



No. 61

May 4, 1987

THE INTERNATIONAL ANTI-AQUINO NETWORK: THREAT TO PHILIPPINE DEMOCRACY

INTRODUCTION

One of the most serious threats to Philippine President Corazon Aquino comes from the Communist Party of The Philippines (CPP). With its 30,000-guerrilla New People's Army, the CPP controls at least 20 percent of the Philippine countryside, from which it continues to wage its 18-year war against Philippine democracy--which now results in eight deaths daily.

A major source of financial support for the CPP's anti-Aquino efforts comes via a diverse network of fronts in the United States and other Western countries. These front groups rarely admit their support for the CPP or make known how much they give to CPP-controlled fronts in the Philippines. But this could amount to millions of dollars every year. The Reagan Administration strongly supports the Aquino government. One of the most concrete demonstrations of this support would be for Washington to crack down on those U.S.-based groups working to undermine Aquino.

Low Profile. In the Philippines and abroad, the CPP's National Democratic Front (NDF) is responsible for propaganda and seeking "united fronts" with noncommunists. In Europe, and to a lesser degree Australia, the NDF openly seeks support. In the U.S. it can keep a low profile because such groups as the Union of Democratic Filipinos, Alliance for Philippine Concerns, Philippine Workers Support Committee, and the Church Coalition for Human Rights in the Philippines directly or indirectly support CPP goals.

The United States has a vital interest in ensuring the success of Philippine democracy. This has prompted Congress and the Reagan Administration to provide Manila with \$360 million in fiscal 1986 and \$500 million in fiscal 1987 in economic and military aid. This year Congress is expected to approve another \$240 million.

As Aquino consolidates democratic gains, pursues military reform, and promotes economic growth, the CPP's mass base in the Philippines will decrease. To offset the revenue losses from this, the CPP increasingly may seek funds abroad. The U.S. could help prevent this by joining the Aquino government in alerting friendly governments to the presence of known CPP/NDF fronts. These governments then can warn their citizens who

unwittingly might support Philippine communism. In addition, Congress should hold hearings to investigate U.S. private sector support for the CPP. Lastly, the U.S. should join with Manila and other friends in the region to cooperate diplomatically or if needed, militarily, to stop Soviet bloc aid to the CPP.

THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT (NDF)

Through the NDF, the CPP hopes to disarm the Aquino government politically by infiltrating the government, press, universities, church, and labor unions. The NDF is headed by Antonio Zumel, a CPP Central Committee member.¹ In the Philippines, NDF constituent groups include Christians for National Liberation (CNL), League of Filipino Students (LFS), Nationalist Youth (KM), Association of Nationalist Teachers, Organization of Nationalist Women, and the Association of Revolutionary Workers.²

Groups thought to be heavily influenced by the CPP or controlled by the NDF include the May First Movement (KMU) union front, New Nationalist Alliance (BAYAN), Party of the Nation (Partido ng Bayan), Peasant Movement of the Philippines (KMP), GABRIELLA, Movement of Attorneys for Brotherhood, Integrity and Nationalism (MABINI), and the National Alliance for Justice, Freedom and Democracy.

A minimal CPP program for the Philippines is outlined in the January 1985 Program of the NDF. First it endorses the CPP's current "people's war" with the New People's Army as its main force. It intends to establish a "People's Democratic Republic" and then it will terminate all treaties with the U.S., cancel all foreign loans, and create "people's tribunals" to "try and punish the enemies of the revolution."³ A preview of this occurred in late 1985 when the CPP/NPA executed over 690 people in one area of Northern Mindanao under their control.⁴

Gullible Foreign Groups. NDF-controlled church organizations in the Philippines are important funding conduits to the CPP. Former CPP Central Committee member and ex-priest Diwa Madlangbayan (a pseudonym) admits that two of the Catholic Church's major national social action secretariats that are heavily influenced by the CPP/NDF are the National Secretariat for Social Action, Justice, and Peace (NASSA) and the Association of Major Religious Superiors.⁵ An affiliate of the latter is the oft-cited human rights group, Task Force Detainees (TFD). TFD is most diligent in cataloguing human

1. "Who Runs the NPA?" Asiaweek, February 22, 1987, p. 14.

2. Guy Sacerdoti and Philip Bowring, "Marx, Mao, and Marcos," Far Eastern Economic Review, November 21, 1985, p. 55.

3. Drafting Committee NDF Secretariat, Program of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines, NDF Publishing House, January 1, 1985.

4. Dr. John Whitehall, "OPERATION ZOMBIE, Communists Killing Communists in the Philippines," Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, March 1, 1987.

5. Patrick J. Byrne, Targeting the Philippines: The Role of Radical Labor, Church, and Aid Organizations, Submission no. 84, Parliamentary Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs And Defence, (Reference: The Situation in the Philippines and Its Implications for Australia) Canberra, 19 February 1986, 12 March 1986, (Official Hansard Report) Volume IV., p. S 920.

rights abuses by the Armed Forces of the Philippines but refuses to document similar abuses by the communists.

NDF control of these organizations is important because they enable the NDF to forge links with gullible foreign groups. Said Filipino Bishop Francisco Claver in late January: "The NDF related church people have captured all the links with Catholic overseas groups, communications, and funding agencies."⁶

Killing Union Leaders. Former NPA commander Jun Alcover has stated that in 1973 fishermen in the central Philippines were told by the New People's Army guerrillas to petition for funds from the Visayas Secretariat for Social Action of the Catholic Church's National Secretariat for Social Action (NASSA) to purchase fishing boats. NASSA procured funds from abroad, and the boats were then used by the NPA to transport guns and guerrillas between islands.

CPP trade union fronts, such as the May First Movement (KMU) union federation, are also important foreign aid conduits. KMU unions often coordinated their strikes with communist guerrilla attacks against military and economic targets in the countryside.⁸ The KMU is accused of killing many noncommunist union leaders, especially members of the larger Trade Union Congress of the Philippines.⁹ KMU National Council member, Attorney Valarez, told an Australian researcher that "there must really be a people's war...it's good for the Philippines...."¹⁰

INTERNATIONAL MISSION OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FRONT

Through the NDF, the CPP seeks political and material support from abroad, largely through a loose network of fronts connected to leftist political parties, leftist churches, and unions in Europe, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and the U.S. The NDF's goals are to gain political support from the international community and to appear as a legitimate recipient of foreign material assistance. NDF spokesman Antonio Zumel openly acknowledged that the NDF was receiving support from abroad in November 1985 when he said "From the start we had an open call to all progressive, revolutionary parties, organizations...for their help.... We're happy to say the support has been very warm from many parts of the world...."¹¹

6. "Pat Byrne interviews Filipino Bishop Claver," News Weekly, February 25, 1987, p. 8.

7. "Former Filipino guerrilla exposes aid abuses," News Weekly, October 15, 1986, p. 4.

8. "Tackling an Image Problem," Asiaweek, November 8, 1985, p.17; "Welgang Bayan' in Bataan," KMU International Bulletin, July 1985, p. 5; "14 Nuclear Tower Transmission Towers Blown Up," Manila Far East Broadcasting Company, July 5, 1985, in FBIS-Asia, Pacific, July 8, 1985, p. P1.

9. Interview: Labor Leader Democratico Mendoza, "The KMU Is a Communist Front," VERITAS, October 23-29, 1986; Munro, p. 21; Dr. John Whitehall, "Communism In The Philippines: The Fundamental Issue," Submission to the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defense (Reference: The Situation in the Philippines and Its Implications for Australia) January 1986, p. 11.

10. Whitehall, op. cit., p. 12.

11. Marites Danguilan-Vitug, "The View from the NDF--Interview with Antonio Zumel," Business Day, November 20, 1985, p. 5, in FBIS-Asia, Pacific, November 25, 1985, p. P24.

In addition to Europe, Australia, the United States, and New Zealand, the NDF claims to have support groups in Mexico, Venezuela, Japan, and Hong Kong. The NDF claims to have warm relations with the African National Congress and the Southwest African Peoples Organization.¹² The NDF meanwhile is preparing to petition the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva about alleged human rights violations.¹³ In early February, NDF leaders in Mindanao said they will start working to form a "provisional revolutionary government" that will aid their program to gain international support.¹⁴

Europe

With the arrival in Europe of NDF international representative Luis Jalandoni in late 1976, the NDF began its most visible overseas activity. Indifference or opposition to the Marcos regime and the strong leftist sentiment in European politics, churches, and unions allowed Jalandoni to establish an NDF presence in Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Italy, Ireland, England, Spain, and Germany. In 1981 he formed the Filipino People's Committee (KSP), based in Utrecht, the Netherlands, to seek support for "people's organizations" in the Philippines, to develop "active linkages" between West European political parties, unions, and churches with appropriate Philippine counterparts, and to campaign against U.S. involvement in the Philippines.¹⁵

Revolutionary Taxes. Jalandoni's efforts have won support for the KMU from the Irish Council of Trade Unions, Netherlands Trade Union Confederation, General Confederation of Italian Labor, and individual unions in Britain and Norway.¹⁶ The NDF has arranged for European agricultural experts to visit CPP-controlled areas on the island of Samar. This seems intended to increase the CPP's "revolutionary" taxes in Samar.¹⁷ Jalandoni has also received political support for NDF from such groups as the Dutch Labor Party and the Greek PASOK. Last December, Jalandoni was able to claim support from 34 members of the European Parliament for the NDF "peace" proposals.¹⁸

Australia and New Zealand

The Australian CPP support network is managed mainly by leftist Australians in unions, aid and development groups, and church assistance agencies. At its center is the Australia-Asia Workers Links (AAWL), formed in 1982 by the Amalgamated Metal

12. An interview with NDF international representative Luis Jalandoni, "We do not seek belligerency status from the talks," Liberation (publication of the NDF), January 1, 1987, p. 6.

13. James Clad, "International Initiatives," Far Eastern Economic Review, March 26, 1987, p. 19.

14. Virgilio Galvez, "NDF Moves to Form Revolutionary Government," Kyodo News Service, Tokyo, February 13, 1987, in FBIS Asia-Pacific, February 13, 1987, p. P1.

15. KSP Information and Documentation Center, Philippine Trends, January-February 1986, p.2.

16. KMU International Bulletin, May 1985, p.6.

17. James Clad, "The stalemate island," Far Eastern Economic Review, January 15, 1987, p. 15.

18. Leon Fortaleza, "In the European Zone," Liberation, September 1984, p. 16; Interview, Luis Jalandoni, op. cit., p. 5.

Workers Union, led by long-time Australian communist, John Halfpenny.¹⁹ AAWL is affiliated with 22 unions and is close to other groups such as the Philippine Action Support Group, Philippine Resource Centre, and Christians in Solidarity with the Philippines, which consistently campaign against Australian military aid to the Philippines.²⁰ Their biggest victory has been in convincing the Australian Council of Trade Unions, the main collective bargaining organization in Australia, to recognize the KMU as the "only legitimate Labour Movement in the Philippines."²¹

In 1980 a Philippine Support Group was formed in New Zealand.²² At that time it was visited by Sister Mary John Mananzan, who chairs GABRIELLA, a CPP front for women. In 1985 the KMU was recognized by the communist-dominated New Zealand Federation of Labor, that country's main collective bargaining unit, as the "genuine trade union center of the Philippines."²³

Last September CPP founder and former Chairman Jose Maria Sison toured Australia and New Zealand. Sison's Australian tour was sponsored by several organizations including the Australian Council of Churches and Australia Asia Workers Links.²⁴

THE ANTI-AQUINO NETWORK IN THE UNITED STATES

NDF activities in the U.S. have been conducted through a constantly evolving array of fronts targeted on the 1.5 million ethnic Filipino community in the U.S. Jalandoni admits that the NDF has groups that "undertake information campaigns and lobby work in the U.S. Congress to oppose U.S. military aid to the Philippines."²⁵ In late 1985, the pro-CPP, Berkeley, California, based Philippine Resource Center acknowledged, "It has become public knowledge that the National Democratic Front (NDF) has forces in the U.S.... Though membership is not known, their presence is felt and significantly contributes to an understanding of the revolutionary path to change."²⁶ Many anti-Marcos groups during the late 1970s and early 1980s, such as ex-Philippine Senator Raul Manglapus's Movement For a Free Philippines, campaigned for the U.S. to promote democratic reform in the Philippines. Others used anti-Marcos rhetoric to cloak their support for the CPP. While the NDF does not name the groups it controls, there are four main pro-CPP organizations in the United States.

19. Byrne, *op. cit.*, p. S 1021.

20. *Ibid.*, p. S 1023.

21. *KMU International Bulletin*, October 1985, p. 23.

22. "New Support Groups Formed in New Zealand and France," *Philippine Liberation Courier*, August, 1980, p. 5.

23. *KMU International Bulletin*, October 1985, p. 22.

24. "Who paid for Filipino communist's visit to Australia?" *News Weekly*, September 17, 1986, p. 3.

25. *Liberation*, January 1, 1987, p. 6.

26. Philippine Resource Center, "Alliance for Philippine Concerns, Support Movement Grows in U.S., Canada," *Philippine Report*, September 1985, p. 9.

Union of Democratic Filipinos (KDP)

Formed in 1974, this Oakland, California, based group is the oldest of the pro-CPP, anti-Aquino organizations in the U.S. It has served as an umbrella for several other fronts including the International Association of Filipino Patriots (IAFP), the Anti-Martial Law Coalition, and the Committee against the Marcos Dictatorship (CAMD), which after February 1986 changed its name to the Committee to Advance the Movement for Democracy and Independence (CAMDI).

Former CPP central committee member Madlangbayan reports that communist-controlled church organizations in the Philippines have received financial and political support from the Union of Democratic Filipinos.²⁷ The IAFP's February 1980 newsletter reported that "long term monetary pledges for the New People's Army were collected" at a celebration of the CPP's eleventh anniversary.²⁸

Exposed Infiltration. KDP activists have tried to infiltrate noncommunist Asian-American groups and then absorb them. In 1979 the Union of Democratic Filipinos tried to take over the anti-Marcos, noncommunist group, Friends of the Filipino People (FFP).²⁹ This attempt was exposed by the San Francisco-based Philippine News, which reprinted an internal Union of Democratic Filipino memo outlining their strategy for taking over the FFP through KDP cells that would slowly assume regional then national leadership. After making a clear distinction between democratic opponents of Marcos and the Union of Democratic Filipinos, the Philippine News concluded: "For all their hypocritical poses on human rights, the KDP is actually peddling another dictatorship."

Leaking Documents. The most visible activist to emerge from the Union of Democratic Filipinos is Walden Bello, a former political prisoner under Marcos who now resides in the U.S. with a political refugee visa. Bello is cited in the KDP memo exposed by the Philippine News as being responsible for "heading up" the KDP program to create informal "left caucuses" to take over Friends of the Filipino People. He went to Washington, D.C., in 1979, and in 1981 he became co-coordinator of the Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship (CAMD).³⁰ Bello is an associate fellow with the Institute for Policy Studies. He is also responsible for leaking several classified U.S. documents on U.S.-Philippine relations to the press. In early September 1986 Bello obtained and leaked a classified World Bank Study on the Philippine economy.³¹ Prior to Aquino's September visit to the U.S., Bello wrote that, in order to survive politically, Aquino had to form a "de facto alliance with the National Democratic Front."³² Bello is now with the Philippine Resource Center in California.

27. Byrne, op. cit., p. S 923.

28. "11th CPP Anniversary Celebration," Philippine Liberation Courier, February 1980, p. 7.

29. "Rift exposes red tint of FFP, KDP," Philippine News, May 19-25, 1979, p. 1; "Will the real FFP please stand up?" Philippine News, August 18-24, 1979, p. 1.

30. Philippine Liberation Courier, December 1981, p. 8.

31. Nayan Chanda, "Stability's High Cost," Far Eastern Economic Review, September 4, 1986, p. 52.

32. Walden Bello, "She Has No Choice But to Move Left," Newsday, September 16, 1986, p. 56.

CAMD activities during the pre-Aquino period included organizing a letter from 29 congressmen to former President Ferdinand Marcos calling for the release of captured rebel Satur Ocampo.³³ Ocampo recently helped represent the NDF in cease-fire talks with the Aquino government. The successor to CAMD, the Committee to Advance the Movement for Democracy and Independence (CAMDI), sponsored a speech in the Washington, D.C., area last November for Horacio "Boy" Morales, founder of the National Democratic Front.

Alliance for Philippine Concerns (APC)

In the early 1980s, the U.S.-based pro-CPP movement splintered. According to sources within the Filipino community, this was triggered by differences over foreign policy toward the Soviet bloc and interpersonal rivalries. The result was the mid-1983 formation of the Alliance for Philippine Concerns (APC), based in Los Angeles and headed by former Union of Democratic Filipinos activist Rene Cruz.

The APC claims to be an alliance of 30 North American Filipino and Philippine-concerned groups "working for a nationalist and democratic alternative and an end to U.S. intervention in the Philippine."³⁴ However, their work reveals a bias toward the CPP. In January 1985 the APC hosted a U.S. tour for Leandro Alejandro, now leader of the CPP front BAYAN.³⁵ After the Marcos regime, the Alliance has worked with other pro-CPP organizations to sponsor U.S. speaking tours of CPP front leaders. The APC's work was recognized in the April 1985 issue of Ang Bayan, official newspaper of the CPP.³⁶ In mid-December 1986 an APC newspaper advertisement stated the New Peoples Army guerrillas are "not outlaws but ordinary, peaceable Filipinos...."³⁷

Philippine Workers Support Committee

American support for the May First Movement (KMU) is organized by the Honolulu-based Philippine Workers Support Committee (PWSC), coordinated by John Witek. Since 1983 the PWSC has sought to work within AFL-CIO unions to convince them to back the KMU instead of the noncommunist Trade Union Congress of the Philippines. The committee campaigns against the AFL-CIO's Asian-American Free Labor Institute, which promotes free trade unionism in the Philippines. The PWSC works closely with the Alliance for Philippine Concerns.

Five Week U.S. Tour. In September 1985 the PWSC, APC, and FFP sponsored a North American tour for KMU leaders Bobby Ortaliz and Meynardo Palarca. They visited New York, Boston, Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, and San Francisco.³⁸ In late 1986 it

33. "Release Ocampo, Members of Congress," Ang Katipunan, January-February 1985, p. 9.

34. Brochure, Kilusang Mayo Uno (May First Movement) Fall Tour Campaign North America September-November 1985.

35. Philippine Report, op. cit., p. 5.

36. Ang Bayan, (English edition), April 1985, p. 20.

37. Philippine-American News, 6, 1986, December 16, 1986, p. 29.

38. Philippine Worker's Support Committee "KMU North American Tour Makes Gains," Philippine Labor Alert, September-November 1985, p. 6.

paid for a five-week tour of the U.S. and Canada by Manila area KMU leader Leto Villar. His tour started in Detroit to attend the 1986 Labor Notes Conference, a gathering of international left-wing unionists. In his conference address, Villar criticized the U.S. for its support of multinational corporations and of the Philippine military. He also criticized the AFL-CIO's Asian American Free Labor Institute. Villar later addressed strikers outside of Chicago and students in Gary, Indiana. In New York he addressed Local 1199 of the Hospital Worker's Union, and in Seattle he met with union leaders, city government officials, and church groups. Villar also visited San Francisco, Montreal, Toronto, and Los Angeles.³⁹

Church Coalition for Human Rights in the Philippines (CCHRP)

This group is the U.S. partner of the Ecumenical Partnership for International Concerns in the Philippines, which helped found the CPP front Task Force Detainees. This Washington, D.C., based group is coordinated nationally by Dante Simbulan, a former political prisoner under Marcos. It works with organizations in ten states, including the Minnesota Church People for Justice and Peace in the Philippines, the Philadelphia-Philippine Working Group, and the Church Committee for Philippine Concerns-Chicago. The Coalition's steering committee members come from the Maryknoll Fathers, United Methodist Church, Mennonite Central Committee, United Church of Christ, the National Council of Churches, Columban Fathers, Presbyterian Church, and two Catholic orders.

The CCHRP brochure states its purpose is to "seek deeper awareness and understanding of the struggles and aspirations of the Filipino people." Yet its literature is slanted toward the CPP. It urges the release of such jailed communists as NDF front Christians for National Liberation founder Edicio de la Torre. It praises the work of Task Force Detainees and notes the U.S. tours of such CPP front leaders as the February 1986 visit of GABRIELLA Chairwoman Sister Mananzan.⁴⁰ The Coalition also campaigns against U.S. military aid to the Aquino government.

National Council of Churches. Tax deductible donations for the Church Coalition for Human Rights in the Philippines are collected through the Methodist Church and the National Council of Churches. Documents obtained by The Heritage Foundation show that in 1986-1987, the Presbyterian Church gave \$11,000 and the United Methodist Church gave \$5,900 to support CCHRP staff worker Doug Cunningham.

Last October and November, the Alliance for Philippine Concerns and Church Coalition for Human Rights in the Philippines sponsored Washington, D.C., area speeches for Catholic Marxist Edicio de la Torre and Task Force Detainees founder Sister Mariani Dimaranan. The State Department had delayed issuing de la Torre's visa because of his suspected involvement with the CPP. De la Torre told his Washington audience at Trinity College that Aquino could not solve the problems of the Philippines and said the solution was "People's Democracy," which means a coalition government with the National Democratic Front.⁴¹ Dimaranan stated that the New People's Army rebels were "heros"

39. "KMU Leader's Tour," Philippine Labor Alert, November 1986-January 1987, p. 5.

40. Philippine Witness, March-April 1986.

41. Address at Trinity College, October 30, 1986.

working to relieve the Philippines of "oppressive structures," or Aquino's fragile democratic government.⁴² While in the U.S., Dimaranan was a guest of the American Friends Service Committee, and her tour was coordinated by Dorothy Friesen in Chicago, and Mary Sue Callen-Farley, of the Church Committee for Philippine Concerns, also in Chicago. She visited New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and San Francisco.⁴³ While in Washington, D.C., she addressed a forum for local church leaders and was interviewed on CBS-TV "Nightwatch."

Anti-Aquino Missionaries. Last August, a "Letter of Concern" signed by 50 U.S. missionaries and endorsed by 113 Filipino church leaders and other foreign missionaries was distributed to about 1,000 U.S. churches.⁴⁴ It calls the National Democratic Front "a broad coalition aimed at transforming the country's political and economic system toward nationalism and democracy" and says the New People's Army guerrillas seek to "protect rural folk from intimidation." In effect, these U.S. missionaries circulated and thus implicitly endorsed anti-Aquino tracts.

The letter also demands the end of U.S. access to Philippine military bases and of U.S. military aid to the Aquino government. For more information, the letter suggests contacting the Church Coalition for Human Rights in the Philippines, Alliance for Philippine Concerns, and Friends of the Filipino People. This letter was also acknowledged in the September 1986 issue of Ang Bayan.⁴⁵

Hidden Wealth. At least one pro-CPP network leader has returned to the Philippines to work for the National Democratic Front. In January 1986, Romeo T. Capulong, Chairman of the Filipino Lawyer's Committee for Human Rights, testified before the House Foreign Affairs Asia-Pacific Subcommittee investigating Marcos's hidden wealth in the United States. Capulong said the Reagan Administration had a "determined policy to suppress the Filipino people's legitimate aspirations for genuine democracy and sovereignty."⁴⁶ By late August 1986, Capulong was in Manila as a lawyer working for National Democratic Front leaders negotiating a cease-fire with the Aquino government.⁴⁷

SOVIET BLOC SUPPORT

Though Moscow denies aiding the CPP, there is evidence to the contrary. Stanislav Levchenko, a KGB agent in Tokyo from 1975 to 1979, who later defected to the U.S., has stated he arranged for Soviet money to be passed to the "illegal Communist Party of the

42. Address at the Capitol Hilton Hotel, November 11, 1986.

43. Church Coalition for Human Rights in the Philippines, Philippine Witness, September-October 1986, p. 4.

44. William Branigan, "Philippine Rebels Targeting Rights Groups, Churches," The Washington Post, October 18, 1986, p. A13.

45. Ang Bayan, September 1986, p. 14.

46. Summary and concluding statement of Romeo T. Capulong, Esq., Chairman of the Filipino Lawyer's Committee for Human Rights given on January 21, 1986 before the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the House Foreign Affairs Committee of the United States Congress.

47. "NDF Lawyers Clarify Role in Peace Talks," Manila Bulletin, August 31, 1986, p. 1, in FBIS Asia-Pacific, September 9, 1986, p. P8.

Philippines."⁴⁸ For several years, NDF representative in Europe Jalandoni has been suspected of forging ties to Moscow through Eurocommunist and East European communist parties.⁴⁹ Jalandoni has acknowledged there is "friendly interaction" with Soviet, Vietnamese, and PRC representatives at international conferences.⁵⁰ He is suspected of arranging for Soviet money to be passed to the CPP. He is also credited with arranging for Soviet-made rifles to be shipped to the New People's Army guerrillas via Palestine Liberation Organization offices in South Yemen. CPP trade union front May First Movement representatives regularly attend meetings of the Pacific Trade Union Community, formed in 1980 by pro-Soviet trade unionists in Australia and New Zealand.

Kremlin Relations. According to recently captured CPP Chairman Rudolfo Salas, Soviet offers of direct assistance began in 1984.⁵¹ Early last year, NDF official Vladimir Sampang was alleged to be conducting "regular" negotiations with the Soviets in their Australian Embassy.⁵² In late 1984, a captured communist guerrilla commander said Vietnam had offered money, arms, and training assistance.⁵³ An ex-CPP official recently said Vietnam sold arms to the NPA.⁵⁴ Thus, it seems the Kremlin has established solid relations with the CPP. From their base in Vietnam, the Soviets are well positioned to begin covert supply of U.S. weapons left over from the Vietnam War that are compatible with the arsenal of the New People's Army. If the CPP continues to gain strength, massive Soviet aid might be the decisive factor in an eventual victory.

FUNDING THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES

Only rough estimates are possible of the amount of money the CPP receives from abroad. The Melbourne-based National Civic Council, for example, discovered that in 1984 and 1985, the Asia Partnership for Human Development, an economic development assistance group founded by Australian Catholic Relief, gave over AUS\$100,000 (about U.S.\$60,000) to several CPP fronts in and outside the Philippines.⁵⁵ For 1983 to 1984, Australian Catholic Relief and the Australian Council of Churches, in cooperation with Australia-Asia Worker Links, gave AUS\$26,000 to the CPP trade union front May First Movement.⁵⁶

48. "Soviet Active Measures," hearings before the Select Committee on Intelligence, House of Representatives, Ninety-Seventh Congress, Second Session, July 13, 14, 1982, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1982, p. 166.

49. "Who Runs the NPA," Asiaweek, February 22, 1987, p. 14; Munro, op. cit., p. 37.

50. Jalandoni interview, op. cit., p. 7.

51. "Interview with Jailed Former CPP Leader Salas," Yomiuri Shimbun, January 15, 1987, p. 4.

52. "Soviets, W.C.C. Fund Communist Party of the Philippines," News Weekly, March 5, 1986, p. 3.

53. John Whitehall, "Interviews with Four Prisoners," Quadrant, November 1984, p. 73.

54. Tom Breen, "Philippine Rebels Buying Arms from Hanoi," The Washington Times, October 10, 1986, p. 6A.

55. Byrne, op. cit., p. 1050.

56. "Behind Sison's Visit to Australia," News Weekly, September 24, 1986, p.

When May First Movement Secretary General Roberto Ortaliz visited the Boston area in September 1985, he collected \$20,000 in pledges--enough to support 8,000 man-days of strikes.⁵⁷ The Philippine Workers Support Committee claims to have raised within one year, \$120,000 for the KMU.⁵⁸ OXFAM-America, an economic development assistance group based in Cambridge, Massachusetts, admits it aids the National Federation of Sugar Workers, a KMU affiliate led by Ortaliz.⁵⁹

Tiny Fraction. These identifiable sources of funds are only a tiny fraction of CPP and NDF collections from abroad. Travel of CPP celebrities to the United States and elsewhere alone runs into enormous sums. The increasing importance to the CPP of foreign funds was illustrated by a senior CPP official, who told Australian researcher John Whitehall that, during an argument over money during a major CPP meeting in December 1985 on Mindanao, the New People's Army tried to claim half the funds the National Democratic Front receives from the World Council of Churches.⁶⁰ In its 1985 Resource Sharing Book, the World Council of Churches requested from its member churches over \$500,000 for Philippine projects. With probable Soviet bloc aid, it is very possible the CPP receives millions of dollars from abroad every year.

CONCLUSION: HALTING FOREIGN AID TO THE CPP

The preservation of strategic stability throughout the Asia-Pacific basin requires that the U.S. continue to assist Cory Aquino's government in consolidating democracy in the Philippines. The 1986 election and this February's plebiscite for a new Constitution indicate strongly that Philippine democracy is rebounding. Yet, the communist threat remains.

To bolster Aquino's efforts in the Philippines, there are a number of actions the U.S. can take. They include:

1) **Approving the Administration's** fiscal 1988 request of \$148 million in economic assistance and \$112 million in military assistance for the Philippines.

2) **Restoring the \$50 million** in military aid cut from the Administration's fiscal 1987 request. U.S. military aid should focus on improving mobility, specifically by providing more spare parts for UH-1 helicopters, trucks, and should improve the Philippine military's logistics and maintenance support network. Furthermore, the U.S. should urge the Aquino government to implement a coordinated civil-military, counterinsurgency program that attacks the CPP's political strength.

3) **Countering foreign support** to the CPP by working with the Aquino government to identify CPP fronts abroad, particularly in friendly countries. Joint representations should then be made to allied governments to inform them of front activity in their country. Front activity should be exposed publicly so that well-meaning citizens could then decide if their

57. Philippine Workers Support Committee, "KMU North America Tour Makes Gains," Philippine Labor Alert, September-November 1985, p. 6.

58. Philippine Labor Alert, November 1986-January 1987, p. 7.

59. OXFAM-America, Facts for Action, No. 15, p. 12.

60. "Soviets, W.C.C. Fund Communist Party of the Philippines," News Weekly, March 5, 1986, p. 3.

church, civic organization, or political party should continue to support Philippine communism.

4) **Warning pro-Western labor** leaders abroad about the true nature of the CPP's KMU union front.

5) **Denying U.S. visas** to known CPP front leaders who attempt to visit the U.S. to drum up support.

6) **Holding congressional hearings** to investigate private U.S. groups that support the CPP. These could be similar to the 1985 and 1986 hearings into the hidden wealth of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos. The results of such hearings should be delivered to the European Parliament, many members of which have been influenced by the NDF.

7) **Exposing Soviet aid** to the CPP and developing a program in concert with regional allies to end this Soviet aid, which threatens the strategic stability of Asia. The U.S. should urge Manila as well as Singapore, Thailand, Indonesia, and Malaysia to warn Moscow against assisting the CPP. U.S. officials should warn the Soviets that the U.S. will not tolerate Soviet bloc assistance to the CPP.

8) **Identifying Soviet contacts** with CPP fronts abroad and offering to increase sharply U.S. surveillance of Soviet activities in the Philippines. The U.S. or other regional allies can provide the Philippine Navy with patrol boats to monitor Soviet bloc merchant ships that pass through Philippine waters that may provide covert assistance to the NPA. The U.S. Navy can also increase patrols in the South China Sea.

9) **Suggesting to Manila** that it sharply reduce the number of Soviet bloc personnel in the Philippines.

* * *

The Communist Party of the Philippines openly admits receiving aid from abroad. Since the early 1970s the National Democratic Front vigorously has sought international support from leftist labor unions and church and political groups in Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand, and the U.S. Since the late 1970s the CPP forged direct and indirect links with the Soviet bloc. It is possible the CPP receives millions of dollars every year from its National Democratic Front controlled network and from the Soviet bloc.

A richer, more powerful CPP and NDF can mean only trouble for Cory Aquino. A main task of U.S. foreign policy thus must be to ensure that the CPP receives no support from Americans and that the CPP begins encountering problems in raising money from the Western democracies.

Richard D. Fisher
Policy Analyst