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Support the General Strike in Greece, Condemn Antipeople Austerity Measures⁸⁴

October 21, 2011

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, firmly and vigorously support the general strike declared and carried out by a broad range of forces (including workers, youth, women, public sector employees and various professionals) against the austerity measures aimed at further exploiting the people and shifting the burden of crisis to them.

We condemn the repeated imposition of austerity measures on the people by the European Union, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund as precondition for the further release of loans. These austerity measures include tax increases, deep wage cuts, mass lay-offs of public sector employees and repudiation of sectoral pay accords.

These unwelcome and exploitative measures will certainly press down production, increase unemployment and worsen the chronic public deficits of the Greek government. They will further aggravate the economic and financial crisis and will result in the next round of borrowing from the international usurers.

Greece is now on its third year of depression in the wake of the economic and financial crisis of the world capitalist system. The public debt of Greece is 162 percent of the gross domestic product as a result of profit-taking by domestic and foreign exploiters on a consumption-oriented and debt-dependent economy. According to government statistics, unemployment is running at 16.5 percent.

The rulers of the European Union are worried over the knock-on effect of the Greek debt crisis on all other countries in the Euro zone. This crisis is the making of the monopoly bourgeoisie and financial oligarchy. They have no reason whatsoever to further exploit the

⁸⁴ Statement issued as Chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee of the ILPS.

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people and shift the burden of crisis by pushing another round of austerity measures.

We congratulate the entire people of Greece and the various forces for their resounding success in mobilizing hundreds of thousands in the vicinity of the parliament and on the major streets of Athens and in rallying millions throughout Greece to unite against the treasonous antipeople government and its masters, the monopoly bourgeoisie and financial oligarchy.

It is just for the people to reject the memorandum of the EU and IMF requiring the legislation of further austerity measures, demand the ouster of the Papandreou government, call for power to the people and wage resistance until such power is realized. The working class and people can prevail over their exploiters and oppressors and aim for national independence, democracy and socialism through resolute and militant struggle.

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US and Nato: Jubilant over Spoils of War in Libya⁸⁵

October 23, 2011

The US and its imperialist allies in the NATO targeted Gaddafi and his regime for complete destruction because he had grievously offended them in the following ways: he called for the nationalization and retraction of so-called neoliberal concessions that he had granted to the Western oil companies, he refused to allow the African Command (Africom) of the US to establish its central base in Libya and he pushed for a gold-backed dinar as the currency of Africa.

To set up Gaddafi for the kill, so-called human rights organizations financed by the Central Intelligence Agency and the National Endowment for Democracy fabricated exaggerated reports which were subsequently played up by the US and other Western mass media depicting him as wantonly killing his political opponents. Such reports became the basis of the UN Security Council resolution allowing the imperialist powers to impose a no-fly zone over Libya and to undertake all necessary measures supposedly to protect civilians.

As soon as the US and its NATO allies got the resolution, they proceeded to attack Libya's military and civilian structures, using their hightech air power (including jet fighters, cruise missiles, predator drones and helicopter gunships) and all sorts of bombs (including oxygen-sucking white phosphorus bombs) in order to cripple and destroy the Gaddafi regime. The so-called humanitarian intervention to protect civilians was nothing but a deceptive expression for an extremely brutal war of aggression against Libya and the Libyan people.

The aerial bombardments by the Western powers combined with the ground action by the various armed rabble brigades of the US-NATO sponsored National Transitional Council in massacring more than 60,000 civilians and destroying entire housing blocks and social infrastructure, including schools, hospitals, cultural, sports and recreation centers and sections of the great underground water system of Libya. The Western mass media and the Qatar-owned Al Jazeera rarely

⁸⁵ Statement issued as Chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle.

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showed the mangled bodies of the victims and the ruins of civilian structures even as they kept on showing the rebel rabble ever reveling and ever shooting into the air with all kinds of weapons.

The rebel bands served as baits and guides for aerial attacks and for massacring civilians and wrecking buildings on the ground. Sirte became an untenable position of defense for Gaddafi as it was almost totally razed to the ground from aerial and artillery bombardments. Upon the signal of a US predator drone, French jet fighter planes attacked the convoy of Gaddafi as it tried to escape from Sirte. Only subsequently were the armed puppets on the ground able to seek out and capture Gaddafi and finally manhandle and murder him in full public view over global television.

Following the murder and martyrdom of Gaddafi, the US and NATO allies are jubilant over the prospect of collecting the spoils of war. They control the huge amount of Libya's sovereign wealth deposited in various Western banks. They are poised to collect payment in advance for the overstated costs of the bombardment and destruction of Libyan lives and property. They are set to tighten their control over the oilfields, grab the gold resources and privatize the water system of Libya and cash in on contracts for the reconstruction of what they have destroyed.

The national traitors that have collaborated with the US and the other Western powers in taking over Libya have been in disarray and will continue to be so to the full advantage of their imperialist masters. So far, they have been put together under the monarchist flag of convenience by their hatred of the Gaddafi regime and by special advisors and special forces who have been kept invisible by television. The US expects to lord over the local conflicting forces by establishing in Libya a US military base for its AFRICOM.

Serious contradictions exist among the NTC principal leaders who defected from the Gaddafi regime over the murder of fellow defector NTC commander-in-chief Abdul Fatah Younis whose Obeidi tribe is aching for revenge. There are potentially violent contradictions between the Qatar-financed Islamists (including veterans of the pro-Al Qaida Libyan Islamic Fighting Group who now head the military councils of Tripoli and Benghazi) and the secularists or otherwise who rely on the Misrata and Zintan brigades. Still, there are other complex contradictions involving a wide range of armed factions, tribes and regions.

The overthrow of the Gaddafi regime will not result in democracy, even if some elections would be staged. Whichever of the many armed factions comes on top will tend to rule with an iron fist and will be corrupt as it will wield absolute power. We have seen on global television the wanton violation of the human rights of the civilians and prisoners by those who have overthrown the Gaddafi regime. We have seen the cynicism and callousness of these imperialist agents of sham democracy in the way that they have flaunted and then waved away the flagrant murder of their own commander-in-chief Younis and their prisoner Gaddafi.

Certain factors are bound to keep the situation in Libya volatile and rife for the growth of a national liberation movement. Most important of such factors are the puppet, violent and corrupt character of the new ruling clique, the persistence of many conflicting armed factions, the still significant following of Gaddafi and the certain loss of social benefits as a result of the widespread destruction of the social infrastructure and increased profit-taking of the imperialists. The people stand to lose such free social services as education, health care, housing, and electricity, subsidized car purchases and negligible gasoline costs, allowances for newly-weds, subsidy for farming and so on.

No matter how much the fallen Gaddafi is ridiculed by the imperialist forces and puppets who have overthrown and murdered him, his martyrdom and final stand as an anti-imperialist fighter can still be inspiring to the tribes and the black Libyans (one third of the population) whose support Gaddafi developed and to the greater number of people who are bound to be oppressed and exploited by the Western imperialists and their puppets.

The anti-imperialist successors of Gaddafi are still the ones in the best position at the moment to carry out a national liberation struggle. But the conditions are also favorable for the rise of patriotic and progressive forces, including the revolutionary party of the working class, the trade union movement and other democratic mass formations, which have been suppressed since 1973 under Gaddafi's anti-imperialist but anti-communist rule.

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Condemn the TPPA as a US Scheme to further Control Trans-Pacific Trade⁸⁶

October 30, 2011

The International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) resolutely condemns the drive of the US government and its monopoly capitalists to realize the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA) as a scheme to impose their power over trade and investment flows. This would aggravate the exploitation of the working people and the environment as a way of raising superprofits and seeking to cope with the grave economic, social and economic crisis.

The TPPA was initiated by the Bush regime. [Negotiations have proceeded since March 2010](#), with the objective of creating a legally-binding free trade agreement for the Asia-Pacific region. Right now, the TPPA talks involve nine countries—the USA, Australia, New Zealand, Brunei, Peru, Chile, Viet Nam, Malaysia and Singapore. Japan is poised to join. The USA has free trade agreements (FTAs) with four of the nine countries.

The TPPA is conceived as an economic dimension of the growing US-China confrontation, which is a growing danger to world peace. Peoples' organizations in the nine countries covered by the TPPA have therefore agreed to expose and oppose the callous and unjust demands of the US corporations and the US Trade Representative regarding the TPPA.

[Talks on the TPPA advanced when the US delegation put forward specific text that revealed the entire TPPA process as US-driven. Delays arose when the US Trade Representative waited for congressional ratification of US free trade agreements with Colombia, Panama and South Korea.](#)

What are the objectives of the US corporations in the TPPA?

These are: 1) to subordinate the health and medicines policies of all other countries to the demands of giant US pharmaceutical companies, including the extension of patent rights to allow the charging of higher prices for a longer period, and restrictions on the right of

⁸⁶ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson

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governments to control prices for medicines; 2) to require that all government procurement be open to US corporations—no local content or local training polices; 3) to require that all media policies that support local cultural content be abolished, allowing complete domination by US media corporations; 4) to impose US copyright law on all other countries—greatly extended copyright and royalty payments which greatly favor US corporations; 5) to make internet service providers criminally liable for any copyright piracy on their networks; and 6) to demand tariff-free access for US exports into all markets, while limiting corresponding access to US markets.

What would be the result?

This neoliberal overreach by the giant US corporations would deliver a disastrous blow on jobs, health, and freedom of communications and information in the entire Asia-Pacific region.

The just response to these outrageous dictates of US monopoly capitalism is for the people to mobilize themselves and protest! And the people's protests have taken place in Auckland, New Zealand, Chicago and Peru, three of the sites of negotiating rounds.

The people's campaign has been effective. The initial objective was for the TPPA deal to be signed by November 2011, and unveiled at the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Leader Summit in Honolulu as the blueprint for all member economies, including most of the ASEAN nations, Russia and China. But now that won't happen.

Instead some kind of progress report may be given to APEC and then talks will proceed into 2012. The opposition of trade union, health and media sectors to the US corporations in the US itself and in other countries has delayed this obnoxious scheme. The ILPS is determined to work vigorously in cooperation with other forces in order to expand and intensify the people's protest movement against the TPPA.

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Support the Egyptian People's Struggle against the US-backed Military Regime⁸⁷

November 11, 2011

The International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), with over 300 member-organizations from all regions of the world, conveys most militant greetings of solidarity and support to the Egyptian people on the occasion of the **International Day to Defend their Struggle for Freedom, Human Rights and Social Justice on November 12, 2011**.

We join the Egyptian people in condemning and fighting the gross and systematic violations of human rights rights by the US-backed military regime that has hijacked the victory of the Egyptian people in overthrowing the corrupt and authoritarian regime of Mohammed Hosni Mubarak who ruled Egypt for 30 years.

We support the people's movement to stop the killings of activists and protesters, the incarceration of those who dare expose the repression and exploitation of the Egyptian people, the violence committed against Egyptian women, and the climate of fear and terror that the ruling Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) is spreading to snuff out the burning desire of the Egyptian people for fundamental changes.

The continuing stranglehold of the military on the Egyptian political system is directed by US imperialism to suppress the people's movement that has surged in Egypt since January. The US is hellbent on maintaining its neocolonial control of Egypt and preventing the uprising of the Egyptian people from turning into an anti-imperialist struggle.

Egypt has long been dominated by the US economically and militarily. It has been under a US puppet regime that plays a crucial role in the US-Zionist offensives against the Arab and Palestinian people. Since 1975, the US has poured in more than US\$50 billion in the country to prop up and use the Mubarak regime as a despotic tool of US interests.

In this period when the people of Middle East and North Africa are rising up to assert national independence and democratic rights, the US is frantically trying to retain a new set of puppets in order to

⁸⁷ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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perpetuate control over the vast energy resources of the Middle East and Africa. Egypt is a strategically important US neocolonial base in the region.

The SCAF is dependent on US military support that runs at US\$ 1.8 billion in the current year. It is directed by the US to conduct a campaign of suppression against the Egyptian people's resistance. Both US imperialism and the persistent fascist Egyptian military regime are responsible for the bloody crimes against the people.

We are inspired by the courage of the Egyptian people in continuing the struggle for fundamental economic, social and political changes despite the tremendous odds. We urge them to persevere and intensify their struggle. Only through revolutionary struggle do they have a chance to overcome the escalating oppression and exploitation brought about by the worsening crisis of the world capitalist system.

It is necessary for the Egyptian people to link up their resistance with that of other peoples in the Middle East, Africa and the entire world. Through their concerted struggles, the peoples of the world can inflict powerful blows on the imperialist powers and the puppet regimes and aim for the realization of greater freedom, democracy, social justice, development and world peace.

We in the ILPS salute the heroic people of Egypt. We stand with you in your fight against the brutality of the US-directed military regime and for your national and social liberation from the scourge of imperialism and the local reactionary classes. Your struggle is our struggle, and your revolutionary advance is ours.

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Remedies to Obstacles or Problems in the GPH-NDFP Peace Negotiations⁸⁸

November 14, 2011

Let me state to you the remedies that have been used or can be used to overcome or solve 10 major obstacles or problems in the GPH-NDFP peace negotiations. Let me refer quickly to every obstacle or problem and then state the remedy.

1. Problem of diametrically opposite positions in a civil war

Remedy: The Hague Joint Declaration (THJD) makes it possible for the warring parties, GPH and NDFP, to become negotiating parties. It declares mutually acceptable principles of national sovereignty, democracy and social justice and no precondition whatsoever to negate the inherent character and purpose of peace negotiations. Both sides keep their respective political integrity in addressing the roots of the armed conflict by negotiating and agreeing on basic social, economic and political reforms.

2. Problem of safety and immunity guarantees

Remedy: The Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) provides the guarantees for both sides. Safety and immunity guarantees are necessary for the negotiators, consultants, staff and other personnel in the peace negotiations. Safety of such persons, documents and other things is necessary before, during and after the peace negotiations. Immunity ensures that they do not become liable for what they utter or do in connection with peace negotiations.

⁸⁸ Presentation given to ... as Chief Political Consultant of the NDFP Negotiating Panel.

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3. Problem of venue in view of previous bad experience in the 1986 ceasefire talks

Remedy: The JASIG has stipulated foreign neutral venue, with facilitation of foreign governments. During the ceasefire talks and ceasefire agreement in 1986 and early 1987, the NDFP personnel and allies were put under surveillance by enemy intelligence. Afterwards, a number of them were arrested, tortured and killed. Peace negotiations in a foreign venue do not require mobilization of large security forces by the negotiating parties. They are secure and economical for both sides.

4. Problem of orderly meetings and consultations

Remedy: Ground **Rules** regarding these have been agreed upon. To mention some of the rules, the chairpersons are responsible for the conduct of their respective panels and consultants and they co-preside the formal meetings. The chairpersons of the panels, teams or representatives thereof can engage in informal meetings and consultations to facilitate the formal meetings. The third party facilitator is in charge of hosting and providing necessities for the talks and can attend the formal meetings.

5. Problem of having substantive agenda towards a just and lasting peace

Remedy: THJD requires addressing the roots of the armed conflict by negotiating and forging agreements on basic social, economic and political reforms and sets forth the substantive agenda: Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (already done); Social and Economic Reforms; Political and Constitutional Reforms; and End of Hostilities and Disposition of Forces. There is the Joint Agreement on the Formation, Sequence and Operationalization of the Reciprocal Working Committees for making the tentative agreements before finalization by the negotiating panels. After a comprehensive agreement is approved by the panels, it is submitted to their respective principals for approval.

6. Problem of legal and judicial framework

Remedy: The CARHRIHL has used as main frame of reference the international conventions on human rights and international humanitarian law and the negotiating panels adhere to their respective constitutions. The prospective CASER avails of international conventions and the negotiating panels adhere to their respective constitutions. The prospective CAPCR will be guided by international law and will seek to make a new constitution on the basis of the constitutions of the GPH and NDFP and create new political mechanisms. The prospective EHDF will also be guided by international law and by a new constitution agreed upon by the GPH and NDFP.

7. Problem of violations of JASIG and CARHRIHL

Remedy: The NDFP has constantly demanded that justice be rendered to the JASIG-protected negotiating personnel who have been subjected to imprisonment, torture and extrajudicial killings. The refusal of GPH to heed the demand for justice and the immediate release of the **JASIG-protected** prisoners can be a just ground for the NDFP to withdraw from the peace negotiations but still the NDFP continues to demand and wait for the GPH to comply with JASIG. Like the entire people and the human rights, peace and religious organizations, the NDFP is demanding the release of more than 350 political prisoners who have been tortured and imprisoned on **trumped-up** charges of common crimes in violation of CARHRIHL, particularly the Hernandez political offense doctrine. The Aquino regime condones the human rights violations perpetrated under the Arroyo regime and is perpetrating its own. The NDFP has the just ground to withdraw from the peace negotiations because the Aquino regime does not comply with the JASIG and CARHRIHL.

8. Problem of demagogic demands for ceasefire to draw attention away from the roots of the armed conflict

Remedy: NDFP has offered truce and alliance on the basis of a general declaration of common intent in the spirit of encouraging and accelerating the peace negotiations. Such offer is intended by the NDFP to counter the frequent demagogic demand of the GPH which

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obfuscates the need for addressing the roots of the armed conflict and tries to push the NDFP towards a position of surrender and pacification. But if the GPH seriously takes the offer, then there can be an immediate truce and alliance in general terms that will certainly encourage and accelerate the forging of the three remaining comprehensive agreements on SER, PCR and EHDF.

9. Problem of GPH undermining and seeking to nullify the THJD, the JASIG and even the CARHRIHL

Remedy: NDFP simply has to uphold the existing joint agreements in opposition to the efforts of the GPH to undermine and nullify them. The peace negotiations will not move forward or will even be terminated if the GPH does not remove the clique of clerico-fascists, military hawks and crooks that are in control of the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process. Such clique is most responsible for the efforts to cast away the THJD on the false argument that it is a document of perpetual division, that the JASIG does not involve obligations but is only a matter of discretion for the GPH and that the CARHRIHL is not binding and effective, despite the approval of the principals. The current OPAPP has become notorious for attacking existing agreements with the NDFP or with the MILF. It is preoccupying itself with racketeering activities in connivance with certain paramilitary groups like the CPLA and the RPA-ABB which are misrepresented as rebel groups.

10. Problem of the Oplan Bayanihan, including US intervention and interference in the peace negotiations.

Remedy: NDFP exposes the US-designed Oplan Bayanihan as a military campaign plan masquerading as a peace and development campaign. We call on all peace-loving people to demand that the GPH, particularly the Aquino regime, engage in serious peace negotiations and build a just and lasting peace with the NDFP on the agreements already made. According to Oplan Bayanihan, the peace negotiations are merely a fig leaf on the naked brute force of the state. The GPH is supposed to use sham peace negotiations if only to reinforce the psywar misrepresentation of the military campaign of suppression as peace and development operations. The NDFP advises the GPH to

engage in serious peace negotiations because the revolutionary forces are ready to frustrate the GPH strategy of deception and violence.

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Demand Urgent Action on Global Warming and Climate Justice, and Start Shutdown of Nuclear Plants on World Climate Day

Statement of the International League of Peoples' Struggle

November 23, 2011

On December 3, 2011, people from around the world will mark World Climate Day by demanding urgent action on global warming and climate justice. World Climate Day will be observed while the annual climate talks of the Conference of Parties (COP17/MOP7) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change are taking place in Durban, South Africa from November 28th until December 11th 2011.

Thousands of people from around the world will hold protest actions and various other activities to convey their collective resistance against the hypocritical character of the conference and the unrestrained destruction of the environment by the imperialist powers. These keep on making promises from conference to conference to safeguard the environment but they persist in destroying it as they continue to engage in the plunder of human and natural resources in the course of what has been termed as "development aggression.

The global ecological crisis under the rule of monopoly capital has worsened and reached colossal proportions. Imperialist governments and transnational corporations are directly responsible for continuing to pump massive amounts of greenhouse gases (GHG) into the atmosphere as they extract and consume most of the Earth's natural resources—such as our forests, minerals, energy reserves, freshwater supplies, agricultural lands and marine areas—in the pursuit of superprofits.

The relentless plunder and breakdown of the world's ecosystems are destroying entire communities and countries and resulting in ever increasing calamities, disasters, destruction, and deaths. The past decade was the warmest 10 year period in recent history as carbon

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dioxide and equivalent gases have breached existing record levels. Oceans are acidifying and terrestrial ecosystems are failing. As East Africa now faces its worst drought in sixty years, more than half of the world's population are rendered vulnerable to the catastrophic effects of climate change.

While experts are now warning that the world has less than a decade to alter our current emission rates before climate change becomes irreversible, the agents of monopoly capital and their governments continue to push profit-driven and market-oriented responses that have dismally failed to stem the increase of greenhouse gas emissions. The false technological solutions they promote and pursue further endanger the world and threaten to aggravate and compound global warming with worse global catastrophes.

Nuclear power is one such example of a false solution. It is being promoted as an alternative to fossil-fuel energy and packaged as an alternative clean source to reduce emissions. Yet nuclear fuel and plants are not carbon neutral. As Fukushima and other major nuclear catastrophes such as Three Mile Island and Chernobyl have shown, nuclear power has serious risks and consequences—both possible and inevitable—which makes it incalculably risky and uncontrollable considering the world's current levels of technology and capacity to deal with nuclear waste. No state or community of states has yet succeeded in solving the problem of high level nuclear waste disposal, which remains a deadly threat for thousands of years.

As hundreds of millions of people condemn the continuing disaster in Fukushima and the Japanese government's cover up of and connivance with TEPCO on their joint irresponsibility, worldwide opposition to the building of new nuclear power plants and the shutdown of existing ones has grown. In line with this, and in conjunction with the observance of World Climate Day 2011, the International League of Peoples' Struggle is uniting and coordinating with the International Coordination of Revolutionary Parties and Organizations and other forces and with the broad masses of the people to intensify the campaign for the shutdown of all nuclear power plants and the ban and destruction of all nuclear weapons

We call on all member organizations of the ILPS, our allies and the people to hold protests and demonstrations to call for the shutdown of nuclear plants as well as to conduct other activities such as signature campaigns, forums and discussions during this coming World

Climate Day. We must expose the fact that the crisis of global capitalism further propels profit-driven and unsustainable development that causes irreversible damage to the world's environment. We must oppose false solutions, such as nuclear power evades the root of the climate crisis, which is the unsustainable system of monopoly capital plunder and production.

We reiterate the September 25, 2011 joint call of the ILPS and ICOR for a one-year worldwide campaign: Shut down all nuclear power plants! We must confront the following facts: that at today's level of technology the production of nuclear energy poses incalculable and irresponsible risks; that today there is no safe and permanent possibility to deposit nuclear waste, and that this will still be radioactive in a million years; that the health and lives of those people working in the nuclear industry are permanently endangered—whether in uranium mining, or in the operation, transportation, maintenance and dismantling of nuclear facilities; that in some countries the construction of nuclear plants is mostly a cover for nuclear arms projects; and that atomic energy is in no way neutral with regard to the emission of climate gases and is only bringing maximum profits for the big corporations because it is subsidized by the state to the highest degree

The catastrophe of Fukushima has generated a worldwide wave of mass protests. Some governments have been forced to stop their plans for building further nuclear power plants. Even in countries like Japan or France, where for decades atomic energy was claimed to be “without alternative”, the people's resistance has been developing. With strikes, blockades and mass demonstrations the masses are opposing the plans of international finance capital which, even after Fukushima, are continuing with their plans to further operate and build more nuclear power plants.

We must expand and intensify the worldwide resistance of the people. We must wage the struggle for shutting down nuclear power plants as a part of the comprehensive struggle to prevent an environmental catastrophe which can destroy the foundations of the existence of entire humankind. We must consider the struggle for the preservation of the natural environment as a part of the struggle for the national and social liberation from imperialism.

Let us be guided by the following:

□ Active resistance to shut down all nuclear power stations and plants!

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Compel the corporate owners of nuclear power plants to bear the costs of shutdown and clean up operations!

Demand compensation and appropriate medical support from the state and from corporate operators or owners of nuclear power plants for all victims of illnesses arising from exposure to nuclear power plant radiation and toxic wastes!

Save the environment from the greed for profit of the monopolies!

Pursue and expand research, promotion and propagation of environment-friendly power and energy sources!

Ban and destroy all nuclear, biological and chemical weapons!

Strengthen the international front of active resistance for the protection of the natural environment!

Issued by the Office of the Chairperson
of the International Coordinating Committee
International League of Peoples' Struggle

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On US Strategic Interests in the Philippines

Interview by John Toledo, *The Philippine Collegian*

November 24, 2011

1. Please comment on the reopening and continuous strengthening of the MDT (Mutual Defense Treaty) as seen in Hillary Clinton's visit here in the Philippines.

JMS: The Mutual Defense Treaty is the oft-cited foundation for the Visiting Forces Agreement, which has been used to allow the stationing of US military forces and the endless relay of such forces in larger numbers in the country, despite the well-celebrated end of the US-Military Bases Agreement. The MDT is a one-sided document which imposes obligations on the Philippines in violation of national sovereignty and territorial integrity and allows the US to go through its constitutional process and balance its conflicting interests before coming to the defense of the Philippines in case of an attack on the latter.

At any rate, Hillary Clinton came to the Philippines to declare that the US is increasing its attention on its economic, political and security interests in the Philippines and East-Asia and is seeking to strengthen US hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region. The US is pushing the so-called Trans-Pacific Partnership in order to pressure China to privatize its state-owned enterprises and to submit further to US wishes in the world capitalist system. It is also trying to increase its military presence in East Asia by way of confronting the rising power of China in the region.

2. How would this affect the Philippines as a whole, especially in terms of protecting the sovereignty of our country and in the issues regarding the Spratlys and disputes in Mindanao (continuous Balikatan/VFA and the MILF fight for sovereign Bangsamoro land)?

JMS: The US has always regarded the Philippines as a strategic base in various respects and considers our islands as practically an unsinkable US naval fleet. The Philippines has gained even more importance as a strategic base to the US because it wants to counter

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the rise of China in the region and because it simply has to pay close attention to a region where a great part of the world's economic activity and trade occur. The US wants to increase its economic, political and military domination of the region and is decided on using the Philippines for the purpose.

We can expect more US military intervention in the Philippines. It has used for sometime the CIA-created Abu Sayyaf as the pretext for introducing military forces via Balikatan/VFA not only in Mindanao but in the entire country, for meddling in the negotiations between the Manila government and the MILF and for seeking to grab oil and other major natural resources from Moroland. It is also using the issue of the Spratlys in order to beef up its military forces in the Philippines. But the Philippines cannot be too sure about US support because the US has far greater economic and security interests in its relations with China.

3. Please comment on Barack Obama's speech that Southeast Asia shall be the center of focus by imperialist America.

JMS: Indeed, Barack Obama's speech underscores the focal interest of the US in Southeast Asia. In that regard, the Philippines plays the key role in serving US hegemony in Southeast Asia and further on Southeast Asia plays the key role for the maintenance of US hegemony in East Asia. In the previous answers, I have already laid out the interests and the new considerations and new thrusts of the US in the region.

4. Please comment on the continuous stranglehold of America, as imperialist, in our country. They have actually said in the wikileaks to maintain our country's mode of production as "feudal" especially in setting up their markets and killing our local industries.

JMS: It is a sad fact that the US controls the Philippines economically, politically, culturally and militarily. The Philippines remains a semicolonial and semifeudal country because of the continuing infringement of our national sovereignty and prevention of economic development by the US. Indeed, the US wants to maintain a "feudal" or more precisely a semifeudal mode of production in the Philippines in order to make it a political underling and an easy source of superprofits for the US monopoly banks and firms.

5. *For us as students, why should we fight for the junking of VFA? What alternatives should we do because as the government is really underneath the foreign power (as seen in PNoy's support of Hillary Clinton).*

JMS: You must fight for the junking of the VFA and the MDT because these instruments violate national sovereignty, allow the US military forces to intervene in the Philippines and protect US interests against the interests of the Filipino people. You must condemn and change a government that acts as a puppet and servant of US imperialism. You must engage in all possible and necessary forms of struggle in order to achieve national liberation and democracy and establish a people's democratic government which can act best to resist the impositions of imperialism.

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The Way Forward for the Filipino People⁸⁹

Interview by Bill Fletcher, Jr.⁹⁰

November 25, 2011

1. Most people in the USA know little about the Philippines, its history, and/or its relationship to the USA. What do you believe are the reasons for this ignorance?

JMS: The US mass media are most responsible for informing, disinforming or simply keeping the American people ignorant about a country like the Philippines. I presume that most people in the USA become most aware of a country when the mass media are blaring out a certain extended course of sensational events of great interest to the US officialdom and the ruling class.

I am sure that in the past there were times of long duration when the mass media called the attention of the American public to the Philippines, like when the US was justifying and carrying out its war of aggression against the Filipino people from 1899 onwards, when the Japanese fascists pushed the US out of the Philippines at the start of World War II and the US reconquered the Philippines in 1945 and when the US-propped Marcos fascist dictatorship was in the process of being overthrown.

When the extraordinary or sensational subsides, the mass media pay less attention to the country and do not say much about the protracted reality of US colonial rule in the Philippines in most of the first half of the 20th century or the US semicolonial domination of the Philippines since 1946. The ruling system in the US does not allow

89 Interviewed as Founding Chairman, the Communist Party of the Philippines and Chief Political Consultant, National Democratic Front of the Philippines and Chairperson, the International League of Peoples' Struggle. A shortened version of this interview was published in alternet.com.

90 Bill Fletcher, Jr. is a long-time racial justice, labor and international writer and activist. He is a Senior Scholar with the Institute for Policy Studies, editorial board member of BlackCommentator.com, and a Visiting Scholar with the City University of New York Graduate Center.

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the Americans who know the truth [about the](#) Philippines to impart their knowledge to the public promptly, widely and sustainedly through the mass media or any other means.

2. Given what you are saying, do you think that the US media has consciously mischaracterized the situation in the Philippines by focusing on groups like Abu Sayyaf?

JMS: Yes, the US media drum up US policy and corporate interests and consciously misrepresent the Philippine situation, as in the focusing on the Abu Sayyaf. This small bandit gang, whose origin can be traced to the CIA and intelligence operatives of the Philippine army who organized and used it against the Moro revolutionaries (MNLF and then MILF), is magnified as an extension of Al Qaida in order to serve the false claim of Bush that the Philippines is the second front of a global war on terror as well as to rationalize state terrorism and US military intervention in the Philippines.

Through the mass media, the US has spread the scare about terrorism in order to justify a whole range of actions: the curtailment of democratic rights in the US and on a global scale, the stepping up of war production to please the military-industrial complex and the unleashing of wars of aggression.

3. Would you [sum up](#) the situation in the Philippines, particularly the state of negotiations between the NDFP and the government; the situation facing workers and farmers; the overall economy; and fighting that may be taking place?

JMS: The Philippines is severely stricken by crisis because of the rotting semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system and the growing impact of the crisis of the US and global capitalist system. The prices of the raw materials and semimanufactures produced for export by the Philippines are depressed and foreign loans to cover the trade deficits and debt service are becoming more onerous than before. There is now less demand for overseas contract workers and thus their remittances are decreasing. The global economic and financial crisis is hitting hard the Philippines. The growing public deficits (budgetary and trade) and the public debt are growing and exposing the bankruptcy of the big comprador-landlord state.

Various forms of popular resistance, including people's war, are ever growing because of the extreme and ever-worsening conditions

of exploitation and oppression of more than 90 percent of the people, the toiling masses of workers and peasants. Like preceding regimes, the Aquino regime wants to destroy the armed revolutionary movement. It is implementing the US-designed Oplan Bayanihan, which is the same dog as Arroyo's Oplan Bantay Laya but which tries to be different by dressing up brutal military operations as peace and development operations and maintaining human rights desks in the reactionary army and national police for the purpose of shifting the blame for human rights violations to the revolutionaries. On the other hand, the New People's Army led by the Communist Party of the Party is carrying out a five-year plan to advance from the strategic defensive to strategic stalemate in the people's war, increasing the number of guerrilla fronts from 120 to 180.

While their respective armed forces continue to fight, the Government of the Philippines (GPH) and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) are supposed to engage in peace negotiations in order to address the roots of the armed conflict by forging agreements on social, economic and political reforms. But the GPH has paralyzed the peace negotiations by refusing to release a few political prisoners who are NDFP consultants in the negotiations and thus violating the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG). The GPH is also grossly violating the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) by refusing to release more than 350 political prisoners who are imprisoned on false charges of common crimes.

4. You have described the Philippines as semicapitalist/semifeudal. Please explain what this means in practical terms. We are in the early years of the 21st century. How could there be a semifeudal situation in the Philippines? The Philippines seems, for all intents and purposes, to be tied into global capitalism.

JMS: You can say bluntly that the Philippines is capitalist and has long been capitalist since the 19th century if you mean that the commodity system of production and exchange through money has come on top of the natural economy of feudalism when local communities could subsist on a diversified agriculture and engage mainly in barter. The specialization in crops for domestic food (rice and corn) and for export (tobacco, hemp and sugar) and the import of a certain amount of manufactures from Europe for consumption pushed the domestic

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commodity system of production as well as integration with global capitalism through colonialism as a part of the primitive accumulation of capital in Europe and subsequently under the banner of colonial free trade.

But it is utterly wrong to say that the Philippines is industrial capitalist or even **semiindustrial** capitalist. The Philippines does not have an industrial foundation. Its floating kind of industry consists of imported equipment paid for by the export of raw materials and by foreign loans necessitated by the chronic trade deficits. It is most precise to describe the Philippine economy as semifeudal to denote the persistence of the large vestiges of feudalism in the form of disguised and undisguised landlord-tenant relations and usury at the base of the economy, the peasant class constituting 75 percent of the population and the combination of the big compradors and landlords as the main exploiting classes. The big compradors are the chief financial and trading agents of the foreign monopolies and are often big landlords themselves, especially on land producing crops for export.

Global capitalism under the neoliberal policy of “free trade” globalization has not changed but has aggravated and deepened the preindustrial and underdeveloped semifeudal character of the Philippine economy. The share of manufacturing with the use of imported equipment and raw materials under the policy of low-value added export-oriented manufacturing in the last three decades has decreased in comparison to that share under the previous policy of import substitution. The illusion of industrial development has been conjured by excessive foreign borrowing for consumption of foreign manufactures, by conspicuous private construction projects and by the sweatshops that engage in the **fringe processing** of imported manufactured components and yield little net export income.

Neither the series of bogus land reform programs since decades ago nor the neoliberal policy of imperialist globalization has broken up feudalism completely and given way to a well-founded industrialization. The backward agrarian and semifeudal character of the Philippine economy is now increasingly exposed by its depression and ruination due to the decreasing demand for its type of exports, the closure of many **sweatshops of semimanufacturing for export**, the tightening international credit and the decrease of remittances by overseas contract workers in the current prolonged global economic and financial crisis in this 21st century of desperate, barbaric and imploding global

capitalism. The conditions have become more fertile for people's war in the Philippines.

In the 1980s, certain elements in the Philippines pushed the notion that the Philippine economy was no longer semifeudal but semicapitalist or semiindustrial capitalist in order to glorify the Marcos fascist dictatorship as having industrialized the Philippines. This notion also aimed to undercut the Communist Party's strategic line of protracted people's war involving the encirclement of the cities from the countryside by the armed revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants until such time that they have accumulated enough politico-military strength to seize the cities on a nationwide scale in a strategic offensive.

The bureaucrat big comprador Ferdinand Marcos conjured the illusion of industrial development by borrowing heavily from abroad and by importing consumption goods and luxuries and construction equipment and structural steel in order to build roads, bridges, hotels and other tourist facilities. The profligate spending of foreign loans only served to maintain the agrarian and preindustrial character of the Philippine economy. Cognizant of the persistent semifeudal reality, the New People's Army under CPP leadership has been able to wage people's war successfully with the main support of the peasantry and under the class leadership of the working class.

5. When one talks of the Philippine working class, what are the main sectors in which it is found and how is neoliberalism affecting it?

JMS: The Philippine working class is found in such main sectors as the following: food and beverages, hotels and restaurants, public utilities (power generation, water and sewage system), mining and quarrying, metal fabrication (imported metals), car assembly, ship assembly, transportation, communications, mass media, assembly of electronic and electrical products, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, oil refining, construction, construction materials (cement and wood), banks and other financial institutions and public sector services (education, health, etc).

In the Philippines, the neoliberal policy has favored certain enterprises away from industrial development and has expanded employment in such enterprises during boom periods. The favored enterprises include those in mining and export-crop plantations, the assembly of electronic and electrical products, the semimanufacturing of garments,

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shoes and other low-value added products for reexport, car assembly, construction of office and residential towers, cement production, hotels and restaurants, business call centers and financial services. They are vulnerable to the ups and downs characteristic of global capitalism under [the](#) neoliberal policy and now to the worst crisis since the Great Depression. Closures and reduction of production have resulted in a high rate of unemployment and the further immiseration of the people.

Under the neoliberal policy, the working class has been subjected to wage freezes and reductions, loss of job security, flexibilization or casualization (reducing the number of regular employees and increasing the number of temporaries or casuals), systematic prevention or break up of workers' unions and ceaseless [attacks](#) on union rights and other democratic rights. The kinds of enterprises generated by the neoliberal policy involve cheap labor and the most tiring and health-damaging processes and conditions. They also limit the number of regular employees and expand the ranks of the casuals subjected to a series of short-term employment contracts in order to circumvent the law on regular employment. The scarcity of employment opportunities in the Philippines has compelled nearly 10 percent of the population to seek employment abroad as overseas contract workers and undocumented workers with practically no rights. This fact proves the lack of national industrial development.

6. You mention that certain elements in the Philippines had a different view than yours (and the CPP) on how to characterize the Philippines today. What were/are the practical implications of these differences? Do the differences preclude any degree of unity or are there strategic differences that are irreconcilable?

JMS: Certain elements in the revolutionary movement put forward the subjectivist notion in the early 1980s that Marcos had truly carried out land reform, industrialized the Philippines and raised its urbanization to the level of 40 percent. They subjectively concluded that it was already wrong to call the Philippines semifeudal and to pursue the strategic line [of](#) protracted people's war by way of accumulating strength in the countryside before seizing the cities. The subjectivist notion gave rise to two opportunist currents, Right and ultra-Left, both grounded on rejecting the line of protracted people's war but taking two different directions, one along the line of legalism and parliamentarism and the other along the line of military adventurism.

The ultra-Left opportunists adopted the line of speeding up the regularization of the people's army or the premature formation of absolutely concentrated companies and battallions supposedly to catch up with the expected development of urban insurrections as the lead factor in the revolution. The prematurely enlarged military formations were unsustainable, became divorced from the masses and were easy for the enemy to locate and attack. When they incurred heavy losses, the ultra-Left opportunists engaged in scapegoating and blamed so-called deep penetration agents as the cause of their disasters.

Meanwhile, the Right opportunists called for making legal struggle the main form of struggle against the dictatorship and for taking out working class leadership from the National Democratic Front of the Philippines supposedly to attract more people. After Marcos fell in 1986, they wanted to join the Corazon Aquino government and some of them succeeded in joining the new reactionary government. After failing to swing the Communist Party to a line of reformism, they fragmented into various groups and adopted various lines, including Gorbachovism, Trotskyism, social democracy, neorevisionism and even neoliberalism.

The most notorious and most aggressive of the Right and ultra-Left opportunists have found jobs in the regimes of Cory Aquino, Ramos, Estrada, Arroyo and Noyon Aquino and the very worst of them have even joined even the intelligence agencies. They would be most hostile to any suggestion of reconciliation or unity with the CPP. But many of those they have misled are known to have returned to the revolutionary movement or have dropped out to mind their own private lives.

7. What have been the chief obstacles to a negotiated settlement between the NDFP and the government?

JMS: The Manila government and NDFP have their respective constitutions, governments and armies. To lay the ground for peace negotiations, they issued The Hague Joint Declaration to define the framework for peace negotiations. They agreed to address the roots of the armed conflict or the civil war by negotiating and forging agreements on human rights and international humanitarian law and on social, economic and political reforms. They also agreed that they are guided by the mutually acceptable principles of national sovereignty, democracy and social justice and that no precondition shall be made

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by any side to negate the inherent character and purpose of peace negotiations, i.e., no side can demand the surrender of the other side.

Under the current Aquino regime, his presidential adviser and his negotiating panel want to undermine and nullify the aforesaid declaration by asserting that it is a document of perpetual division. They are practically demanding the immediate surrender of the revolutionary movement. They do not respect the agreement on the sequence, formation and operationalization of the reciprocal working committees that are to negotiate and work out the agreements on reforms. The question of what kind of authority will be formed to implement the comprehensive agreements on reforms shall be settled when the time comes for negotiating the political and constitutional reforms.

The Benigno Aquino III regime has shown no respect for and has in fact violated the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) by refusing to release some 14 political prisoners who are NDFP negotiating personnel and are therefore JASIG-protected. It has not called to account those military and police personnel who have abducted, tortured and murdered NDFP consultants who are JASIG-protected. Also, it has violated the Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law by condoning violations of human rights of suspected revolutionaries and sympathizers by the Arroyo regime and by his own troops and by refusing to release 350 political prisoners who are unjustly imprisoned on trumped-up charges of common crimes.

The regime keeps on demanding ceasefire in order to distract public attention from the [agreements](#) to address the roots of the civil war through basic reforms. The NDFP has offered truce and alliance on the basis of a general declaration on common intent on ten points, including the assertion of national independence, empowerment of the working people, land reform and national industrialization, immediate assistance and employment for the impoverished and unemployed, promotion of a patriotic, scientific and popular culture, self-determination of national minorities and independent foreign policy for peace and development.

The biggest obstacle to the peace negotiations is US political and military intervention. The US has upset the peace negotiations by unjustly designating the CPP, the NPA and the NDFP chief political consultant as terrorists. It has dictated upon the Aquino regime to draw up Oplan Bayanihan under the US Counterinsurgency Guide, which

considers peace negotiations as a mere psywar device for outwitting, isolating and destroying the revolutionary movement. Oplan Bayanihan is a campaign plan of military suppression. But it masquerades as a peace and development plan. It regards peace negotiations only as a means to enhance the triad of psywar, intelligence gathering and combat operations. Many people think that the US does not allow the puppet regime to make the overall agreement for a just and lasting peace with the NDFP.

8. Optimally what would a settlement between the NDFP and the government look like? What is the vision of the NDFP for a future Philippines?

JMS: The Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines have declared that their line in the peace negotiations is no different from their line of struggle for national liberation and democracy in the people's war, whose ultimate goal is a just and lasting peace. Through peace negotiations, they seek to forge agreements with the Manila government on social, economic and political reforms in order to pave the way for a just and lasting peace.

The NDFP is desirous of a settlement in which the national sovereignty of the Filipino people and territorial integrity of the Philippines are upheld and unequal treaties, agreements and arrangements with foreign powers are done away with. The workers and peasants who compose the majority of the people must be empowered in order to have real democracy. Land reform and national industrialization must be carried out in order to have real development and realize just social relations. A national, scientific and mass culture and system of education and information must be promoted. An independent policy must be carried out in order to promote development and world peace.

The vision of the NDFP is for the Filipino people to enjoy far better conditions when they have national independence, democracy, economic development and social justice. They can aspire for still better conditions in a socialist society. The protracted and worsening crisis of global capitalism is resulting in the resurgence of the anti-imperialist movement as well as the socialist movement. An increasing number of people are saying that it is not enough to fight against capitalism and imperialism. It is necessary to fight for socialism.

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9. Are you optimistic that negotiations can result in a just settlement?

JMS: Frankly speaking, I am not optimistic that negotiations can result in a just settlement. Like its predecessors, the Aquino regime is too servile to US imperialism and stands as the current chief representative of the local exploiting classes, the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord classes. It has shown no inclination to assert national independence and undo unequal treaties, agreements and arrangements that keep the Philippines semicolonial. It also has shown no inclination to realize democracy through significant representation of workers and peasants in government and through land reform and national industrialization.

It has become clear that the reactionary government is not seriously interested in peace negotiations as a way of addressing the roots of the armed conflict through agreements on basic reforms. Especially under the Aquino regime, the negotiators are always trying to lay aside the substantive agenda and to push the NDFP towards capitulation and pacification. Failing to accomplish their vile objective, they paralyze the peace negotiations by refusing to comply with obligations under the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees.

10. What has been the role of the USA? And, have US policies towards the Philippines changed under President Obama? If so, how? What is your overall assessment of the Obama administration?

JMS: The USA has not been helpful to the peace negotiations. In fact, it has obstructed these. The US designation of the CPP, NPA and myself (the NDFP chief political consultant) as terrorists is meant to intimidate and put pressure on the NDFP in the peace negotiations. The US Counterinsurgency Guide actually tells the Philippine reactionary government that peace negotiations are dispensable but are useful only for purposes of psywar to mislead the people, possibly split the revolutionary forces and make the reactionary killing machine more efficient. But the US policy against peace negotiations with the NDFP has served to make the revolutionary [forces](#) and people more vigilant and more resolute in opposing US intervention in the internal affairs of the Philippines.

From the Bush II to the Obama regime, there has been no change in US policy towards the Philippines. Obama continues the policy of serving the interests of the US imperialists in the economic, political, military and cultural fields, collaborating with the big compradors and

landlords, manipulating the puppet regime and its military forces, preventing land reform and national industrialization, controlling the fundamentals and direction of the Philippine cultural and educational system and stationing US troops in the Philippines and maintaining a permanent relay of US military forces under the US-RP Mutual Defense Pact and the Visiting Forces Agreement. Obama is a good servant of US imperialism. He used his glibness to make himself look better than the brazenly brutal Bush. But he is using the same glibness to cover many acts as bad as or even worse than those that made Bush infamous.

11. How did the CPP and NPA end up on a list of terrorist organizations? How did you end up on a list of supporters of terrorism? What steps are being taken to remove this label from you, the CPP and the NPA?

JMS: During the November 2001 visit of then Philippine president Gloria M. Arroyo to Washington, she requested then US President Bush to have the US agencies (State Department and the Office of Foreign Asset Control of the Treasury Department) designate the CPP, NPA and myself as “terrorists.” When US state secretary Colin Powell visited the Philippines in the early days of August 2002, he was reminded of the request and he assured Arroyo that he would act on it immediately upon his return to the US. Indeed, within August 2002 the CPP, NPA and I were designated as “terrorists.”

The Philippine and US governments connived to take advantage of the terrorism scare that followed 9/11. They themselves engaged in terrorism by deciding to undertake harmful actions against the CPP, NPA and myself. The designation of the CPP and NPA as “terrorist” is absolutely absurd because they have carried out revolutionary actions strictly within the Philippines, have not engaged in any **cross-border** attacks against the US and up to now have not been discovered to keep bank accounts in the US or anywhere else outside of the Philippines.

In my case, I have been falsely accused of being the current CPP chairman and being responsible for the alleged terrorist acts, in fact the revolutionary actions, of the NPA despite the fact that I have been out of the Philippines since 1986 when I was released from nearly a decade of detention under the Marcos fascist dictatorship. The malicious intention of the US and Philippine governments is to pressure the entire NDFP negotiating panel and me as its chief political consultant.

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Like the Arroyo regime, the Aquino regime uses the terrorist designation as a kind of lever against the NDFP in the peace negotiations.

It is impossible for the CPP, NPA or myself to begin any legal process for undoing the terrorist designation in the US or in any other country tailing after the US in the so-called war on terror, without proving first the legal personality and material interest of the plaintiff. In my case, I could take legal action against the Dutch government for putting me in the terrorist list because I live in The Netherlands. After my administrative complaint, the Dutch government repealed its decision to put me in its terrorist list but took the initiative in having me put in the terrorist list of the European Union in October 2002. I went to the European Court of Justice and I succeeded in having my name removed from the EU terrorist list in December 2010 after eight years of legal struggle.

12. Has the "terrorism" designation made it difficult for NDFP supporters in the Philippines and in other parts of the world? If so, how? Have civilian political activists faced increased government-inspired violence as a result of this terrorism designation?

JMS: The "terrorism" designation is an incitation to hatred and violence and various forms of discrimination and harassment against known or suspected NDFP supporters in the Philippines and other parts of the world. Although the NDFP is not designated as terrorist, everyone knows that the CPP and NPA are the most important components of the NDFP. In the Philippines, the incitation to hatred and violence is quite deadly because the military, police and their death squads are emboldened to go on terrorist-hunting and are assured that they can abduct, torture and kill people with impunity.

Abroad, the EU, The Netherlands, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand have followed the US in labeling the CPP and NPA as terrorists and there are adverse consequences to Filipinos who oppose imperialism and the puppet government in the Philippines. The overseas Filipinos are vulnerable to discrimination, harassment, nonrenewal of work contracts and denial of residence permits.

The Dutch authorities have advised the Norwegian government not to give any assistance to the NDFP negotiating panel for maintaining office and staff in The Netherlands on the claim that such assistance would be for building the infrastructure of "terrorists." They have also raided the NDFP office and houses of NDFP panelists and

consultants and seized documents and equipment needed in the peace negotiations.

13. Periodically the US media discuss alleged Muslim fundamentalist terrorism in the Philippines. What is the situation? In Mindanao there have been efforts at autonomy and self-determination. What has been the stand of the NDFP on these efforts? What is your take on allegations of Muslim terrorism?

JMS: The NDFP supports the Moro people's struggle for self-determination, including the right to secede from an oppressive state or opt for regional autonomy in a non-oppressive political system. The Moro people have long been oppressed by the Manila government and by local reactionary agents. They are not free in their own homeland and are victims of Christian chauvinism and discrimination. They have been deprived of their ancestral domain. They have been robbed of agricultural land as well as forest, mineral and marine resources.

The Moro people have all the right to fight for national and social liberation. The NDFP has therefore found common ground for alliance with the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and subsequently with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) after the MNLF capitulated to the Ramos regime in 1996. By fighting well against their common enemy, the NDFP and the MILF gain better conditions for growing in strength and advancing in their respective struggles.

The US government and the US media exaggerate the threat of Muslim fundamentalist terrorism because they wish to promote the entry of US corporations for the purpose of plundering the rich natural resources of Mindanao, especially oil, gold and deuterium. They also wish to justify the current stationing of US military forces and eventually the basing of larger US military forces for the purpose of strategic control over Islamic countries in Southeast Asia and strategic countervailing of China and the DPRK in Northeast Asia.

Like Al Qaida, Abu Sayyaf was originally a creature of the CIA and the intelligence agency of the Armed Forces of the Philippines to counteract the MNLF. It has become a bandit gang since the capitulation of the MNLF. It has also been convenient for the US and Manila government to depict the Abu Sayyaf as a Muslim fundamentalist group and as an extension of the Al Qaida, since 2001 when Bush declared Moro land as the second front in the so-called global war on terror. There are indications that the US and Philippine governments continue to

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arm and finance the Abu Sayyaf in order to block the advance of the MILF in Sulu and to provide the pretext for US military intervention in the Philippines.

*14. In the 1990s there were several splits from the CPP. There were charges and countercharges regarding sectarianism and militarism. Some who split seemed to have chosen to engage primarily in electoral politics. Some former CPP members have suggested that the CPP/NPA has attempted to kill/silence political opponents. **Please give us your take on this and on these allegations.***

JMS: In answer to a previous question, I discussed the subjectivist ideological line that the Philippines was no longer semifeudal. Such line emerged in 1981 and induced the political currents of ultra-Left and Right opportunism among a few members of the CPP. Eventually in the early 1990s, there would be splinters, not big splits, initiated by grouplets who opposed the Rectification Movement which was launched by the Central Committee of the CPP in early 1992.

The rectification movement was an educational movement inside the CPP to repudiate, criticize and rectify the major errors of ultra-Left and Right opportunism that had caused serious damage to the CPP and the revolutionary mass movement since 1981. But there were elements, whose connections with enemy intelligence were eventually exposed, who stridently attacked the rectification movement as a bloody scheme of "Stalinist purge" and who tried to spread the fear that those found in error would be terribly punished.

The rectification movement was undertaken precisely to rectify the sectarian and military adventurist line of the ultra-Left opportunists who tried to accelerate ill-prepared tactical offensives and the unsustainable formation of companies and battalions supposedly to back up the impending urban uprisings of the armed city partisans and spontaneous masses as the leading force. No such armed urban uprisings ever occurred. But mass work in the countryside was neglected and the rural mass base had decreased by 15 percent in 1988 and by 60 percent in 1991.

Under the influence of the ultra-Left opportunists, CPP cadres in the urban underground (Davao City and Cagayan de Oro) also exposed themselves in the early 1980s to the enemy through mass actions which did not use the mantle of protection from the broad anti-fascist united front. When the ultra-Left line was resulting in effective enemy

offensives, the ultra-Left opportunists did not look into their wrong line but instead engaged in scapegoating and in a bloody witchhunt for presumed deep penetration agents and saboteurs.

By 1988, the ultra-Left opportunists were already a spent force, especially after the failure of the so-called nationally coordinated NPA operations, which resulted in a big loss of ammunition, without any gain in rifles. Frustrated, they swung to the Right and joined the longstanding Right opportunists. But certain ultra-Left opportunists who were captured by the enemy were recruited into the intelligence service. They were used to attack the CPP line of new democratic revolution through protracted people's war. And they tried to discredit the rectification movement and they collaborated with the Right opportunists in doing so. At any rate, the Right opportunists became a relatively wider array of grouplets than the ultra-Leftists.

Since the 1989-91 fall of the revisionist regimes in Eastern Europe and disintegration of the Soviet Union, which they revered as socialist, the incorrigible Right opportunists have shed off their communist pretenses and have become bitterly anti-communist. They have joined the ruling system by getting employment in the bureaucracy and corporate offices, operating imperialist-funded NGOs or attaching their grouplets to major reactionary parties. Those who have chosen to engage in electoral politics have limited success because they are divorced from the masses and do not have a substantial mass base like the CPP, NPA and NDFP and the electoral parties being Red-baited as proxies of the CPP. A handful of them have been appointed to high positions by the Aquino regime.

The so-called ex-communists are the worst anti-communists. At one time, they misrepresented a political map of pseudo-progressive groups published in the organ of the CPP's Central Committee, *Ang Bayan* (The People), showing how the opportunists of the past have divided and subdivided, as a hit list for NPA assassination teams in order to slander the CPP and Red-bait progressive legal mass activists. The psywar attack by the ex-communists emboldened the death squads of the reactionary government to abduct, torture and kill suspected communists and to cover their criminal deeds by claiming that communists were killing each other.

15. We are in a tumultuous global situation with a convergence of economic and environmental crises. In this conjuncture, what do you

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see as the prospects for socialism? In many parts of the Muslim World so-called political Islam seems to be a leading force. Is this political tendency outpacing socialism (and the Left)? Are there viable left-wing alternatives or are we still grappling with the implications of the crisis of socialism?

JMS: The prospects for socialism are bright precisely because of the convergence of the grave economic and environmental crises which point to monopoly capitalism as the culprit and cause of the crises. This is the criminal force that plunders labor power in the economy and the material resources in the environment all for the sake of profitmaking and capital accumulation. The identification of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the financial oligarchy as the class enemy that captivates and plunders nature and society points to the working class as the opposite force capable of leading the entire people towards liberation in a revolutionary process.

The epochal struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie involves zigs and zags and ups and downs. On the 150th anniversary of the *Communist Manifesto* in 1998, I traced the alternation of great advances and retreats of the working class in periods of from three to five decades. It is about time that the working class rises again from a deep trough and moves forward from the disintegration of socialist societies due to revisionist betrayal by degenerated ruling communist parties. The crisis conditions comparable to those of the Great Depression are again favorable for the rise of communist and workers' parties and the resurgence of anti-imperialist and socialist movements. In the last three decades, the CPP has been proud to call itself a torchbearer in a relatively dark period for the world proletarian revolution.

For some three decades under the neoliberal policy, the greediest of capitalist relations of production thrived on the adoption of higher technology which facilitated production, distribution and abuse of finance capital as well as powered the system of education and information to serve the purposes of monopoly capitalism. But the higher social character of production made possible by higher technology contradicts the capitalist character of the relations of production and demands the socialist revolution to remove production from the clutches of the monopoly bourgeoisie. But it takes decades before the communist and workers' parties can take power again through the revolutionary process.

In the meantime, political Islam can arise and grow in certain Muslim countries against imperialism and against the most reactionary currents. But we cannot foreclose the possibility that Muslims, bourgeois nationalists and Marxists in Muslim countries can unite on the common ground of anti-imperialism and democracy to form secular states that assert national independence and aspire for socialism. There may also be viable Left-wing alternatives arising from the petty bourgeoisie or from a mix of workers and petty bourgeoisie. At the moment, they may be grappling with the petty bourgeois modes of thinking as well as with the implications of the defeats of the socialist cause. But we can be confident that in the long run communist and workers' parties will reemerge and resurge and will come **to united front** and united actions with other anti-imperialist and progressive forces.

16. Do the experiences of the 20th century with attempts at socialism, particularly socialism as articulated by Stalin, still hang over the leads of the revolutionary Left? Do you think that the crisis of socialism tells the radical Left something about a different vision that it needs for the 21st century?

JMS: We should recognize the great victories won by the proletariat and the rest of the people in building socialism in the 20th century. In the countries where socialism was built, especially in the Soviet Union and China, imperialist domination was ended and the exploiting classes were overthrown. The workers' socialist state was established. Socialist revolution and socialist construction were carried forward. Science and technology and proletarian culture flourished. Fascism was defeated. A powerful system of defense was established and the US and its imperialist allies were deterred from launching aggression against the socialist countries during the Cold War. It was modern revisionism (bourgeois degeneration of the party and state bureaucracy), not the US or Stalin, that corroded and ultimately brought down socialism in both the Soviet Union and China.

The imperialists and petty bourgeois anti-communists of various types have been demonizing Stalin and Mao as responsible for the defeat of socialism in the Soviet Union and China, respectively. The cause of socialism cannot be carried forward by those who simplistically scapegoat the longest-time builders of socialism Stalin and Mao

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for the defeat of socialism and [the](#) restoration of capitalism. These two great leaders had their share of achievements and shortcomings, with Mao correcting and improving on Stalin in certain important respects. We should be able to learn a lot of positive and negative lessons from the class struggles in the socialist countries and the comprehensive experiences of building socialism in the 20th century. By learning such lessons, we have the advantage of knowing what principles, policies and methods we can carry over into the 21st century and what major errors we should avoid.

In 1992 the CPP issued a long document, [Stand for Socialism Against Modern Revisionism](#), as a major document of the rectification movement and as a counter to all the attacks on the socialist cause churned out by the imperialists and the petty bourgeois anti-communists in the aftermath of the rapid full restoration of capitalism in the revisionist-ruled countries. For the purpose of building socialism in the 21st century, the CPP restated the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, pointed to the positive and negative lessons from the socialist past, made proposals among others for the development of democracy, legality and restrictions on leading organs within the socialist framework, the mass line in every type of social activity, the well-balanced economy in the service of the people, the various aspects of cultural revolution and the use of science and higher technology for material and cultural progress and for promoting democracy.

17. You are generally identified as a Maoist. First, in light of various analyses of China during the time of Mao's rule, do you see any limitations or weaknesses in Maoism? What is your sense of other left-wing tendencies (globally)? Do you see the chances for global and local strategic collaboration between differing left-wing tendencies? If so, do you have any examples from the Philippines or elsewhere? What role does Maoism have to play in the renewal of the Left?

JMS: I am aware of various analyses of China during the time of Mao's leadership in China. But despite my overall favorable view of Mao in philosophy, political economy, social science, strategy and tactics and so on, I do not think that Maoism is some kind of final perfection in theory and practice. It is a further development of Marxism-Leninism and goes as far as the theory and practice of cultural revolution under proletarian dictatorship in order to combat revisionism, prevent the restoration of capitalism and consolidation

of socialism. But soon after Mao died, the Dengist capitalist counter-revolution prevailed in China. It means to say that even as the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution prevailed for ten years there must be reasons for its defeat. The lessons can be learned as in the earlier case of the defeat of the Paris Commune of 1871 which held power for some two months. The Paris Commune would serve as the prototype of the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917.

I have my grounding in Maoism. It is my guide to action. But I am open to all Left tendencies on the ground of anti-imperialism and common struggle for national liberation, democracy and socialism. The CPP is not confined in any exclusive club of Maoist parties. It has publicly declared that it avails of bilateral and multilateral ways to exchange ideas and information, debate ideological and political issues, raise the level of common understanding through resolutions and arrive at various forms of practical cooperation. The protraction, worsening and deepening of the crisis of the world capitalist system inflicts intolerable suffering on the people but it also generates favorable conditions for the resurgence of the revolutionary mass movement and for the strategic collaboration and united front of various Left-wing tendencies.

There are various multisectoral, sectoral and issue-based alliances of anti-imperialist and democratic forces in the Philippines. Maoism can play a major role in the renewal of the Left because it is concerned not only with the ideological building of the Maoist party but it is also concerned with political work, such as arousing, organizing and mobilizing the masses for the revolution and availing of the united front and united actions of various parties and groups in order to reach and militate the masses in their millions in the quickest possible manner. Maoist parties are waging people's war in a number of countries and have gained the respect of many people in the world for daring to answer the central question of revolution in the appropriate conditions. They are expected to increase in number as the crisis of global capitalism protracts and worsens. Thus, they will be more inspiring to all Left forces and the people on a global scale. They will also need broad international support.

18. Let's focus, for a minute, on this matter of Stalin. Nationalities were expelled from their homelands; the leadership of the CPSU was largely annihilated; anti-Semitism was promoted after World War II;

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and it is difficult to identify any real mechanisms of worker control that were built during the Stalin period. What does the experience of the USSR and, in a different way, the PR of China, say about a vision for socialism for the 21st century? You speak about modern revisionism bringing down these various systems, but for our readers who have observed undemocratic systems that have called themselves "socialist," what would you say? What lessons have been taken from these experiences?

JMS: To say the least, despite all the allegations against him, Stalin must have made significant achievements with regard to keeping the Soviet Union as a state of various nationalities, with regard to maintaining the CPSU as the lead force in socialist revolution and socialist construction, with regard to letting Jews excel in Soviet society and defending them and the rest of the people against the racism of Nazi Germany and with regard to workers' control in factories and collective farms through the party and the workers' courts.

I think that is inaccurate and unfair to make a complete negation of Stalin and/or Mao or to simply dismiss them as anti-socialist and antidemocratic. It is even more unfair and unjust to use allegations against them as a way of burdening or denigrating non-Soviet and non-Chinese communist parties and leaders or later generations of fighters for socialism, who must be assessed and evaluated according to their own history and circumstances in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory and related experiences. I need not clutter my answer with trying to cover what you sweep as undemocratic systems that have called themselves as "socialist."

Let me underscore that Stalin and Mao and their respective parties had remarkable merits and demerits. In studying their theory and practice, we must be as sober and fair as when we do not condemn and totally negate the French Revolution, the Jacobins and the liberal democratic revolution just because the French Revolution was followed by the Reign of Terror, the Thermidorean reaction and the monarchical restorations in France. We can learn valuable lessons, positive and negative, from the experiences of socialist revolution and socialist construction in the 20th century, for the purpose of fighting for and building socialism in the 21st century.

I have earlier referred to some lessons and proposals in this regard. Let me stress one of them: In the course of uniting the people for fighting imperialism and the persistent reaction and building socialism, let

us ensure that democratic rights are respected and the state, the leading organs and leaders are prevented from abusing their power. We do so as a matter of principle as well as a matter of practical wisdom in view of the new means of communications which allow people to speak out to the whole world.

19. *Did you ever think that the struggle would be this long? This is a question I have wondered for a while. When you and others formed the CPP and when the struggle started, did you ever conceive that it would be going on for this long?*

JMS: At the founding of the CPP, I thought that the armed struggle to seize power would be protracted, perhaps ten to 20 years. I did not think that it would take this long, more than 42 years already. It is even longer if you start counting from 1942 when the People's Army Against Japan (Hukbalahap) was formed or from the three centuries of Spanish colonial rule when more than 200 armed uprisings occurred before the Philippine Revolution could come into force in 1896. The people's struggle for national liberation and democracy will go on for as long as imperialism and the local exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords continue to oppress and exploit the people.

20. *When the People Power uprising took place against Marcos, it appeared that the CPP and much of the Left was taken by surprise. What are your reflections on that period and lessons learned? I thought about this in light of the Occupy movement that we are seeing taking place in the USA and elsewhere and the role/place of the Left in it.*

JMS: The CPP was not taken by surprise. The course of events was too clear. In fact, soon after the Marcos dictatorship cheated in the February 1986 presidential snap election, the CPP leadership issued a call for all-out people's resistance to overthrow the regime in concert with the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines which condemned the illegitimate and immoral foundation of the Marcos regime and Cory Aquino who called for civil disobedience. The legal organizations of the national democratic movement were at the forefront of the open mass struggles to overthrow the fascist regime along EDSA highway and in front of the presidential palace and in the provinces in all the days before Marcos was flown out of the Philippines by the US.

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The biographical books, *The Philippine Revolution: The Leader's View* which I co-wrote with the German social scientist Dr. Rainer Werning in 1988, and *At Home in the World: Portrait of a Filipino Revolutionary* which I co-wrote with the Filipino novelist Ninotchka Rosca in 2004, describe the significant participation of the CPP and the patriotic and progressive forces, which are often Red-baited as organizations of the CPP. Their participation in large numbers was not only in Metro Manila but also in major provincial cities and towns. These organizations played a key role in starting the mass uprising and in providing a conscious and disciplined force, a hard core, for the mass uprising at EDSA and elsewhere.

What detractors of the CPP misrepresent as failure of the CPP to join the so-called EDSA revolution is actually the boycott policy adopted by the CPP leadership, in particular Chairman Rodolfo Salas and the Executive Committee, against the presidential snap election. The CPP leadership correctly stated that Marcos would use the election to keep himself in power but failed to see that, as in what was then a recent example in the Haiti of Duvalier, the US and the anti-Marcos forces would discredit and seek to oust Marcos on the charge of electoral cheating. Afflicted by sectarianism, the CPP leadership went to great lengths in disciplining CPP cadres in Metro Manila who opted for participation in the election and it failed to complement its boycott policy with a deployment of secret Party cadres and alternative legal formations to join the pro-Aquino electoral alliance. For sectarianism and inflexibility in the boycott policy, Salas himself would be removed from his position in May 1986.

I think that unarmed mass uprisings to confront those in power and seek their ouster are an important part of the revolutionary process. At a given time, such unarmed uprisings may not result in the overthrow of the entire ruling system but only the ouster of a corrupt and despotic regime and the adoption of some significant reforms. At any rate, they are part of a chain of events that can lead to the overhaul or overthrow of the ruling system. In this connection, I take a positive view of the Occupy movement in the US and elsewhere **whoever are the initiators at Wall Street**. I appreciate the role that Left forces are taking in this movement. As chairperson of the International League of Peoples' Struggle, I have expressed solidarity with and support for the movement and have called on the more than 300 member-organizations

of the ILPS and their allies in more than 40 countries to expand and intensify the Occupy movement.

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We Unite to Fight against Imperialism⁹¹

Message of solidarity to the 3rd Anti-Imperialist Conference in Dhaka

November 27, 2011

We of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) are deeply pleased and highly honored by the invitation to participate in the 3rd International Anti-imperialist Conference, jointly convened by the International Anti-imperialist and People's Solidarity Coordinating Committee (IAPSCC) and the Socialist Party of Bangladesh in Dhaka, from November 27 to 29, 2011.

We are in solidarity with all the anti-imperialist fighters attending the conference. We consider this conference a major opportunity for raising the level of consciousness and militancy against imperialism. In this connection, we have authorized our Vice Chairperson for External Relations Comrade Bill Doares to represent the ILPS. He carries full mandate to express our determination to unite with you against imperialism and to take active part in the Conference.

The conference is of urgent importance in view of the brutal imperialist attacks on Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine and Libya, the threats of regime change in Syria and Iran and the blockades against Cuba and North Korea. The theme is keenly appropriate: "IMPERIALIST ATTACK: Economic, Political, Cultural and Military Aggression and Occupation, with special reference to imperialist attack and aggression in Latin America, Middle East, Afghanistan, Cuba and DPRK."

We agree with the purposes of the conference: to discuss the economic, political, cultural and military aspects of imperialist aggression, to exchange experiences of struggle, to clarify the ways and means of building a global movement against imperialism and to heighten solidarity among the various anti-imperialist forces of the people. We look forward to the formulation of a comprehensive declaration against imperialism.

The imperialist powers headed by the US are stubbornly clinging to the neoliberal policy of so-called free market globalization, which has

⁹¹ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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led from one serious crisis to another and more serious crisis. They continue to aggravate the chronic crisis of overproduction by pressing down wages and cutting back on hard-won social benefits in order to help the monopoly bourgeoisie maximize profits and accelerate the accumulation of capital. However, as the profit rate tends to fall in the real economy, the monopoly capitalists have abused finance capital to generate profits and financial bubbles through debts and derivatives.

The result is an economic and financial crisis comparable to the Great Depression and worse in certain respects. Public funds have been used to bail out the big banks and corporations in order to improve their financial statements and induce temporary spikes in the financial markets but not to stimulate production and employment. Now, the imperialist powers and their client states are confronted with a far bigger financial crisis in the form of public debt bubbles bursting and about to burst.

Their reaction is to impose austerity measures on the people and further shift to them the burden of crisis. The toiling masses of workers and peasants are subjected to higher rates of unemployment, lower incomes and soaring prices of basic goods and services. They are made to suffer worse forms of exploitation to enable the monopoly bourgeoisie, especially the finance oligarchy, to obtain their superprofits. The global depression is protracting, worsening and deepening.

Year after year the summits of the G-8 and G-20 and the conferences of the IMF, World Bank and WTO have failed to come up with any solution or relief from the global economic and financial crisis. The imperialist powers are increasingly engaged in a struggle for a redivision of the world in seeking to expand their respective economic territory in a constricted global market. They are scrambling for cheap sources of labor, oil and other raw materials, for markets, fields of investment and spheres of influence. The integration of Russia and China into the world capitalist system has further crammed the space for mutual accommodation among the imperialist powers.

As a result of the ever-worsening crisis of the world capitalist system, all major contradictions are intensifying: those between the imperialist powers and the oppressed peoples and nations; those between the imperialist powers and certain states that assert national independence and democratic rights and invoke socialist aspirations,

those between capital and labor; and those among the imperialist powers themselves.

The imperialist powers continue trying to override their differences, maintain their alliance and assert their joint and separate ultra-national interests against the oppressed peoples and nations in the underdeveloped countries. They continue to control as semicolonies most of those countries that have ceased to be outright colonies as a result of struggles for national independence. The preferred neocolonial means of control are economic and financial.

But the imperialist powers and their local puppets are ever ready to use military means to suppress revolutionary movements for national liberation, such as in India, the Philippines and Colombia as well as against the states assertive of national independence, such as Iraq of Saddam, Yugoslavia of Milosevic and Libya of Gaddafi. For extended periods of time, they use a wide spectrum of military and non-military means, blockades, sanctions and threats against states that assert national independence, such as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Cuba, Venezuela and others.

After the end of the Cold War, the imperialist powers have so far avoided direct military confrontation with each other. They have preferred to use proxy wars by backing different sides in local and regional wars. They have taken different positions on whether or not to take unilateral or joint military actions within or outside the purview of the UN Security Council. So far, no rival imperialist powers or blocs of imperialist powers have threatened to use hightech weapons of mass destruction against one another.

For more than three decades under the neoliberal economic policy, the monopoly bourgeoisie has one-sidedly waged an intense and relentless class war against the working classes by pressing down wages, and social spending by government and suppressing trade union and other democratic rights, while the corporations and wealthy enjoy tax cuts and the benefits of trade and investment liberalization, privatization of public assets and deregulation. Now that the workers and the rest of the people are steadily fighting back, the monopoly bourgeoisie is unleashing all kinds of reactionary currents, including chauvinism, racial discrimination, religious bigotry, fascism and

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warmongering in a vain attempt to obfuscate the roots of the crisis and distract the people.

Long before 9/11, the US and its imperialist partners laid the legal, ideological and political justification for state terrorism and wars of aggression. Thus, when 9/11 occurred, the PATRIOT ACT USA and the war plans could be instantly promulgated and put into effect. The monopoly bourgeoisie orchestrates the think tanks, academic departments, special committees of the executive and legislative branches, the political parties, nongovernmental organizations, the churches and most important of all the corporate mass media to drum up and spread the most specious arguments and schemes for state terrorism and wars of aggression.

The imperialist powers headed by the US have extremely powerful hightech weapons of mass distraction and mass destruction in order to realize imperialist objectives. The weapons of mass distraction can be used to impose overnight a police state on any of the imperialist countries, as indicated by the swiftness of the Bush regime in generating abroad both state terrorism and wars of aggression consequent to 9/11. At the same time, the hightech weapons of mass destruction have distinctively made wars of aggression look as easy as playing video games.

The ever-worsening crisis of the world capitalist system has generated a strong tendency towards fascism and bellicosity in the imperialist countries. The monopoly bourgeoisie, particularly the military-industrial complex, has stepped up war production and has used war hysteria and actual wars of aggression for the purpose. They consider these as effective means for stimulating the economy and expanding economic territory abroad. They unleash wars of conquest against countries that are ruled by nationalist regimes and have rich natural resources, especially oil and mineral ores of strategic value.

But these wars of aggression have their downside even for the imperialist powers. They are costly, with expenditures running into trillions of dollars and aggravating the public debt crisis. They inflict large casualties on the people of the victim countries and destroy their private properties and the social infrastructure. They arouse deep-seated hatred for the aggressors and result in wars of national liberation. The imperialist powers get bogged down in certain countries and cannot give attention to other countries. They become fundamentally weaker by being overextended.

Under the neoliberal economic policy, the US has developed close economic relations with China but US policymakers now openly regard it as the rising main US rival and are trying to use the so-called Trans-Pacific Partnership to perpetuate US hegemony in East Asia. However, the US and its NATO partners are still bogged down by wars in such areas as Central Asia, South Asia, West Asia and Africa. The US and NATO war of aggression against Libya and the growing threats against Syria and Iran show that the US has difficulties in shifting the focus of its aggressions to East Asia, particularly against China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In the meantime, China has the opportunity to strengthen its own defense capabilities and develop the Shanghai Cooperation Organization even as the US maintains the deployment of large military forces in East Asia and the Pacific.

The imperialist powers headed by the US cannot do their evil work without meeting the resistance of the people. National liberation movements have arisen and are growing in countries that have suffered wars of aggression and extreme forms of oppression and exploitation. Revolutionary armed struggles have a high potential for spreading against imperialism and puppet states. Mass uprisings have spread in entire countries and continents, such as in the Middle East, North Africa, South Asia and Latin America.

The broad masses of the people are rising up against the crisis of the world capitalist system and its consequences, including high rates of unemployment, austerity measures and other impositions. Millions of people have risen in mass protests in major capitalist countries. Right at the center of global capitalism, the occupy movement has expanded and intensified and the US authorities are now brazenly carrying out repressive measures.

Our representative Bill Doares can explain further our brief description of the world capitalist system, the scourge of imperialist plunder and war and the people's resistance. He can share with you the results of the Fourth International Assembly of the ILPS, especially the General Declaration and resolutions on 17 concerns in the global anti-imperialist and global struggle of the people. The point is to raise the level of common understanding between the ILPS and the IAPSCC and to enhance practical cooperation between them.

We of the ILPS are of the view that the international united front against imperialism and reaction includes a wide range of progressive and democratic forces and is ever expanding because of the growth

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and advance of the people's struggle. We are always receptive to mass organizations that wish to become our member-organizations in accordance with the ILPS Charter. But we are also always ready to forge strong links of militant solidarity with other international formations and to cooperate with them in undertaking definite campaigns and activities against imperialism and reaction. By all means, let us unite in the anti-imperialist and democratic struggle and aim for greater freedom, democracy, social justice, development and world peace.



Intensify the People's Struggles against Imperialism to Address the Root Cause of Global Warming⁹²

Statement of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS) on the occasion of COP17

November 27, 2011

For nearly ten days starting this November 28, 2011, governments, industry and funding institutions will be meeting in Durban, South Africa for the 17th Conference of Parties (COP17) to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).

Concurrently, thousands of people from around the world will hold protest actions and various other activities to convey their collective resistance against the root cause of global warming—imperialist aggression and plunder. People's organizations and social movements will converge in Durban to unmask the hypocritical character of the conference and seek an end to the continued destruction and unrestrained plunder of the environment by monopoly capital.

Since the Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, governments kept on making promises from conference to conference to safeguard the environment and curb greenhouse gas concentrations to stop global warming. From 1995, when the UNFCCC entered into force, the world is brought no closer to reducing emissions as the global ecological crisis reaches colossal proportions.

The World Meteorological Organization (WMO) has also noted that the year 2010 is one of the top three warmest years since 1850 with the decade from 2001 to 2010 being the warmest ten-year period on record. Concentration of the main greenhouse gases has reached the highest level recorded since preindustrial times despite the global recession and slowdown in previous years.

In pursuit of monopoly profits, transnational corporations and their governments continue to pump massive amounts of greenhouse gases

⁹² Statement issued by the Office of the ILPS Chairperson.

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(GHG) into the atmosphere. Their continuing plunder and breakdown of the world's ecosystems coupled with global warming will bring more calamities, disasters, destruction, and deaths to entire communities and countries. Even the International Panel on Climate Change of the UNFCCC has linked global warming to increased extreme weather events.

The stage for the failure in Durban has been set long before this week. The United States, the only industrialized country that refused to sign the Kyoto Protocol, succeeded in derailing the climate change negotiations in Copenhagen and in Cancun. There the total carbon emissions cut pledged by capitalist countries were much lower than the pledge made by developing countries and are insufficient to limit global temperature increase to below 2°C.

Experts are now warning that the world has less than a decade to alter our current emission rates before climate change becomes irreversible. Instead of committing deep and drastic cuts, monopoly capital and their governments push profit-driven and market-oriented responses that have dismally failed to stem the increase of greenhouse gas emissions. The false technological solutions they promote and carry out instead further endanger the world and aggravate global warming until one more global catastrophe occurs.

Oceans are fast acidifying and terrestrial ecosystems are failing. Current commitments are expected to cause from 2.5 to 5°C global temperature increase towards the end of 21st century which will be catastrophic and devastating to nations and peoples of the world. The planet is heading towards environmental catastrophe under monopoly capital: climate change, ocean acidification, ozone depletion, global freshwater use, loss of biodiversity, and chemical pollution all threaten our future unless we act immediately.

Various initiatives from people's movements and progressive sectors to influence the talks will be seen to come to fruition this coming week. We support the call to Occupy COP and other such actions in Durban to highlight the unequal relations between the imperialist and developing countries in both historical emissions and their voice inside the COP 17 framework. The poor people of the world remain more vulnerable to enhanced hazards due to climate change.

We should make it clear that the problem is that as those who pay lip service to environmental concerns but deliberately refuse to come up with a binding international agreement on climate change, the

monopoly capitalists wantonly continue unabated control, exploitation, and consumption of world resources at the expense of the impoverished people and ravaged environments of the world.

The imperialist countries use and manipulate the Conference of Parties to push and adopt their interests and schemes to profit more on climate issues such as the clean development mechanisms (CDM), the multibillion dollar Green Climate Fund to be handled by the World Bank and REDD+ or Reduction of Emission from Deforestation and forest. Degradation schemes that can be utilized by private companies like oil, mining and logging companies for further resource extraction and not for forest protection.

Changing this situation and stopping global warming goes beyond Durban. We must expand and intensify the worldwide resistance of the people in order to stop the global overproduction for profit and enable the world to move towards a model that is centered on ending poverty, improving the quality of life, and ensuring basic material and social needs for all.

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Celebrate 15 Years of Struggles and Victories of Migrante International⁹³

December 14, 2011

On behalf of the International League of Peoples' Struggle (ILPS), I wish to express warmest greetings of solidarity to the overseas Filipino workers, their families and advocates that constitute Migrante International as a global alliance and as a volunteer organization founded in 1996.

We address our message to the more than 90 member-organizations of Migrante International in more than 22 countries, to its local organizations in the Philippines and to the Home Office consisting of committed and competent volunteer network of former OFWs, their families and advocates from various walks of life.

We share your joy in celebrating 15 years of struggles and victories in the service of Filipino migrant workers and their families along a patriotic and democratic line. The Filipino migrant workers have excelled in organizing themselves to confront the **problems in their plight** and to fight resolutely and militantly for their rights and welfare. They have thus formed Migrante International and its chapters as their bulwarks.

The congress gives you the opportunity to reinvigorate your unity and militancy and to sum up and analyze your experience, identify your strengths and weakness and set forth the tasks for continuing and bringing the struggle to a new and higher level. We congratulate in advance all the recipients of Gawad Migrante for rendering outstanding service. We also happily look forward to your rally celebrating the International Migrants' Day.

More than ever before Migrante International and its chapters are needed because migrant workers and their families are increasingly being squeezed by two **pincers**, namely, the crisis of the world capitalist system and the crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal ruling system.

⁹³ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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The neoliberal policy of pseudo-free market globalization has brought about a crisis of the world capitalist system that is as bad as the Great Depression and, in certain respects, far worse. Host economies of migrant workers are afflicted by stagnant or negative rates of growth, high rates of unemployment, rising prices of basic goods and services and reduced government spending for social services and benefits.

The US and other advanced capitalist countries have spent public money heavily to bail out the big banks and corporations that in the first place caused the economic and financial crisis and continue to give tax cuts and other benefits to corporations and the wealthy. Now faced by a crisis of public deficits and public debt, they are adopting austerity measures at the expense of the working people.

The worsening economic and social conditions in the host countries of migrant workers tend to further tighten and restrict the entry of migrant workers. They may not suddenly stop the entry of the migrant workers completely, because countries with aging populations and stagnant population growth rates need immigrants and migrant workers to keep the economy going, but certainly those allowed entry are vulnerable to worse wage and living conditions and violations of their democratic rights.

The worsening economic and social conditions also lead to political conditions and legislation and law enforcement that are increasingly unfavorable to migrant workers. The monopoly bourgeoisie and financial oligarchy encourage right-wing parties and movements to grow. These in turn generate a political and social climate unfriendly to immigrants and migrant workers as they obfuscate and conceal the roots of the crisis in the internal laws of motion of capitalism by whipping up chauvinism, racial discrimination, religious bigotry and war hysteria.

In certain capitalist countries, the working class, youth and other people are launching mass protests against imperialism and finance monopoly capitalism. In the Middle East and North Africa, the people have been rising up to demand democracy against authoritarian governments and the imperialist powers are trying to redirect the course of events in their favor. At certain times in certain countries, evacuations of migrant workers have occurred.

It is necessary for Migrante International to become ever more vigilant and militant in defending the rights and welfare of the migrant

workers and in developing solidarity relations with the workers and people of the host countries and with various enlightened forces and institutions.

You must demand that the payments that migrant workers make to the reactionary state must not be misused and malversed but used to help the migrant workers, especially when they suffer violations of contract and rights, maltreatment, injury or death, false accusations and trafficking and the effects of social disorder and wars. At the same time, you must avail of the aid and mutual support made possible by the anti-imperialist solidarity of workers and peoples.

It is ironical that while the crisis of global capitalism works against the rights and interests of the migrant workers in the host countries, its ruinous impact on the underdeveloped countries like the Philippines from which the migrant workers come puts more people out of work and thus increases unemployed people driven to seek employment abroad. The vicious circle continues in an even more vicious way, as both the crisis of global capitalism and the crisis of the Philippine ruling system worsen.

Concretely, the crisis of global capitalism has resulted in reduced orders for the kind of exports that the Philippines produces, i.e., raw materials and semimanufactures, in soaring costs of imported fuel and consumer goods, in the bursting of the private construction boom, in decreased remittances by overseas contract workers and in higher costs of debt service and accessing new foreign loans.

The Philippine reactionary state has grievously continued and deepened the agrarian, semifeudal and underdeveloped character character of the economy. It has failed to use the large foreign exchange earnings of the migrant workers in past decades to acquire capital goods for the national industrialization of the Philippines but has used such earnings to finance the luxury importations of the big compradors and landlords and the proliferation of shopping malls selling imported goods.

The growing ranks of the unemployed and underemployed in the Philippines are now caught between the hard rock of underdevelopment, economic depression and the ever-worsening conditions of poverty in the Philippines and deep blue sea of worsening conditions of economic stagnation and rising unemployment abroad.

It is necessary for the Migrante International not only to look after the rights and interests of the migrant workers abroad and the families

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they leave behind in the Philippines but also to demand the assertion of national independence, empowerment of the working people and economic development through land reform and national industrialization so that Filipinos do not have to leave their families and their country at great social and psychological cost and face the rigors, difficulties and uncertainties abroad.

Given the choice and opportunity, Filipinos will always choose to stay in their own country to help in the development of a just and progressive economy and to stay with their own families and take care of their own children instead of serving as domestic helpers, caregivers and nannies abroad. The reactionary puppet state and the exploiting classes of big compradors and landlords are culpable for the sad plight of the migrant workers. It is necessary for the Migrant International to fight for national independence, democracy, industrial development, social justice and international solidarity for peace.

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On my Acceptance of Gawad Migrante⁹⁴

December 17, 2011

It is my honor and pleasure to accept the Gawad Migrante. I appreciate that the moral and political support that I have extended to Migrante International since its founding and to the just cause of migrant workers has been deemed meritorious enough for me to receive this distinguished award.

I have been inspired by the struggles and successes of Migrante International and its member-organizations. And I am now encouraged by the award to render further service to Migrante International and to the migrant workers in whatever way that I am capable of.

I express my best wishes for Migrante International and all its member-organizations to win still greater victories in upholding, defending and promoting the rights and interests of the migrant workers and in fighting for a new Philippines that is truly independent, democratic, social just and progressive in all respects.

We all want a Philippines that pursues economic development through land reform and national industrialization so that millions of our people do not have to seek employment abroad and can stay in the country with their families and participate in the development of their own country.

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⁹⁴ Message given as ILPS Chairperson.

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Condemn Indonesian Authorities for Harassment and Intimidation of AGRA Members⁹⁵

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We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, support the peasants belonging to the Aliansi Gerakan Reforma Agraria (AGRA) in Pangalengan, Bandung, West Java in their struggle for land. We condemn the Provincial Government Company of Agribusiness and Mining (PDAP) and the Bandung police for harassing and intimidating them.

The PDAP is aggravating the land problem by allowing local landlords and rich peasants to rent supposedly uncultivated land of peasants in violation of the law and tradition. Ancestors of Pangalengan peasants, called Sampalan, have been tilling the land before the Dutch established power and grabbed the land from them in 1602. When Dutch rule ended, the government of Indonesia continued with the landgrabbing.

In 2004, Pangalengan's peasants succeeded in reclaiming their right to 134 hectares of land in Sampalan. They resumed the cultivation of the land under the banner of AGRA and planted vegetables such as tomatoes, cabbage, potatoes, carrots, corn, banana, and chili. Since then, the PDAP, police and the military started to intimidate and inflict violence against the Pangalengan peasants.

In the afternoon of October 24, 2011, the PDAP, civilian, LPM RI, Pangalengan District Police, Military Headquarters at Ward Level of Pangalengan, Regency Bandung Police, tried to put a boundary pole in the Sampalan land under cultivation by the peasants. The AGRA farmers defended their lands and clashed with the PDAP supporters including the Pangalengan District Police and the Military Headquarters and Ward Level of Pangalengan, Regency Bandung Police.

On November 30, the Regency Bandung police sent hundreds of policeman to Pangalengan to 'secure' the land. Once again the AGRA farmers in Pangalengan succeeded in defending their land. The police pulled out on December 1, 2011 from Pangalengan but threatened to

⁹⁵ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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arrest the provocateurs, meaning, AGRA members. The threat clearly indicates that the criminalization of peasants fighting for genuine land reform will continue.



Condemn Indonesian Military and Police Forces for Barbaric Attacks on the People of West Papua⁹⁶

December 22, 2011

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, condemn in the strongest terms the Indonesian military and police forces for barbaric attacks on the people of West Papua, particularly in the large area of Paniai since December 13.

Human rights organizations have reported that scores of West Papuans have been killed and wounded. Twenty-seven villages have been razed to the ground. Over 20,000 people have been forced to evacuate more than 130 villages and are vulnerable to hunger and disease. The attacks have been carried out by Indonesian ground forces and by helicopter gunships.

Involved in the attacks are more than four combat battalions of Indonesian army (TNI) Kostrad commandos from Battalion 753, Brimob paramilitary police, and elite counterterrorism troops from Detachment 88—all units armed, trained, and supplied by the Australian and US governments.

Since April 2011, they have been deployed to encircle the alleged headquarters of the Paniai Free Papua National Liberation Army (TPN-OPM) [under the command of General Jhon Yogi](#). They have been dropped by helicopters into 26 villages around the suspected TPN-OPM headquarters.

But the ongoing attacks have failed to entrap and destroy the TPN-OPM. They have served to carry out Djakarta's genocidal policy to massacre and displace the people from their homes and land. The TPN-OPM have inflicted casualties on the Indonesian military and police forces by carrying out guerrilla tactics.

Human rights defenders in West Papua have accused the Australian government and the Australian-owned mining company, Paniai Gold, of being materially interested and actively involved in the ongoing attacks on the people of West Papua. Detachment 88 is a special

⁹⁶ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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force trained and armed by both the US and Australian military. It has abducted, tortured and murdered ordinary West Papuans far more than members of the TPN-OPM.

In the current military operations, the Indonesian military and police have used helicopters belonging to the Derewo River Gold (DRG) project, which is operated by Paniai Gold and fully owned by Melbourne-based gold mining company West Wits Mining. The corrupt and brutal Indonesian state is a puppet of Australian and US multinational companies.

The International League of Peoples' Struggle supports the people of West Papua in upholding and defending their right to self-determination as a community against the oppressive state of Indonesia and its imperialist masters. The Indonesian state has no right to inflict gross and systematic human rights violations on individuals, groups or entire communities. The sovereign right of the people to wage revolution and overthrow an oppressive state is no different from the right to secede or separate from it.

In the revolutionary process, the people (be they of the entire Indonesia or West Papua in particular) separate themselves from an oppressive state and establish a new state that brings about just and harmonious relations. In the course of people's war, local organs of political power are first established and become developed before they can replace the old reactionary state.

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Sympathy and Support for Flood Victims in the Philippines and Praises for the Work of Retrieval, Relief and Rehabilitation⁹⁷

December 22, 2011

We, the International League of Peoples' Struggle, express most heartfelt sympathy to the great number of flood victims in the cities of Cagayan de Oro and Iligan, and the provinces of Misamis Oriental, Lanao del Norte, Lanao del Sur, Bukidnon and part of Caraga in Mindanao, Philippines.

We share the grief and sense of loss of the Filipino people over the death of more than a thousand people, the continuing disappearance of many others, the displacement of people by the hundreds of thousands, the lack of shelter, clothing, food, potable water and medicine and the destruction of homes, social infrastructure, agriculture and other means of livelihood as a result of the flash floods brought about by Typhoon Sendong.

We praise highly the people from various walks of life and many organizations and institutions for engaging and cooperating in retrieval, relief and rehabilitation work. We are deeply pleased to know that ILPS-Philippines, its member-organizations and allies in the Philippines are participating in the work to the best of their ability.

We call upon all the 400 member-organizations of the ILPS throughout the world and all their allies to initiate or participate in campaigns and activities for the purpose of raising funds and other resources for the benefit of those most victimized in the disaster-stricken areas in the Philippines.

We must understand how the disaster of colossal proportions has occurred. The causes include 1) the global climate change due to relentless imperialist plunder, 2) the massive deforestation, soil erosion and silting of the rivers due to unbridled logging, mining, plantation and real estate operations by foreign and big comprador-firms and 3)

⁹⁷ Statement issued as ILPS Chairperson.

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the clear absence of a system of disaster warning and relief due to the wanton diversion of public funds to bureaucratic corruption, military operations, profit remittances by foreign companies and debt service to foreign banks.

We must all try to provide immediate aid to the victimized people in terms of retrieval, relief and rehabilitation. But we must also expose and confront the long-running causes that have brought about the huge disaster and take the necessary measures to remove them for the long-term benefit of the people.

The broad masses of the people must go to the full extent of holding the ruling system and the current Aquino regime accountable for the perpetuation and aggravation of the manmade causes of the disaster and must strive to undertake fundamental social change in the Philippines.

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