



# gäsera journal

Ang Potensyal na Anarkistang Tendensiya ng Diliman Commune

Ang Militansya ng Black Bloc at Ang Papel ng  
Property Destruction sa mga Kampanya at Kilusan

Anarchism in the Philippines and  
Transnational Community Building

Sketches of an Archipelagic Poetics of Postcolonial Belonging

Three Stars in a Sun [bahay kubo kahit munti]

## ANARCHY IN THE R.P.

[Non-Hierarchical Activism in the Archipelago]

### **A Spark of the Lamp**

This publication is a product of a collaborative effort of various individuals and collectives involved in different activities such as community-based workshops, roundtable-discussions, fora, publications, graffiti, pickets, gigs, and other solidarity actions and campaigns. They are those who you can classify (loosely) as anarchists, anti-authoritarians, and autonomous activists.

Though united through common grounds in various issues, these activists have no single ideological line, much less a program or strategy. The unifying theme for them would be the primacy of engaging in direct action to resolve problems, as well as a common distrust of the state, and a shared pessimism of rigid organizational structures. Activities of these groups are being carried out based on non-hierarchical, non-statist values.

As its initiative, the editors aim that this collection of readings would be a contribution to establish venues and deepen our understanding and appreciation of mutual cooperation and to promote direct participation of communities in decision-making based on horizontalism, and life-style consistent to ecology.

The analysis below is a historical re-reading of the archipelago based on a non-hierarchical and non-statist lens. It is an attempt of the editors to see a shared perspective in history.

### **Nostalgia**

There is evidence that anarchism was already present in the Archipelago long ago. Primitive communities from coastal to upland flourished and utilized an autonomous and decentralized political system that facilitated proliferation of highly diverse cultures and life-styles.

Primitive social organizations continuously evolved until social stratifications were formed and became institutions. The archipelago had different tribes; they had their own self-identity, and culture and had various socio-political organizations. From a simple temporal leadership to Barangganic (an autonomous political unit commonly considered as the earliest form of government). Barangganic was the political structure encountered by the Spaniards when they came to colonize the islands.

Our ancestors did engage in local warfare and hostilities, but not to dominate. They conducted raids, ambushes and conventional warfare but not to establish central power to rule the archipelago in uniformity. Their conflict was due to unsettled debt, revenge, and unresolved territorial disputes.

### **The Spanish factor**

The Spanish forces were defeated by Lapu-Lapu and his warriors in a low-tide battle in Mactan. Lapu-Lapu's victory proved to be temporary because after a series of Spanish expeditions, Luzon, Visayas and many parts of Mindanao were captured and coerced to recognize the colonial centralized system. After which, spontaneous and autonomous resistance ensued which were staged by various tribes from the island groups of Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao; it plagued the 300 years of Spanish occupation. Small victories were achieved like those of Tamblot (Bohol), Bancao (Leyte), Sumoroy (Samar), Tapar (Iloilo), Witch (Mangungutud or Mangkukulam) in Gapan (Nueva Ecija), Malong in Pangasinan, Pedro Gumapos (Vigan), Diego and Gabriela Silang (Vigan) Mandaya, Basi Revolt (Ilocos), Davao (Caraga, Mindanao) and many more but were quickly subdued.

The incident on the 20th of February 1872 is one of the earliest instances of direct actions in the archipelago. Seven Spanish officers were killed in a mutiny in Cavite Naval Shipyards. It was outrightly stopped and the Spanish authorities ordered the arrest of creoles, mestizos, secular priests, merchants, lawyers and even members of colonial administration.

The National Democratic Front (NDF) became the most influential bloc within the Philippine Left during the Marcos years. It was directly influenced by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), reinforced by its growing armed group (the New People's Army) that was able to form battalions in many strategic regions in Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao. The radicalism displayed by the organizations initiated by the CPP attracted many sectors, primarily the youth.

However, at the eve of Marcos' ouster, the CPP-NPA-NDF and its allied mass organizations, whose primary means of grabbing political power is through armed struggle, was pushed aside by the popular bloodless uprising that was successfully led by the elite opposition that installed the Aquino government.

During the early 90's, the debate within the movement manifested, initially started as a question of tactics, and later developed into fundamental differences in revolutionary theory and strategy. In the mid-90's, the fragmentation of the biggest leftist political bloc commenced and later on turned into open conflict, in the underground party, the armed group, and the mass organizations.

Various strains of leftist political blocs that claim as more authentically Marxist formed after the so-called great debate. Most of them thrived in NGOs and civil society, some organized their own mass organizations, parties and armed groups. The most influential within the authoritarian left is the RA or "Reaffirmist" bloc, the mother organization that retained the name of the CPP and still maintains the largest resources, including the most active armed component until today.

Now, the fragmented left still poke at each other with their usual polemics, and occasional attacks at each other, even violent at times. But the one thing that makes critical activists (including the anarchists) shudder is their recent obsession to electoral politics, justified as a tactic. All of the mainstream left groups are now involved in the party-list, and now they're running tactical alliances with capitalist and elite parties.

### Thinking beyond the Left-Right divide

As anarchists, we are radical ecologists - we don't just see human issues as the sole concern. We see the survival of the natural world as necessary to human existence. During primitive times, the natural world was in harmony with human communities. One could argue about the factor of population - the smaller the number the lesser the impact to environment. Or one could suggest that primitive technology was so limited to massively exploit resources and so on.

But one could also assert that intention is more influential to users of the natural habitat. If one's desire is to maintain and sustain the socio-cultural needs of a community, there's no need to over-exploit its resources where they derive their means to survive. If one's intention is to get incentive/profit is another thing. Mainstream economy is designed to achieve growth in an infinite basis through further increasing production and sales.

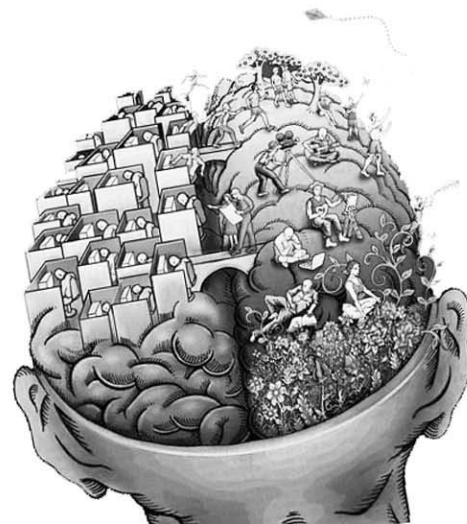
The very source of raw materials for production is the natural world. These "resources" are finite. The economy that encourages activities that seek to extract massive incentives would only lead to massive exploitation of natural resources and consequentially, human labor (mental & physical). This would mean poverty for many of those who have no control of the means of production, and access to natural resources which are being declared as private property by those in power.

Knowing the potential of humans, a few primitive people armed only with stones and sticks have the ability to wipe out a herd of hoofed mammals. Since they hunt not to acquire wealth and property but to provide needs of their communities, they will take only what they need. A small population alone therefore could not ensure sustainable use of natural resources.

Deriving wisdom from the autonomous politics and non-hierarchical social relations of our primitive communities is a process of recreating our future social relationships. The several political exercises in EDSA (as claimed by many as revolutionary acts) proved nothing in terms of addressing critical issues such as poverty, political marginalization, slavery, and resource degradation.

The experience of the authoritarian left in Vietnam, Cambodia, China, Cuba, Russia, Germany, North Korea and other socialist states proved that centralization of power gave privilege to the few who has access to power.

Human beings are just part of the infinitely diverse global ecosystem; we are not above it. Creating a system that is advantageous only to a single stakeholder will only end up coercing, exploiting and extinguishing myriad organisms that essentially occupy space in a whole circle of global ecology.



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### **Green and Black as the New Red**

Anarchy is not a rigid ideology, but a social process that is participated directly by the community it would claim to have an influence. This conscious effort against hierarchy and the profit motive will lead to establishment of systems that are designed to accommodate highly diverse interests, views, conceptions and identity in a horizontal manner. It will seek to establish systems for mutual cooperation to facilitate voluntary process of production and collective and direct community management of the natural world, acknowledged as limited resources.

Anarchy is about establishing non-hierarchical social order that is free from poverty, coercion, slavery, patriarchy and lifestyles consistent to ecological systems. An aspiration that is based on our experience and concrete practices of many communities, past and present.





## ang potensyal na anarkistang tendensiya ng diliman commune

### **Ang Potensyal na Anarkistang Tendensiya ng Diliman Commune**

ni Randy Nobleza at Jong Pairez

*Konsepto ng Kapwa sa '71 Diliman Commune:*

Mga Lebel ng Pakikipagkapwa-tao at Sikolohiyang Pilipino sa Karanasang Diliman Commune

#### **DAY 0 — SITWASYON:**

Pagkatapos ng ikalawang digmaang pandaigdig nang namayagpag ang US bilang pinakamalakas na bansa sa buong mundo, kinakailangang mailugar sa konteksto ang kasaysayan ng aktibismo noong dekada bago maganap ang Diliman Commune. "In the 1950s, academic freedom was the rallying cry of a crop of bourgeois liberal professors from the University of the Philippines. ...the cry was based on the premise that the university could exist independent of economic and political reality."

Kalilipat pa lang ng Diliman ang Unibersidad ng Pilipinas (UP) mula sa Maynila, pero ano ba ang nagbunsod sa mga estudyante na mag-aklas? Ang pinanggagalingan ng lakas estudyante ay ang eksaktong konkretong kondisyon maging sa larangan ng ideolohiya at oryentasyon "Period 50, coming from MCarthyism, malakas ang nationalist orientation."

Hindi nalilimitahan ang pagkilos at pagkatuto sa loob ng eskwelahan, kaya naman kaugnay ng mga sunod-sunod na pangayayari sa loob at labas ng bansa, paglipas ng ilang taon lumakas ang kilusang estudyante. Ang paglakas na ito ay naging potensyal na panapat laban sa awtoritaryang pwersa ng Imperyalistang US sa impluwensya nito sa bawat paaralan sa bansa at sa panlipunang kalagayan. Pero sa yugto ng kalagitnaang-60's na halos kasisismula pa lang ng UP, hindi katakataka na konserbatibo at sobrang relihiyoso ito, sapagkat ang kasaysayan ng pagkatatag ng UP ay para sa layuning suportahan ang status quo.

Ang pagpasok ng mga aktibista o ang radikalismong ng kabataang estudyante ay nagsisimula pa lamang din. Konti pa lang ang sumisigaw noon sa mga pasilyo ng silid aralan. Pero ang aktibismo ng kalagitnaang-60's sa pandaigdigang kalagayan lalo na sa US ay sadyang malakas na. Bandang huli umabot sa bansa ang namamayagpag na aktibistang inspirasyon kahit yung hippie hipie at blak panter ay umabot din sa bansa.

Buhay na buhay ang aktibismo ng kabataan noon. Dyan sa mga kampus karamihan, sa kampus nangyayari lahat. I mean sa loob ng campus nagsisismula tapos lalabas. Ilan taon ka na? Kung ang kabarkda mo, umiinom. Paano nakita mo sa tv, umiinom? Ano gagawin mo. May cell phone ka, anong hawak ng lahat?"

Mahalagang tingnan ang pagnanasa ng mga tao na umugnay sa kanyang kapwa, ayon nga sa konsepto ni Enriquez ng shared-inner-selves, ang kapwa mo ay ikaw at ako, ako ay ikaw at ikaw ay ako. Bahagi tayo ng isang malaking komunidad at ang ating relasyon sa kapwa ay isinasagawa natin ito sa pamamagitan ng pakikipagkapwa-tao. Kaya naman hindi mahirap maipaliwanag bakit naghihintay lamang ng akmang panahon ang mga aktibista upang maipakita nito ang lakas laban sa Estado poder.

Kakayanin na gawing posible ang mga ideya at imahinasyon sa tamang pagbasa ng mga sitwasyon at pangyayari. Mas mainam kung mai-uugnay ito sa mga partikular na nararanasan ng mga tao. Sa kaso ng aktibismo sa UP at sitwasyon ng kilusang kabataan, tamang tama ang konkretong kondisyon para mag-alsa. Ang tampok na isyu ng panahong iyon, sa pagpasok ng unang taon ng dekada-70 ay ang pagtaas ng presyo ng langis at pamasaha. Ang kagustuhang makipag-ugnayan sa mga tsuper ang nagdulot ng paglakas ng lakas estudyante.

Ang pakikipagkapwa-tao, ito ang pinagsimulan ng mga pagbabarikada sa labas ng UP upang maipakita ang suporta sa mga tsuper na nagbabalak na magsagawa ng malawakang Transport Strike. Bago pa man ang mismong Commune, nagtayo na ng mga barikada para suportahan at makisimpatya sa mga tsuper ang mga estudyante. Enero pa lamang ay mayroon nang mga barikada.

#### **DAY 01 — SIMULA NG MGA BARIKADA**

"Lunes. Matapos tanggihan ng mga mag-aaral ang pagpasok ng kotse ni Propesor Inocentes Campos bumalik ang huli na may tatlong armas at may suot na bullet-proof vest. Malubhang tinamaan ng baril ni Campos sa noon ang batang batang iskolar na si Pastor Mesina." Makikita dito ang kategorya ni Enriquez sa pakikipagkapwa tao sa kategoryang ibang-tao. Ang turing ng mga estudyante sa propesor ay ibang-tao, kaya maaari nating sabihing wala itong pakisama.

Gayunpaman, masasabi namang ibang-tao rin ang turing ni Prop. Campos sa mga estudyante. Kilalang anti-estudyante, reaksyonaryo at konserbatibo si Prop. Campos. Kaya hindi siya maaasahang makisimpatya sa tunguhin ng mag estudyante na makipagkapwa-tao sa mga tsuper. Sa mas detalyadong pagkakalahad:

At about this time, 12:30pm, while students were running away, Prof. Inocentes Campos, 64, a somewhat "legendary" math professor, drove up and tried to enter the campus. He had earlier attempted to pass through the barricade and when stopped by the students, had gone home and returned half an hour later, this time in an older car. After he refused the activists' warning not to proceed, a student allegedly lobbed a molotov bomb at his car, blowing its rear tire. Campos got off, wearing a helmet and a bullet vest, and fired successively his shotgun, a .22 caliber rifle and a .22 caliber revolver. The students scampered in several directions for cover. Pastor "Sonny" Mesina a 17-year old freshman, fell down, hit thrice in the forehead.

Sa punto de vista naman ng mga security guard ng UP: *"Wala kaming magawa. Pinaputukan ni Campos ang lahat ng lumapit sa kanya. Ang aming maliliit na armas ay walang laban sa kanyang riple." Mabilis ang mga pangyayari, walang pagpapalano maliban sa pagsasagawa ng barikada upang maipakita ang simpatya at suporta sa mga magwewelgang mga tsuper, walang nakaisip na may mababaril at may mamatay.*

Response to the situation was immediate: the crowd immediately went into action. Chairs, tables, blackboards and whatever materials could be gotten down of were efficiently brought down to the street by activists, upsilonians, beta sigmans, sigman rhoans, and the unaffiliated.

Ang partisipasyon ng karaniwang tao na sumang-ayon sa pagkilos mula sa simpleng pakikisama sa hangarin ng mga tsuper na magsagawa ng malawakang Strike, dulot ng sitwasyon, ay humantong sa direktang pakikilahok. Ang tinutukoy na umpukan ng mga tao ay naging komunidad, kung itutulak pa, naging isang makina ito na umaandar mag-isa na hindi kinakailangan ng operator.

Iba na ang konteksto ng pagbabarikada, mula sa pagsuporta sa pagtalima ng mga tsuper na pumasada, nabaling ang pagbabarikada sa pagbibigay ng proteksyon sa komunidad ng UP. Maging ang silbi ng mga barikada mula sa paggiging konkreto ay naging simboliko:

*The barricade is not only really a physical obstruction but a symbol of protest. The physical barricade could be and was easily destroyed by police forces. The symbolic barricade is not so easily destroyed as its physical counterpart. It is a sign of dissent and discontents.*

Makikita na iba-iba din ang naging reaksyon ng mga estudyante, akademiko, administrador at maging mga residente ng unibersidad: *"The residents who complained about the interrogations at the barricades do not see beyond the realm of bourgeois ethics with which they should be accorded by revolutionaries"*

*Mayroon mga pabor, syempre meron din naman hindi: "The barricades, per se for the strike were good. But not when the students started using chairs for barricading, when they ransacked the Chem laboratories for chemicals, when they created anarchy within the university." Tingnan natin mamaya ang talaban ng anarkiya at anarkismo.*

## DAY 02 — LABANAN SA DILIMAN

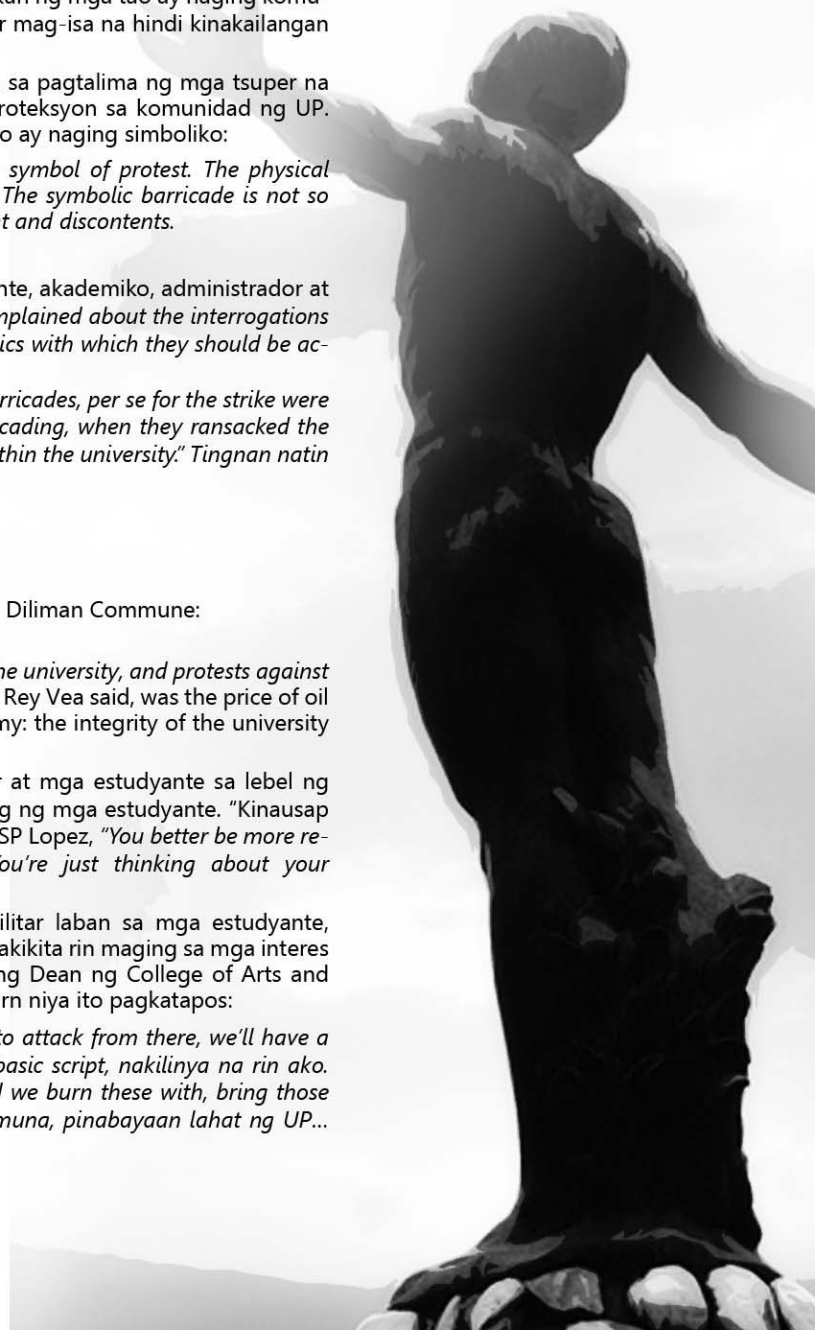
Ito naman ang naging partisipasyon ng mga administrador sa Diliman Commune:

SP Lopez tried to summarize the issues: *"the militarization of the university, and protests against its closure."* The students corrected him: the issues, actually, Mr. Rey Veja said, was the price of oil and the dictation of imperialist cartels on the national economy: the integrity of the university was second only.

Pero nang mag-abot ang mga tanaw ng mga administrador at mga estudyante sa lebel ng pakikibagay, sinusububukan ng Presidente na kunin ang panig ng mga estudyante. "Kinausap yung mga student leaders, sinabi yung mga demands. Sabi ni SP Lopez, *"You better be more resilient! I'm losing my job!"* Sabi ng mga estudyante, *"You're just thinking about your position...we're losing our lives!"*

Hindi lamang sa pagitan ng mga Metrocom, Pulisya at Militar laban sa mga estudyante, akademiko at mga taga-UP ang labanan. Ang tunggalian ay makikita rin maging sa mga interes ng mga estudyante at mga administrador ng UP. Maging ang Dean ng College of Arts and Sciences ay nakilahok sa Diliman Commune subalit pinagbayarn niya ito pagkatapos:

*Si Cesar Majul, he paid for it, yung bumaba. "If they're going to attack from there, we'll have a barricade here." Assembly line, walang command, pero may basic script, nakilinya na rin ako. Kelangan may barricade. Sabi ni Majul, "We can't what would we burn these with, bring those curtains down." Andyan na, walang gasolina. Nagrest, retire muna, pinabayaan lahat ng UP... Siningil lahat from his retirement pay.*



Matutunghayan naman natin, mula sa administrador, bilang Dean ng Arts and Science, nakisangkot siya sa mga estudyante sa pagbabarikada.

Marami ang hindi desidido noong mga panahong iyon, ilan sa mga estudyante ang sumsangayon subalit walang direktang partisipasyon sa Diliman Commune: "The barricading of UP was justified. I am for it. The only thing I didn't like was the painting of certain names on the walls of university buildings." Ito pa ang isang hesitasyon, "the cause of the barricades was good. The result, however was bad."

Hindi pa palagay ang kanilang loob para umabot sa puntong makiisa sa iba pang mga estudyante upang maging bahagi ng Commune. Gayunpaman, napakakita ng mga estudyante na meron silang kapasidad na pamunuan ang kanilang sarili, napanghawakan nila ang sitwasyon at gumawa ng mga kinakilangan na mga desisyon.

The battle of Diliman, which saw the invasion of two ladies' dorms and the theft of petty articles by the uniformed goons of the State, resulted not only in the embarrassment of the Quezon City police over their inability to suppress with bullets young kids armed only with a few pillboxes.

*"Iyon spontaneous pare, nasa AS lang yung Palma Hall, may ice cream vendor, gawa na tayo ng molotov nasan ang mga basyo." Sa baba ng AS, maraming empty bottle ng pop drinks, lahat ng estudyante linya, pasapasa hanggang sa edge ng building yung dalawa dalawa na ang dala, sabi yung nasa kaliwa molotov, yung nasa kanan tubig..."* Kung papansinin, wala namang mga lider. At kung meron man, kinakatawan ito ng ligal na Student Council na pinapangunahan nina Ericson Baculinao at Rey Vea.

Ang mga estudyante ay isang masa ng mga indibidwal na walang kinikilalang mga lider, kumikilos ayon sa kani-kaniyang mga inisyatiba pero hindi nakahiwalay sa kanilang komunidad at kapwa estudyante.

### DAY 03 – ANG MALAYANG TINIG NG UP

Parang dinadaan ng ipu-ipo ang UP *"...the landscape of the UP campus looked a total wreck. The streets and avenues leading to the colleges were cluttered with loose stones, pieces of paper, debris, twigs; in the neighborhood of the residential areas, garbage cans were dragged to the middles of the streets and their contents spilled. The domestic wastes left untouched by dogs who had been frightened by the continuous explosions in the night, looked like human vomit."* Ito ang istura di umano ng anarkiya ayon sa tagapamahayag ng Pamahalaan.

Pagkalipas ng ilang araw napasakamay na ng mga estudyante ang istasyon ng Radyo ng UP, *"DZUP fell into the hands of the rebels yesterday afternoon – thanks to the combined efforts of Science and Engineering activists and professors and not to forget, the radio technicians. Malayang Radyo ng Diliman – that's how it's called at this moment."* Taliwas sa popular na konsepto ng masamang kahulugan ng anarkiya, ang nabanggit na pag-angkin sa Radyo at pagpapalaya ng komunikasyon ay isa lamang sa mga taktika ng mga anarkista. Hindi lamang nakalimita sa mga materyal na bagay maaaring palawigin ang pagrereclaim at pagaapropriate kundi maging sa mga ideya.

Kalaunan ay bumisita ang Blue Ribbon Committee para tingnan ng personal kung ano na ang nangyayari sa UP Diliman, "Sa AS, sa gitna [naglalakad si] Kalaw, maraming papaya, sa batangas [pa galing], mga saging. *"Defend the barricade!"* Yun pala dalawang jeep, galing kina Eva Kalaw pupunta sa middle part ng stage. Yung mga jewelry [kumakalansing.] Sigawan ang mga estudyante *"Umuwi ka na! H'wag ka nang mag-fashion show! yung hikaw mo, yung mga sapatos mo. Salamat na lang sa papaya! Salamat na lang sa mangga! Umuwi ka na!"*

Ang inabutang panganganyaw ng Senadora mula sa mga estudyante sa kanyang pagdalaw ay maaaring ikonsidera na direktang aksyon laban sa Awtoridad at pagkukwestyon sa Awtoridad o sinseridad ng mga Pulitiko. Ang paghawak nga ng Radyo ay isang uri ng pagpapalaya- ang pagtatakda ng gamit sa isang bagay o ideya ng panibagong silbi o function liban sa orihinal na silbi nito.

Nagkaroon ng ibang silbi ang radyo ng UP, bilang anyo ng protesta at mabisang daluyan ng impormasyon. "Radio Free Diliman as a novel style of protest did one thing: maneuvers behind the barricades became better synchronized. Phone calls from sympathizing residents effectively checkmated every move of plainclothes troopers who roamed the campus. And food poured generously from far-flung areas as a result of direct appeals by the rebel announcers."

*"Ang paghawak ng radyo...ay naging simbolo ng isang malaking pagkakaisa. Habang may nagsasalita pa sa DZUP (kahit na paulit-ulit at overacting) ang pag-asa ng mga tao sa loob at labas ay buhay na buhay. Ito rin ay nagsilbing tagapag-ugnay ng mga gawain sa loob. Sa lahat ng ng mga grupo, ang DZUP lamang ang tunay na nagkaroon ng mga depinidong gawain ng bawat miyembro ng grupo."*

### DAY 04 — DEKLARASYON NG KALAYAAN

Labas sa opisyal na istorya ng Diliman Commune, ang pagtingin na wala namang naidulot at naibungang maganda ang pagbabarikada ay naging bukan-bibig ng konserbatibong grupo ng mga estudyante at akademiko. Ganito ang kanilang pananaw sa Commune:

Dear Editor,

Like the rest of the "silent students," I am in this university for the primordial objective to straight forwardly attend to my studies without compromising my presence to the activists students cannot help but notice that there is actually a struggle of leadership between these conflicting groups, which unfortunately is doing the student government harm and injury.

5

LIMANG PISO

5

Samantala...

"Overnight, ... the UP press – through its initial issue of the *Bandilang Pula* – became the liberated word of the militants." Nakapaglabas ng dalawang isyu ang *bandilang Pula*, kung ikukumpara sa pag-okupa sa radyo ng UP, maaaring limitado lamang ang sirkulasyon ng dalawang isyu nito. Sa katunayan maging sa archives ng Main Library ay iisa lamang ang kopya ng *Bandilang Pula*.

Sa perimeter ng anarkistang pamantayan, ang nabanggit sa itaas ay malinaw na halimbawa ng Propaganda by the Deeds. Hindi mo kinakailangan maging propesyunal at mapagtiwala sa mga eksperto, kahit pa may kakulangan sa kaalaman at teknikal na kapasidad, nanaig pa rin ang pangangailangan na makapagpahayag. Ang pagdedeklara ng kalayan ay pagdedeklara ng gera sa Estado at Awtoridad. Mahirap manawagan ng kalayaan nang hindi kumukwestyon sa Awtoridad at sa Estado bilang pinakamalaking manipestasyon nito.

"In spite of the pull-out of the QC police and Metrocom troops, the students continued to hold out. They declared the University campus the "*Malayaang Komunidad ng Diliman*" (Democratic Diliman Commune), renamed the buildings after homegrown revolutionaries like Commander Dante of the New People's Army, Jose Ma. Sison, and Victor Corpuz and set-up a "provisional directorate led by Eric Baculinao to run the affairs of the commune." Akmang pagrereklama ito ng mga gusali bilang mga lugar ng pagpapalaya at hindi ng pag-iindoktrina ng katotohanang ideolohikal na normal ang mga sitwasyon kahit hindi.

Sa puntong ito, dito ngayon makikita ang kritikal na isyu. Alam natin na ang pakahulugan ng Anarkismo ay ang kawalan ng lider o amo. Papaano natin bibigyan ng konklusyon na may Anarkistang tendensiya nga ang Diliman Commune kung may nababanggit naman palang mga lider. Una sa lahat, hindi nangangahulugan ang Anarkismo ng kawalan ng organisasyon kung wala itong namumuno o lider. Sapagkat sa karaniwang pag-intindi, ang esensya ng pagkakaroon ng lider at/o Estado ay integral sa pagsusustina ng hirarkiya, kung wala ito natural lamang na ihalintulad ang Anarkismo sa ideya ng kaguluhan o walang kaayusan.

"The students then organized a government called the Diliman Commune and elected a student directorate to govern the pocket-sized Diliman republic..." Ang mga anarkista ay may konsepto ng organisasyon, pero kakaiba ito sa karaniwang alam natin na ang organisasyon ay Hirarkiyal. Sa konsepto ng anarkistang organisasyon ay may ideya din ng Administrasyon pero ang mandato nito ay hindi galing sa iilan lamang. Mahalaga ang direktang pakikilahok ng bawat isa sa pagdedesisyon, kaya malinaw na naipagkakaiba ng mga anarkista ang silbi ng Administrasyon sa Awtority.

Ang isang halimbawa ng pisikal na realisasyon ng Administrasyon ay ang Councils. Dito ang desisyon ay isinasagawa sa pamamagitan ng konsensus ng bawat isa. Malayo ito sa konsepto ng Democratic Centralism na pinapatupad ng mga National Democrats (ND) na aktibista at mga kadre ng Partido Komunista, maging sa ideya ng Estado sa konsensus. Sa mga anarkista ang konsensus ay hindi eleksyon o pulitika ng representasyon, kundi isa itong praktikal na proseso ng pagkakasundo at/o pagreresolba sa hindi pagkakaunawaan. Sa madaling sabi, ang konsensus ay isang pagsasapraktika ng Direktang Demokrasya na may mabigat na pagpapahalaga ng indibidwal sa pagsasagawa ng desisyon para sa kabutihan ng kapwa.

Kung ganito ang batayan, malinaw na ang anarkistang pagsasapraktika ng organisasyon ay hindi nalalayo sa Sikolohiyang Pilipino ni Virgilio Enriquez- ang pakikipagkapwa tao.

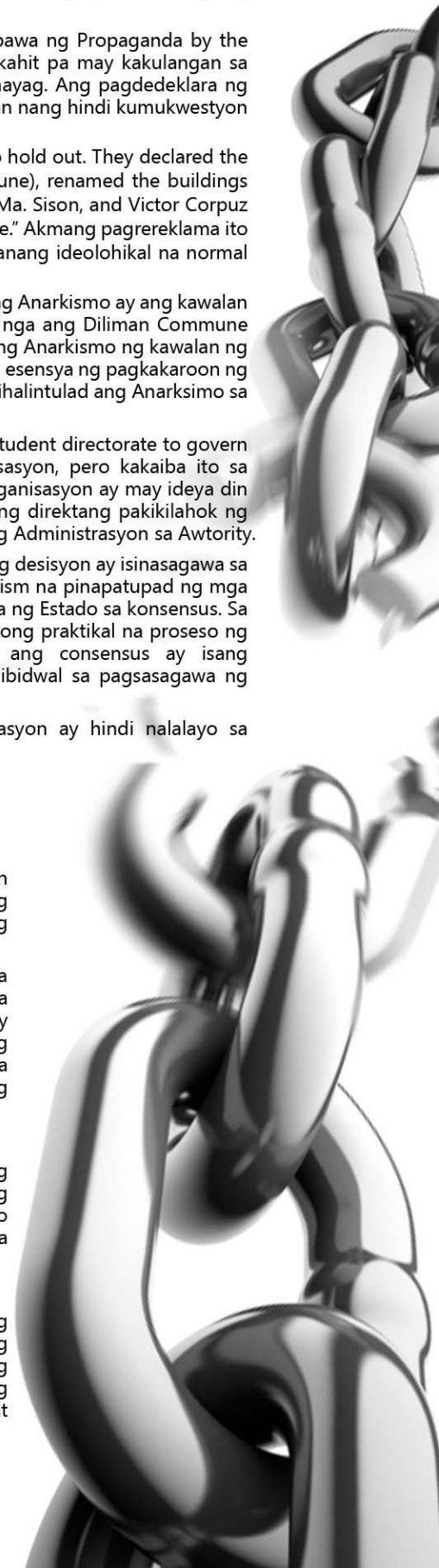
## DAY 05 — BANDILANG PULA

"Ang mga mag-aaral ay hindi gagamit ng dahas kung hindi kinakailangan. Ito'y gagamitin lamang upang ipagtanggol ang kanilang sarili at ang kanilang mga demokratikong karapatan na siyang tanging pamamaraan upang magampanan nila ang pangunahing tungkuling ilantad sa taong bayan ang tunay na kalagayan ng bayan."

Kung hindi mo aalamin na mula sa aktibistang ND ang pahayag na ito, aakalin mong mga anarkista ito na nagpapaliwanag ng mga rason at kawastuhan ng dahas. Pinag-iiba ng mga anarkista ang paggamit ng dahas at Awtoridad. Ang dahas na nanggagaling sa Estado ay awtoritaryan, samantalang ang dahas na nanggagaling sa mga estudyante at malayang indibidwal ay kapangyarihan. Pinagbubukod rin ng mga anarkista ang kapangyarihan sa awtoridad. Ang kapangyarihan ay maaring magamit sa pusitibo at negatibong pamamaraan. Samantalang ang awtoritaryanismo ay palagiang mapang-api.

"Ang dahas ay ginagamit ng estado upang supilin ang mga demokratikong karapatan ng mga progresibong mamamayan...sa lipunanag may deretsohang tunggalian ng pwersa ng mga nagsasamanatala at ng mga pinagsasamantalahan, ang estado ay laging instrumento ng mga naghaharing uri." kung hindi tayo nilusob ng Metrocom, di sana humantong sa ganito ang mga pangyayari rito.

Isang uri ng pagdepensa ang isinagawa ng mga estudyante sa marahas na pakikitungo ng Estado sa mamamayan. Bagamat sa mga huling yugto ng barikada ay unti-unting nababasawasan ang mga estudyanteng nakabantay dito. Pero, kung babalikan natin ang naunang pahayag hinggil sa kabuluhan ng pagbabarikada; totoong madaling mabuwag ang pisikal na barikada ngunit ang iniwang simbolismo ng barikadang ito sa bawat damdamin ay kailanman hindi mabubuwag.





## DAY 06 — ANG ULTIMATUM

*"Ang diliman komyun ay isa lamang "microcosm ng mas malaking kilusan na maaring gawin sa iba't ibang unibersidad upang magsanay ang mga kabataang aktibista sa pagtatag ng mga propesyunal na organisasyon na kakailanganin sa panahon ng digmaang pang-urban."*

Maaring tama ang analisis na ito sa partikularidad ng panahong iyon, pero ang mga sitwasyon ay nagbabago bago. At kung sa isang panig ka lang makikinig ay natural lamang na magkakatonotono ang lahat ng mga salsaysay.

"Higit sa lahat, ang isang rebolusyunaryo ay napapatnubayan ng isang rebolusyunaryong teorya. Kung may gabay siya sa mga karanasan ng ibang bansa, ang mga bagay-bagay na nauukol sa pangakalahatang mga problema."

Para sa mga anarkista hindi kinakailangan ang teorya, hindi dahil sa hindi ito mahalaga pero sa puntong ang teorya ay may tendensiyang maging dogmatiko. Kaya imbes na tumuon sa teorya, bakit hindi magbigay pansin sa paggamit nito. Ang muling pag-angkin at paggamit ng teorya ang mas mahalaga kaysa mismo sa teorya.

"Ang glaring na diperesnya, mas maraming distractions ang mga aktibista ngayon, sa tingin ko, kung, yung bang sistema na ginawa sa Edsa 1, gagawin pa ba sa Edsa 2 ang estratehiya, paano? Natural iba ang sitwasyon ng nauna kaysa sa sumunod na pangyayari kaya hindi eksaktong magtutugma ang aplikasyon sa magkaibang yugto ng panahon.

## DAY 07 — ANG WAKAS

*"For eight consecutive days – from February 1 to 8 – the state university resembled the jungle-island of William Golding's 'Lord of the Flies': a sordid, horrid picture of a civilized society overrun by anarchy."* Dito natin lilinawin muli ang malaking diperensya sa ideya ng anarkiya at sa pagsasagawa nito.

Meron mga anarkistang nagpapakilalang anarkista. Meron mga anarkistang hindi malay na gumagawa ng mga bagay na mas malapit pa sa anarkismo kaysa sa mga nagsasabing anarkista sila.

"To many, that was how UP looked recently. At the outset, its students, confronted by fully-armed government forces, put up a united front. But later, after the army troopers were withdrawn, they rode high and mighty over the sprawling UP Campus, imposing their own government, splitting the studentry into radicals and moderates. What followed was disorder and confusion, attended by vandalism and violence."

Ang dahilan ay simple, walang mulat na pag-angkin na anarkista ang pag-aalsang nangyari sa Diliman Commune. Bagamat makikitaan ito ng potensyal na anarkistang tendensiya. Sapagkat sa ayaw natin at sa gusto, ang mga unang yugto ng pagbabarikada ay may bahid ng anarkistang praktika. At anarkismo ang pinakapraktikal na paraan upang pamunuan ang sarili maging maunlad pero susteynabol sa paggamit ng konsepto ng pakikipagkapwa na walang Hirarkiya. Ang paggiging indibiwal ay nasa lebel lamang ng pag kakaroon ng sariling inisyatiba, pero naka-ugnay sa lebel ng kapwa. Para sa iba ang ginagawa ng isa. Ang ginagawa ng isa ay para sa iba. Pero lahat tayo ay kapwa.

"Force ruled on the campus. Some got mauled while others were insulted and threatened. An Esso employee was found dead from multiple stab wounds near the residents of UP President Lopez. Two women were reportedly raped. Nevertheless, a number of UP residents and students handed together and decided to protest the anarchy in UP. They staged a counter-demonstration."

Itō ang manipestasyon ng paggiging iba, ang kawalan pakikisama ay nanggagaling sa kawalan ng pang-unawa sa sitwasyon at kawalan ng konsensus. Sa mas malalim na lebel, ideolohikal ang problema, ang tendensiyang tumingin sa mga partikularidad na magpapalakas lalo sa pagkiling laban sa realidad ang nagmimintina ng awtoridad.

*"to the so-called conservative citizens, on the faculty and among non-academic personnel and campus residents, the barricades represented nothing else but anarchy, breakdown of orthodox law and order, defiance of duly constituted authority – even the start of the feared revolution."*

Ang konseptong kalakip ng sinasabing anarkiya ay may bahid ng katotohanan subalit, hindi masasabing ito ang kabuuang larawan nito. Hindi maaring pagtakpan ang mga kapalpakan at dapat tingnan na napakagandang pangyayari ang Diliman Commune. Ang pagsasabi ng ganoon ay nangangahulugan ng paggapi mismo sa dinamismong narating ng Commune.

*"All in all there were 11 known casualties during the eight-day "coccupation, including one student dead, four other students, one employee, and five UP security guards wounded. Loss and damage in property and equipment was estimated at P94,820.63, with the arts and science building as the most badly hit."*

**END**

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## **THE REVOLUTIONARY MOMENTS OF DILIMAN COMMUNE:**

-UPSC commend the revolutionary courage of the heroic defenders of the diliman commune against the fascist state and its campus collaborators:

- freshman scholar pastor r. mesina jr. (posthumously) for unflinchingly raising high the people's defiant barricade against exploitation and oppression;

- danilo delfin, glen garcuia, reynaldo bello and the scores of others who were wounded as they fearlessly clashed with the state's fascist brutes;

- the revolutionary fighters of narra, molave, yakal, and ipil for their persevering vigilance in manning the barricades;

- the liberated women of kamia, sampaguita, ilang-ilang, makibaka and SKUP for their frontline resistance and their diligent performance of auxiliary tasks;

- the dauntless campus residents, notably those from Balara and Krus na Ligas, who organized commando strike forces against assorted infiltrators;

- the audacious freshman for their remarkable play of fraternal concern and unity with the struggling pilpino mass;

- the progressive faculty members, especially those with the samahan ng mg aguro sa pamantasan ng makabayang siyentipiko (SMS) for their selfless contribution of intellectual and technical skills which proved invaluable in the political,

- the committed student journalists from imc and their comrades from psia for handling the controls of the dzup as the free radio of the democratic commune of diliman;

- the militant writers who published bandilang pula and other publications for projecting the democratic democratic aspirations of the diliman commune;

- the medicine, nursing, hygiene and SAMO students who demonstrated their partisanship with the filipino masses but rendering first aid and medical assistance to the beleaguered communards;

- the progressive non-academic workers in the university who forged stronger links with the studentry and the peasantry in vallantly aiding the defense of the diliman commune;

- the mass of heretofore unorganized but politicalized and disciplined students who formed the AS rooftop junta and manned other strategic defense outposts;

- the samahan ng mga makabayahang mag-aaral ng batas (SMMB) and other progressive lawyers for their valuable legal aid and

- all others who actively participated in the establishment of the diliman commune as a symbol of the filipino people's unrelenting struggle against us imperialism, domestic feudalism, bureaucrata-capitalism as well as their firm determination to build a national democratic society on the debris of the past.

## **DILIMAN COMMUNE GRAFITIS:**

A PILLBOX IN THE HANDS OF THE MASSES IS AN ATOM BOMB!

THE UNIVERSITY IS CLOSED TO THE FASCIST, BUT OPEN TO THE STUDENTS. LONG LIVE THE DILIMAN COMMUNE!

RAISE A THOUSAND BARRICADES AGAINST IMPERIALIST EXPLOITATION AND INTRUSION!

SMASH THE IMPERIALIST ECONOMIC-POLITICAL-CULTURAL BARRICADE AGAINST THE FILIPINO MASSES!





sino ang totoong aktibista?  
sino ang totoong rebelde?

## Sino Ang "Totoong Aktibista" ? Sino ang Totoong Rebelde?

[Ang Militansya ng Black Bloc at ang Papel ng Property Destruction sa mga kampanya at kilusan sa international na komunidad ng mga aktibista]

BY: Dagami

Hindi lang minsan "nakasama" ng mga aktibistang Pinoy ang Black Bloc sa mga isyu sa international na mga kampanya at kilos-protesta subalit karamihan sa ating mga aktibista ay walang ideya kung ano ang Black Bloc. Kaya't minabuti na maglabas ng ganitong sulatin para makapag-ambag sa proseso ng pagpapaunlad ng mga pamamaraan ng pagtuligsa sa status quo.

Kalakhan sa dokumentong ito ay halaw sa "Militancy Beyond Black Blocs. An Essay" ni Teoman Gee ng Alpine Anarchist Productions na inilabas noong 2001.

Bagamat huli ng maraming taon, dapat lang na umabot ang ilang mahalagang impormasyon kaugnay sa Black Bloc sa karamihan lalo ng mga aktibista sa arkipelago na kadalasa'y pre-okupado ng maka-estadong balangkas at ideya.

Ano ang karaniwang pagtingin ng mga aktibista sa Black Bloc? Maraming militante at paksyon ng mga radikal na bloke ang may hindi malinaw na pag-intindi sa Black Bloc. Karaniwan ang pagturing sa mga maskaradong-itiman ay adik, lasenggo, nagti-trip at walang pampulitikang kamulatan at malinaw na idelohiyang pinanghahawakan.

Dagdag pangmamaliit; ang pagturing sa kanila bilang talunan, galit sila sa pulis dahil may problema sa otoridad, tamad, walang utak, kadalasang ikinukumpara sila sa "soccer hooligans" nagpapanggap na mga anarkista o militante na may nakakatawang pananamit at ayos ng buhok.

Higit na nakakabahala ang pangyayari matapos ang anti-WTO na protesta sa Seattle ng maglabas ng statement o kasulatan sa internet ang ilang makakaliwang grupo, pacifist na mga aktibista at mga grupo at indibidwal na radikal laban sa Black Bloc. Para sa kanila, ang mga batang gulanit na itim ang kasuotan na armado ng tirador, bato, patpat at galit sa hirarkiya ay kanilang kaaway.

Tila nakalimutan na ang tunay na kaaway ay ang mga korporasyon at ang mga estado na siyang nagpapatupad ng mapaminsalang mga polisya na lalo pang nagpapalaganap ng kahirapan, pagksira ng kalikasan, kumikitil at nag-aalipusta sa mga komunidad lalo sa mahihirap na rehiyon ng daigdig.

Sa kasagsagan ng malalaking kilos protesta gaya ng anti-WTO, anti-G8, pagpupulong ng EU at iba pa, ang kalakhan ng mga aktibista ay gumagawa ng iba't-ibang paraan upang ihiwalay ang kanilang mga sarili sa Black Bloc.

Mula noon ay paulit-ulit nang naririnig ang moralistang pagkondena ng maraming maka-kaliwa sa mga itiman at pagtangi sa kanila bilang mga lehitimong aktibista na nagpo-protesta at nagpapahayag ng pampulitikang paninindigan.

Ang anti-globalisation movement o kilusan laban sa globalisasyon ay nagguhit ng linya sa pagitan ng mga umano'y lehitimong aktibista at hindi karespe-respetong Black Bloc.

Ano ang Black Bloc? Ito ay walang eskaktong kahulugan at kadalasang tumutukoy sa network o ugnayan ng iba't-ibang maliliit na grupo na naka-itim, maskaradong nagpo-protesta at nakahandang gumamit ng property destruction o pangwawasak ng ari-arian at street fights o pakikipagtungali sa mga pulis gamit ang lansangan bilang pamamaraan ng pagpapakita ng pampulitikang paniniwala at pagtutol sa umiiral na kalagayan.

Bagamat ang istilo ng Black bloc ay bago pa lang ginagawa sa Northern America, ang kasaysayan nito ay mauugat noong 1968 sa panahon ng pampulitikang pag-aaklas sa Europa, at sa kasagsagan ng kilusan ng maralitang tagalunsod sa Alemanya noong kalagitnaan ng 1980s. Madalas ang salpukan ng pulis at grupo ng mga maskaradong itim kung saan nakaakit ng libong mga aktibista at maralita na nagsuot din ng itim at marami ang lumahok sa property destruction.

Ang Black Bloc ay produkto ng lehitimong tunggalian ng uri sa pagitan ng estado na siyang nagpo-protakta sa interes ng mga may kapital partikular ang mga korporasyon. Ang pamamaraang ito ay kongkretong kontribusyon sa atake sa hirarkiya sa pangunguna ng mga mahihirap, mga aktibista sa komunidad at mga istudyante.



## Sino ba ang “Totoong Aktibista”?

Sa popular na pagpapaliwanag, ang aktibista ay tumutukoy sa taong aktibo sa pagpapalaganap at pagsasabuhay nang pinaniniwalaan niyang tama. Sa ganito kalawak na pagpapakahulugan, ang kahit na sino ay maaring maging aktibista. Ang aktibismo ay may kinalaman sa ethics o tamang gawi at pakikitungo. Ang ethics ay nalilikha batay sa ating pang-araw-araw na pamumuhay sa ating komunidad; sa ating interaksyon sa kapwa at sa natural na kapaligiran. Nakaugnay din dito ang pagtanggap natin sa mga resulta ng ating desisyon.

Kinokondena ang Black Bloc dahil sa militanteng aksyon nito kabilang ang pagsira sa mga ari-arian ng malalaking korporasyon at pakikitunggali sa mga pulis sa lansangan. Anong mali sa ganitong gawi at pamamaraan nila?

Maling basagin o sirain ang ari-arian ng mga korporasyon na kumikita ng milyong dolyar kada-araw? Maling wasakin ang mga ensured na pag-aari ng mga korporasyon na nagsasamantala sa lakas-paggawa ng mga kababaihan at manggagawa at sumisira ng mga likas-yaman ng daigdig?

Maling labanan ang mga pulis na siyang nagmimintina at nagpapanatili ng kaayusan at tumutulong magpatupad ng mga polisiya na kontra sa interes ng mga tao?

Dapat nating tandaan na ang militanteng aspeto ng mga kilusan ang nagpapaala-ala sa estado sa potensyal na lakas ng malawak na tao. Kung hindi dahil sa militanteng aspeto ng anti-globalisation movement ay mananatiling business as usual ang mga korporasyon at mga kasabwat nitong diplomat na kinatawan ng pamahalaan.

dahil sa militanteng aksyon ng mga Black Bloc naging magastos ang mga pagpupulong na kailangan ng matataas na bakod, karagdagang puwersa at kagamitan at pag-upgrade ng kakayahan ng mga kapulisan at pagsuspinde ng civil rights.

Hindi mapapaatras ng civil society, NGO at iba pang may interes na grupo ang WTO sa disyerto ng Arab Gulf o pag-alis ng WEF sa Davos kung wala ang militanteng aksyon na pinangunahan ng Black Bloc.

Sinasabing ang Black Bloc ay hindi nakikipag-ugnayan sa “mga organisador” ng mga kilos protesta na siya namang nakikipag-ugnayan sa host na bansa/pamahalaan na siyang magsisiguro sa maayos na kilos -protesta.

Magsisiguro na ang kilos protesta ay hindi magiging banta sa ginaganap na pagpupulong ng WTO, G8, EC, IPCC at iba pa? Ang banta ng kaguluhan ang isa sa epektibong nagpipigil sa mga internasyunal na institusyon sa mga desisyong makapaminsala sa mga komunidad sa mahihirap na rehiyon ng daigdig.

Sa maraming pagkakataon, hindi magiging banta ang mga protesta kung wala ang militante at marahas na pagkilos ng Black Bloc.

Pagrespeto sa iba’t-ibang pamamaraan at pagpapahayag ng pampulitikang pananaw

Ang pagpo-protesta ay karapatan ng kahit na sino; ang pagpili ng paraan kung paano ipakikita ang pagtutol at pagpapahayag ng pampulitikang opinyon ay desisyon ng isang tao o grupo na handa ding tumanggap ng mga posibleng resulta ng kanilang pagkilos.

Maraming paraan ang maaring gamitin sa pagpapahayag ng pananaw at pagtuligsa sa maling kalakaran. Ang engagement o pagpasok sa mga prosesong iniaalok ay kadalasang pinangungunahan ng mga NGOs. Sa pamamagitan ng mga dialogo, negosasyon at serye ng mga pag-uusap ay naipo-proseso ang mga opinyon at interes ng mga sektor. May mga pagkakataong nakakapag-bigay ng adbentahe ang mga ganitong istilo subalit sa karanasan sa WTO at mga bilateral na kasunduan kagaya ng JPEPA at ASEAN-CHINA na napakalimitado o walang ganansyang nakukuha at talo pa ang maliliit na sektor na mahihirap na bansa.

Mayroon namang tutol kaagad sa isyu katulad ng mga maka-kaliwang bloke subalit ang kanilang pamamaraan ay nakatuon sa mapayapang pagpapahayag at pagpapa-abot ng mga mensahe na karaniwang gumagamit ng malikhaing palabas upang akitin ang media.



Ang mga autonomous activist na pacifist ay deklaradong hindi gagamit ng anumang karahasan laban sa sino man kaya kadalasan ang kanilang mga sarili ang nagiging biktima ng mga bayolenteng pulis.

Ang kilos protesta ng mga Koreano noong unang araw ng Ministerial Meeting ng WTO sa Hongkong noong 2006 ay naghikayat sa pulis ng Hongkong na saktan ang mga Koreano. Gayundin ang Koreanong nagsaksak sa sarili noong pagpupulong ng WTO sa Doha, Qatar.

At ang "kilalang" istilo ng Black Bloc sa Seattle, sa Davos, Germany, sa Copenhagen, ilang parte ng Europa at patuloy na umuunlad sa Northern America. Noong mga ilang nag daang SONA ni GMA may ilang grupo ng mga kabataan na impluwensyado ng Anarcho-punk ang lumahok sa protestang dominado ng tradisyunal na kaliwang may iba't-ibang paksyon.

Walang nagma-may-ari ng lansangan, lalo't kung ang gamit nito ay pagpapahayag ng galit at diskontento sa kasalukuyang kaayusan ng lipunan. Ngunit sa dalawang okasyon na nabanggit, nagpakita ng maka-teritoryong pag-uugali ang ilang paksyon ng kaliwa na pilit itinataboy ang grupo ng mga itiman na may 40 hanggang 50 kalahok.

Totoong malaki pa ang dapat pag-aralan at paunlarin sa Black Bloc na taktika sa konteksto ng arkipelago kung saan mataas pa rin ang patriarkal at machong kaisipan ng mga elit na nasa kapangyarihan. Mahalagang tingnan na ang kilusang maka-otonomiya at anarkista sa arkipelago ay bago pa lang nanunumbalik kaya't marami pa itong dapat palalimin bilang epektibong kilusan.

Ang mga umiiral na batas ay may malupit na kaparusahan laban sa pag-atake sa pag-aari. Hindi katulad sa maraming estado sa Europa, ang property destruction ay kinikilala bilang politikal na akto.

### **BALIK SA ETIKA...**

Sinasabing karamihan sa mga lumalahok sa Black Bloc ay yaong mga adik at lasing. Tiyak na kung hindi man lahat ay marami sa kanila ang sabog o lasing. Ano ang isyu duon? Sa tingin mo gaano kalaking pinsala sa lipunan ang mga desisyong nalilikha ng mga international institutions kung ikumpara sa pagtira ng droga o ng alkohol ng itimang nani-nira ng ari-arian?

Ang paggamit ba niya ng droga at ng alkohol ay magdi-diskwalipika na sa kanya bilang aktbista? Hindi ko alam kung sino ang aktbistang makapagsasabing siya ang modelo, basta ang alam ko, sa maraming pagkakataon mas nakakatakot ang moralista na naniniwalang siya ang tama kaysa sa high droga na ang alam lang gawin ay pumikit, kumain, matulog, at tumawa.

Walang may-ari ng rebolusyon at walang makapagtataka kung sino ang totoong rebolusyunaryo; ang mayroon lang ay totoong isyu na direktang nakakaapekto sa atin kahit anong kultura, kulay at paniniwala pa tayo. Ang pagkakaiba-iba natin ang siya nating epektibong instrumento para itaguyod ang panlipunang pagbabago kung saan tayo ay malaya sa kahirapan, ang bawat pamilya ay may direktang partisipasyon sa pulitika at desisyon at likas-kaya ang pamumuhay.



## Anarchism in the Philippines and Transnational Community Building

My connection to the anarchist movement in the Philippines goes back to a visit to East Asia in 2006. Given the millions of Filipino migrant workers, it was perhaps characteristic that I first made contact with Filipino anarchists not in the Philippines, but in Japan, where they shelved supermarket aisles at night to study throughout the day. When I arrived in Manila a couple of months later, I was welcomed and hosted generously by the local anarchist community. I only stayed for a few weeks, but had the opportunity to meet with various activists. I was very impressed with the networks that had been established and the activists' dedication to the struggle. I have tried to keep updated on the developments in the Philippines since and have remained in contact with some of the people I have met. I have even had the opportunity to collaborate with them on a couple of projects. In this context, I feel honored that I have been asked to contribute to this publication, which is yet another step in what appears to be an ever-expanding movement.

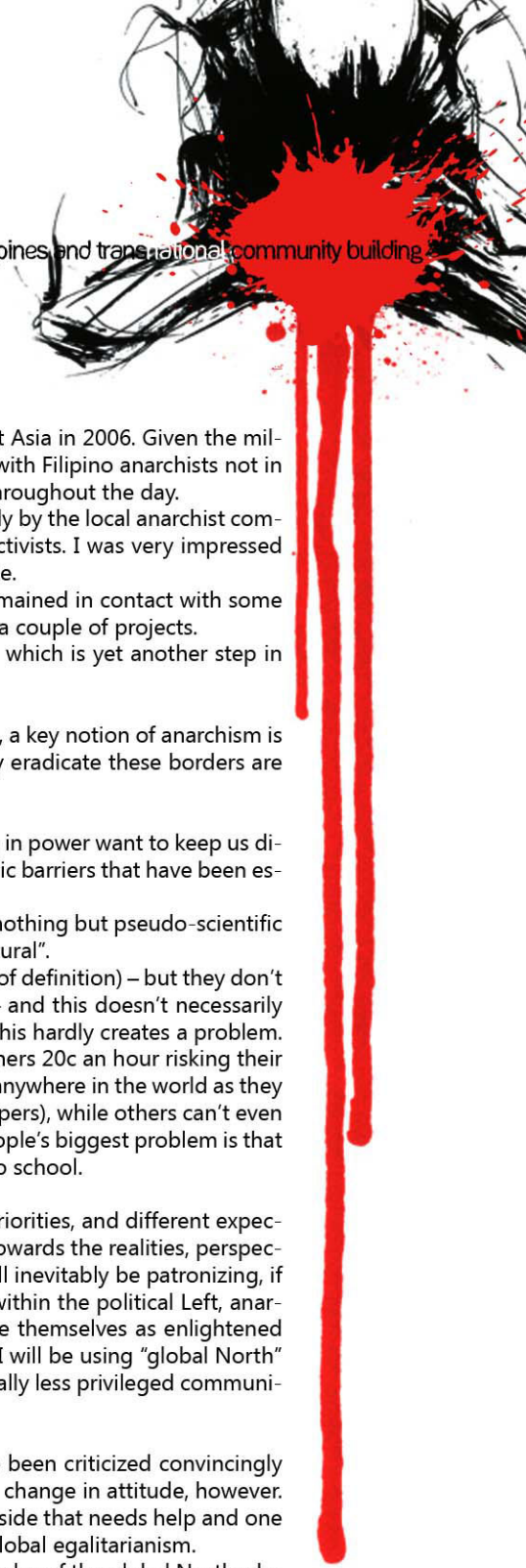
Transnational connections are important for anarchism. They have always been. After all, a key notion of anarchism is its opposition to the nation state. Solidarity across borders and the desire to eventually eradicate these borders are inherent in the anarchist idea.

Unfortunately, there are many obstacles to make this come true. Not only because those in power want to keep us divided – by class, race, gender, and nation – but also because of the international economic barriers that have been established between people in the course of colonial history. All international separation rests on economic barriers. So-called “cultural barriers” are nothing but pseudo-scientific attempts to justify this. The international separation of communities is created, not “natural”. Maybe there exist cultural differences between people (which is probably a mere matter of definition) – but they don't necessarily create barriers. Each individual is different from each other individual too – and this doesn't necessarily create barriers either. When some people like to eat mashed potatoes and others rice, this hardly creates a problem. What creates a problem is when some people earn \$30 an hour pushing papers and others 20c an hour risking their lives on rickety construction sites. What creates a problem is when some people can go anywhere in the world as they please (both because they can afford to and because they will be issued the required papers), while others can't even travel to the capital city of their home country. What creates a problem is when some people's biggest problem is that their pet dog's favorite food is out of stock, while others are unable to send their kids to school.

It is economic injustice that creates different realities, different perspectives, different priorities, and different expectations. If those in a privileged economic position are not aware of this, their attitudes towards the realities, perspectives, priorities, and expectations of those who do not share their privileged position will inevitably be patronizing, if not outright arrogant and (neo)colonial. Unfortunately, economically privileged folks within the political Left, anarchists included, make no exception here. Leftists in the global North often enough see themselves as enlightened modernists who have to save those in the global South. (Due to a lack of better terms, I will be using “global North” and “global South” in this text as a shorthand for economically privileged and economically less privileged communities in the global context.)

Today, anarchists in the global North hardly ever express such views openly. They have been criticized convincingly enough to be more cautious with the words they choose. This does not always reflect a change in attitude, however. Many discussions of “aid” and “development” still imply the conviction that there is one side that needs help and one side that is able to provide it. Needless to say, this is not exactly a promising basis for global egalitarianism. Arguably, there has been a credible change of attitude in certain radical and anarchist circles of the global North who might have indeed overcome a colonial mindset. They understand not only that it is nothing but economic privilege that puts them in a position where they have something to give, but also that what they have to give is largely reduced to material resources.

Some anarchists, most notably the so-called anarcho-primitivists, reckon that even material aid is no real aid as it only draws people into an allegedly destructive process of civilization. According to anarcho-primitivists, we have to learn from the communities of the so-called “Fourth World”: “primitive” communities who have remained outside nation state control and global capitalism and maintain an allegedly non-alienated lifestyle in harmony with their natural instincts and their natural environments.





The danger of such a view is that it often perpetuates colonial discourse by doing little more than turning the Eurocentric coin. Romanticizing “the other” as a sort of moral corrective to one’s own vices has been part of Eurocentric colonial discourse for centuries: from Rousseau’s noble savage to the images of the South Sea paradise to modern-day esoteric bookstores filled with Celtic, Indian or Tibetan treats of wisdom. Such fantasies only affirm the distance that exists between those who consume these treats and those (the “others”) who disappear behind them.

It seems that today’s single biggest obstacle to helping transcend the barriers of global economic injustice for radicals and anarchists in the global North is the inability to cope with privilege. Guilt has become a driving factor in the way in which many of them approach economically less privileged individuals and communities. This is not to say that there is anything wrong with guilt per se. If it means admitting to one’s own privileges and feeling a personal responsibility for the structural oppression of individuals and communities with less privilege, guilt might be a useful motivational force. An acknowledgment of privilege and an acceptance of responsibility are preconditions for any privileged comrade to work effectively against its perpetuation. However, if guilt means that self-accusation – which is more strongly related to self-pity than many would think – becomes dominant and outweighs the acknowledgment of privilege and the acceptance of responsibility, then our behavior will be marked by insecurity, and not by a fighting spirit. This, in turn, reduces our anti-colonial and anti-racist politics all too often to a mere abstract commitment. We become too afraid to actually engage in community building with people outside of our own social and cultural comfort zone, because we are too afraid of “doing wrong”.

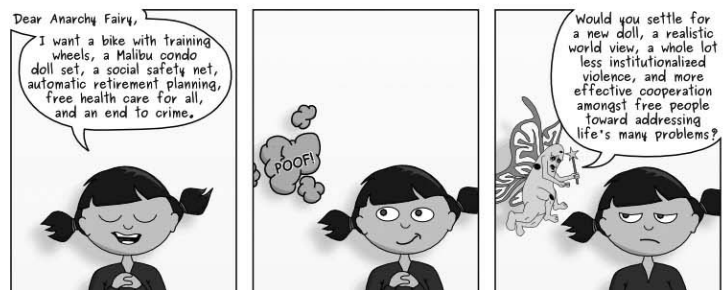
Transnational community building among comrades is the basis for any common struggle against the barriers that keep us divided. The prospects are much less dire than they might appear. Of course, there are many things that have to be taken into account when people with drastically different economic backgrounds engage in community building, and there are many sensitive matters to consider and many lessons to be learned. At the same time, people across all economic (and other) barriers share plenty in their everyday lives and desires: people of all classes and cultures can enjoy a meal together, a football game, a concert, a demonstration. And people of all classes and cultures can (and do!) understand and tolerate verbal or behavioral mishaps of those not familiar with their own social codes as long as basic respect and good will remain obvious. (In fact, the importance that activists from the global North sometimes put on rigorously adapting to the supposed social “rules” of Southern communities often implies the Eurocentric assumption that these communities are incapable of tolerance.)

Transnational anti-colonial community building has to begin with our shared everyday needs and desires. On this plane can we connect, unite, and build alliances. Once alliances have been built, we can tackle the economic differences that divide us and the political structures maintaining them. If we do not engage in transnational community building because we are afraid of doing wrong, then nothing crucial will ever change.

Anti-colonial community building is necessarily a multilateral affair. It cannot be done by a single party alone. It has to involve everyone. Of course it is of utter importance for activists from the global North to refrain from “leading” this process and to listen very carefully to the wants and intentions of their comrades. However, they cannot passively wait for others to single-handedly make the changes either. Unjust economic and social relations can only be turned into just economic and social relations if everyone changes. It will never be possible to turn everyone into masters, and it is hardly desirable to turn everyone into slaves – the goal must be to abolish both the master and the slave.

It seems obvious in which ways those who fight economic injustice can inspire those who profit from it: by educating them about their own lives and needs; by reminding them of patterns of privilege in their behavior; by inspiring them through dedicated resistance, etc. The privileged, however, can contribute to the struggle too. They can also inspire: by working on dismantling their own privileges; by taking personal risks to right some of the wrongs they profit from; by putting up dedicated resistance themselves.

In the context of the Philippines, it appears that the 1999 Seattle anti-WTO protests – which, despite a notable presence of comrades from the global South, were dominated by activists from the global North – provided major inspiration for the islands’ contemporary anarchist movement. At the same time, the Seattle protests drew a lot of inspiration from struggles of Southern communities. This only confirms the important multilateral aspect of the anti-privilege struggle. A more personal example might be the positive reception in the Philippines of a pamphlet published by Alpine Anarchist Productions, a project I have been involved with for about ten years. “The Patong Fire” tells the story of a (fictional) arson attack committed by five Euro-American travelers against tourist developments in Thailand. Apparently, many comrades in the Philippines identified with the anti-colonial critique formulated in the pamphlet. To our particular delight, Brand X, a Quezon City-based punk band, has turned the story into a punk rock song. This, in turn, inspires everyone involved with Alpine Anarchist Productions. Here an alliance has been built based on common sentiments and convictions.



It remains mandatory, of course, to never forget the unequal distribution of privilege over the alliances we build. Most importantly, activists from the global North have to remain conscious of how much easier it is for them to access resources: books, computers, money, travel documents, etc. There are different ways to share these resources: travel grants can be organized; embassies can be petitioned to grant visas; radical projects can be supported with work, ideas, materials; outlets for voices from the global South can be created in the global North, etc. This is not a matter of generosity. It is a matter of justice. What sometimes complicates the process of sharing for activists is not knowing where and how to share, being afraid of making wrong choices, wanting to reflect, or trying to avoid feeling pressured. All these are understandable concerns. Once again, it is community building that can help. If we know people, it is not only easier to share with them confidently, it is also easier for them to ask confidently. Concrete relations make all the difference.

Anarchism, as a set of principles opposed to hierarchy and authority, and as a political movement fighting for open and egalitarian communities, provides both a basis and a goal for transnational community building. It also entails a number of safety valves against dynamics that have done a lot of harm to 20<sup>th</sup> century leftist movements, also in the Philippines: sectarianism, in-fighting, internal control, even torture and killing. Anarchism is in many ways the most attractive arena in which to engage in political resistance. More and more activists in the Philippines seem to reach the same conclusion. Arguably, the biggest danger within anarchism – and the biggest argument in favor of the orthodox Left – is a potential lack of organization. There is no doubt that broad people's struggles need effective forms of organization to confront the hegemonic power of the state and capital. However, no one has ever said that anarchism is against all forms of organization. In fact, anarchism is all about organization: self-organization. What self-organization needs is individual commitment and discipline. I dare say that the success or failure of anarchist ventures depends predominantly on these qualities. Anarchists insist on not needing institutional authority to get things done. Insisting on this is easy. Proving it is the challenge.

What makes the case of the Philippines particularly interesting in the context of international anarchism is the country's rather unique colonial legacy. What separates the Philippines from most other countries in the global South is a strong entrenchment in Euro-American culture, an exceptionally high level of education, and a widespread use and command of the English language (which, for better or for worse, has become the language of international communication). For Filipino activists this means that it is easier for them than for many other activists from the global South to connect with movements in the global North and to make themselves heard.

Sometimes you can hear people speak of a "Third World anarchism" and of how important such an anarchism would be for the global anarchist movement, as it would challenge the dominance of "First World" anarchists and its (neo)colonial implications. Needless to say, a "Third World anarchism" can never be anything but a strategic phenomenon to serve this purpose. In the long term, anarchism cannot be divided into different worlds. It will be a "one world anarchism", or it will be none.

However, in the transition period that is unfortunately needed to build bridges between the worldwide anarchist communities, the Philippines could indeed play a pioneering role. Recent essays published by Bas Umali – "Archipelagic Confederation" and "Autonomous Traditions in the Archipelago" – are just one proof of this.

A couple of years ago I started discussing the compilation of an English book on anarchism in the Philippines with some Filipino comrades. I still think that this would be a wonderful project. Its importance would go way beyond the Philippines themselves. From what I understand, the question of language was debated at length. It makes perfect sense that some comrades would want to focus on publishing in Tagalog rather than in English. This would without doubt help to tie one's politics closer to local realities. The advantage of English is obviously international transparency. Eventually, of course, the answer does not have to be an either-or. In the long term, it can be a both-and.

Regardless of matters of language, the anarchist movement in the Philippines is bound to leave an impact, nationally as much as internationally. What might be most important is that, no matter what they tell you and no matter how desperate the situation looks, there is never reason to give up. There are always ways to make our own individual lives and the lives of our communities better and the power of the state and capital weaker. There are always ways to inspire those without power and to trouble those with too much. There are always ways to keep the dream of a better world alive and to challenge the realities that claim to be unchangeable. The beauty of anarchism lies not (only) in some distant utopia, but in every moment of rebellion, self-determination and solidarity. In the Philippines as much as anywhere else.

Gabriel Kuhn







## sketches of an archipelagic poetics of postcolonial belonging

Sketches of an Archipelagic Poetics of Postcolonial Belonging

BY: maryamdeluz

One of the great ironies of anti-imperialist movements in the Global South is that, despite their purported goal of liberating themselves from western cultural hegemony and political control, they arguably have yet to decolonise themselves of western imperialist logics; for example, those Enlightenment-derived logics pertaining to the transcendence of reason, the human, and the nation-state. The National Democratic Movement (NDM) in the Philippines is no exception. This is a revolutionary nationalist (and more specifically, Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) movement, spearheaded by the Communist Party of the Philippines and its armed wing, the New People's Army. It has, from the Communist Party's founding in 1968 through to the present day, been engaged in continuous struggle against the liberal democratic Philippine state, seen as a puppet of Anglo-American imperialism. Being nationalist in character, the movement accepts the nation-state project as final and inevitable, with its notions of community and belonging therefore restricted within the premises of compartmentalised, national space. Its goal is to wrest control of the insular geography of the nation-state from the insular, albeit expansive, geography of empire. It resists imperial homogenisation across transnational space, but replicates these homogenising imperatives within the bounds of the nation-state-space it aims to liberate. Thus, despite resisting external domination, the NDM, like all revolutionary nationalist movements, contains powerful structures of internal domination. Nationalism in this sense might even be considered as a kind of 'internal imperialism'. As Chua Beng Huat (2008, p. 235) writes, Philippine nationalists did not erase Anglo-American imperialist ideology, 'but rather "Filipinized" it as part of their own nationalist ideology'. The modernist epistemology underpinning the NDM renders it largely intolerant of difference, reducing the multiplicity of cultural identities in the Philippines to a unity; that is, to a single, homogenous conception of what it means to be a 'true' and 'authentic' Filipino.

In effect, then, the Philippines, despite being an archipelago, is discursively rendered as mere island. Starting from the premise that revolutionary nationalism constitutes an anachronism in the current context, I will argue in this paper that there is an urgent need to refound struggle upon new imaginaries of social space. To these ends, I would like to propose the 'archipelago' as an alternative imaginary to the centralising, homogenising, and essentialising schema of nation-state or 'island' space. The new archipelagic poetics which I am proposing would valorise what John Tomlinson (1999) calls 'complex connectivity', rather than homogenous 'unity', allowing for commonalities to be constructed across differences, rather than at the expense of them. It would furthermore allow for notions of community and belonging to become refounded on affinities rather than essences, rendering the Philippines as a multiplicitous translocal community, rather than a unitary national one. Importantly, the various nodes of the Filipino diaspora might also be considered as part of the archipelago.

Before proceeding, however, it will be necessary to delve into a deeper discussion of that which I will be differentiating the archipelago from; that being, the modernist conception of social space, for which I am employing the trope of the island.

### Island space and its discontents

In a recent article, the postcolonial literary theorist, Antonis Balasopoulos (2008, p. 9) coined the term 'nesology' to refer to the 'discursive production of insularity', with the prefix 'neso-' deriving from the Greek root for 'island'. The descriptor, 'nesological', then, is used figuratively by Balasopoulos (2008) to speak of phenomena commonly rendered or perceived as bounded and insular; that is to say, island-like. The 'bounded morphological schema of the island' (Balasopoulos 2008, p. 13) becomes the analogue and archetype for all the circumscribed entities that populate the modernist imaginary; for example, the individual, the body, the society, and so on. The nation-state is perhaps the example par excellence.

The nation-state-centric view of the world could in fact be seen as an extension of the 'nesological' worldviews of Isaac Newton and Immanuel Kant, to whom much of modernist thought is indebted. Their vision is one of a stable universe composed of discrete, bounded entities. In effect, it sees only of islands of order, at the same time forgetting that there is a whole ocean out there; an ocean that mixes the things of the world. It is blind to the chaos from which all actuality is generated, preoccupying itself instead with the imposition of order; that is, with a vain attempt at the taxonomisation and encoding of all reality. The Newtonian-Kantian ontology of order sees the world we are born into as always already mapped out in a series of contiguous, stable, à priori categories, in effect imposing a stark geometry of inside and outside upon thought. This, in turn, gives rise to an epistemically-violent logic of 'either-or' in which difference can only be conceived of in absolute terms.

Since nationalism invariably valorises unity over multiplicity (in other words, island space over archipelagic space), it is simply unable to account for flux or heterogeneity, therefore marginalising or ignoring by default alternative forms of

experience which overspill or evade the nationalist frame. The Philippines, then, despite being a rich site of cultural hybridity is discursively naturalised as a unitary national community – one history, one people, one telos, and so on – by nationalist scholars. From this perspective, multiplicity and hybridity represent ‘pollution and impurity’ (Gilroy 1993, p. 2). The liminal and the ambiguous are rendered as threatening, renegade elements that either need to become wholly, often forcibly, incorporated into the ‘inside’ or else banished to the ‘outside’. This is the same disastrous logic which led to the horrendous purges within the NDM in the late eighties.

Certainly, it must be admitted that modernist, and more specifically, nationalist, forms of belonging have undergone somewhat of a resurgence in recent times which is, of course, seemingly at odds with many of the triumphalist assertions of early scholars of globalisation that the increasing integration of the world would automatically lead to more post-nationalist and cosmopolitan dispositions. Franco Berardi (2008, p. 139) contends that the increased appeal of nationalism and other forms of absolutism in fact followed on from ‘the panic unleashed by the postmodern condition’. This is precisely because, from the perspective of the world that is being lost, postmodernity becomes associated with processes of social fragmentation and disintegration. If we shift our gaze, however, to the world that is being made (instead of just that which is being lost), postmodernity is soon able to become understood in terms of a more positive conception of ‘complex connectivity’ (Tomlinson 1999). It is not only that social relations are disintegrating, but also that they are changing and being reconstituted. Postmodernity, therefore, is not just about the ‘collapse of grand narratives’ (Lyotard 1984), but is also about the fomentation of new subjectivities, the liberation of ‘subversive multiplicities’ (Butler 1990), and the proliferation of innumerable micro-narratives that refuse conformity to all the old categories and constants of modernity.

### **Towards an archipelagic reconfiguration of social space**

In a brief online article by Filipino anarchist writer, Bas Umali (2006, p. 5), a startling proposition is made; one calling for the dismantling of the Philippine nation-state and the implementation of an ‘archipelagic confederation’ in its place. Umali’s (2006) vision is presented as a stateless, anarchist alternative to the state socialist goal of ‘National Democracy’ as proposed by José Maria Sison, the founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines and principal theorist of the NDM. An archipelagic confederation would, in Umali’s (2006, p. 18) words, be ‘a structure that connects and interlinks politically and economically every community in the archipelago’, without the need for a centralised state. It would consist of networks of autonomous villages (barangays), together comprising regional assemblies in which translocal coordination could take place. These regional assemblies, in turn, would constitute an archipelago-wide assembly. Importantly, this vision balances local autonomy with regional solidarity and coordination. The local is not disregarded or deemed subservient to the national, as is the case with the nation-state. The goal is one of constructing heterogeneous affinities between autonomous localities, not one of enforcing homogenous conformity to a higher centralised authority.

Questions of whether or not it is at all possible to bring about an archipelagic confederation in practical terms is, for me, beside the point. Putting all such questions aside, what is most important about Umali’s (2006) proposal is the very fact that such a postnationalist reimagining of social space has taken – and is taking – place. Umali’s (2006) vision could perhaps be seen as symptomatic of some more profound mutations of subjectivity currently being engendered under conditions of postmodernity. In addition, it is a not insignificant fact that such a decentralised, network-oriented, and translocal reimagining of social space has emerged from the specifically anarchist milieu in the Philippines. Anarchism, as a current of radical political thought and practice, has, after all, always defined itself in opposition to centralised power and to the homogenous collectivities favoured by state socialist thought. It is also becoming an increasingly attractive option for radical young activists in the Philippines, who have understandably become disillusioned with the Maoist orthodoxy of the NDM, which for so long had enjoyed hegemonic status on the Philippine Left.

Following Umali (2006), perhaps we can reclaim the term used to refer to the Philippines before it was constituted as a modern nation-state; that term being, simply, the ‘Philippine archipelago’. According to Fijian anthropologist, Epeli Hau’ofa (2008b, p. 33), the pre-colonial world was one ‘in which people and cultures moved and mingled, unhindered by boundaries of the kind erected much later by imperial powers’. What he wrote of the South Pacific is also much the case with pre-colonial Philippines: ‘From one island to another they sailed to trade and to marry, thereby expanding social networks for greater flows of wealth’ (Hau’ofa 2008b, p. 33). These maritime flows have historically been of central importance in the constitution of cultural identities in the Philippines. This is evident in the fact that ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippine archipelago do not map with particular islands, but rather, with particular maritime regions. For example, the Cebuano language is spoken on the island of Cebu, as well as in the eastern portion of Negros and the western portion of Leyte, both of which face Cebu. As a further example, Waray is spoken on the island of Samar as well as in Eastern Leyte which faces Samar. Culture can therefore be seen to be produced in flows. Indeed, no culture is an island.

The sea, then, does not constitute a barrier, but rather, a connective tissue crossed by perpetual flows. The importance of the trope of the archipelago is exactly this; that it shifts attention away from compartmentalised island space and redirects our gaze towards the relational space of the sea. In this sense, the archipelago, as I conceive of it here, is not reducible to a mere aggregate of scattered territorial surfaces or a collection of individual islands. Instead, what is significant about the archipelago is the sea between – a site of a multiple series of relationships that are never fixed, but constantly

in flux. The networked space of the archipelago which I am attempting to articulate here finds resonance in Stéphane Dufoix's (2008, p. 63) notion of 'atopic space' which he describes as 'a space of more than a place, a geography with no other territory than the space described by the networks... a territory without terrain'. It is important to note here that the local is in no way erased by atopic or archipelagic space; it is just that it is seen as inextricably connected to, and enriched by, the translocal, itself enriching the translocal in turn.

The question I would like to pose at this point is: Would it at all be possible to find belonging or construct community in a 'territory without terrain' as Dufoix (2008, p. 63) puts it? We have hitherto only been able to imagine belonging in terms of compartmentalised island space. Perhaps it is time to consider, instead, the possibility of making a home for ourselves in the archipelagic sea; that is to say, to construct new forms of belonging based on affinities, rather than essences. 'Essences' are those attributes constituting a rigid, invariable ideal to which people must conform. Essence-based collectivities thus impose strict criteria for membership and are intolerant of difference. I use the term 'affinity', in contrast, to describe those social solidarities which ride, rather than erase, difference. A necessary recognition of the world and everything in it as irreducibly plural and multivalent in fact lies at the heart of the archipelagic poetics that I am proposing in this paper. An archipelagic poetics would resist any attempt to reduce a multiplicity to a unity. Homogenous unity should not, as is the case with nationalism, be considered a precondition for life in common, since it is entirely possible for commonalities or affinities to be constructed between different elements without necessarily effacing their heterogeneity. As Balasopoulos (2008, p. 18) argues, we need to recognise 'the simultaneous provenance of singularity and interconnectedness constituting the experience of the world'.

Significantly, in place of the modernist revolutionary projects of old (of which that of the NDM in the Philippines is a prime example), Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2004) articulate the possibility of a new revolutionary project; one centred around the concept of the 'multitude'. The multitude is described, simply, as 'singularities that act in common' (Hardt and Negri 2004, p. 105). Instead of the homogenising notions of the nation or the working class, then, struggle is refounded on a radical plurality of agents, which are nevertheless able to forge a common project. Such is the case with the alternative globalisation movement today. There are also a number of other important examples which could be invoked. Third Wave feminism and the queer liberation movement, for instance, have been at the cutting edge of articulating and inventing a new postmodern politics of the sort that the concept of the 'multitude' attempts to capture and describe. If we accept Jeffrey Juris' (2008) perspective of social movements as laboratories of alternative values and practices, then we cannot afford to ignore the nascent forms of subjectivity emerging from these milieux. Alternative futures are indeed pre-figured in the present. Queer identity perhaps serves as a perfect example of a multivalent identity, with plurality and flux inextricably structured into it from the beginning. There is no one way of being queer, and queer circles certainly do not require conformity to any *a priori* essences. On the contrary, diversity is valued in its own right. Such is the radical shift in thinking that an archipelagic poetics would hope to bring about.

## Conclusion

I would like to propose, in conclusion, that the task of an archipelagic poetics in the current context would be to foment new, multivalent, archipelagic forms of identity and community, in ways which refuse and overflow the boundaries and terms of compartmentalised island space. Not only would it seek to spark new forms of sociality and ways of being in the world, but would also attempt to make explicit that which is already implicit. As I conjectured earlier, perhaps Umali's (2006) vision of an archipelagic confederation is reflective of deeper mutations of subjectivity currently being engendered in the collective psyche through processes associated with postmodernity. An archipelagic poetics would grope towards a language better able to articulate the postcolonial present, for instance, favouring fluid 'seabound' metaphors and tropes over static, 'earthbound' ones. As has been emphasised throughout this paper, it would also serve as a valuable and much-needed antidote to the 'tragic popularity of ideas about the integrity and purity of cultures' (Gilroy 1993, p. 7), aiming to undo the block to thought that is the nation, thereby opening up new possibilities for liberation.

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three stars  
and a sun

[bahay kubo kahit munti]

Three Stars and a Sun [bahay kubo kahit munti]

By: Dagami

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#### Outline of Discussion

- I. The Evil Empire from the West [exogenous factor]
  - II. Bathala, Diwata, Anyito and Ninuno Subdued [internal weakness]
  - III. Disease from the West [baranganic resistance abandoned]
  - IV. Filipino Identity, a Product of Coercive Processes
  - V. References
- 

#### **The Evil Empire from the West [exogenous factor]**

The menace of expansionist policies of the West changed the lives of our ancestors forever. The consequences of these changes still determine our lives today: poverty, ignorance, subjugation, political marginalisation, loss of identity and self-determination, resource degradation.

Magellan kept his words to King Charles, passed the great American continent and indeed opened a new route to island of spice. Trinidad reached Limasawa then Cebu.

Lapu-Lapu's uncompromising attitude against the Spaniards proved to be right and Raja Homabon's hostile behavior towards them later might indicate his realization about the diabolic intentions of the conquerors.

The Spanish government sent more expeditions between 1525 and 1542. The one of Miguel Lopez de Legaspi was the breakthrough. Upon receiving orders from the Audencia of Mexico, four ships carrying 350 men sailed off to the archipelago and successfully captured Cebu and later Manila and its surrounding provinces (de la Costa, 1965).

From then on, the regalian doctrine took effect in the archipelago based on the capacity of the centralised government that received orders from Spain. This meant that all natural resources of the archipelago became royal property, and all of its inhabitants royal subjects with obligations to obey royal orders.

#### **Bathala, Diwata, Anyito and Ninuno Subdued [internal weakness]**

The Spaniards imposed a new social order wherein political, economic and cultural affairs were centralised under their control. An abstract large-scale community, an organised centralised structure, was introduced – but not without blood. Pockets of resistance – like those of Tamblot (Bohol), Bancao (Leyte), Sumoroy (Samar), Tapar (Iloilo), Witch (Mangungutud o Mangkukulam) in Gapang (Nueva Ecija) – emerged. Pedro Gumapos (Vigan), Diego and Gabriela Silang (Vigan) Mandaya, Basi Revolt (Ilocos), Dabao (Caraga, Mindanao) and many more scored substantial successes but were quickly subdued.

Oppressive policies and practices such as encomienda, taxation, polo system and discrimination caused revolts. Christianity, however, was successful. Successive missionaries captured our ancestors' deep spirituality, thus winning their loyalty – which explained numerous cases of betrayal that caused revolts to fail.

If our ancestors had discovered that they could use traditional archipelagic networks of support, they could have won the war.

It is difficult to know when the people in the archipelago began to consider themselves as a nation rather than simply as Tagalogs, Ilokanos, Visayans, or members of any specific tribe. However, it is reasonable to suppose that the oppressive conditions established common sentiments against the colonizers (de la Costa, 1965).

#### **Disease from the West [decentralized system abandoned]**

The oppressive conditions that could not be transcended by the pockets of resistance continued until the Enlightenment age in Europe. Reason and science prevailed and became influential at the global scale. Rebels and intellectuals like Bonifacio, Rizal, del Pilar, Mabini, Luna and others did use this influence from European ideas to drive the Spanish away.

The Katipunan claimed sovereignty. Sovereignty would mean the abolition of oppressive conditions that were approved by huge numbers of poor and under-privileged. This would be done by staging revolution and creating a republic with a centralised government that will rule the entire archipelago. The community beyond face-to-face politics thus established and further reinforced by Americans.

The few privileged had their own way of creating nationhood. According to Josephine Dionisio's introduction to Randy David's book *Nation, Self and Citizenship: An Invitation to Sociology*, the Filipino nation is in part an invention of European-educated Filipino intellectuals who we know now as our heroes.

Katipunan and its idea of sovereignty became the viable expression of freedom to many locals who were already influenced by the centralistic system brought by the Spanish monarchy and its political organisations.

The primitive autonomous and interdependent barangays were not sufficient to resist the organizational patterns of the colonizers that were said to be superior to the primitive structures. This is only true if we measure superiority by conquest. The colonial patterns are designed to colonize while the primitive structures are characterized by cooperation, diversity and the absence of private property.

The context discussed above reinforced the idea of statism among the rebels. The conceived territory which is the archipelago was to be governed by a uniform centralised political power that later expounded by statist Pan-Germanic form of nationalism.

The term Tagalog used by Bonifacio refers to the entire archipelago (Reyes, 1995) represents our early concept of nation. The concept of "Inang Bayan" or "Haring Bayan" is the earliest large-scale imagined community that represents the idea of nationhood among the Katipuneros and its supporters. Imagined because the face-to-face process of barangays has been replaced by highly centralised political organisation based on the idea of republicanism and representative democracy – generally derived from the principles of "Declaration of Rights of Man and the Citizen" of the Revolutionary Assembly in France on August 27, 1789.

### **Filipino Identity, a Product of Coercive Processes**

As history shows, the conclusion of the Philippines as a nation is due to long coercive processes of colonisation that continue until today. Physically, colonizers are gone, but their supremacy deeply and profoundly penetrates our values and prejudices, our culture and developmental perspective.

Anderson considered nationalism a pathology in our modern developmental history. The Philippines as a nation is indeed a pathology that undermined our autonomous traditions, interdependent and horizontal political relationships based on mutual-cooperation.

Nationalism and statism are illnesses that destroyed the desirable conditions of the primitive communities in the archipelago. Primitive barangays did engage in warfare among themselves. For instance, inhabitants of Mindanao and Panay exchanged attacks on a regular basis. Tribal war commonly known as head hunting was also typical among tribes in northern Luzon. Largely, common causes of attacks and raids were revenge, betrayal of a pact and unresolved dispute of territorial claims – but not to dominate and to rule.

Highly decentralised they were, but in permanent warfare they were not. Interdependent relationships provided overall mutual protection and benefits and were common among primitive communities.

The term "Filipino" originally refers to an individual born in the archipelago by Spanish parents. Currently, many of us regard Filipino as our superior identity that is upheld by many groups, tribes, ethnolinguistic identity and geographical affiliation in the archipelago. This goes for basically everyone except tribes that remain isolated and people in the southern Philippines who aim to secede and to establish a Muslim nation.

Our sense of nationalism and identity as Filipino was particularly high during the times when revolutionary fervor was strong within us – especially during the Katipunan uprising, People Power I, II and III. However, the meaning of our identity as Filipino continuously changes. After the two major political exercises in EDSA, social and economic conditions have not changed. Unemployment is steadily increasing, hunger is prevalent, political marginalisation is alarming, and ecological destruction is rampant throughout the archipelago and has caused the loss of livelihood of millions. After billions of pesos have already been spent on an agrarian reform that started during the Aquino regime, this reform is still far from completion.

Prices of basic commodities are increasing fast while workers' wages barely move. The peso is gaining strength in relation to the dollar to the detriment of the OFWs who deliver substantial value in government revenues. Corruption is deemed "acceptable" in our culture.

We are maids in Europe and Singapore, prostitutes in Japan, and underpaid workers in the international seafaring industry (David, 2002), while the characteristics of our lives at home are obedience, passivity, individualism, opportunism, corruption, dependency due to the exogenous forces brought by colonisation, centralization of power, capitalism and relationships based on competition and hierarchy. These conditions further facilitate the process of decadence of the meaning of "Filipino" that established through coercive processes.

Upon acquiring ideas from the West, native rebels felt compelled to adopt and invent "Filipino" as a national identity to effectively fight Spanish colonizers. The statist framework that governs the Katipunan reinforced this and we totally veered away from the decentralised fashion of the primitive organisations.

Ultimately, the creation of our identity as a nation and as a Filipino did not come from our own cultural, political and social conditions and self-determination. It came from oppression, slavery, aggression, arrogance and the dominance of the West. The pioneer dwellers of the archipelago up to the baranganic phase were neither Christians, republicans nor parliamentarians nor corporate leaders nor bureaucrats. They were hunters, gatherers, fishers, farmers with their own industries. They had their own decentralised system of politics, autonomous and interdependent. They had rich diverse culture and a generally prosperous economy that sustained massive trading activities with China, Malaysia, and Indonesia and even Siam (Thailand).

Jose Rizal wrote in his essay "The Indolence of the Filipino People":

"All histories of those first years, in short, abound in long accounts about the industry and agriculture of the natives: mines, gold-washings, looms, farms, barter, naval construction, raising of poultry and stock, weaving of silk and cotton, distilleries, manufactures of arms, pearl fisheries, the civet industry, the horn and hide industry, etc., are things encountered at every step, and, considering the time and condition of the islands, prove that there was life, there was activity, there was movement."

He further explained that:

"And not only, Morga, not only Chirino, Colin, Argensola, Gaspar de San Agustin and others agree in this matter, but modern travelers after 250 years, examining the decadence, and misery assert the same thing. Dr. Hans Meyer, when he saw the unsubdued tribes cultivating beautiful fields and working energetically, asked if they would not become indolent when they in turn should accept Christianity and a paternal government."

Evidently, the state – through its government and with the help of Christianity – oppressed, enslaved and corrupted us – while at the same time creating and reinforcing the Filipino identity and nation.

The Philippine nation and the Filipino citizen have never delivered concrete expressions of democracy and prosperity for the lives of the many. In fact, these notions undermined the freedom and abundance of the primitive communities.

I do not propose splitting up into several unrelated and hostile groups or anything like that. The earlier discussion informed us already that this is not part of the autonomous and interdependent wisdom that I wish to explore. The theme of mutual cooperation and the absence of social stratification characterized the primitive communities, particularly Pisan tribal groups, between 50,000 to 500 BC. We can gain insights from this in order to imagine our future political communities. Communities that will allow total

diversity and that will concretely address social problems such as poverty, ignorance, massive ecological destruction, as well as all forms of abuse, discrimination and political marginalisation.

Reestablishing this decentralised system under a non-statist framework is a sound proposition particularly because the statist alternatives are increasingly losing their appeal to the citizens of the archipelago. Redefining "Filipino" based on a non-statist paradigm is the key to overcome the mentioned social problems. Reviving our lost identity means regaining our lost freedom and abundance from the centralistic systems of the state and capitalism.

In our modern age, decentralised, autonomous and interdependent could mean the following: direct workers' control of industries and factories; direct management of employees of the former government institutions for administrative functions; the collectivization of agricultural lands; direct community management of ecosystems; total respect and recognition of the indigenous claims to ancestral lands and waters; direct participation of the community, producers, workers, women, youth, gays, lesbians, senior citizens and sidewalk vendors to economic and social planning; the socialization of facilities such as housing, health services, water and energy supply – substantial time for socialization is an essential human activity that must be reinstated in the actual application of direct democracy.

Making politics accessible to every family is what counts. What we need is the widest participation of the people from the communities and localities. The system of representative democracy is not designed to accommodate people's participation in power and we must replace this with direct democracy, a political system that offers a genuine participation to power by being organised in decentralised fashion based on the principles of solidarity and mutual cooperation.

The proposed system requires a dialectical process of educating citizens in every municipality and barangay with regard to the idea of self-determination, deep and radical ecological awareness, cooperation, solidarity, mutuality, diversity and productivity. In a broad stroke, these processes will bring people to voluntarily organise based on their interests at the municipal, city or barangay level. Voluntary structures will actively participate in decision-making at public places facilitated by administrative councils. It should be noted that members of administrative councils function only to facilitate the implementation of the agreed system. They do not have any authority or privilege.

The survival of humanity is strictly connected to the health of global ecology. Its condition is deteriorating fast. This is due to anthropocentrism and hierarchical relationship of human being.

The higher the position in a hierarchical structure the greater the access to power and benefits. This promotes competition and relationships between people that revolve around incentives and privilege. Incentives entice people to produce more for the markets and shops which will result in massive extraction of natural resources and the exploitation of the earth as a sink. This causes ecological crises. Accumulation of incentive of the few "winners" leads to poverty and marginalisation of the many.

Before the global ecology turns into total waste, people of the world must find ways to innovate relationships and systems that will replace political hierarchy and centralization of incentives and benefits of streams. We must do it swiftly.

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