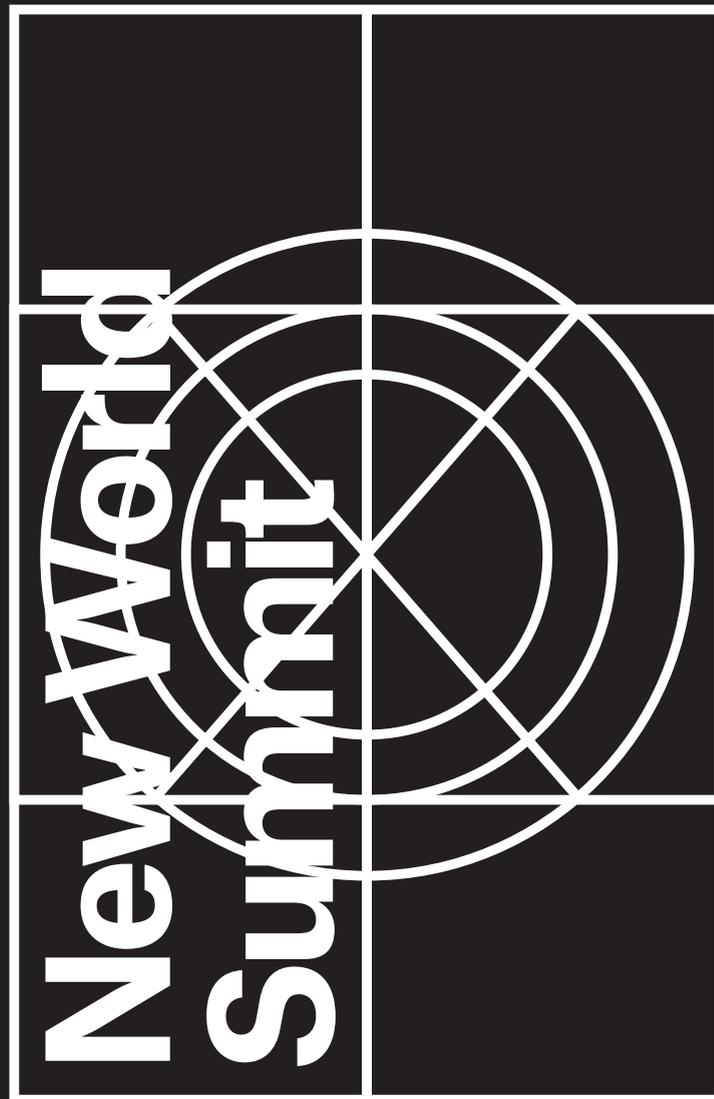


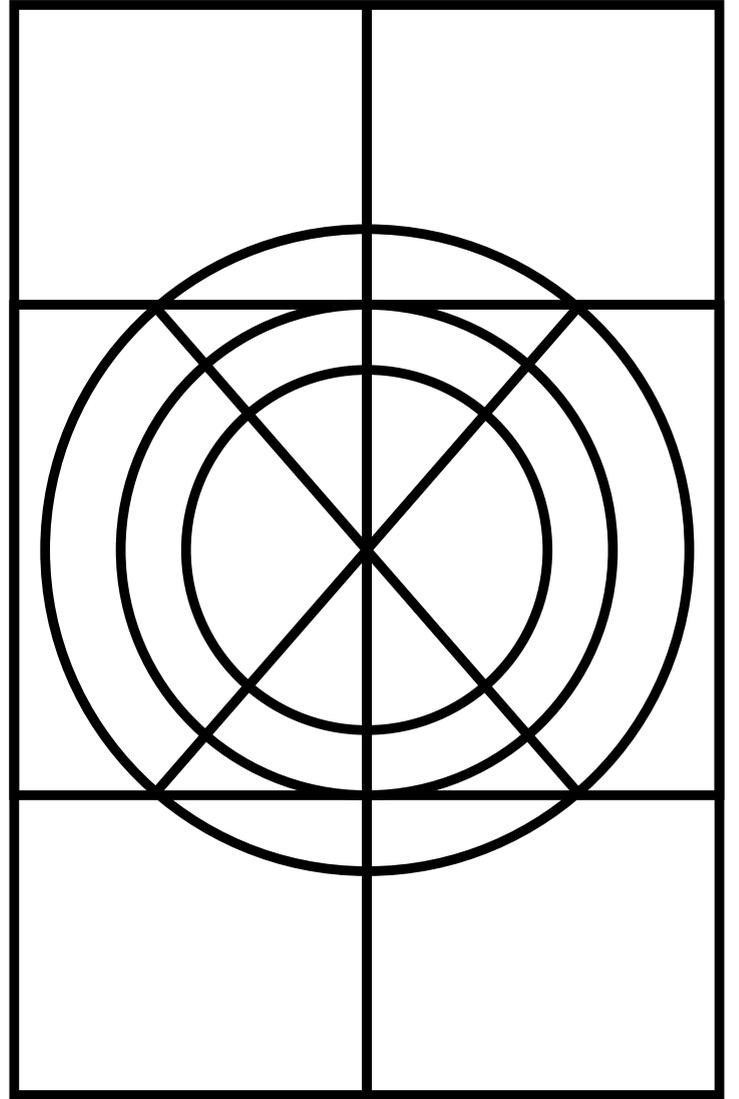
The New World Summit is an artistic and political organization founded by visual artist Jonas Staal in 2012, dedicated to providing “alternative parliaments” hosting organizations that currently find themselves excluded from democracy, for example by means of so-called international designated terrorist lists.

This booklet is meant as an introduction to the guiding principles of the New World Summit and its exploration of a “fundamental democracy.” It contains photographic and textual documentation of the first edition of the New World Summit in Berlin, as well as visual studies for its future continuation, and is published at the occasion of the second edition of the New World Summit in Leiden.

This publication further contains a detailed biography of Professor Jose Maria Sison, co-founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines and its armed wing, the New People’s Army, and keynote speaker at the second edition of the New World Summit. An introduction to these organizations and their aims is provided by Luis Jalandoni, chief negotiator of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines and speaker at the first edition of the New World Summit.

[www.newworldsummit.eu](http://www.newworldsummit.eu)







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# Introduction to the New World Summit

This publication has been realized for the occasion of the second edition of the New World Summit in Leiden on December 29, 2012. The New World Summit is an artistic and political organization dedicated to providing “alternative parliaments” hosting organizations that currently find themselves excluded from democracy, for example by means of so-called international designated terrorist lists.

The first edition of the New World Summit took place in Berlin on May 4-5, 2012. This publication offers a visual and textual documentation of the results of the first summit, which hosted four representatives of terrorist listed organizations and three of their lawyers. The book also contains some of the preparatory visual studies for the parliaments of the second and third edition of the New World Summit in Kochi, India.

The second summit will focus on the political, economic, ideological, and juridical interests that are invested in upholding the notion of the “terrorist.” We will do so by hosting as the keynote speaker Professor Jose Maria Sison, co-founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and its armed wing, the New People’s Army (NPA). Both organizations are currently included on “terrorist” lists as a result of their ongoing armed struggle with what they describe as a “semi-colonial and semi-feudal ruling system,” under “US imperialist control,” and having the “comprador bourgeoisie, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists” as ruling classes. Several experts representing the different layers of the sys-

tem that revolves around this notion of “terrorism,” separating certain organizations and individuals from society, will be asked to respond to Sison. In turn, a lawyer, a public prosecutor, a judge, a politician, and a political theorist will respond to Sison, before engaging in a discussion with the audience that will focus on (1) the political aims of the CPP and NPA; (2) the concept of terrorism as an instrument to exclude these organizations from the political sphere; and (3) the possibilities of exploring a concept of a “limitless” democracy.

The texts in this book comprise notes by the chairman of the first edition of the New World Summit, Robert Kluijver, the first pamphlet published by the New World Summit organization, reflections by philosophers Adam Staley Groves and Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei who attended the first edition, the contribution of Luis Jalandoni who spoke on behalf of the Democratic Front of the Philippines (also representing the CPP and NPA), and an essay by Beatrice de Graaf, Professor of the History of Conflict and Security at Leiden University and the Center of Terrorism and Counterterrorism in The Hague, which explores the performative – artistic – dimensions of what has been labeled as the practice of “terrorism.”

The second edition of the New World Summit is the result of a collaboration with Museum De Lakenhal and music theater ensemble De Veenfabriek in Leiden. It forms a response to the question posed by their initiative Utopisch Nest, whether “one can still believe in society.” The answer, from the perspective of the ongoing series of the New World Summit should be an unequivocal “yes, but not in *this* society.” That is, not a society that persecutes forces of resistance as “terrorism” while legitimizing its own acts of violence as “democratic.”

The New World Summit springs from a wish to contribute, through the radical imagination of art, to an international democratization movement, collectively aiming for the development of new democratic instruments and the deconstruction of the monopolies of power that want us to believe that democracy, human rights, and freedom of speech are the exclusive domain of the self-proclaimed “enlightened” Western world and its current rulers.

Jonas Staal

Founder of the New World Summit



## Notes from the Curator and Chairman of the First Edition of the New World Summit

Robert Kluijver

In May 2012 I co-curated and chaired a summit designed by the Dutch artist Jonas Staal in Berlin. The New World Summit is the latest step in the artist's decade-long research into art and politics, and particularly the true nature of democracy. He invited senior representatives of organizations on the so called "designated terrorist lists" to participate in a two-day long open forum with the audience, thereby questioning the logic of democratic exclusion. Put simply: how can a democratic system systematically exclude population groups from democratic participation, if the principle of democracy is precisely to include all sectors of society in a public debate? What does this say about the political system currently called democracy?

The project was also guided by simple curiosity about those organizations that are excluded. It turns out to be difficult to hear their voice; when googling the organizations one only finds the voices of those who oppose and exclude these so called "terrorist" organizations. Therefore both the website and the first day of the proceedings were dedicated to letting these organizations speak freely, without interruption, about their organization, their struggle, and the consequences of being excluded from peaceful political participation through the mechanism of "terrorist" designation.

Interestingly, attempts to engage “terrorist organizations” in dialogue by think-tanks, academic institutions and political organizations have all failed up to date. A researcher from the Berlin-based Berghof Foundation, for example, spoke about her attempts to bring together leaders of banned terrorist organizations in peace-building efforts; the University of Amsterdam has tried to provide a speaking platform to representatives of such organizations; and several political parties in Europe have tried to engage banned organizations such as Hezbollah or Hamas in dialogue; but all such efforts were foiled by juridical or political arguments. In the case of the New World Summit there were difficult negotiations between the artist and the sponsors but ultimately the argument that it was an artistic project was accepted. It thus appears that art can go where politics and academia cannot go; art is a realm where fundamental political discussions can still take place.

This, I think, is an extremely interesting first conclusion. The question arises why such essential political issues cannot be discussed freely in the political realm? We know the answer: because “speaking to terrorists” is seen as tantamount to legitimating them, and that is a moral no-go area in current politics. But of course that is an insufficient argumentation, especially because the exclusion from the political debate, invariably accompanied by repressive measures using the state’s military and juridical apparatus, pushes organizations into clandestinity and propitiates violence.

From the accounts of the speakers one tendency became clear: when armed organizations agree to stop violence in order to engage the state in a dialogue the state often has recourse to the argument that they are terrorist organizations in order to force them to capitulate (or to return to the armed struggle). This happened to the Filipino commu-

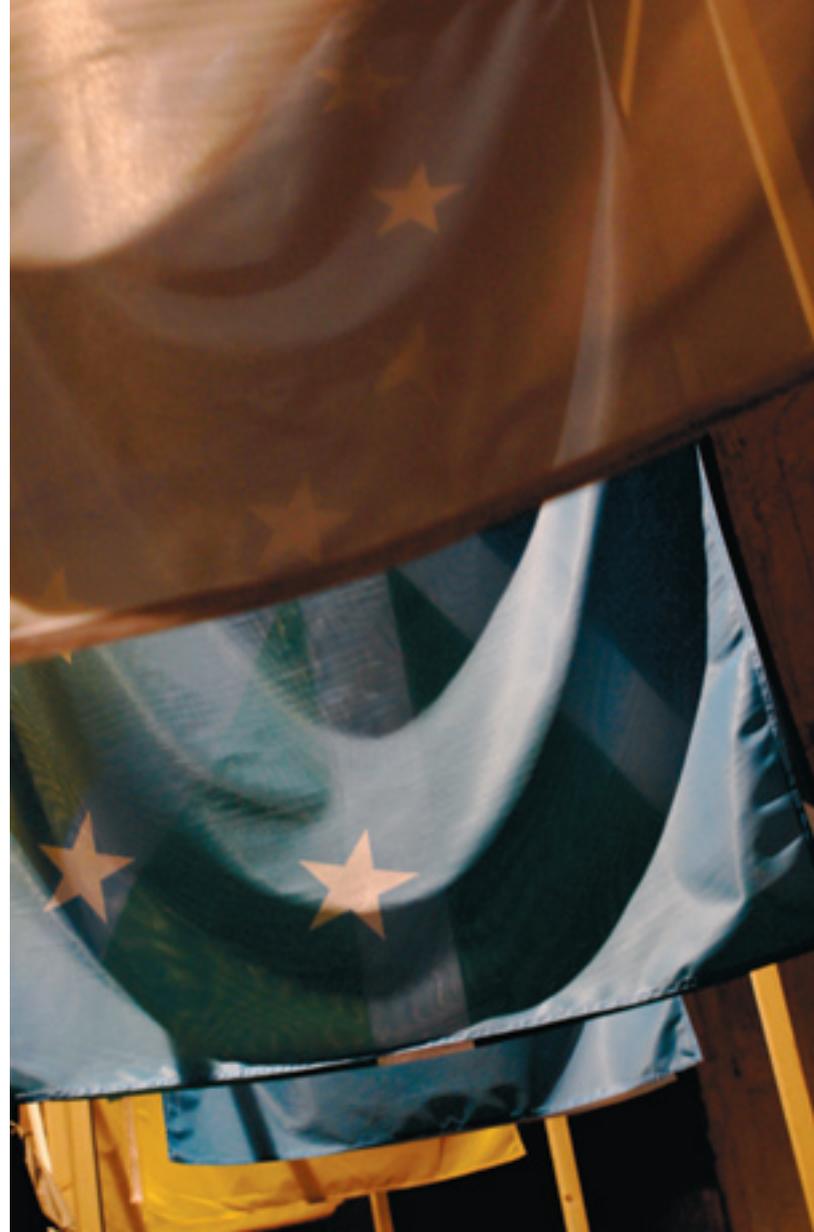
nists and their New People’s Army, to the Tamil Tigers, to the Basques and to other organizations that were not present.

One may tentatively conclude that in these cases the state rather faces a violent adversary than a democratic one, which could publicly and freely challenge the state. The violent adversary allows the state not only to exert and expand its monopoly of violence (in order to “save” the democratic order against its terrorist enemies) but also to roll back civil liberties such as the right to privacy (to find the terrorists among its population) and demand an extra effort of the population in terms of taxation, vigilance and obedience – for all must participate in the war effort to save democracy. In fact the current democratic deficit of the international community of states can only be masked or justified by keeping alive the “terrorist” nemesis.

On the second day the audience, which included lawyers, political analysts, journalists, artists and activists could freely engage the political and legal representatives of the “terrorist” organizations in debate. The high level of the discussions and the originality of many of the statements put forward by the speakers and the audience were testimony to the need to continue such a democratic engagement in open dialogue with organizations currently excluded from democracy.

This experiment needs to be continued – and eventually be brought back to the mainstream political domain. As long as that’s impossible it appears that artists will have to continue filling the gap.

Robert Kluijver (1968) is a curator and specialist of international relations. He spent more than a decade in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Central Asia and the Middle East working for the United Nations, the Open Society Institute and as a freelancer. He produced the first Pavilion of Afghanistan at the Venice Biennale (2005). He has curated many exhibitions of contemporary Middle Eastern artists and he lectures at the Paris School of International Affairs. He is the principal author of [gulfartguide.com](http://gulfartguide.com) and currently working with the Kochi Biennale Foundation, besides advising the Yemeni government on police reform.





# Art in Defense of Democracy

Jonas Staal

This is a revised version of a pamphlet published under the same title in NRC Handelsblad (April 12, 2012). The current text has been altered and expanded to suit the context of the development of the second edition of the New World Summit in Leiden (Netherlands) and the third edition in Kochi (India).

1.

The struggle of art in the twentieth century is characterized by an aspiration for freedom. Art has battled the church, the state, and the wealthy bourgeoisie in order no longer to serve a religious, political, or economic agenda. The politics of Post-WWII parliamentary democracies – such as in the Netherlands – has taken this struggle seriously. In our post-war era, politics has financed art's duty to be *free*. Any direct ideological commitment has become suspect, as a result of the role played by art in the Nazi and Stalinist systems. The conclusion of both politics and the art world has been that it is better not to be engaged at all, than to be engaged with "the wrong side." A generic politics – a politics replacing ideology with management – has sponsored an equally generic art. We believe that any art that does not dare to contextualize itself within a larger political project is at risk of becoming nothing but mere entertainment for the voter-consumer and his managers.

Without being explicit about their ideals, both art and politics have fallen prey to demagogues and populists who utilize

the landscapes of capitalist democracy and its art as hatching grounds for their own ideas. Ideology is back, yes, but it is in the hands of new racist movements in Western Europe, such as the Dutch Freedom Party, which has branded state-sponsored art as “degenerate” and who has likewise condemned the judges, educators, and journalists, whose relativist “multiculturalism” has “corrupted” the supreme values of the Western Empire. In the hands of these movements and their agitators, who have dismissed art as a plaything of the leftist “elite,” art has once again become political.

In response to this situation we need a proactive politics and a proactive art, which dare to serve a truly ideological project. The outlines of this project – a project that I would like to call the project of a *fundamental democracy* – have recently become visible. From the Spanish Indignados protests to the worldwide Occupy Movement, from the old Green to the new Pirate Parties, from Wikileaks to Anonymous and the Icelandic Modern Media Initiative (IMMI), we see the outlines of an international democratization movement appear. In this context the concept of democracy is being defended fundamentally as a principled egalitarian space.

The international democratization movement should not be understood as a single organization – none of its participants proposes a “total” solution for the fundamental crisis in our politics, economy, ecology, and public domain. Thus they should not be judged individually – as existing monopolized politics and media have tried to do – by focusing on the empty squares today, the personality cult in Wikileaks, or the “cyber-terrorism” of the temporal collectives of citizens that take corporate websites out of the air under the name of “Anonymous.” These are systematic attempts to dismiss opposing forces as either

dangerous or mindlessly utopian. This is why it is crucial to see that these organizations are not isolated, but together form a movement, connected by its *collective demand* to break existing monopolies on power – the monopolies on representation, on violence, on information and history. Thus, each of these organizations – each part of this movement – offers itself as an *instrument*, through which politics is brought back to the streets, and democracy is shifted from representation to action.

Let’s describe some of these “instruments” more concretely. The Pirate Parties have experimented with members’ permanent participation in the decision making processes through “liquid democracy” software, which when implemented publicly would allow parliamentary systems, including all documents concerning public interest, to become digitally accessible for all citizens. This would lead to the end of the sphere of secrecy that we have learned to accept as a necessary part of the democratic doctrine; IMMI drove Iceland toward radical transparency policies after the economic crisis, among others through the collective rewriting of its constitution; Wikileaks supplemented the “democracies” of war mongering states with the information necessary for the public at large to understand its actual violent and economic motive; Anonymous allowed citizens collectively to bring down the servers of those who control the “free” space of the internet and enact blockades of the free flow of information; the Indignados still today build on alternative political spheres with their own media, internet, food, and medical infrastructure and Occupy showed the potential of a dialectic movement between the digital and physical squares.

Fundamental democracy is thus an ideological project that does not comprise a political system by itself, but actu-

ally makes it available for society as a whole. It provides the instrument to manifest ourselves as political beings, rather than as the voter-consumers that the existing monopolies of power would like us to be.

What can be the role of art within this political movement? I believe art may become of social significance again if it dares to make the “freedom” it has gained in the 20th century serve an ideological project, rather than to brand this freedom once more in the hysteric speculative economics of the market of art consumption. The movement in service of fundamental democracy is in search of a truly new visual language, a form that effectively makes the democratic instruments available for the people as a whole. This is where art can demonstrate its power; namely, through its imagination. This is also where it will have to transgress this power; namely, by supplementing it with a willingness to position itself ideologically. To contextualize the act of artistic imagination in that of concrete political action.

2.

Our attempt to contribute to the creation of new democratic instruments – apart from collaborations with other artist groups, political parties, and extra-parliamentary social movements – is the artistic and political organization New World Summit, which concerns itself with political organizations that are excluded from so-called democratic discourse. The New World Summit started as a two-day conference that took place in Berlin on May 4-5, 2012. Political and juridical representatives of organizations that are included in the so-called international “terrorist lists” were invited to speak within the framework of an alternative parliament.

These designated lists of terrorist organizations include organizations that are internationally considered to be state threats. In the European Union, a secret committee, the so-called “Clearing House,” draws up the EU terrorist list. Considering the EU’s own democratic standards, this committee operates in a highly undemocratic manner: *“The process for adding or removing names from the terrorist list is done in secret by a committee which generally meets bi-annually, and there are no public records of these proceedings.”* (Source: “Adding Hezbollah to the EU Terrorist List” – Hearing before the Subcommittee on Europe of the Committee on Foreign Affairs House of Representatives, June 20, 2007). The consequences for organizations on these lists and people who are in contact with them are numerous, including a block on all bank accounts and a travel ban. For the organizations that were able to attend the New World Summit we managed to map out a variety legal exceptions, either because the organization was listed as a terrorist organization outside Germany, or because the representative present was exceptionally allowed to travel as a result of ongoing peace negotiations.

History is written by the victors. A concrete example could be found Lebanon, where since the beginning of the civil war the history books in schools have remained empty. Until today power has not been consolidated and thus no singular “national” history can be told without resulting in extreme opposition. The so-called terrorist is not only excluded from this political, historiographical, process but as a consequence he is also excluded from the rule of law. Think of prisons such as Guantánamo Bay and Abu Ghraib, or the *extraordinary rendition* program of the CIA, in which terror suspects abroad are kidnapped in order to be interrogated in the prisons of allied countries – often with the worst consequences for what at home is presented to us as

“human rights,” rights that evaporate in the juridical no man’s land of allied countries or extraterritorial grounds. One of the consequences of these practices is the overall weakening of constitutional law. Since everyone is a potential terrorist, civil rights (such as the right to privacy) are restricted, while the state power over the citizen and the judicial system is strengthened. This is invariably justified with the argument that democracy must be resilient against its enemies; terrorists supposedly hate the free Western world and its acclaimed democracies.

But these organizations – which are characterized by a range of different ideological currents, from communist to socialist, from Marxist to anarchist, nationalist, racist, religious-fundamentalist, and sectarian – are by far not all opposed to democracy as such. There are organizations that support free elections and advocate equality between men and women, rich and poor, majorities and minorities. Many of them struggle for self-determination and against military occupation or other forms of oppression. For what the West has imposed upon the world as “democracy” in the last decades has not exceptionally led to corruption, injustice, and subordination of local interests to those of a Westernized local elite and their foreign patrons.

The organizations on terrorist lists worldwide are accused of terrorizing civilians with violence. 9/11 is the most extreme and frequently cited example in this context. But these organizations are themselves terrorized by Western military operations. What is the fundamental difference between the 3000 victims of the Twin Towers and the hundreds of thousands of civilian deaths in Afghanistan and Iraq, as a result of the Western “liberation” (apart from the obvious one: that the *superterrorism* of our pretentiously democratic states results in many more casualties than the rela-

tively amateurish assaults of listed organizations). Anti-state terrorism and state terrorism thus constitute two sides of the same coin at best. Once we seriously consider that the state is nothing but yet another “organization” we will need a whole new juridical framework to prosecute the superterrorism that is a consequence of the foundation of the old, and still prevailing, Western Empire.

A context such as India shows us that there are profound ties between so-called terrorism and the colonial legacy: the many movements in India that still today fight for the right to self-determination, include a wide range of orientation, including sectarian movements of Sikhs, Muslims, Baptist-Christians, and Hindus, the political movement of the Maoist Naxalites, and the territorial struggles of indigenous people of Tripura, Manipur, Assam, and Tamil Nadu. They fight to reclaim their rights over territories that were previously occupied by the British, and later incorporated into the administration of an “independent” state of India. The unresolved tensions between castes, political parties, confessional communities, and rich and poor have sporadically fanned conflicts in the margins of India’s society, namely in the tribal lands and along India’s external borders.

These examples are not intended to legitimize any organization’s employment of violence – even though I would never question the right to self-defense against superterrorism – but to clarify that the qualities considered to be “distinctive” of democracy – such as so-called “human rights,” free elections, equality between men and women, gay marriage, or even policies against terrorism – can also be found in a variety of organizations on these terrorist lists. Moreover, the status of civilians of self-proclaimed democracies, under continuous threats of entering yet another state of emergency, does generally not at all

match their own “humanitarian” demands. Hence these qualities do not constitute or define a democratic organization or state per se, nor do they necessarily belong to the states that claim them as their own unique characteristics. Thorough study of the designated lists of terrorist organizations will reveal many organizations that one could consider “more democratic than democracy itself,” once we start to compare them to the not so high criteria of the self-proclaimed democracies whose monopolies the New World Summit aims to confront and deconstruct.

The violent policy of the so-called “terrorists” therefore reflects, even historicizes the violent neocolonial policies of the so-called “democracies.” The purpose of the New World Summit is to bring these two policies together, by creating a new political space. A space where the boundaries of our current system are mapped out. A platform for its “shadow side.” Only together they constitute the world order for or against which we have to take a position today. Together they comprise the field of conflict in which we must define what we actually understand by the notion of democracy. And to engage in that process of positioning we need to know about the suppressed world histories that are defended by the organizations that resist monopolies of power today. This “world history according to the resistance” that the New World Summit aims to introduce into the public sphere must contribute to the expansion of the terrifyingly narrow political field in which the voter-consumer is supposed to make his “choices” today. Choices that too often limit down to one variation of superterrorism as opposed to another.

The New World Summit started in Berlin and now continues to travel around the world. Each time it enters into a different juridical and political “zone,” and is thus capable of offering

a platform to voices that were impossible to host in previous summits. Theoretically, the New World Summit – a parliament in flux – will at the end of its travels have been able to host all organizations currently placed on the international terrorist lists.

The New World Summit proposes an injection of knowledge suppressed by existing monopolies of power, brought back into the public sphere by using the juridically exceptional position of visual art on one hand, and its radical imaginative force on the other. It is this combination of characteristics that has brought forward our idea of an art that is “more political than politics itself.” More political, because unlike existing political structures whose ideals are evacuated from the democratic system under pressure of geopolitical power interests, art offers the space, the juridical instruments and the imaginative potential capable that makes it possible to rethink and enact a fundamental democracy.

3.

*What is the democracy that we stand for?* This is the question that denotes the project in which we see art and politics united in a significant manner.

Fundamental democracy is the project we wish to defend. Not as the exclusive property of the nation state on the one hand, or the “terrorist” on the other, but for everyone, always, under any circumstance. We believe in democracy as a movement. A movement that fights for a principally egalitarian political space where every voice can make itself heard, seen and felt, without any “state of emergency.” As an artistic organization with a political agenda we

want to create the conditions for this political space. We do not want to create art within a so-called democracy; we want to shape democracy ourselves. And as it has become apparent globally, we are not the only ones.

Jonas Staal (1981) has studied monumental art in Enschede NL and Boston USA. He currently works on his PhD research entitled *Art and Propaganda in the 21st Century: A Dutch Perspective* at the University of Leiden NL and is the founder of the artistic and political organization New World Summit, that contributes to building alternative political spheres for organizations banned from democratic discourse. His work includes interventions in public space, exhibitions, lectures, and publications, focusing on the relationship between art, politics, and ideology.





# Notes from the Alternative Parliament

Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei and Adam Staley Groves

The following notes concern Adam Staley Groves and Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei's impressions of the first edition of the New World Summit, organized in the Sophiensaale, Berlin.

The New World Summit defines itself as follows:

1.

An alternative parliament appeared in Sophiensaale in Berlin, Germany, where on the 4th and 5th of May 2012; both political and juridical representatives of organizations on international terrorist lists lectured and debated the limits of current democratic systems.

2.

An online archive documents the histories, aims, locations, symbols, and websites of organizations currently placed on international terrorist lists. The texts are based as much as possible statements of the organizations themselves and should therefore not be interpreted as the views of the New World Summit itself.

The prominent concern of day one, entitled "Reflections on the Closed Society," articulated effects of the anti-terrorism movement in the form of legislation. Speakers varied from actual revolutionary actors and legal representatives of a variety of "terrorist" causes.

### Material Support, or Imposing an Image on Imagination

One of the main discussions of terrorism cases in the United States concerned persons or organizations convicted of “material support of terrorism,” thus organizations placed on international terror lists. In other words, the audience attending the New World Summit entered into the specific problematic of a material cause of terrorism – that is, separated from final, efficient, and formal causes. Two American lawyers involved in terrorism cases, Nancy Hollander and Linda Moreno, provided articulations from their experience defending accused terrorist financiers. Attendees of the conference learned through their testimonials of criminal defense cases about the immaterial paradox of “material support” which may also be read as a creative materialization of the four causes.<sup>1</sup> The theoretical question at stake in “dangerous minds” opened the ethical-juridical problem as a type of technological incompetence, or lack of a techno-literacy. National and international juridical bodies then, whose work concerns the suspension of space and time for certain individuals and organizations, confronted as legitimate “deciders” the paradoxical condition of sovereign exception on an international scale – that is, in an attempt to negotiate the uncertainty of the technological capacity to determine guilt. Juridical process was, in a way unprecedented, a matter of tracing out crystallizations

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<sup>1</sup> Creative materialization of causes is adapted from Martin Heidegger’s four-fold conceptualization complexified by technological enframing: 1. *causa materialis: the material, in this case peculiar testimony*, 2. *causa formalis: the form of materialization, in this case the shape of the testimony, its video manifestation of the supposed event*, 3. *causa finalis: the testimony of a fictional bus explosion* and 4. *causa efficiens: the status of those who fabricate and preside over exception, the lawyers, judge, and jury*. See Martin Heidegger, “The Question Concerning Technology,” trans. William Lovitt, in *Basic Writings* (Harper Collins: New York, 1993), 313-314.

of thoughts, hence networks, and how the mind is articulated within it, nefariously under the “logic” of fear, as terroristic.

This calls back a favorite question of the press, namely “internet radicalization,” the search for the evidence of radicalization based on associations offered by the web. The traces of evidence and of intention in absence of action are perhaps no different from the logistical requirements of organizing the conference within an artistic context, which is also such a space in which common sense is suspended. The difference is the way in which a network is made to appear and the unmediated capacity of conferral – how this broken principle will change our imaginations or what they demand of this human resource. There are two points to be made on this matter. As regards material support, we know that evidence has to be created. How was it for example created in one particular instance? It was created when prosecutors had a bus exploded, taped it, and used it as an illustration to link the financial network of the accused “terrorist financier” as if the staged explosion was the result of his acts. In other words, the imaginary crystallization is an occurrence of a supposed crime based on what the prosecution viewed as permissible evidence. Here we see prosecution getting into the business of creating the world of a man’s mind by virtue of technological possibilities – what in fact was the materiality of possibility that demanded its own media to initiate the argument in form of an emotional warrant.

We may draw a thousand possibilities in technological mapping, yet we suffer to create any truth from it. We only have the *possible*, and indeed – a lesson following Jonas Staal’s rationale – a way back to imagination. A way back means to imagine the universal in the present, to recall a variation of historical emergence, even as an explosion. A way back contrarily means

not to follow the narratives built from our want of technological manifestation – to get behind the rupture in the present and to care for the grasping of natural force (in the case of form) and read the content in a new way, and indeed in new spaces. It is to say the remembrance based in the historical causes of what Staal refers to as “democratism” hinged upon the material-historical paradox as conceived here in material support thus dangerous minds in the space of art and its engagement.

The consistent stress, from the side of the state, on material support was clarified by the Kurdish women’s movement. Fadile Yıldırım, who addressed the position of so-called terrorist groups as the position of slavery. The issue of slavery, an ancient one at that, enters the picture in a mode that could clarify another insistent problem in the discourse on terrorism that was not explicitly resolved during the day, nor in extant jurisprudence: the precise definition of terrorism. Both terrorists and states seem to engage in similar acts of violence toward similar targets for similar goals. Nevertheless, the various definitions of terrorism currently in use worldwide leave little possibilities for the categorical distinction between state and non-state terrorism. That this distinction is not articulated becomes clearer the moment we relate the phenomenology of the contemporary terrorist, subject to designated terrorist lists, to the phenomenology of the slave in antiquity. As such a phenomenology appears in the explanation of manufactured evidence, exploding buses all the same.

### Reasoned Slaves and the “New World”

In her book *Slaves and Other Objects*, classicist Page duBois offers an overview of the modes and discourses that dissimulate slavery in classical studies, engaging in a reading of the founda-

tion of classical studies in America as being rooted in exactly such dissimulations, during and after the Civil War. It is possible that the same mechanisms that gloss over the existence of slavery in ancient Greece might be similar to the mechanisms that dissimulate slavery as the actual condition of being designated terrorist. Obviously, no wording pertaining to slavery would actually be allowed to enter international legal conventions and jurisprudence, hence the persistent vagueness of definitions of terrorism. And further the reason itself is a matter of technological rationale, the point at which material support triumphs over the flawed human task of deciding.

However, there seems to be plenty evidence validating the similarity. First of all, the attempts to deprive designated terrorist organizations of all material support. In other words, they are not allowed to have property, just like slaves. Also they are not allowed to travel. Greek slaves that had run away had the words “capture me, I’m a runaway” tattooed on their eyebrow. Modern surveillance techniques have made such marking (invisible to the slave himself) even less invasive. Second, the idea that they will only surrender the truth under torture. Even though recent research has indicated that torture as practice by the US on terrorist suspects has yielded no additional, “vital” evidence, there is persistent belief that these suspects should be tortured by definition. Here we have to recall the ancient practice of *basanos* – torture of slaves – as the only legitimate mode of producing evidence from them: the slave only tells the truth under torture. Third we may recall that philosophers like Alain Badiou have referred the general revolutionary paradigm to the first slave revolts like the one led by Spartacus. In other words, within philosophical discourse, the model of revolt is the one developed from a state of slavery.

And how are they aware of it? In the concept of “the slave” one is immediately drawn to what contemporary phenomena would support it. First one could ask if a slave revolt was at hand given the constellation of the speakers and the intriguing collection of their voices? These voices provided diverse meditations on the question of self-determination, the question of a state among/within states, their legitimation, and the means feeding the unique conditions as well as the juridical/technological vector. Where do these revolts draw resources, legitimation, cultural, or otherwise? This leads in various directions, but two will suffice: first the universal system (if there is one, and so how do we understand it in the constellation of speakers) and that this question of the universal gives rise to such “revolts”? Of the former, it was clear that in the case of the Philippines (Luis Jalandoni, chief negotiator of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines) a quite accurate narrative emerged in the tone of orthodox Marxism, that of historical determination and a new world per se. In the example of the Kurdish Women’s Movement, representative Fadile Yildirim, whose concerns turned toward countering that “femicide” was a primary, regional strategy for revolutionary change in the Middle East. What was called for was a stripping of the divisive objectification of male and female – a point that would not be realized without the dissolution of difference (therefore what structural conditions would provide this if not the expanding of technological determinations). And more contemporarily, the representative of the Tuareg people (Moussa Ag Assarid) currently in conflict with the state of Mali, Muslim rebels, and facing ECOWAS intervention. Here voices from the state of exception were at hand.

Again, what type of universality would allow us to witness the ideas of self-determination that require temporally, historical accounts. How are these brought together? One may think

of this on a level of legibility, that is following Walter Benjamin, as a general material threshold presenting the possibility to articulate multiple temporalities that speak of an event – the New World Summit achieved a spatial dilation of the tendencies of exception that as art speak to a human entanglement, the individual problematic of terrorism as historicity.

In this light we may also be able to view the residual effect that we generally perceive state terrorism as being similar to “designated” terrorism. Within Greek rhetoric, submission to a non-democratic state was often equally to the state of slavery. The fact that we feel, nowadays, that states perform acts of terrorism in this sense indicates that our submission to these modes of non-democratic governing is a form of slavery. In this sense, both terrorists and civilians may be considered slaves - the former merely in an affective sense, the latter in a strictly material sense underscoring the necessity of understanding the rupture of event within the historical “I” as actor toward the possibility of democratic praxis not the authoritarian reaction to the intensification of ruptures in the world.

### **New World Summit and the Principle of Conferral**

The point of focus here is the question of the universal slave, how these different accounts would give the New World Summit any measure of success toward this idea. This is based in the fact that a real conference on the matter appears at as an art project, and in that question, thinking directly about the site at which art appears, gives credibility to the argument that any established, international institutional system that deals in the machinery of governance directly would not possess that capacity to open a space of discourse in such a way. In other

words, working toward the truth of technological universalism, and in the spirit of “New World” the ecumenical result seems to achieve the “principle of conferral,” in a loose confederation in the space of art. And beyond, the “sexless voice” of poetic thought, specifically as Wallace Stevens’s “Things of August” suggests, strangely enough, that the material peculiarity of language still belongs to language, and that this poetic language guides the possibility of the adjustment to technology that has thus far been an adjustment to reasonable enslavement of thinking. The formative nurturing of the art space creates the possibility to glimpse the universal, to get a sense of it, and topple the narratives that otherwise ban these voices, their idea of self-determination, and the truth of the constellation itself.

Finally, in late capitalism what we have is certain slavery, of everyone, even so-called elite lords. That is nothing new. What we don’t have is the way to understand it, to place the human before it, in a bodily way, where we have little difference between one another, no space to interpret anything beyond the electric pulses shared in close proximity. We share these with computers, our senses that are the play of divisions exploited in banal technology and in the hands of “deciders.” As shown by Hollander, to illustrate the broader phenomenon, these juridical spaces make rules as they go and are subject to the immanent or de facto rule of technological images, whereby it becomes their decision to employ the image on the imaginative voice they hear. This literacy and its lack is answered by the calling together of legible slaves. Technology does not tolerate bureaucracy, nor would capitalism that seems at time in service to what this toyish technological mind can do with it. For that, there is no imagination, yet.

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# The Political Underground in the Philippines

Luis Jalandoni

The political underground in the Philippines consists of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). The NDFP, comprising the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), the New People's Army (NPA) and fifteen other allied revolutionary organizations, fights for the national and social liberation of the Filipino people. The MILF and its Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces (BIAF) strive for the right to self-determination of the Bangsamoro people.

I will be presenting mainly the struggle of the NDFP forces which I represent.

The NDFP consists of the following allied organizations aside from the CPP and the NPA:

- 1 Revolutionary Council of Trade Unions (RCTU)
- 2 National Association of Peasants (PKM)
- 3 Patriotic Youth (KM)
- 4 Patriotic Movement of New Women (MAKIBAKA)
- 5 Cordillera People's Democratic Front (CPDF)
- 6 Christians for National Liberation (CNL)
- 7 Association of Patriotic Teachers (KAGUMA)
- 8 Federation of Labor Organizations (KASAMA)
- 9 Artists and Writers for the People (ARMAS)
- 10 Patriotic Government Employees (MKP)
- 11 Patriotic Health Association (MSP)

- 12 League of Scientists for the People (LAB)
- 13 Moro Resistance and Liberation Organization (MRLO)
- 14 Revolutionary Organization of Lumads
- 15 Council of People's Lawyers (LUMABAN)

In this paper, I shall take up the following:

- The founding and early years of the CPP, NPA, NDFP, and basic documents
- Growth until 1980 and the Permanent People's Tribunal decision
- Major errors and subsequent rectification
- NDFP Adherence to International Humanitarian Law
- Alliance with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front
- Peace Negotiations 1992-2012
- Struggle against "Terrorist" Listing
- Human Rights Violations by the Reactionary Government
- Political Underground Alive and Growing

#### Founding, Early Years and Basic Documents

The CPP was re-established on December 26, 1968. It promulgated its Constitution and the Program for a People's Democratic Revolution. A few months later, on March 29, 1969 it formed the New People's Army, starting with 60 Red fighters, nine automatic rifles and 35 handguns. On April 24, 1973, after Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law in September 1972, the NDFP announced its 10-Point Program to unite all patriotic and democratic forces and to struggle for the national and social liberation of the Filipino people.

While the CPP and the NPA always remained underground since their respective founding, the members of the NDFP such as the Patriotic Youth, the Christians for

National Liberation and Makibaka, the women's organization, were legal organizations until the declaration of martial law. To avoid arrest, they all went underground.

Guided by Marxist-Leninist principles and Mao Zedong's theory and practice of People's War, the revolutionary movement under working class leadership through the CPP took deep roots among the peasants who comprise 75% of the population of nearly 100 million). The CPP issued documents to guide the revolutionary work, such as *The Revolutionary Guide for Land Reform* in 1972, *Guide for Establishing the People's Democratic Government* in 1972, and *Specific Characteristics of our People's War* in 1974. After summing up its experiences in 1975, it issued *Our Urgent Tasks* in 1976.

#### Growth until 1980 and the Permanent People's Tribunal Decision

Despite massive repression by the US-backed Marcos dictatorship, the revolutionary movement grew to 29 guerrilla fronts in 41 provinces by October 1980. Through its revolutionary land reform program, health, education and cultural programs, the NDFP forces won the enthusiastic support of the peasant masses and the rest of the people.

Internationally, the NDFP attained a major achievement, when the Permanent People's Tribunal (PPT) in November 1980, with a 10-person international jury, declared it "legitimate representative of the Filipino people." The PPT also defined the revolutionary armed struggle as having attained conditions of belligerency thus requiring the application of international humanitarian law.

In February 1986, the revolutionary mass movement overthrew the Marcos dictatorship through People Power I. Later that year, ceasefire talks were held with the Corazon

Aquino government. The ceasefire agreement, however, collapsed after peasants marching for land reform were massacred in front of the presidential palace in January 1987.

### **Major Errors and Subsequent Rectification**

Major errors by some leaders of the revolutionary movement caused serious setbacks in the middle to late 1980s. Urban insurrectionism and premature setting up of large NPA formations, drawing away forces from basic mass work like education and health, resulted in battlefield defeats. Anti-infiltration hysteria followed with disastrous consequences.

After widespread demands for correction coming from the grassroots, the CPP leadership decisively launched a rectification movement. This was mainly an educational campaign to identify and correct the errors. While some leaders in error rejected the rectification movement, the overwhelming majority of cadres and members, as well as the revolutionary masses, embraced it. From 1992 to 1998, the rectification movement won great victories in recovering lost ground and consolidating and expanding the revolutionary work.

### **Adherence to International Humanitarian Law**

In 1991, the NDFP announced its adherence to Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions, Protocol II additional thereto and International Humanitarian Law. In 1996 it issued its Declaration of Undertaking to Apply the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and Protocol I of 1977, which was deposited with the Swiss Federal Council on 5 July 1996 and sent to the International Committee of the Red Cross on the same date.

The July 1996 Declaration states:

In accordance with Article 96, Paragraph 3 of Protocol I, we, the National Democratic Front of the Philippines address ourselves to the Federal Council of the Swiss Government as official depositary of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and 1977 Protocol I additional thereto.

We are the political authority representing the Filipino people and organized political forces that are waging an armed revolutionary struggle for national liberation and democracy, in the exercise of the right to self-determination within the purview of Article I, paragraph 4 of Protocol I against national oppression, including chauvinism and racism, victimizing the entire Filipino nation and particular minorities in the Philippines. [...]

The aforesaid people and forces have established and developed a political organization that has sufficient governmental character. This political organization has sufficient control over a substantial area, population and resources in the Philippine archipelago. If said political organization were left to itself, it has the capability of reasonably and effectively discharging the duties of state. In fact, it has established organs of political power which comprise the people's democratic government and which administers the people's civil, political, social, economic and cultural life in significant portions of fourteen (14) regions, more than 500 municipalities and more than 60 provinces.

Since then, the scope of operations of the NDFP forces has expanded to more than 100 guerrilla fronts in about 800 municipalities in 70 provinces throughout the country.

### **Alliance with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front**

The NDFP had an informal alliance with the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) but the latter capitulated to the Manila government in 1996.

In 1999, consistent with its firm position and policy to support the Bangsamoro people's right to self-determination, the NDFP forged a wide-ranging political alliance with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). The MILF is active in Southern Philippines. It has a long history of revolutionary struggle against foreign and domestic oppressors and exploiters. The NDFP recognizes the Bang-samoro people's right to self-determination, including the right to secession as a right against national oppression.

### **Peace Negotiations**

In 1992, the NDFP started peace negotiations with Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP). The landmark framework agreement, The Hague Joint Declaration was signed in September 1992. This agreement defined the substantive agenda to address the roots of the armed conflict, namely, respect for human rights and international humanitarian law, social and economic reforms, political and constitutional reforms and end of hostilities and disposition of forces. It provided that the peace negotiations be held according to mutually acceptable principles including national sovereignty, social justice and democracy. Most importantly, it stipulated the principle of non-capitulation which means neither side may impose its constitution or demand capitulation from the other.

In February 1995, the Joint Agreement on Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) was signed in The Netherlands. In June 1995 in Brussels, in talks hosted by the Belgian Government, the

Joint Agreement on the Formation, Sequence and Operation-ization of the Reciprocal Working Committees (RWCs) of the GRP and the NDFP Negotiating Panels was forged. In 1996, the Dutch Government hosted peace negotiations in The Hague.

In 1998, the first substantive topic was completed. The Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) was signed. The major agreements have been approved by the respective Principals of both negotiating panels, after which the agreements are binding and effective.

In May 1999, however, GRP President Joseph Estrada terminated the peace negotiations. After he was overthrown by People Power II in January 2001, peace talks were resumed with the Arroyo regime. Since 2001, the Royal Norwegian Government has been the Third Party Facilitator of the GRP-NDFP peace negotiations. The Oslo Joint Statement of 14 February 2004 and The Second Oslo Joint Statement of 3 April 2004 were signed. In that year, the Joint Secretariat of the Joint Monitoring Committee of CARHRIHL was formally established with a joint office in Metro Manila supported by the Royal Norwegian Government.

In 2005, the Arroyo regime illegally suspended the formal talks. Only after Arroyo's term of office ended, did the formal talks resume on 15-21 February 2011. However, failure by the GRP, now calling itself Government of the Philippines, GPH, to comply with its obligations pursuant to the CARHRIHL and the JASIG, to release some 350 political prisoners and 13 NDFP Consultants has caused an impasse for over a year.

### **Struggle against "Terrorist" Listing**

A few months after 9/11, the fourth highest official of the GRP,

Speaker Jose de Venecia, called up Prof. Jose Maria Sison, the NDFP Chief Political Consultant. He said the US government was about to declare the CPP, NPA, and NDFP “terrorist,” so the NDFP should sign a peace agreement of capitulation. On 9 August 2002, soon after he came from a visit to the Philippines, US Secretary of State Colin Powell declared the CPP/NPA as a foreign terrorist organization. On 12 August 2002, the US Treasury Department’s Office of Foreign Asset Control (OFAC) listed the CPP, the NPA, and Prof. Sison as terrorists whose bank accounts must be frozen. A day after, the Dutch government likewise listed the CPP, the NPA and Prof. Sison as terrorists and announced that it would ask the European Union (EU) to do likewise. The UK followed on 15 August 2002 and Canada on 29 August 2002. The Council of the EU made the same listing on 28 October 2002, just like Australia.

The NDFP issued strong statements condemning such terrorist listing as baseless and malicious and giving the excuse for numerous human rights violations.

Prof. Sison embarked on a persistent legal challenge by filing a case in the European Court of Justice. A team of international lawyers led by Jan Fermon of Belgium succeeded in defending Sison. In a landmark decision of the European Court of First Instance, it decided on 30 September 2009 that Sison’s rights had been violated and he must be taken off the “terrorist” list of the Council of the EU. On 10 December 2009, with neither the Dutch government nor any other member of the EU appealing, the aforesaid court decision became final and executory. Prof. Sison was taken off the EU list of terrorists later that month.

The collusion between the Arroyo government and the Dutch government resulted in the filing of trumped up crimi-

nal charges against Prof. Sison in August 2007. Prof. Sison was placed in isolation detention in The Hague for 17 days. Lawyers of the Boehler Law Office in Amsterdam, Michiel Pestman and Victor Koppe ably defended Prof. Sison and won the dismissal of the case after eighteen months.

Prof. Sison’s legal struggles continue. He has been staying in the Netherlands since January 1987. Despite his being recognized as a political refugee according to the Refugee Convention (1A) by Raad van State decisions of 1992 and 1995 and notwithstanding his victory in the European Court, the Dutch government refuses to grant him a residence permit, bans him from work but deprives him of living allowance, housing, medical insurance, and a pension, and curtails his right to travel and other rights. He has recently filed a case, invoking the European Guideline (*Richtlijn*) of 2004, for his right to a residence permit and a refugee passport. Marq Wijngaarden also of the Boehler law office is representing him in this case.

### **Human Rights Violations of the Reactionary Government**

The new Aquino regime claims it is taking the “straight path” but it continues the anti-national and anti-democratic policies of the preceding Arroyo regime. Human rights violations of the Arroyo regime are condoned and carried on by the Aquino regime. Extrajudicial killings against unarmed social activists are perpetrated at the rate of one every week. Demolitions of urban poor homes continue causing death and injury, while benefiting big business “developers.” His government allows foreign mining corporations and plantations to destroy the livelihood of the indigenous people and peasants and to devastate the environment. Massive floods caused by such devastation have resulted in many deaths, injuries and destruction of property. President

Aquino implements the US Government Counter Insurgency Guide of 2009 while carrying out Oplan Bayanihan, a counter-insurgency program just as brutal as its predecessor, Oplan Bantay Laya.

### **The Political Underground Alive and Growing Stronger**

The revolutionary armed struggle in the countryside, coupled with the mass movement in the urban areas, continues to grow stronger. More tactical offensives are carried out by the NPA with the support of the masses. The people's army is now carrying out a five-year plan to advance the people's war from the strategic defensive to the strategic stalemate. At the same time, the strikes, rallies and marches in the cities are on the upsurge, especially because of the worsening crisis of global capitalism and the local ruling system of big compradors and landlords. Progressive parliamentarians, though very much in the minority, take up the issues of the people, expose fraud, and file bills favorable to the people. Protests against increasing US military intervention are on the rise.

The revolutionary movement in the countryside and the urban areas is very much alive and growing stronger. The effectiveness of the political underground renders the enemy forces deaf and blind even as these are always raising a hue and cry about destroying the revolutionary forces of the people and employ the worst forms of deception and violence. The determination of the people and revolutionary forces to carry on the struggle for national and social liberation is resolute, vigorous, and irrepressible.

Berlin, 4 May 2012

Luis Jalandoni is the chief negotiator for the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) in peace negotiations with the Government of the Philippines (GPH). The NDFP, established by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), is an underground alliance of 17 revolutionary organizations. A former priest, Jalandoni emerged as one of the leading personalities in the Philippine left movement by exposing the harsh working conditions in big sugar plantations in Negros during the 1970s.



## About Jose Maria Sison

Jose Maria Sison was born on February 8, 1939 in Cabugao, Ilocos Sur, Philippines. He studied English Literature (BA, 1959) and Comparative Literature (MA, 1959-61) at the University of the Philippines, where he taught English up to 1961. After studying Bahasa Indonesia in Jakarta in 1962, he took up a university position in Manila and became involved in the resurgence of the communist movement as political activist and protest organizer. He joined the Communist Party of the Philippines and became a member of its Central Executive Committee in 1962. He was founding chairman of the Kabataang Makabayan (Patriotic Youth) in 1964, which rallied against the Vietnam war and the US-backed Marcos presidency. Subsequently he became involved in the Socialist Party of the Philippines (formerly Worker's Party) and the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism in 1964 and 1966, respectively. After leading the First Great Rectification Movement among Filipino communists, he became the founding chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on December 26, 1968.

Sison was chairman of the CPP Military Commission that founded the New People's Army on March 29, 1969, the armed branch of the CPP. In representation of the CPP, he co-founded the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) on April 24, 1973 as an underground united front organization waging a guerrilla war to overthrow the Marcos dictatorship, which was established after the 1972 proclamation of martial law. These organizations waged an ongoing armed struggle against what they describe as a "semi-colonial and semi-feudal ruling system," under "US

imperialist control”, and having the “comprador bourgeoisie, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists as ruling classes.” Sison was captured on November 10, 1977, subjected to various forms of torture and detained for more than five years of solitary confinement until the fall of the Marcos regime in February 1986. He was released from prison by the Corazón Aquino government for the sake of “national reconciliation.” Sison however continued his resistance to the central Filipino government.

After his release, Sison took up his public role, both lecturing and writing extensively on the Philippine situation, and was reinstated as associate professor in political science in the Center of Asian Studies in the University of the Philippines in 1986. He actively spoke out against the Aquino government and its alleged human rights violations. Later he acquired a position as research consultant on socialization and development in the University of Utrecht in the Netherlands (1986-1988), where he applied for political asylum after the Philippine authorities revoked his passport under the Anti-Subversion Law from 1957. Although recognized as political refugee by the Raad van State in 1992, he was never granted official asylum.

After the attacks on the WTC in New York, Filipino president Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo used the event to get Sison blacklisted as terrorist by the US, Dutch, European Union and other governments. According to Dutch law and the European Convention on Human Rights, he could however not be extradited to the Philippines, as that would endanger his life and be at risk of torture and inhuman and degrading treatment. In 2007, he was subsequently arrested on account of a series of murders in the Philippines, but was later acquitted owing to a lack of evidence. The European Court of Justice ruled on September 30, 2009 that Sison be removed from

the EU terrorist blacklist because he was never investigated, prosecuted, or convicted for any act of terrorism. Nevertheless, both the CPP and NPA are still blacklisted in both EU and US.

Sison is currently the chairperson of the International Coordinating Committee, International League of Peoples’ Struggle (since 2004), Chief Political Consultant of the NDFP Peace Panel Negotiating with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (since 1995), and chairman of the International Network for Philippine Studies (since 1989). A prolific author, his written work includes *Struggle for National Democracy* (1967), *Philippine Society and Revolution* (1969), *Philippine Economy and Politics* (2002), *US Terrorism and War in the Philippines* (2003), four volumes of his selected writings from 1991 to 2009 and other books. Moreover, he was awarded the Southeast Asia WRITE Award in 1986 for his book of poetry *Prison and Beyond*.

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# (Counter-)Terrorism as Performance <sup>1</sup>

Beatrice de Graaf

The choice of labelling something 'unlawful' and 'terrorist' differs with place, time and party. As a researcher, it is of course of practical use to accept some of the essential elements of the phenomenon of terrorism as a starting point for academic debate. American terrorism expert Bruce Hoffman has stressed that terrorism is both a tactic and a strategy, aimed at the 'deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change'.<sup>2</sup> These elements return in the academic consensus definition formulated by Alex Schmid:

Terrorism refers on the one hand to a doctrine about the presumed effectiveness of a special form or tactic of fear-generating, coercive political violence and, on the other hand, to a conspiratorial practice of calculated, demonstrative, direct violent action without legal or moral restraints, performed for its propagandistic and psychological effects on various audiences and conflict parties.<sup>3</sup>

However, in practice, it is simply impossible to construct an all-inclusive, universally applicable definition of terrorism.

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<sup>1</sup> This text has been extracted and modified from Beatrice de Graaf, *Evaluating Counterterrorism Performance: A Comparative Study* (London/New York: Routledge, 2011).

<sup>2</sup> See Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), p. 43, and also chapter 1 as a whole.

<sup>3</sup> A.P. Schmid, *Handbook of Terrorism Research* (London: Routledge, 2009).



It is a political affair, and therefore an 'essentially contested concept'.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, the evaluation of counterterrorism becomes a dubious business. For the Russians, 'counterterrorism' has an essentially different meaning than it has, for instance, in the European Union. With regard to the causes of terrorism – another crucial element in understanding how to counter the phenomenon – here too opinions differ greatly.

Given these essential epistemological doubts as to who or what can and should be labelled terrorist in a given time and space, it is safe enough to conclude that the act of branding something or someone as terrorist is an act of communication. Alex Schmid and Janny de Graaf wrote their seminal work on *Violence as Communication* in 1982, stating that terrorist violence should be distinguished from ordinary violence because of its communicative character.<sup>5</sup> And terrorism expert Brian Jenkins argued, as early as 1975, 'Terrorism is theatre'.<sup>6</sup> Peter Waldmann added to these observations with his statement that most terrorists explicitly want theatre, since they are bent on provoking state power.<sup>7</sup> However, counterterrorist reactions are a means of communication and identification as well, and these reactions to a large extent determine the social impact of terrorist actions, especially if we consider this in the broader socio-political context and over a longer period of time.

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<sup>4</sup> William E. Conolly, *The Terms of Political Discourse*, 3rd ed. (Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 10; See also Alex Schmid, 'Terrorism: The Definitional Problem', *Journal of International Law* 36.1 (2004), pp. 375-420.

<sup>5</sup> Alex P. Schmid and Janny de Graaf, *Violence as Communication: Insurgent Terrorism and the Western News Media* (London: SAGE, 1982), p. 175.

<sup>6</sup> Brian M. Jenkins, 'International Terrorism: A New Mode of Conflict', in David Carlton and Carlo Schaerf (eds.), *International Terrorism and World Security* (London: Croom Helm, 1975), p. 16.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. P. Waldmann, *Terrorismus: Provokation der Macht* (Hamburg: Murmann Verlag, 2005); Richardson, *What Terrorists Want* (New York 2006).

As Schmid, Waldmann and others have abundantly made clear, social impact is not something that governments can engineer all by themselves. On the contrary, social impact is first and foremost a question of media coverage. Public opinion is mostly influenced by the media and the gripping images of dramatic terrorist attacks that are disseminated through them. As Altheide put it: The modern 'entertainment format, the use of visuals, emerging icons of fear, slogans, and especially the emphasis on the fear frame and "evil" provide many examples of how these attacks [of 9/11] contributed to the expansion of the discourse of fear into more attempts at social control'.<sup>8</sup>

Nacos and Torres-Reyna demonstrated that the news media's portrayal of Muslims and their religion grew more negative, unfair and stereotypical after two years (after a remarkable short-lived increase in more thematical and reflective reporting during the immediate post 9/11 months).<sup>9</sup> Terrorist attacks thus do not only contribute to fear in society at the time of the incident, they also – through the media – succeed in changing public attitudes for a longer period of time. In this process, moreover, mass media are not just mere transmitters of the terrorist message: 'While the terrorists may write the script and perform the drama, the "theatre of terror" becomes possible only when the media provide the stage and access to a worldwide audience', and select from the terrorist events the

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<sup>8</sup> Altheide, *Creating Fear: News and the Construction of Crisis* (New York: Aldine De Gruyter, 2002), pp. ix-x.

<sup>9</sup> Brigitte L. Nacos and Oscar Torres-Reyna, *Fuelling Our Fears: Stereotyping, Media Coverage, and Public Opinion of Muslim Americans* (Lanham et al.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007), p. 101.

'dramatic features of a good story' that best resonate with the public, as Gabriel Weimann had already noted in 1983.<sup>10</sup>

It is however not only the media that contribute to the making of a 'Theater of Terror' (Weimann), the authorities play an essential role as well. Governments, and their executive instruments, may not be the providers of the imagery, but they can affect the social impact of terrorist attacks all the same.<sup>11</sup> They still monopolise the use of violence and they are the ones citizens turn to in times of national crises. Moreover, they often fuel these crises and use them to further their own political and military agendas.<sup>12</sup> They amplify the 'moral panic' in society with military metaphors ('we are at war') or, on the contrary, exert a moderating influence by underlining and appealing to the social resilience in a society. Recall how immediately after the London bombings of 7 July 2005, British Prime Minister Tony Blair did exactly this: 'Terror will not win, we will not be intimidated'.<sup>13</sup>

Official counterterrorism measures have a communicative effect that goes beyond these explicit and intended instruments. Communication not only succeeds when intended: every counterterrorist action, even when carried out at local street level, can have a bearing on the 'war of influence' between the terrorists and the state. Utterances and speeches can have a profound effect as well, conveying to society or even the world 'what we stand for'.

<sup>10</sup> Gabriel Weimann, 'The Theater of Terror: Effects of Press Coverage', *Journal of Communication* 33.1 (Winter 1983), pp. 38-45, at 38 and 45.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. F. Furedi, F., *Invitation to terror: The Expanding Empire of the Unknown* (New York/London: Continuum, 2007).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Altheide, *Terror Post 9/11*, especially chapter 7, 'Terrorism Programming'.

<sup>13</sup> 'Blair says "Terror will not win"', *BBC News*, 7 July 2005.

Terrorists know this even better than governments. Significantly enough, in advance of American President Barack Obama's visit to Egypt, Osama bin Laden, through Al Jazeera, warned the Arabic world that the United States was still demonising Muslims. With this message, al-Qaeda's leader tried to neutralise (from his perspective) the threatening effects of the dialogue and cooperation that Obama offered the 'Muslim World'.<sup>14</sup> After all, with his offer, the American President undermined the efforts the *jihadists* were undertaking to mobilise their supporters. In this 'influence warfare', both the terrorists and Western democracies are waging a battle to convince and persuade the different 'target audiences' to rally behind them.

The concept of 'influence warfare' was brought to the fore only recently, by amongst others, James J. Forest. Ten years after 9/11, with two exhaustive wars going on and numerous incidents of Western abuses of civil liberties disclosed (keywords 'Gitmo' or 'Abu Ghraib') it is obvious that the struggle against terrorism also involves the fight to shape perceptions as well.<sup>15</sup> Not only including the explicitly formulated strategic communications, but also involving the images and stories unwittingly produced through various counterterrorism instruments,<sup>16</sup> like the myth connected with 'Gitmo' that the 'West' is waging a 'crusade' against Islam.

Before governments state their own central narrative against such myths, as is often advocated by counterterrorist experts

<sup>14</sup> 'Osama bin Laden rains on Obama's Parade', *New York Daily News*, 4 June 2009.

<sup>15</sup> See James J.F. Forest (ed.), *Influence Warfare How Terrorists and Governments Fight to Shape Perceptions in a War of Ideas* (Westport, Conn. : Praeger Security International, 2009), introduction and conclusion.

<sup>16</sup> See Walter D. Casebeer and James A. Russell, 'Storytelling and Terrorism: Towards a Comprehensive "Counter-Narrative Strategy"', *Strategic Insights*, 4.3 (2005), pp. 1-16.

in recent years,<sup>17</sup> the authorities should become fully aware of the messages they often inadvertently propagate – messages that could be exaggerated by terrorists and their sympathisers. It is this ‘performative power’ of the whole range of explicit, implicit, wittingly and unwittingly initiated counterterrorism activities staged by official authorities that changes society in the long run, often in a much more profound fashion than the act of perceived terrorism is able to achieve. Using ‘counterterrorism performance’ as a guiding concept makes it possible on the one hand to maintain distance from the technical questions about counterterrorism effectiveness that are epistemologically or empirically almost impossible to answer. On the other, dealing with counterterrorism performance allows us to credit the communicative aspect of counterterrorism, the interrelation of terrorist actions and counterterrorist reactions, and the social drama or cultural trauma generated by them. The role of the mass media has been given abundant attention, as have the mechanical aspects of combating terrorism. However, the role of the government in ‘marketing’ counterterrorism, in constructing social reality, and affecting the social impact of terrorism, has often been understudied.

In October 2008, American terrorism experts Kruglanski, Crenshaw, Post and Victoroff stated that it was time to replace the ‘war on terror’ metaphor with a different description, since this image simplified the terrorism issue considerably and, rather than produce effective policy, fuelled resentment and rancour.<sup>18</sup> They argued that counterterrorism policies do not concern objective measures alone, but their framing and presentation as

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<sup>17</sup> See suggestion in Anon., *Transnational Terrorism, Security & the Rule of Law, Theoretical Treatise on Counterterrorism Approaches*, 19 October 2007. Deliverable 10, Work package 6, pp. 18, 24–25; See also National Coordinator for Counterterrorism (ed.), *Countering Violent Extremist Narratives* (The Hague: NCTb, January 2010).

well. After all, the ‘warfare’ metaphor creates political urgency. By declaring war, even metaphorically speaking, certain public expectations are raised; this is accompanied by corresponding drastic security measures. Consequently, the social climate can be subject to radical change. It is not just the terrorists who invoke their combatants, counterterrorism officials also help to shape the adversaries they combat. Counterterrorism is a form of communication, as is terrorism. Communicating antiterrorism measures involves the construction of ‘enemy’ imagery as well as a reproduction of the native culture’s values and principles.<sup>19</sup>

Political scientist Lene Hansen has, as exponent of the *Copenhagen School in Security as practice*, demonstrated that security politics is to be considered a process of *agenda setting* and *framing*. Confirming a characteristic group identity in relation to outsiders and enemies is more relevant to this than genuine, physical power relations. When applied to counterterrorism, this means that the struggle against terrorism is not merely one against bombs and grenades, or additional laws and better security checks. More is at stake – preserving a nation’s ‘individuality’ in relation to ‘the alien’ in particular. When this is the case, i.e., when terrorism becomes urgent on a national level, the *Copenhagen School* speaks of a process of ‘securitisation’. This denotes that when governments succeed in depicting something or someone as a threat to national security, they are provided with the legitimacy and the possibility to employ exceptional measures – which naturally does not fail to affect the group of people targeted by these measures. ‘Securitisation’ is therefore an intersubjective process,

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<sup>18</sup> Arie Kruglanski, Martha Crenshaw, Jerrold Post and Jeff Victoroff, ‘The Psychology of “The War on Terror” and Other Terms for Counterterrorism’, *Scientific American Mind*, 15 October 2008, pp. 58–65.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. P. Norris, M. Kern and M. Just (eds.), *Framing Terrorism: The News Media, the Government and the Public*, (New York/London 2003).

meaning it does not concern an objective threat, but a subjective threat perception accepted by the majority of the population.<sup>20</sup>

This line of thinking was already introduced in 2007, as part of a European research project on 'Transnational Terrorism, Security & the Rule of Law'. In one of the papers, the contributors identified five approaches to counterterrorism in the academic literature up to that point: the 'Policy Perspective', the 'International Relations Perspective', the 'Hard Power versus Soft Power' model, the 'Communications Perspective' and the 'Economic Perspective'.<sup>21</sup> The 'Communications Perspective' to the study of counterterrorism was attributed to, most notably, Casebeer and Russell. In 2005, they argued that counterterrorism officials engage in communicating narratives, even without being aware of them.<sup>22</sup>

Since effectiveness of short term, concrete counterterrorism measures is hard to assess and given the fact that the social impact terrorist attacks generate in the mid and long term is a much more fundamental issue, we can conclude that the way governments contribute to this impact through the presentation of new measures, and by communicating their values, norms and strategies is at least as important in addressing the terrorist question. Performance matters, not just the terrorist's, but also the authorities' performance. 'Performance' or 'performative power' is introduced and ex-

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<sup>20</sup> See Lene Hansen, *Security As Practice: Discourse Analysis and the Bosnian War* (London: Routledge, 2006); See also Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver, *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

<sup>21</sup> *Transnational Terrorism, Security & the Rule of Law, 'Theoretical Treatise on Counterterrorism Approaches', 19 October 2007. Deliverable 10, Work package 6.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16-20; Casebeer and Russell, 'Storytelling', pp. 1-16.

plained in Judith Butler and J.L. Austin's discourse analysis and theory.<sup>23</sup> Butler describes the performative power of 'excitable speech' – like insults or hate speech – as 'not only a ritual practice: it is one of the influential rituals by which subjects are formed and reformulated'.<sup>24</sup> Here, performance pertains to communication, not only in a textual or verbal sense, but also in an action-oriented, act-like form of communication, as has been elaborated more recently by Erika Fischer-Lichte in her seminal work on 'the performative turn' in writing history.<sup>25</sup>

Applied to counterterrorism measures this means that their performative power lies in the repetition, the visibility, the authority with which they are proclaimed and the venue of power attributed to them. President Bush, proclaiming a 'War on Terror' has the authority to turn that metaphor into a reality; even more so, the utterance (or 'speech act') per se already is the beginning of a war, since he was supreme commander of the United States Armed Forces. Thus, the performative power of counterterrorism can be defined as the extent to which the national government, by means of its official counterterrorism policy and corresponding discourse (in statements, enactments, measures and ministers' remarks) aims to mobilise public and political support and in the last instance, wittingly or unwittingly,

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<sup>23</sup> J.L. Austin, *How To Do Things with Words* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962); Malcolm Coulthard, *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis* 2nd ed. (New York: Longman, 1985); Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

<sup>24</sup> Butler, *Excitable Speech*, p. 160.

<sup>25</sup> Fischer-Lichte, 'Notwendige Ergänzung des Text-Modells', *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 23 November 1999, p. 20; *Theater als Modell für eine performative Kultur: Zum performative turn in der europäischen Kultur des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Universitätsreden 46), Saarbrücken 2000; Cf. also Jürgen Martschukat and Steffen Patzold (eds.), *Geschichtswissenschaft und 'performative turn': Ritual, Inszenierung*.

assists the purported terrorists in creating social drama. 'Social drama' is used here in line with Robin Erica Wagner-Pacifiçi who adapted this concept to the Italian government's handling of the abduction and death of statesman Aldo Moro. She, in turn, draws on Victor Turner and Paul Ricoeur to define 'social drama' as a moment of social transformation where society is threatened, a crisis is at hand, more and more protagonists are drawn in, and divisions already extant in society are invoked and aggravated.<sup>26</sup>

Counterterrorism measures are a way of communicating to the audience what society should look like, what constitutes a collective threat, what actions are considered legal and what is defined alien and hostile. Counterterrorist strategies thus are strategies of social control, as Crelinsten has stated as well.<sup>27</sup> These strategies come with costs attached. Laura K. Donohue, amongst others, laid the ground work for assessing the costs of different counterterrorist instruments. Donohue characterises the adoption of new powers and counterterrorist laws as a spiral within which special institutional interests are embedded and creep into the everyday (criminal) realm. This function of creeping and institutional engraving of counterterrorism measures in a society's fabric brings with it all kinds of political, social and economic costs, not in the least a loss of legitimacy, infringements on civil liberties, or a loss of credibility in the security domain.<sup>28</sup> As will become apparent through performative acts, such as

<sup>26</sup> Robin Erica Wagner-Pacifiçi, *The Moro Morality Play: Terrorism as Social Drama* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 8-9. She quotes: Paul Ricoeur, 'The Model of the Text: Social Action considered as a Text', *New Literary History* 5 (1973), pp. 91-117; Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, vol. 1 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984); Victor Turner, 'Social Dramas and Stories about Them', *Critical Inquiry* (Autumn 1980), pp. 141-168.

<sup>27</sup> Crelinsten, *Counterterrorism*, p. 219.

<sup>28</sup> Laura K. Donohue, *The Cost of Counterterrorism. Power, Politics, and Liberty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 24.

this New World Summit as organised and staged by Jonas Staal, is how identities of terrorists and counterterrorists are being constructed and how norms and values of justice and injustice, of acceptable behaviour and deviance are collectively suggested, created, confirmed or discarded. National governments and international governments can put militant activists on the 'black list' of terrorism, thereby externalising them from the normal rule of law and attributing to them the category of 'enemies of the state'. Purported terrorists can also present their story as an alternative way of justice seeking, as a strive for a more just society, thereby justifying their violence as 'counter-violence' to perceived oppression and 'state terror'.

In performing or narrating these stories and identities, both suspected terrorists and counterterrorists tune into the expectations and fears of the population and try to mobilise them by breaking through the 'fourth wall' that separates the targeted audience from the stage on which they are performing. The act of ascribed terrorism should be considered a performance in the category of 'simultaneous dramaturgy', developed by Brazilian dramaturgist Augusto Boal: 'a technique designed to involve spectators in a scene without requiring their physical presence onstage.'<sup>29</sup> A terrorist act as performance undertakes the attempt to 'demolish the wall that separates actors from spectators. Spectators feel that they can intervene in the action. The action ceases to be presented in a deterministic manner, as something inevitable, as Fate'.<sup>30</sup> At the same time, this type of performance has a thoroughly open character, that allows both the protagonists and the spectators to create and (re-)write the script as

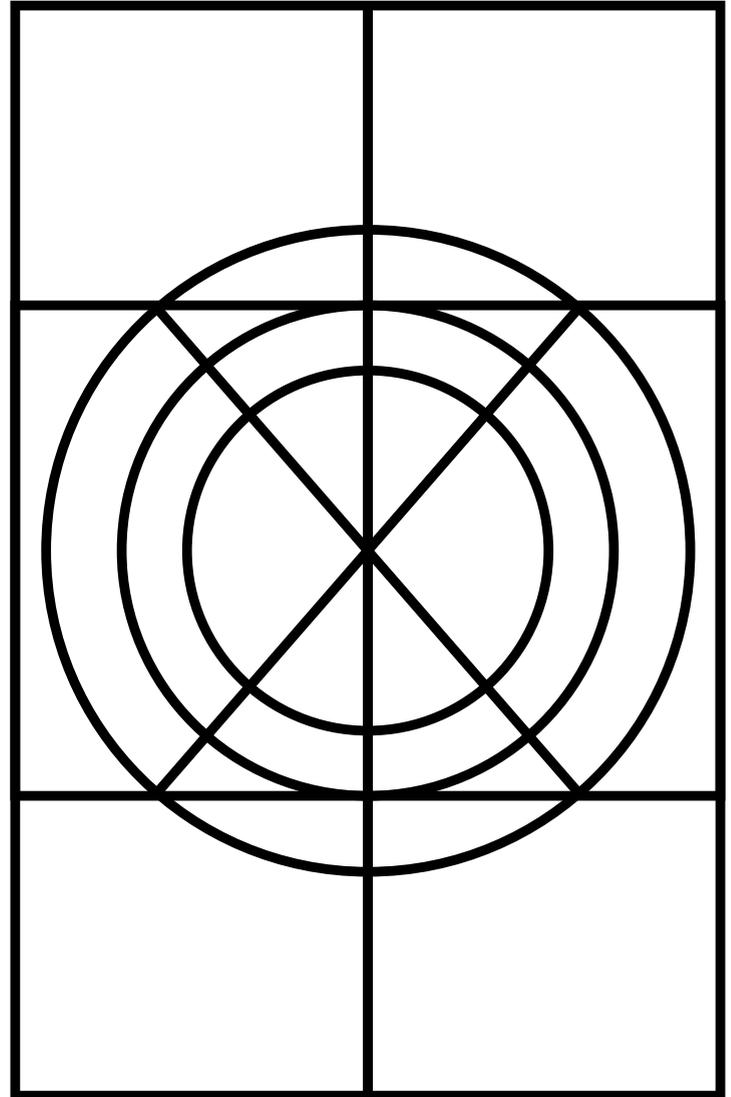
<sup>29</sup> Cf. Elizabeth Bell, *Theories of Performance*, p. 208.

<sup>30</sup> Augusto Boal, *Theatre of the Oppressed* (New York: Theatre Communications Group, 1985), p. 134.

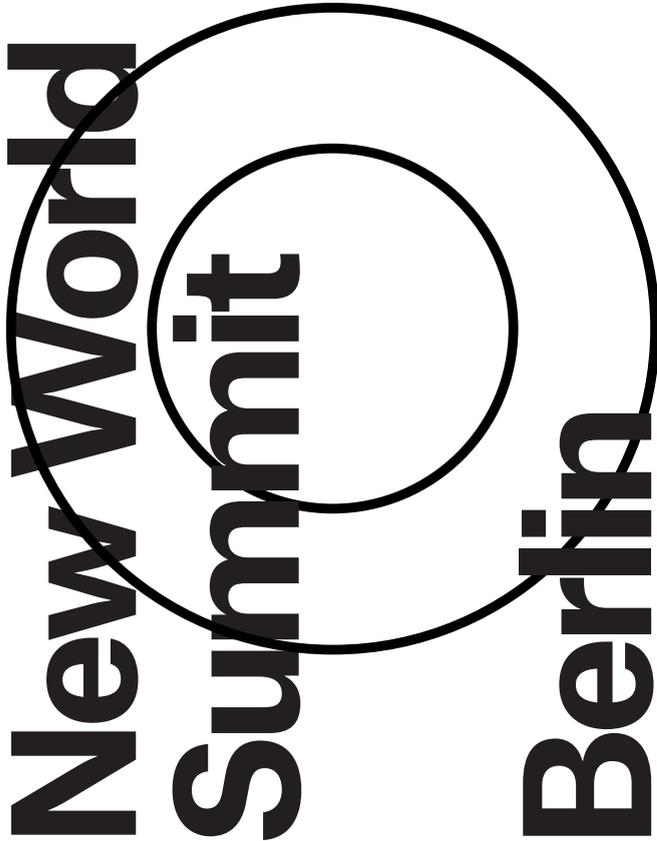
it unfolds. This model of performance helps us to discuss the question whether and to what extent the interplay of terrorist attacks, purported preparations or perceived radicalisation on the one hand and the public, media and political reactions thereupon on the other, and embedded within the historical context of socio-cultural configurations and collective action repertoires, succeeds in breaking up traditions, undermine social norms and values and helps to bring about new ideas of justice and injustice.

In rehearsing these stories and playing out identities of activism, state responses and collective indignation, in a performative act such as this New World Summit, we can contribute to the critical debate on (counter)terrorism, identify the different strategies that are acted out, and expose the political struggle that lies behind the framing and defining of someone or something as terrorism. In this sense, we will be able to unpack and overcome the – often – too simple dichotomy of terrorism and counterterrorism, and try to reflect on our own role as ‘spect-actors’ to the theatre of terror.

Beatrice de Graaf (1976) studied Modern History and German at Utrecht University and in Bonn. She received her PhD degree in 2004, in Utrecht. De Graaf worked as assistant professor at the Department of International History at Utrecht University. In 2007 she helped to establish the Centre for Terrorism and Counterterrorism of Campus The Hague, Leiden University, where she was appointed associate professor in 2009 and full professor of Conflict and Security History in 2012. She has published *Evaluating Counterterrorism Performance: A Comparative Study* (London: Routledge, 2011) and *Gevaarlijke vrouwen* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2012).

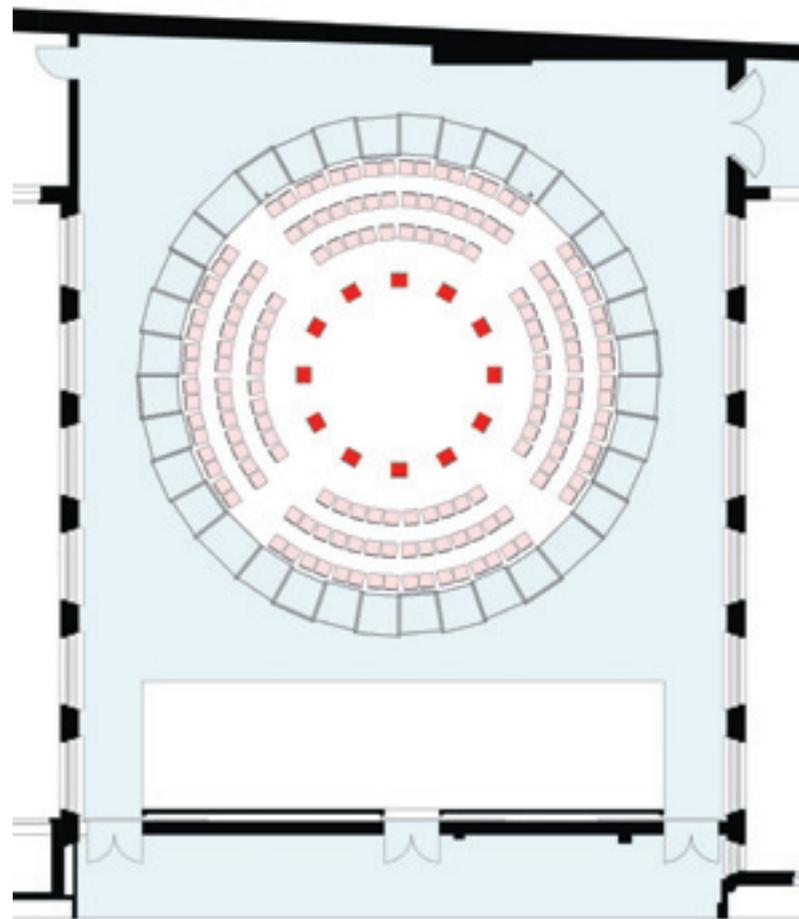
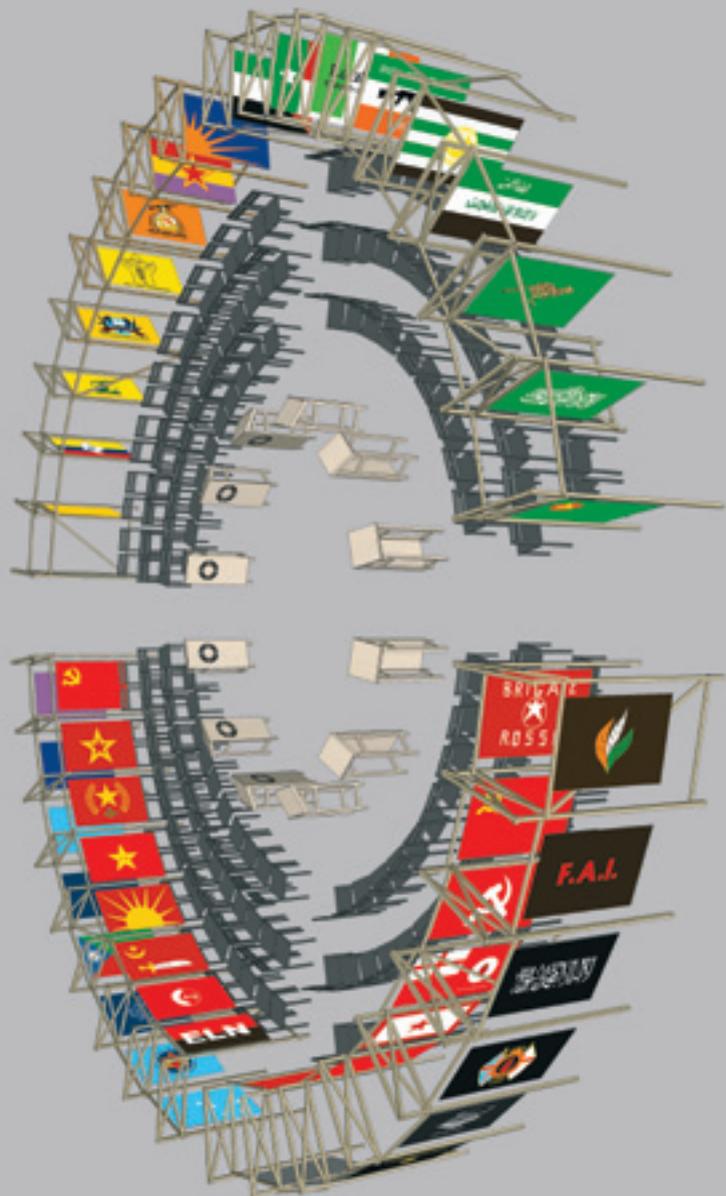


# New World Summit Berlin

The logo consists of two overlapping circles. The text 'New World' is written vertically on the left side of the larger circle, 'Summit' is written vertically in the center of the overlapping area, and 'Berlin' is written vertically on the right side of the larger circle.

## NEW WORLD SUMMIT BERLIN

The first edition of the New World Summit on May 4 and 5, 2012, in the Sophiensaele in Berlin hosted four political and three juridical representatives of organizations placed on so-called international designated terrorist lists. During the first day entitled “Reflections on the Closed Society,” these representatives spoke about the histories of their organizations, their political goals, and their confrontation with the “limits” of democracy by being classified as “terrorist.” During the second day entitled “Proposals for the Open Society,” the representatives were asked about their proposals for political reforms of the political systems currently making use of terrorist lists before being questioned during the rest of the day by the audience on their political viewpoints and its consequences. The first half of the day the lawyers debated (1) the juridical grounds for terrorist organizations; (2) more consequent measures for applying the rule of law; and (3) concrete proposals for law reform. The second half of the day, the political representatives debated (1) the question of legitimacy of a state organized on the principle of self-determination; (2) the legitimacy of armed struggle in pursuit of self-determination; and (3) concrete proposals for democratic reform.





## Representing the Holy Land Foundation

Nancy Hollander

Nancy Hollander is a member and partner of the firm Freedman Boyd Hollander Goldberg Ives & Duncan PA. Her practice is largely devoted to criminal cases, including those involving US national security issues. She is one of the most famous lawyers in the USA, known for her active commitment to upholding the constitutional legal guarantees of her clients when they are in danger of being ignored by executive power. In recent years she has been involved as counsel for two prisoners at Guantanamo Bay and members of the Holy Land Foundation, whose charity activities supposedly benefited organizations linked to Hamas. Hollander discussed the intricacies of this case.



Fadile Yıldırım (right)

## Women and Democracy: The Kurdish Question and Beyond

Fadile Yıldırım

Fadile Yıldırım has been engaged in the struggle for the rights of the Kurdish people, specifically Kurdish women. Her activities for the Kurdish Women's movement caused her to spend ten years in a Turkish prison. Fadile Yıldırım is presently one of the driving forces of the Kurdish women's movement. She spoke about the rights of Kurdish women, basing her position on the little-known radical feminist theories of Öcalan, amongst others. Abdullah Öcalan is the founder and leader of the Kurdistan Workers Party; he has been in prison in solitary confinement since 1999. The PKK was listed as a terrorist organization by both the EU and the USA in 2004.



## Representing the Tamil Tigers

Victor Koppe

Victor Koppe is a member and partner of the Böhler Advocaten firm. He studied international law and international relations at Utrecht University (Netherlands) and the University of Virginia School of Law (USA). He is specialized in (political) extradition matters, terrorism cases, cases concerning the Dutch Intelligence Service (the AIVD), cases for international tribunals and international criminal law. Victor Koppe dealt with a number of high-profile terrorism cases (PKK, ETA, Ansar al-Islam), among which that of various people accused of membership of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (the LTTE), a separatist organization based in Sri Lanka that waged a secessionist and nationalist campaign to create an independent state in the north and east of Sri Lanka. The LTTE was designated a terrorist organization by the USA in 1997 and by the EU in 2006. Koppe presented the history, objectives and political goals of the LTTE and describe his legal efforts to get them removed from the EU terrorist list.



## The Tuareg People's Right to Self-Determination

Moussa Ag Assarid

Moussa Ag Assarid is the European representative of the National Movement of the Liberation of Azawad (MNLA). The MNLA declared the independence of the state of Azawad on April 6, 2012, after an armed rebellion which lasted several months. This as yet unrecognized state comprises about 60% of Mali and is meant to provide a homeland to the Tuareg people, who live in an area of the Sahara comprising parts of Libya, Niger, Algeria, Mali and Mauritania. Assarid spoke of the conflicts in the region, his attempts to engage in international diplomatic exchanges on behalf of the MNLA and the lobby that has been initiated to label the MNLA as a “terrorist” organization.



## Representing Sami Al Arian

Linda Moreno

Linda Moreno has practiced criminal defense law in both state and federal courts for the last thirty years around the United States. She has successfully defended clients in a number of high profile cases. She successfully represented Sami al-Arian, a Palestinian professor, in what was seen as the seminal test of the Patriot Act in *United States vs. Sami Amin Al Arian, et al.* in 2003. Al Arian was accused of raising funds for the Palestinian Islamic Jihad. The court case against him raised many important questions about the Rule of Law and the war on terrorism. Moreno shared her reflections about this case with the audience.



## Negotiating the Basque People's Right to Self-Determination

Jon Andoni Lekue

Jon Andoni Lekue is a Basque lawyer and activist for Basque independence. He was active in the Basque youth movement, considered by the Spanish authorities as linked to the outlawed ETA – Euskadi Ta Askatasuna or Basque Homeland and Freedom. The ETA has fought for the independence of the Basque country, which straddles Spain and France although 90% of its population lives on the Spanish side. Jon Andoni Lekue later joined Batasuna, considered the political wing of the ETA, until it was outlawed by the Spanish government in 2003. Since then he has been involved in continuous attempts to seek international mediation in the conflict between the Spanish state and Basque independence advocates. The latest initiative of which he is part is the Basque Peace Process. He talked about the evolution of the negotiations for Basque independence over the years.









Flags from organizations in the New World Summit archive, arranged by color. For details on each organization see [www.newworldsummit.eu](http://www.newworldsummit.eu).



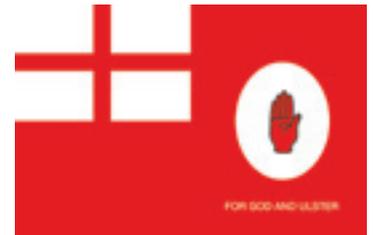
BRIGATE ROSSE



COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU (SHINING PATH)



COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA



LOYALIST VOLUNTEER FORCE



UNITED NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (UNLF)



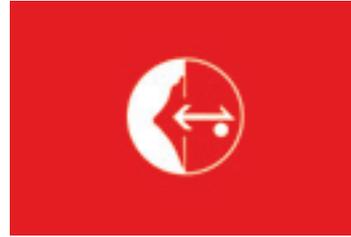
DEVIRIMCI HALK KURTULUŞ PARTISI-CEPHESI (DHKP)



TAMIL İLA VİTUTALAI PULIKAL (TAMIL TIGERS)



EJERCITO DE LIBERACION NACIONAL(ELN)



AL-JABHA AL-SHA'BIYYA LI-TAHRIR FILASTIN



'ABU SAYYAF GROUP



WORLD TAMIL MOVEMENT



EPANASTATIKI ORGANOSI DEKAEFTA NOEMVRI



PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY OF MANIPUR



MAOIST COMMUNIST CENTRE (MCC)



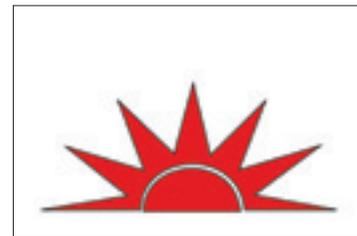
DEVRIMCI HALK 14-KURTULUŞ PARTISI-CEPHEŞİ (DHKC)



PARTIYA KARKARÊN KURDISTAN (PKK)



AKHIL BHARAT NEPALI EKTA SAMAJ



UNITED LIBERATION FRONT OF ASOM (ULFA)



SÂZMÂN-E MOJÂHEDİN-E KHALQ-E IRÂN



ULSTER VOLUNTEER FORCE (UVF)



HARAKAT AL-JIHAD AL-ISLAMI FI FILASTIN



FUERZAS ARMADAS REVOLUCIONARIAS DE COLOMBIA - EJERCITO DE PUEBLO(FARC)



HEZBOLLAH



INDIAN MUJAHIDIN (IM)



HOLY LAND FOUNDATION FOR RELIEF AND DEVELOPMENT



KATA'IB HIZBALLAH



GRUPO DE RESISTENCIA ANTI-FASCISTA PRIMERO DE OCTUBRE (GRAPO)



JAMA'AT ANSAR AL-SUNNA



AL-JABHA LI-TAHRIR FILASTIN



NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OF TRIPURA



REAL IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY (RIRA)



CONTINUITY IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY CIRA



IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY



HARKAT-UL-MUJAHIDEEN



HEZB-E ISLAMI GULBUDDIN (HIG)



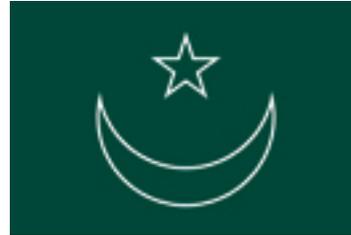
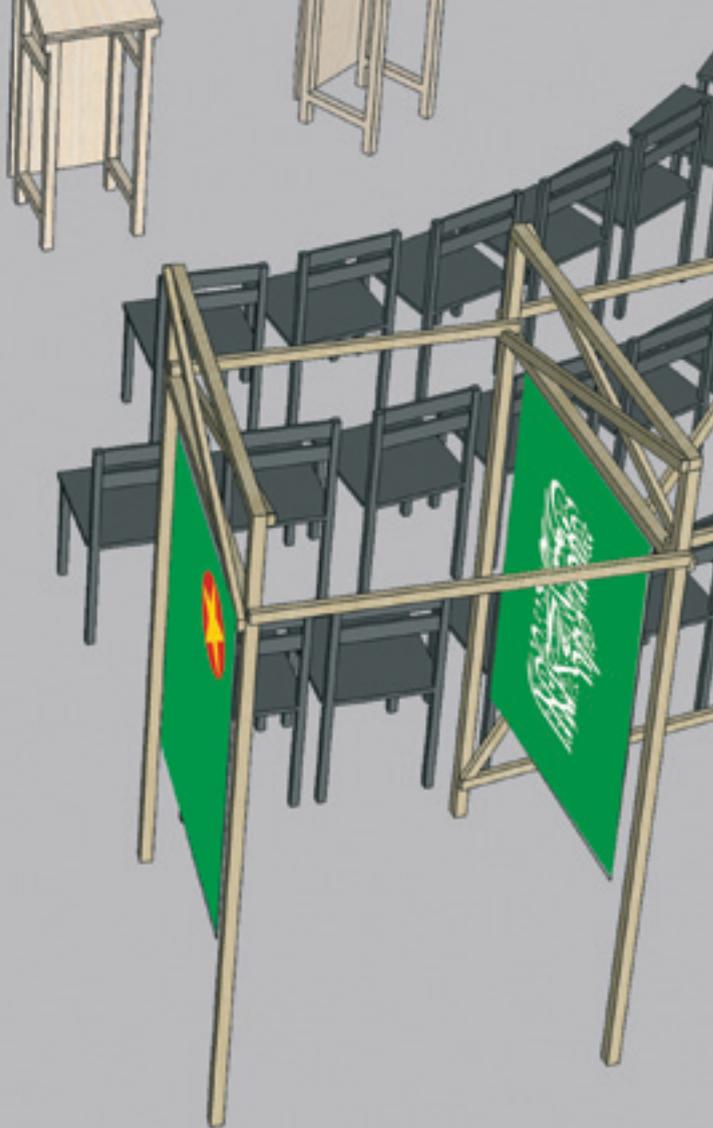
TRIPURA TIGER



HARAKAT-AL-MUQAWAMA-AL-ISLAMIYYA-HAMAS



NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT OF BODOLAND(NDFB)



DUKHTARAN-E-MILLAT



HIZB-UL-MUJAHIDEEN



JUNDALLAH



POPULAR FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE - GENERAL COMMAND



GIA



AL-AQSA



AL-SHABAAB



IRISH NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY (INLA)



RED HAND COMMANDO (RHC)



AUM SHINRIKYO



BALUCHISTAN LIBERATION ARMY (BLA)



ISLAMI BÜYÜKDOĞU AKINCILAR CEPHESİ (IBDA-C)



ETA



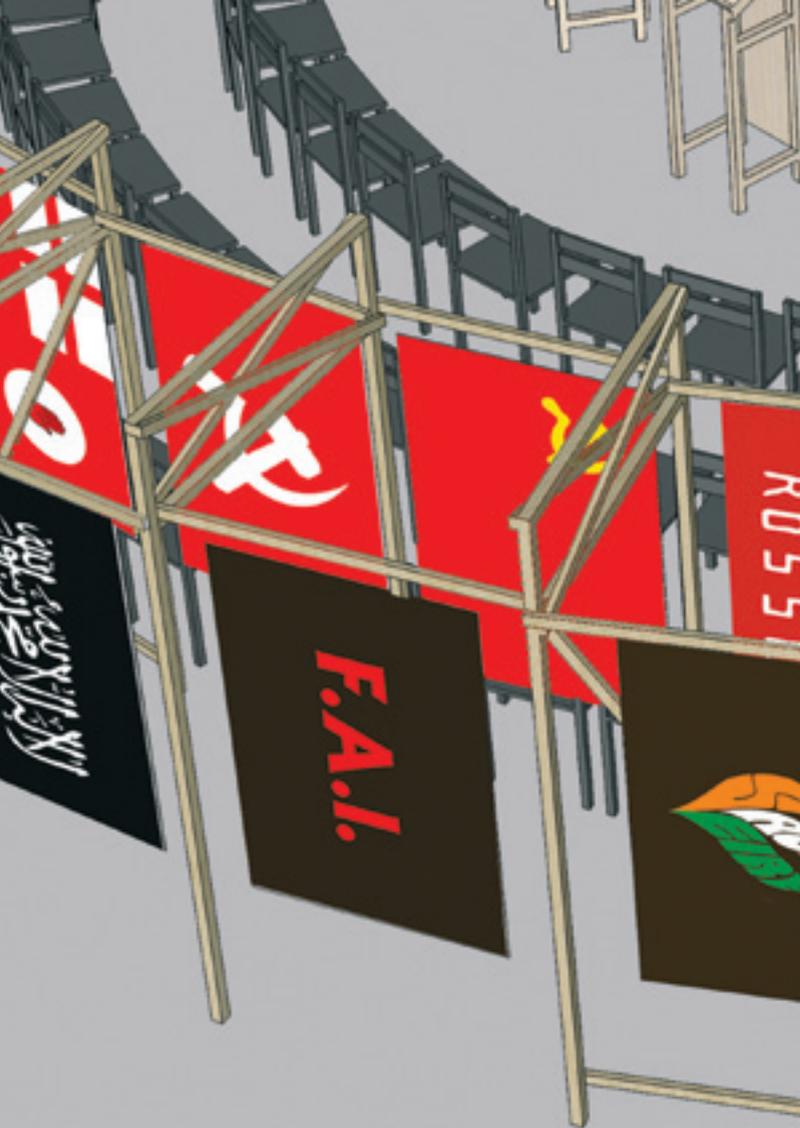
FIANNA NA EIREANN



IRISH PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (IPLO)



KHALISTAN ZINDABAD FORCE



AUTODEFENSAS UNIDAS DE COLOMBIA



ULSTER DEFENCE ASSOCIATION (UDA)



SAOR ÉIRE



FEDERAZIONE ANARCHICA INFORMALE



ISLAMIC JIHAD UNION (IJU)



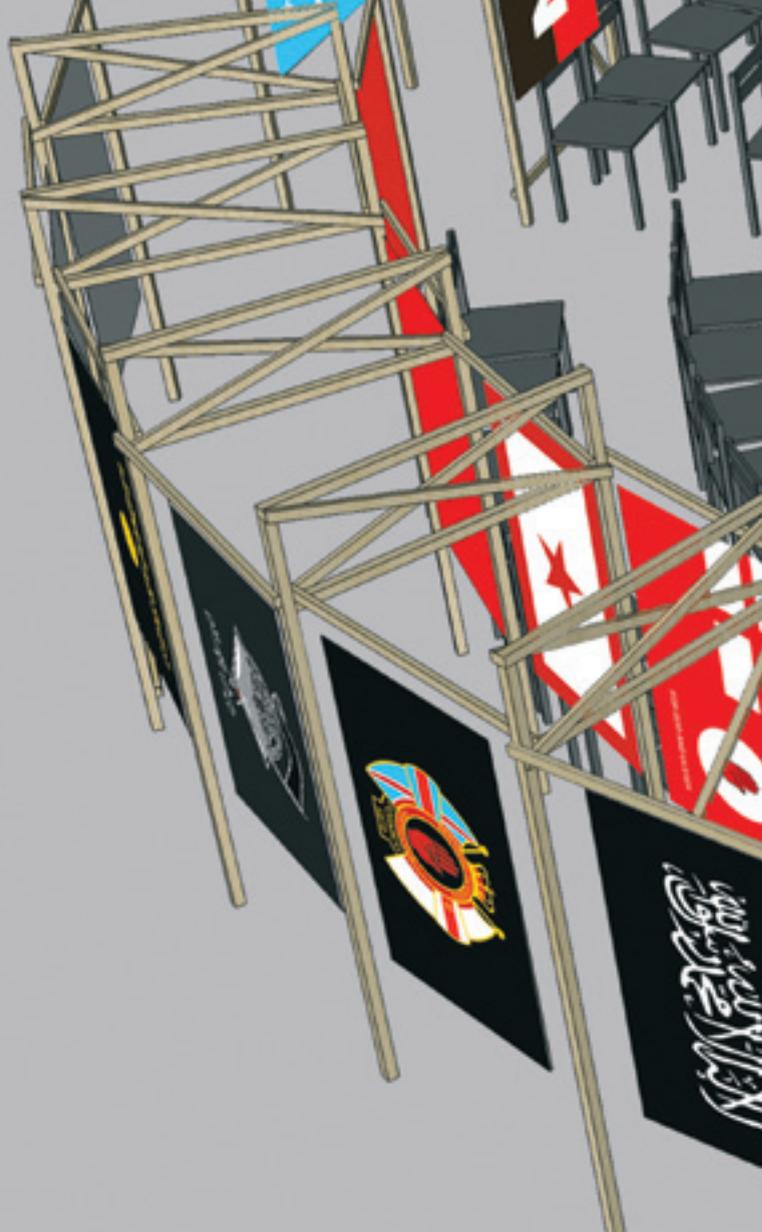
ADEN-ABYAN ISLAMIC ARMY



AL-ITIHAD AL-ISLAMI



O'ZBEKISTON ISLOMIY HARAKATI (IMU)



RED HAND DEFENDERS (RHD)



JAYSH AL-ISLAM



AL-QA'IDA



AL-QA'IDA IN IRAQ



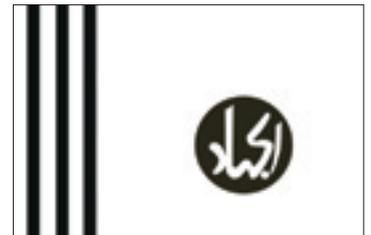
AL-QA'IDA IN THE ISLAMIC MAGHREB



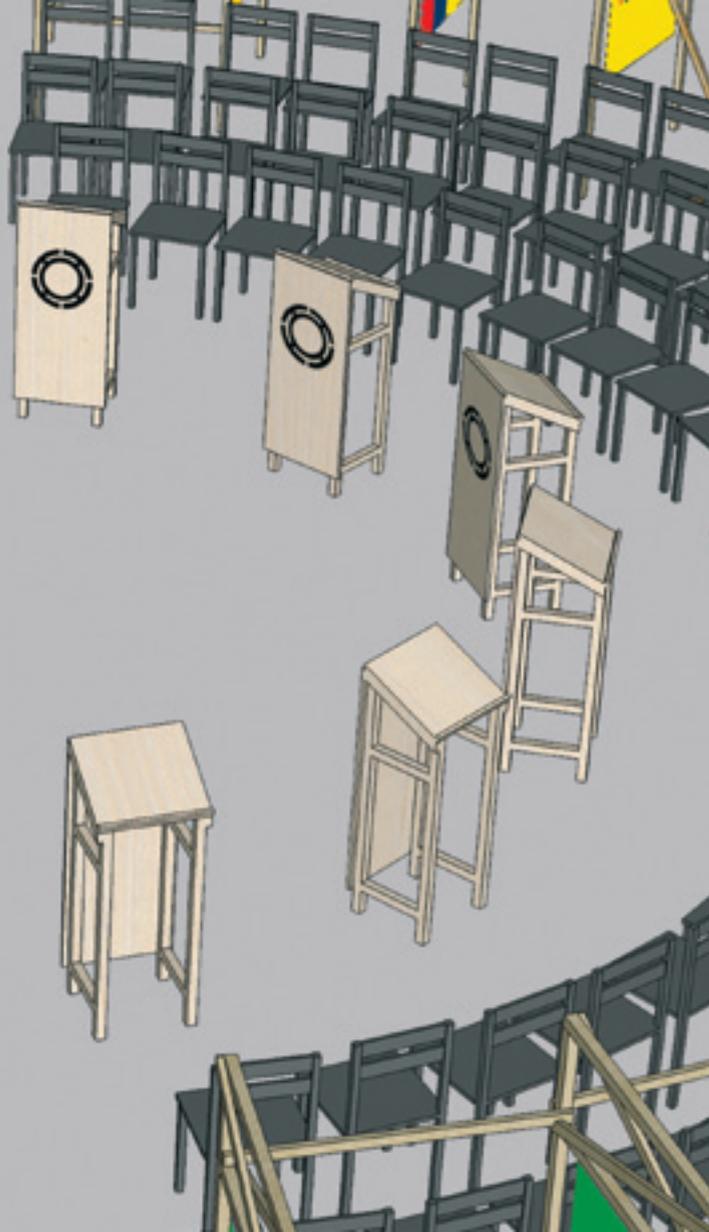
AL-QA'IDA IN THE ARABIAN PENINSULA



CUMANN NA MBÁN



JAISH-E-MOHAMMED



INTERNATIONAL SIKH YOUTH FEDERATION



TEYRÊBAZÊN AZADIYA KURDISTAN (TAK)



BABBAR KHALSA



AL AQSA MARTYRS' BRIGADES



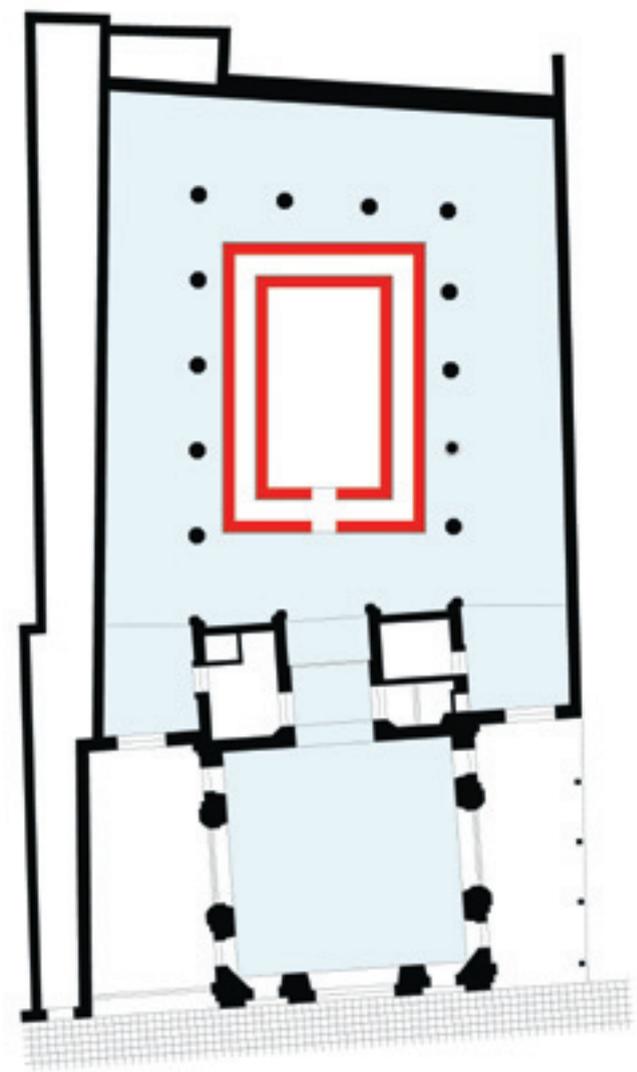
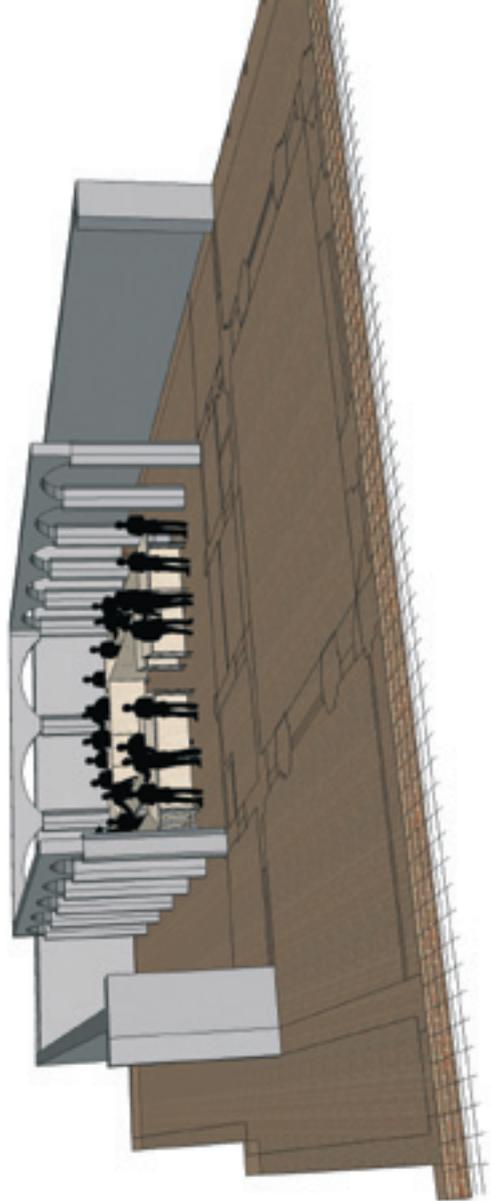
BATASUNA

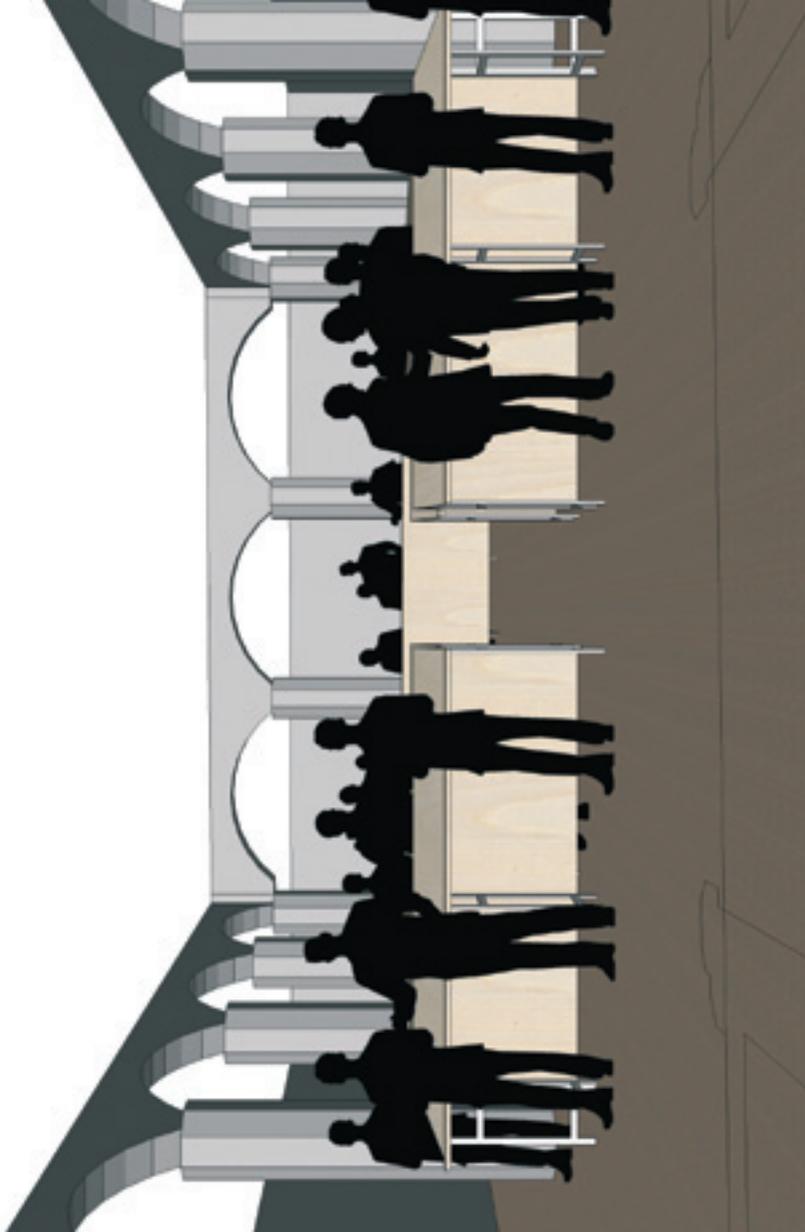
# New World Summit

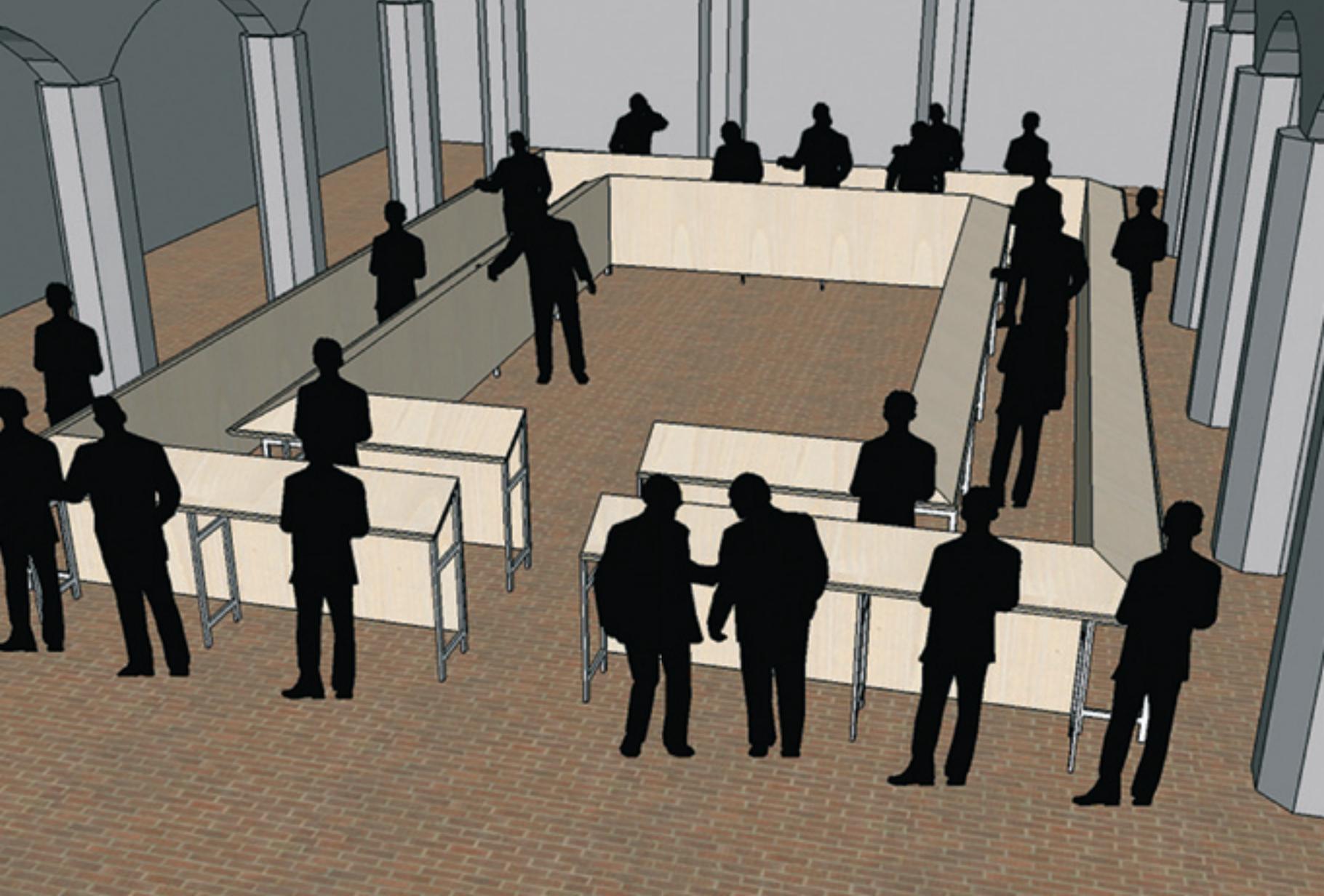
## Leiden

## NEW WORLD SUMMIT LEIDEN

The second summit will take place on December 29, 2012, and focus on the political, economic, ideological, and juridical interests that are invested in upholding the notion of the “terrorist” by hosting as the keynote speaker Professor Jose Maria Sison, co-founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and its armed wing, the New People’s Army (NPA). Both organizations are currently included on “terrorist” lists as a result of their ongoing armed struggle with what they describe as a “semi-colonial and semi-feudal ruling system,” under “US imperialist control,” and having the “comprador bourgeoisie, landlords and bureaucrat capitalists” as ruling classes. Several experts representing the different layers of the system that revolves around this notion of “terrorism,” separating certain organizations and individuals from society, will be asked to respond to Sison. In turn, a lawyer, a public prosecutor, a judge, a politician, and a political theorist will respond to Sison, before engaging in a discussion with the audience that will focus on (1) the political aims of the CPP and NPA; (2) the concept of terrorism as an instrument to exclude these organizations from the political sphere; and (3) the possibilities of exploring a concept of a “limitless” democracy.



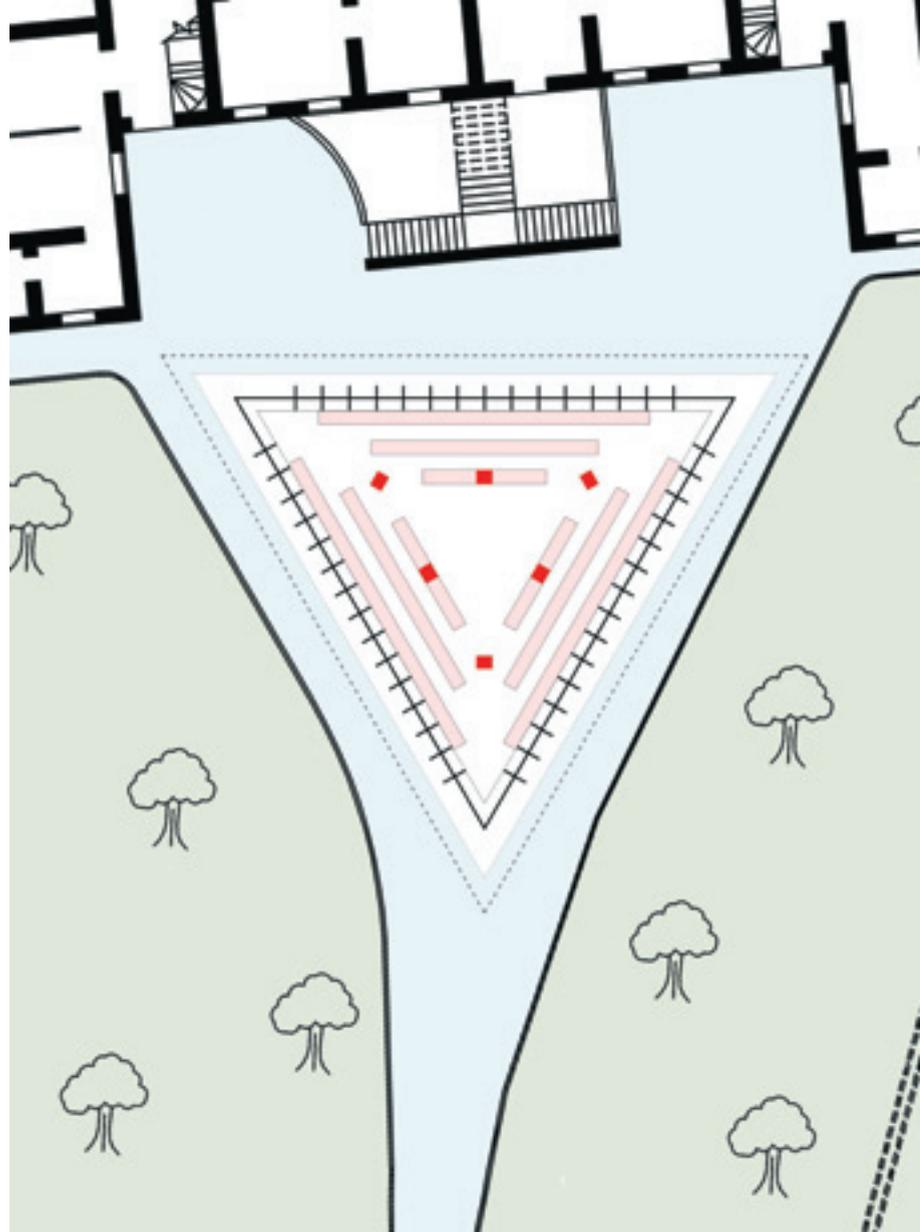
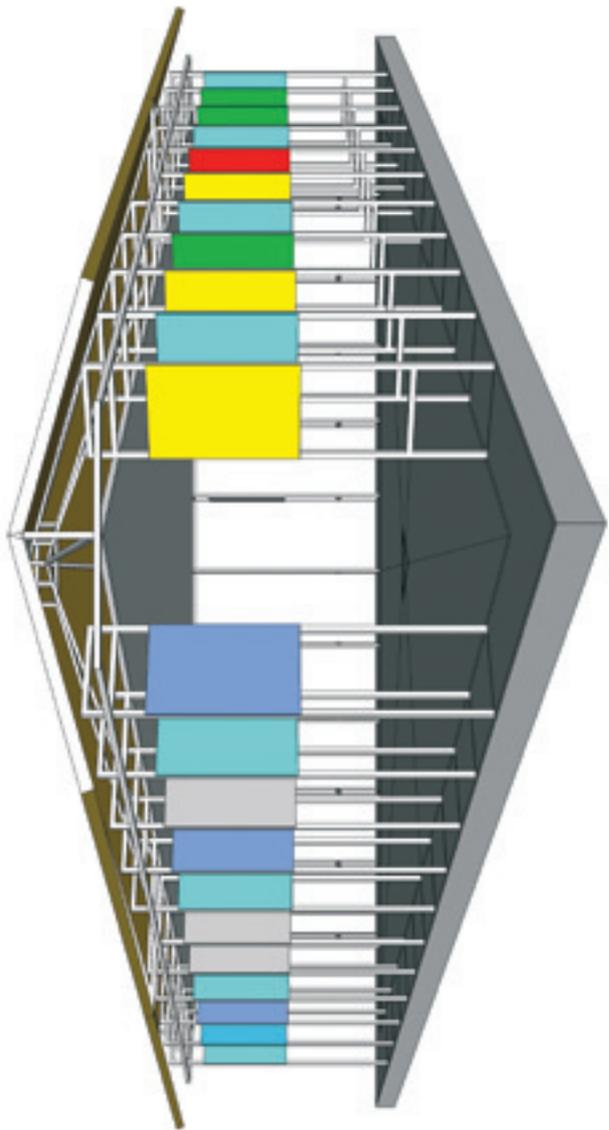


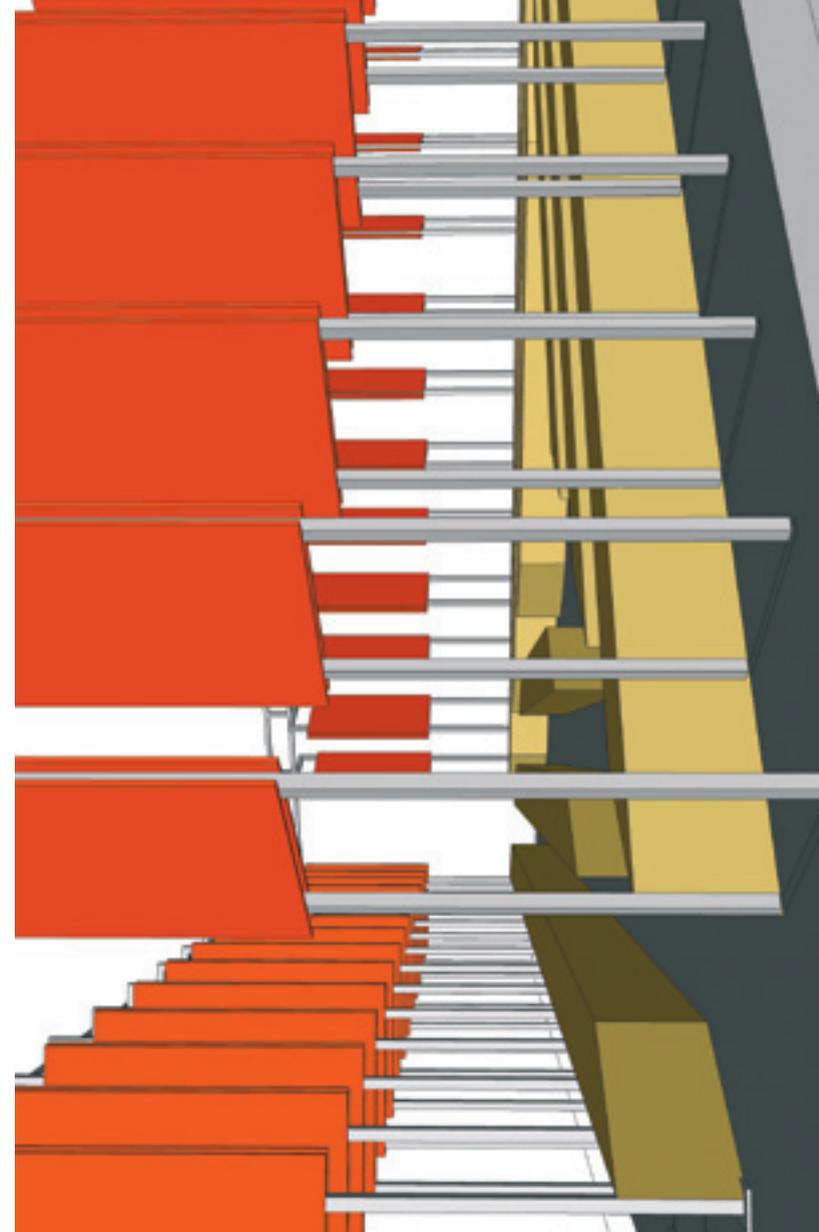
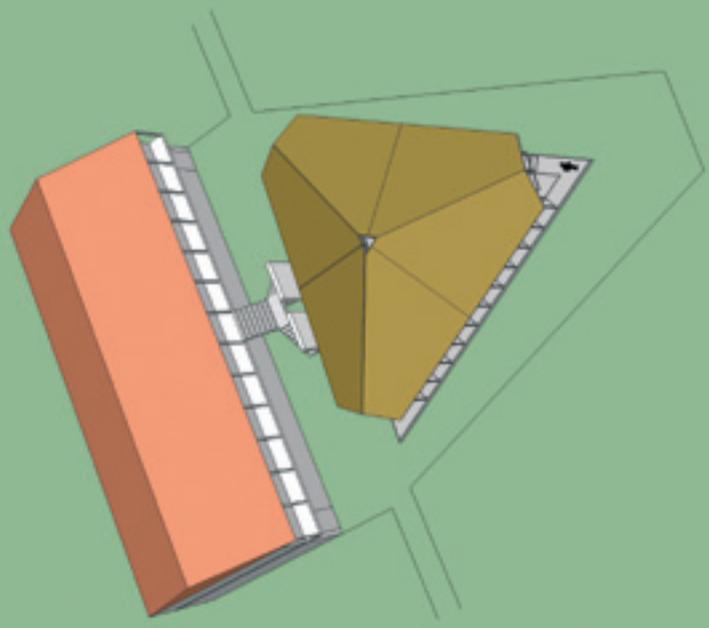


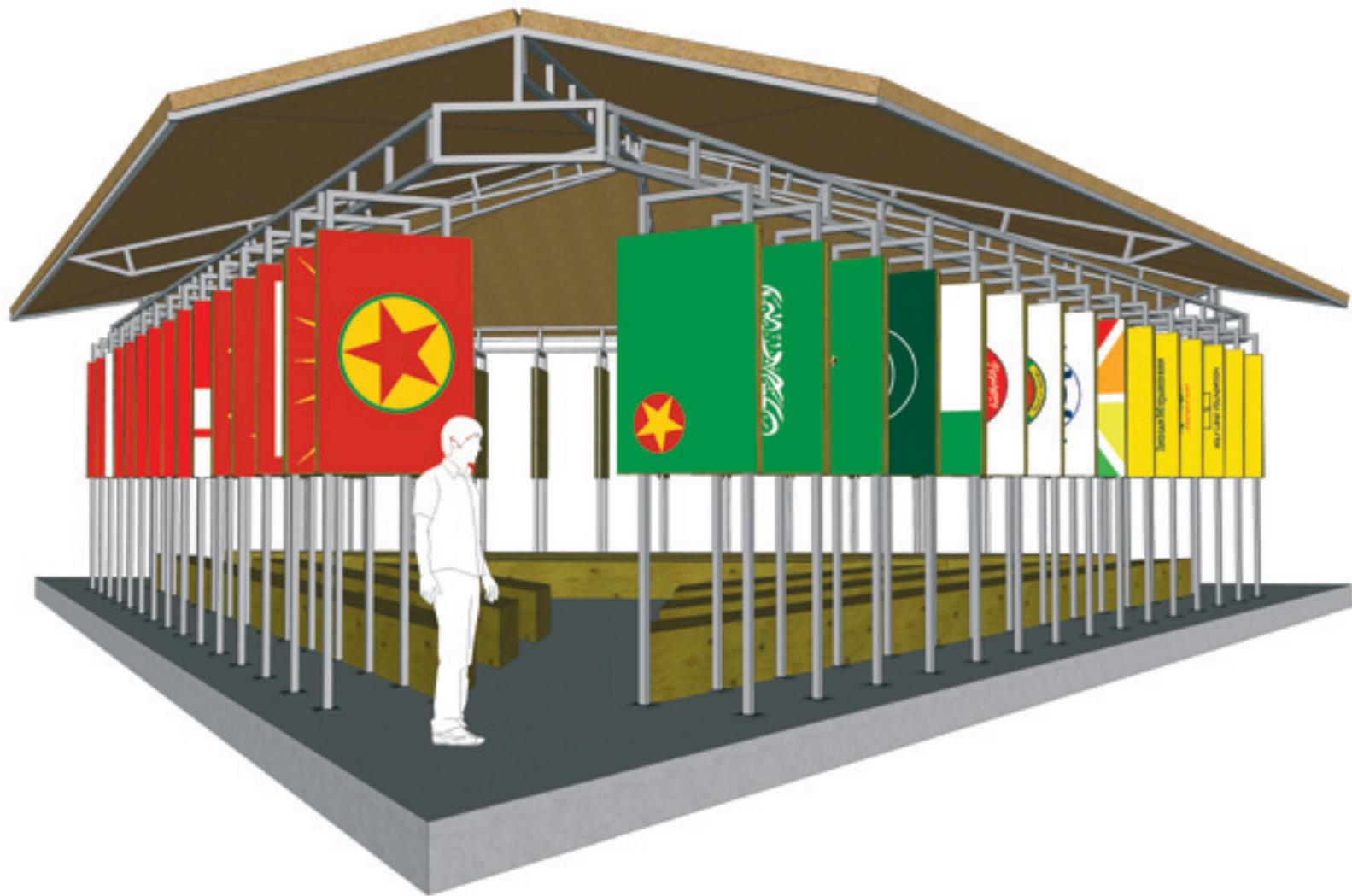
# New World Summit Kochi

## NEW WORLD SUMMIT KOCHI

The third edition of the New World Summit, to be held in March 2013 in an open air pavilion at the Aspen House in Kochi in India, features a number of representatives of political organizations “banned” from the political arena by the Indian government, who will present lectures on the histories of their organizations, on their political struggles, and gained results, as well as debate their views with each other and the audience. The Indian context shows that there are profound ties between these organizations – sometimes even called “terrorist” – and the colonial legacy. The many movements in India that continue to fight for the right to self-determination comprise a wide variety of political orientations, including sectarian movements of Sikhs, Muslims, Baptist-Christians, and Hindus, the political movement of the Maoist Naxalites, and the territorial struggles of the indigenous peoples of Tripura, Manipur, Assam, and Tamil Nadu. The New World Summit in Kochi is an attempt to make these political struggles, waged across the Indian sub-continent, visible, and an investigation of the relationship between India’s history of colonialism and democratization and the organizations currently excluded from the political process.







This publication is a project of the New World Summit

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Utopisch Nest is an experimental collaboration project between music theater ensemble De Veenfabriek and Museum De Lakenhal in Leiden. In an interdisciplinary context, artists and scientists engage with specific parts of the program of De Veenfabriek or Museum De Lakenhal. Jonas Staal was invited in 2012 to give his reaction on the thematic question of De Veenfabriek: Do we still believe in society?

[www.utopischnest.nl](http://www.utopischnest.nl)

The New World Summit is: Jonas Staal (artist and founder); Robert Kluijver (curator and consultant); Vincent W.J. van Gerven Oei (editor and consultant); Younes Bouadi (production and research); Renée in der Maur (production and research assistance); Paul Kuipers (architect); Remco van Bladel (visual identity); Sjoerd Oudman (web design); Kasper Oostergetel, Reinier Kranendonk, and Geert van Mil (development and construction); Jan de Bruin (film documentation).

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[www.newworldsummit.eu](http://www.newworldsummit.eu)



MUSEUM DE LAKENHAL

