Ang Potensyal na Anarkistang Tendensiya ng Dili-man Commune

Ang Militansa ng Black Bloc at Ang Papel ng Property Destruction sa mga Kampanyang 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 barangay (an autonomous political unit commonly considered as the earliest form of government). Barangay 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 Ilongot (Bohol), Bantos (Leyte), Sumoroy (Samar), Tapers (Siquijor), Witch (Manggogout or Manggukuran) in Gapan (Nueva Ecija), Malong in Pangasinan, Pedro Gumapos (Vigan), Diego and Gabriela Silang (Vigan) Men- deya, Basi Revolt (Soccs), Davao (Cagayan, 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.

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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Upon acquiring ideas from the West, native rebels felt compelled to adopt and invent "Filipino" as 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’ ousting, 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 90s, 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 mid-90s, 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 Red.Arm. Seventh bloc, the mother organization that retained the name of the CPP and still maintain the largest resources, including the most active armed movement of 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 anarcho-shi) shudder is their recent obs- session to electoral politics, justified as a tactic. All of the mainstream left groups are now involved in the party list, and not only 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 tech- nology 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-expect 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 in- centives would only lead to massive exploitation of natural resources and consequently, 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 ac- quire 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 act) 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, Cam- bodia, 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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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 coexisting, exploiting and extinguishing myriad organisms that essentially occupy space in a whole circle of global ecology.

**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 production 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.

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 centralized federal 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 nationality. According to Josephine Dionisio’s introduction to Randy David’s book Nationality and Citizenship. As an Institution 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 nationality became the viable expression of freedom to many locals who were already influenced by the centralist system brought by the Spanish monarchy and its political organizations.

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 centralized political power that later expanded by state-Par-Germanic form of nationalism.

The term Tagalog used by Bonifacio refers to the entire archipelago (Bayan, 1995) represents our early concept of nation. The concept of “Biyang Bayan” or “Haring Bayan” is the earliest large-scale imagined community that represents the idea of national hood among the Katipuneros and its supporters. Imagined because the face-to face process of barangays has been replaced by highly centralized political organization 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 development of the Philippines as a nation is due to long coercive processes of colonization 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. Generally, common causes of attacks and raids were revenge, betrayal of pact and unresolved dispute of territorial claims – but not to dominate and to rule.

Highly decentralized they were, but in permanent warfare they were not. Interdependent relationships provided overall mutual protection and benefits were more 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 national and identity as Filipino was particularly high during the times when revolutionaries 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, malnutrition is alarming, and ecological disaster 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 complete.

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 ruled in Europe and Singapore, prostitutes in Japan, and underpaid workers in the international outsourcing 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 decalcification of the meaning of “Filipino” that established through coercive processes.
Outline of Discussion

1. The Evil Empire from the West (exogenous factor)

2. Barhala, Davao, Anjlo and Ninuno Subdued [Internal weakness]

3. Disease from the West [Barangarianic resistance abandoned]

4. Filipino Identity, a Product of Corruptive Processes

5. 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 opened a new island to a race of spics. Trinidad reached Limasale then Cebu.

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

The Spanish government sent more expeditions between 1525 and 1542. The one of Miguel López de Legazpi was the break-through. 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 regulative 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.

Batulha, Davao, Anjlo y Ninuno Subdued [Internal weakness]

The Spanish 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 Tambikit (Bislu), Bancana (Bayta), Sumherti (Samar), Tapar (Balit), Which (Maruangdubu et Mangabulak) in Gagapan (Bunana Erjat)— emerged. Pedro Guampas (Vigan), Diego y Gabriela Sling (Vigan) Mandyata, Basi Retort (Bocos), Dablos (Catara, Mindanao) and many more scored substantial successes but were quickly subdued.

Oppressive policies and practices such as encomienda, taxation, police 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 Tagalogos, Bohinos, Visayanos, 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. Hebels and intellectuals like Bonifacio, Rizal, del Pilar, Mabini, Luna and others did use this influence from European ideas to drive the Spanish away.

Ang Potensyal na Anarkistang Tendensiyang Dilihan Commune ni Randy Omblete at Jong Perez

Konsepto ng Kupara se ‘71 Dilihan Commune: Mga Lehel ng Pakikipagkawala Tao at Sitilbuhay Pilipino sa Karanasang Dilihan Commune

DAY 0 — SITWASYON:

Pagkapatang ng ikalawang dinaagda pandagdag na nagamit ang US bilang pinakamalakas na bansa sa busog mundo, tinakalaan ang malulugay sa kontraktong ang kayayayang ng aktibismo noong dekada bago makapagsa an Dilihan 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.’

Kaliipat pa lang ng Dilihan Commune ang Unibersidad ng Pilipinas (UP) mula sa Maynila, pero ano ba ang pagbubuod sa mga estudyante na maging aktibo? Ang pinaanggapalanan ng lakas estudante ay ang eksahisong konkretong kondisyon maging sa larangan ng ideolohya at oryentasyon “Period 30, coming from Machtynias, malakas ang nationalist orientation.”


Kakayahan na gawing posible ang mga ideya at imahinasyon sa damang pagbasa ng mga sitwasyon at pangyayari. Mas maine, kung mai-agsay na ito sa mga partikular na naranasan ng mga taon. Sa kaso ng aktibismo sa UP at sitwasyon ng kilusang kabataan, tamang tema ang konkretong kondisyon para mag algas. Ang tampok na inyong panahon lamang ng dekada 70 ang mga pagpapigay ng ilang nglanding at pambalagat ang paglalakas ng mga aktibista sa pagimatay ng pagbasa ng kwapa na estudante.


DAY 01 — SIMULA NG MGA BARIKADA


At about this time, 12:30pm, while students were running away, Prof. Inocentes Campos, 64, a somber and "legendary" math professor, dressed 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 hour and half 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 tires. Prof. Campos got off, wearing a bullet vest, and fired successively his shotgun, a .22 caliber rifle and a .22 caliber revolver. The students scampired in several directions for cover. Pastor "Sonny" Sinega, a 17-year old freshman, fell down, hit thrice in the forehead.

Sa punto de bisa naman ng mga security guard ng UP: "Wala kaming magagawa. Pinaputulan ni Cang ng taglay taho ng mga kaibigan. Ang ogang malusit na alak ay walang laban sa kan- yang rango." Mobilis ang mga paggaganap, walang pagpapalano maliban sa paggagawang ng bari- kado upang magsalita ang simpaty kay suporta sa mga magagawa ng mga tao; walang na- kaisip na may magalabari at mamayat.

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,上门人，beta sigmatis, sigman rhoes, and the unaffiliated.

Ang partispasyon ng karanian wa ng na sumang-ayon sa pagkilos mula sa simpleng pakli- sama sa hanigang ng mga tao sa magagawa ng mula malaking Strike, dulot ng sitwasyon, ay humantong sa direkang pakligalakhan. Ang tinutukoy na umuulan ng mga tao ay nagiging kun- nidad, kung itutulak pa, nagiging seng makte na ito na umaeender maging na hindi kinalalangan ng operador.

Iba na ang konteksto ng pagbabalakdala, mula sa pagpupuntu sa pagtalima ng mga tao sa punasan, nabaling ang pagbabalakad sa pagbabigay ng protesto sa komunidad ng UP, nagiging ang siling ng mga bakada mula sa pagiging konkreto ay nagiging simboliko: The barricade is not only 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 nagaganap ng mga gobyerno, mga administrador, mga magiging 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 ac- corded by revolutionaries.

Mayroon ng mga pabor; geyembre meron din nam ang hindi: "The barricades, per se for the strike were good. But not when the students started using them for barricading, when they ransacked the Chem laboratories for chemicals, when they created anarchy within the university." Tingnan natin mawala ng taiso ang anak. at anarkismo.

DAY 02 — LABANAN SA DILIMAN

Ito namang ang partispasyon ng mga administrador sa Diliman Commune:

SP Lopez tried to summarise the issues: "the militarization of the university, and protests against it have become a way of life.

The students corrected him: his issues, actually, Mr. Ray Osa said, was the price of oil and the dictates of imperial cartels on the national economy: the integrity of the university was second only.

Pero nag mag aabot ng mga tao ng mga administrador at mga magiging residente sa lebel ng pakligalakhan, sinusubukang ng Presidente na kumain ang pang ng mga studente. "Kinosang yung student leaders, sinabi yung mga demands. Sabi ni SP Lopez, "You better be more re- siistant! I'm losing my job!" Sabi ng mga studente, "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 studente, akademiko at mga tao ng UP ang labanan. Ang tungtunga'y makikita rin maging sa mga interes ng mga magiging residente ng UP, maging ang Deang ng Nau ng College of Arts and Sciences ay nakikita sa Diliman Commune subalit pinagbagay niya ito pagkatapos:

Si Cesar Muyj, he paid for it, yung bumbage. "If they're going to attack from there, we'll have a barricade," he said. "Assembly line, walong commende, pero may basic script, nakikinig na rin ako. Ketangan na may barricade. Sabi ni Muyj, "We can't say what we would burn these with, bring those curtains down." Araykan na, walang gasolina. Pagrest, retire muna, pinasabayan lahat ng UP. Siningal lahat from his retirement pay.

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 objective more than the space described by the network...’, a territory without borders... and one where, in the words of Dufoix (2008, p. 63) puts it: We have hitherto only been able to imagine geographies in terms of compartmentalised island space. Perhaps it is time to consider, instead, the possibility of making a home for ourselves in the archipelagic space, that is to say, to construct new forms of belonging based on affinities, rather than essences. ‘Essences’ are those mindfucks which pit nationalistic ideas against each other and which produce ennui. Dufoix and others argue that other tendencies thus impose strict criteria for membership and are intolerant of difference. I use the term ‘affinity’, in contrast, to describe those social solidarities which rid, rather than arouse, difference. A necessary recognition of the world and every- thing in it is irreducibly plural and inflects what fact lies at the heart of the archipelagic pandemonium proposed in this paper. An archipelagic poetical space would attempt to reframe any 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 com- monalities or affinities to be constructed from different elements without necessarily effacing their heterogeneity. As Balexopoulos (2008, p. 18) argues, we need to recognise ‘the simultaneous provenance of singularity and interconnect- edness constituting the experience of the world’.

Significantly, in the 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. 109). Instead of the homogenising notions of the nation or the working class, then, struggle is re-framed 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 in- volved. Third Wave feminism and the queer liberation movement, for instance, have been at the cutting edge of articulat- ing and inventing a new postmodern politics of the sort that the concept of the ‘multitude’ attempts to capture and de- scribe. If we accept Jeffrey Jutsi’s (2008) perspective of social movements as laboratories of alternative values and prac- tices, 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 fluidity inseparably structured into it from the beginning. There is no way of being queer, and queer itself certainly do not require conformity to any pri a i s or essences. On the contrary, diversity is valued in its own right. Such is the radical shift in thinking that an archipelagic poetic would hope to bring about.

Conclusion

I would like to propose, in the task of an archipelagic poetic in the current context would be to forge new, multivalued, archipelagic forms of identity and community, in ways which refuse and bypass 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 also would attempt to make explicit what is already implicit. As I conjectured earlier, perhaps Umlal’s (2008) vision of archipelagic confederation is reflective of deeper mutations of subjectivity currently being engen- dered in the collective psyche through apocalyptic processes associated with postmodernity. An archipelagic poetical space 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 valu- able and much-needed antidote to the ‘tragic productivity of ideas about the introversion and purity of culture’ (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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experience which overshit 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). This view is rendered as threatening, negated, and contained on the walls of every social order. It is no wonder, then, that the barricades were good. The result, however, was bad.

Hindi pa palapag ang kaniyang loob para umabot sa puntong makabila sa iba pang mga estudante upang maging bahagi ng DiLiman Commune. Gayunpaman, napakalaki ng mga isang lupang kapasidad ng isang punong sibilyang nagsulat ang mga isang mali, patapakan ang mali sa bitag ng mga kasaysayan sa mga nasabing guro. Ang battle of Diliman, which saw the invasion of two leading dormitories and the theft of petty articles by the uniformed groups of the Philippine Student Movement, mainly in the Embarcadero of the Quezon City police, was one of the crucial events of the student movement in the Philippines. It marked a turning point in the development of the student movement in the Philippines. The proliferation of innumerable micro-narratives that refuse conformity to all the old categories and conceptions of modernity.

Toward an archipelagic reconfiguration of social space

In a brief online article by Filipino anarchist writer Ben Umal (2006, p. 5), a starting proposition is made: one calling for the dismantling of the Philippine nation-state and the implementation of an archipelagic configuration in its place. Umal's (2006) vision is presented as a stateless, anarchist alternative to the state socialist goal of National Democracy as proposed by Jose Maria Sison, the founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines and principal theorist of the NDM. An archipelagic configuration would, in Umal's (2006, p. 18) words, be 'a structure that connects and interlinks politically, economically and socially, and allows for the desire for decentralised power to be expressed in the Philippines. It would connect all the islands that make up the state, allowing for a greater sense of community and identity among the Filipinos.

The question of whether or not it is at all possible to bring about an archipelagic configuration in practical terms is, for me, beside the point. Putting all such questions aside, what is most important about Umal’s (2006) proposal is the very fact that such a postnationalist reimagining of social space has taken hold, and is taking place, in the Philippines. Umal's 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 transnational reimagining of social space has emerged from the specifically archipelagic milieu of 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 homogenising collectivities favouring by state socialist thought. It is also becoming an increasingly attractive Other position for the Filipinos, who have understood the reconfiguring of the state in a way that is compatible with the postnationalist vision.

Following Umal (2006), perhaps we can reclaim the term used to refer to the Filipinos before it was constituted as a modern nation-state; that term being, simply, the 'Filipino archipelago'. According to Fijian anthropologist, Epeli Hau'ofa (2008, 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 the much the case with the pre-colonial Philippines: ‘From one island to another they sailed to trade and to marry, thereby expanding social networks and cultural identity’ (Hau'ofa, 2008, p. 33). These maritime flows have historically been of central importance in the construction 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, there is no culture in an island.

The sea, then, does not constitute a barrier, but rather, a connective tissue crossed by perpetual flows. The importance of the sea, then, is not only that it provides this axis by which the Philippines is connected to the archipelago, is how we conceive of it, but rather, it is a source of life that reaches much further. The sea is not just a medium of transportation, but a source of life, a source of identity, a source of culture. The sea is not just a barrier, but rather, a source of life. The sea is not just a medium for transportation, but a source of life, a source of identity, a source of culture.
One of the great ironies of anti-imperialist movements in the Global South is that, despite their purported goal of liberating the oppressed from the chains of colonial rule, they arguably have yet to decolonize themselves of western imperialist logics; for example, those Enlightenment-derived logics pertaining to the transcendence of reason, the human, and the national state. The national and political movements for independence in the Philippines is no exception. This is a revolutionary nationalism (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 expensive, 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 Chu Beng Huei (2008, p. 232) 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 intolerable 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 archaism in the current context, I will argue in this paper that there is an urgent need to refund struggle upon new imaginaries of social space. To these ends, I would like to propose the nation-state 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. In this way, the NDM’s project of de-colonisation has long been refounded on affinities rather than essences, rendering the Philippines as a multiplicitous translocal community, rather than as 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 ‘neologism’ to refer to the ‘discursive production of insularity,’ with the prefix ‘neo-’ deriving from the Greek root for ‘island.’ The descriptively ‘neologistic’ 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 scheme 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 ‘neologistic’ worldview of Isaac Newton and Samuel Kant, to whom much of modernist thought is indebted. Their theories were once one universe composed of discrete, bounded entities. In effect, it was all of islands of order, at the same time forgetting that there is a whole world 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 contingent, stable, a 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
DAY 06 — ANG ULTIMATUM

“Ang dilaman kumay ang isa lamang ‘microcosm ng mas maling kliyan sa maring gawin gin sa itinang universidad umong masayang ang mga kababaihang atibas na sapatok ng mga propesyunal sa organisasyon na kasabihan sa panahon ng digmaang pang-unos.”

Maeing tama ang analysis na to sa partikularidad ng paranghing iyon, pero ang mga sitwasyon ay nagbabago bago. Ang kagandahang lalaki ng naturang lalim lahat ng mayakapahayagon at may kakayanan ang mananap. Higit sa lahat, ang ikasal-basang royo sa iba’t-ibang mga ulol, ang mga bagay-bagay na nakapalit sa pangakabahaging mga problema.

Para sa mga anarkista hindi kinalagatan ang teorya, hindi dahil sa hindi ito mahalaga pero sa puntong ang teorya ay may tendensyang maging dogmatiko. Kaya imbas na tumuon sa terasya, bakit hindi mangyari paisan ang paggamit nito. Ang muling pag-angkin at paggamit nito ang mas mahalaga kaysa misyon sa teorya.

Ang galing sa diperensya, mas maaring maipahamut ang mga aktibista ngayon, sa tingin ko, kung, yung bang system na osohina edsa 1, gaganin pa ba sa edsa 2 ang estetyika? Pano? Natural iba ang sitwasyon ng nauna kaya sa sumumong na panyoy kay hindi eksaktong matutanggap ang aplikasyon sa magagamit ng yugto ng panahon.

DAY 07 — ANG WAKAS

“Four consecutive days – from February 1 to 8 – the state university resembled the jungle island of William Golding’s ‘Lord of the Flies’”

Meron nagamit ang nagpapakilalang anarkista. Meron nagamit ang hindi mula sa gagampanan ng mga bagay na mas matulad pa sa anarkismo kaya sa mga nagasabing 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 student body into radicals and moderates. What followed was diverse in its manifestations.


“Force ruled on the campus. Some got mauled while others were insulted and threatened. Ang 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 students and students handed together and decided to protest the anarchy in UP. They staged a counter-demonstration.

Ito ang maranggo na pagayos ng nagbago iba. Ang kielwan pelikosyo ay neganggagaling sa kielwan ng paghuna sa ttiwyo at kielwan ng konsensus. Sa mas malalim na laba, ioldatikal ang problema, ang tendensyang turning sa mga partikularidad na magpapatagak lalo sa paglakaw laban sa realidad na nagmuminta ng avtoridad.

“Re the so-called conservative citizens, on the locally and among non-academic personnel and campus residents, the barri- cades 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 sinasabang anarkiya ay may bahay ng katotohanan subali. Hindi masasabing ito ang kabuuan lawaranito.

Hindi maeing taas na anarkismo ang kaagapay lamap na dapat tingnan na nakaangkang pagayang ay Dilim- man Commune. Ang pagpasok ng ganoon ay nagpapahalagahan sa paggawa mismo sa dinamisyon na mananakong ng Com- mune.

“All in all there were 11 known casualties during the eight daytime occupations, including one student dead, four other stu- dents, one employee, and five UP security guards wounded. Loss and damage in property and equipment was estimated at P48,020,683, with the arts and science building as the most badly hit.”

END
THE REVOLUTIONARY MOMENTS OF DILIMAN COMMUNE:

- USPC 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 garcia, 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, yalkal, and ipil for their persevering vigilance in manning the barricades;
  - the liberated women of kamia, sampaguita, ilang ilang, makabaka and SKUP for their frontline resistance and their diligent performance of auxiliary tasks;
  - the dauntless campus residents, notably those from Balara and Kius 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 pilipino masses;
  - the progressive faculty members, especially those with the samahan ng mga aguro sa pananakasan ng makabayan ng juventud pilipino (SM) for their selfless contribution of intellectual and technical skills which proved invaluable in the political,
  - the committed student journalists from IN and their comrades from psia for handling the controls of the dsp as the free radio of the democratic commune of diliman;
  - the militant writers who published banda ng pula and other publications for projecting the democratic democratic aspirations of the diliman commune;
  - the medicine, nursing, hygiene and SAMO students who demonstrated their passing 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 studentity and the peasantry in valiantly 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 makabayan ng juventud pilipino (SMUP) 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 imperialism, domestic feudalism, bureaucracy-capitalism as well as their firm determination to build a national democratic society on the decons of the past.

DILIMAN COMMUNE GRAFFITIS:

A PILLOWS IN THE HANDS OF THE MASSES IS AN ATOMIC 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!

The danger of such a view is that it often perpetuates colonial discourse by doing little more than turning the Eurocentric coin. Romantically `the other` as a sort of moral corrective to one's own virtues 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 exoticist bookstores filled with Celtic, Indian or Tibetan treats of wisdom. Such fantasies only serve to widen the distance that exists between those who consume these treats and those (the "others") who disappear behind them.

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 — provide major inspiration for the island's 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 experience might be the positive reception in the Philippines of a pamphlet published by Alpina Anarchist Productions, a project I have been involved with for about ten years. "The Fatog 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 formed 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 every one involved with Alpina Anarchist Productions. Here an alliance has been built based on common sentiments and convictions.
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 shelled 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 25c an hour risk their lives on rocky 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 are issued the required papers), while others can’t even travel to the nearest store in their own 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 experiences, different priorities, and different expectations. If those in a privileged economic position are not aware of this, their attitudes towards the realities, perspectives, and expectations of those who do not share their privileged position will inevitably be patronizing, if not outright arrogant and neocolonial. 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 “left” and “development” still imply that the conviction is 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.

Sino Ang “Totoong Aktibista”? Sino ang Totoong Rebelde?

(Ang Militangya ng Black Bloc at ang Papal ng Property Destruction sa mga kampanya at kilusan sa internasional na komunidad ng mga aktibista)

BY: Dagami


Bagamat huli ng maraming tao, dapat lang nang sumabot ang ilang mahalagang impormasyon kay Gay ng Black Bloc sa karamihan lalo na ng mga aktibista sa eskapela o pagkakatawan at iba pang mga puno na maataas ang pagtutulun ng mga aktibista sa mga kaganapan ng mga aktibista.

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Tila nakaranas esensya ng pagkakatawan ng aktibista sa mga kampanya at sa mga kilusan ng mga aktibista. Pagsama-sama ng mga aktibista sa mga kampanya at sa mga kilusan ng mga aktibista.

Ang anti-globaliston movement o kilusan laban sa globalisayon ay rasyong sa mga pamahayan ng mga aktibista at sa mga kampanya sa mga aktibista.

Sino ba ang “Totoong Aktibista”?  


Kinikondena ang Black Bloc dahil sa militarang aksyon nito labing ang pagsuba sa mga ari-an na maliyang kor- 

potesyon at pagpipilito ng mga pulis sa lansangan. Ang pag-US sa genitor gaya ng mga niisa sa mga bata niisa sa mga pulis sa lansangan.

Maling basasin o sinasang ari-an ng mga karusyon na nakaumata ng mga dolyer kada araw? Maling wasakin ang mga eritro na pag-aari ng mga karusyon na nagpasamantala sa nakakalasa ng mga kaibahan at manggawa sa ating mga isang-yanan ng diaging?

Maling labanan sa mga pulis sa siyang nagmimintin sa pagpapanatili ng kausayan at tumatangal magpatapad ng mga pulis na linsa sa interes ng mga taos.

Dapat natiling tendens na ang militarang aspeto ng mga kisahan ang nagpapalala sa mga ating potensyal sa nakakalasa ng mga taos. Ang hindistan dahil sa militarang aksyon ng mga Black Bloc nagang magkamata sa nagpatulungan ng mga kakayahang sa mga kakapusan ng mga palibot.

Hindi mapapahatag ng civil society, NGO at iba pang may interes sa grupo ang WTO sa diserto ng Arab Gulf o pag-ais ng WEF sa Davos kung wala ang militarang aksyon na pinainunan ng Black Bloc.


Sa maraming pagkakataon, hindi magising banta ang mga protesta kung wala ang militar na marahas na mga kilos ng Black Bloc.

Pagpasoketo sa iba’t-ibang pamamaraan at pagpapahayag ng pampulitika ng kanilang

Ang pagpasa protesta ay karapat na kahit sa sino; ang pagbibig ni paraan kung paano ipakita ang pagtutol at pagpapahayag ng pampulitika ni mga participate ang desisyon sa isang tao o grupo na handa tingin tungo sa mga posibleng resulta ng kanilang paglaki.

Maraming paraan ang maaring gamitin sa pagpapahayag ng pananaw at pagtutulak sa maling kakalaran. Ang engagement o pagpasok sa mga proseguro inaaksol kaya kadilangan pinagpapanganunang ng mga NGOs. Sa mga nagaganap ng mga dialogo, negosyo ay sero ng mga pag-usap ay neto proseso ang mga opinyon at interes ng mga sektor. May mga pagkakataon na kailangan bigay na abente sa ang mga gamit tulong at sabi sa kar- 

nasa nsa WTO at ang mga bilateral na kasunduan kayagya ng JIPPA at ASEAN CHINA sa napapalitang o walang ganang may nakasa pa ito at ang madaling sa sektor na mairehino sa bata.

Mayroon namang tuto kaagad sa siya katulad ng mga main kaliwang bloke sabi ito sabi ng kanilang pamamaraan ng nakatuon sa magaapay pagpapahayag at pagpapa-abot ng mga mihahabang gamangamit ng maliit na palabas upang akitin ang media.

Ang mga autonomous activist na pacifico ay deklaradong hindi gigamit ng anumang karahasan laban sa sino man kayo kadalasang ang kanilang mga sarili ang nagging biting mga ng mga bayongtong pulis.