

# The international support apparatus for the NPA

by EIR's Wiesbaden Bureau

After the 1968 reestablishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and the founding of the New People's Army in 1969, the National Democratic Front (NDF) was set up in 1973 as a "revolutionary united front" coordinating CPP and NPA activities with (and in) various worker, peasant, and other organizations "working for national liberation and genuine democracy." Internationally, NDF Solidarity Committees have been established in several Western European countries as well as in Australia, New Zealand, the United States, Canada, Japan, and Hong Kong. The NDF's principal international office is located in Utrecht, the Netherlands, and headed by ex-priest Luis Jalandoni. The office publishes *Liberation (Philippines)*, the NDF's official bi-monthly international publication.

Unlike the old Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP) founded in November 1930, the CPP/NDF is not a "traditional" communist party. Much like, for example, the Italian "Il Manifesto" group of the 1960s or the various "New Left" and Maoist-communist organizations in West Germany, the CPP-NDF was born of and shaped by the student upsurges of the 1960s. Maoism, Liberation Theology (as developed and fostered by Karl Rahner, Father Arrupe, S.J., etc.), radical democratism ("Jacobinism"), and existentialist-terrorism are key to the ideology of the CPP-NDF and of its predecessor organization, the Kabataang Makabayan (KM) or Patriotic Youth, founded in 1964 by Jose Ma Sison.

Ideological affinity accounts, in part, for the good relations between the NDF and numerous Catholic and Protestant church groups and political organizations in Western Europe and elsewhere. A prime example of this is the relationship of Jalandoni and other NDF leaders with West Germany's Green Party and associated so-called "alternative" and "autonomous" groups. The Greens, now represented in the West German and European parliaments, emerged from the 1960s and early 1970s left and often terrorist-oriented student milieu, and in the late 1970s turned to environmentalist anti-nuclear and peace and disarmament issues. The Moscow-oriented West German Communist Party (DKP) seized the opportunity and commands a strong covert presence in the Green Party at both the regional and national level.

Because of this well-entrenched DKP operation within the Green Party, the Green-NDF connection provides an ideal cover and vehicle for Moscow/East German support for

NDF operations. Jalandoni has acknowledged Green Party financial support.

## I. The NDF international office in Utrecht

That the NDF's international head office should be located in the Netherlands is no chance occurrence. Major elements of the Dutch Catholic Church have long been known for their sympathy with radical Liberation Theology. The NDF fully established its base in the Netherlands following the "Session on the Philippines" of the "Permanent People's Tribunal" held in Antwerp, Belgium, from Oct. 30 to Nov. 3, 1980. This session of the "Tribunal" (organized and supported by various left-oriented organizations, including notably the Lelio Basso Foundation of Italy) "affirmed . . . as a matter of legal right that . . . the NDF and the MNLF [Moro National Liberation Front] enjoy legal status in international society. They are empowered . . . to enforce the rights of their peoples, by armed struggle if necessary. . . . [They] are recognized as enjoying the international status of being legitimate representatives of their respective peoples."

In coordination with the formally separate Komite ng Sambayanang Pilipino (KSP), a Dutch-Filipino NDF support organization, the NDF stepped up its international activities in 1983 after the assassination of Benigno Aquino. In Italy they coordinated with the Philippine Documentation Center (PDC). Still, the Dutch base, due to support from Dutch Catholic organizations and support and toleration by the Dutch government, remained central.

The following Dutch organizations provide or have provided support to the NDF or NDF-affiliated groups:

**a. CEBEMO (Catholic Organization for Joint Financing of Development Programs)** CEBEMO was founded in 1969 under the aegis of the CMC (Central Mission Board). Since 1980, it is an entirely independent organization. It finances about 450 private development projects per year in 60 different countries in Asia, Africa, and Ibero-America. CEBEMO cooperates closely with the European Catholic Development Organization under CIDSE (International Cooperation for Socio-Economic Development). CEBEMO receives funds from the Dutch government's development aid agency for distribution to private programs. CEBEMO funding activities apparently are not monitored by the Dutch government, and in addition to the NDF/NPA, funds have been channeled to Peru's Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) terrorists.

**b. NOVIB (Netherlands Organization for International Assistance).** NOVIB was founded in 1954 by a Dutch priest, Father Jeisma. In

an organization for sending aid to developing countries. Its board of directors includes representatives of the foreign ministry, various political parties, the Inter-Church Peace Council, World Federalist Movement, Pax Christi, Center for Non-Violent Resistance, etc. Like CEBEMO, NOVIB receives funding from the Dutch government and its funding

and project guidelines are as loose and unmonitored as the former's.

**c. HIVOS (Humanist Institute for Development Co-operation).** HIVOS is linked to the Humanist League and like CEBEMO and NOVIB receives money and disburses relatively unmonitored government funds.

**d. ICCO (Inter-Church Coordinating Committee).** ICCO is the Protestant equivalent of CEBEMO. It is comprised of representatives from the non-Catholic churches, a majority of whom are from the Netherlands Reformed Church. ICCO receives funds from the Dutch government, which it lends for projects internationally. They cooperate with CEBEMO, NOVIB, and HIVOS in joint project financing.

In 1975, five years before the NDF actually established its Utrecht-based international operations, the ground for this was prepared by a group of Dutch development workers and Catholic missionaries, who founded the "Filippinengroep Nederland." This group arranged the CEBEMO funding of the NDF. However, as already indicated above, it was the 1980 "Permanent People's Tribunal" (PPT) session on the Philippines which laid the comprehensive groundwork for NDF international work.

The jurors of the PTT session on the Philippines included: Sergio Méndez Arceo, Archbishop of Cuernavaca Mexico;

Richard Baumlin, legal expert and Swiss parliamentarian;

Harvey Cox, professor of theology at Harvard;

Richard Falk, Princeton University;

Andrea Giardina, professor of international law at the University of Naples;

François Houtart, professor of sociology, University of Louvain, Belgium;

Ajt Roy, Indian journalist.

Makoto Oda, Japanese novelist, vice president of the PPT;

Ernst Utrecht, professor at Sydney University and fellow at the Transnational Institute;

George Wald, ex-professor at Harvard, Nobel Prize winner and president of PPT session on the Philippines;

Muireann O'Brian, lawyer from Ireland representing the NDF and MNLF;

Gianni Tognoni, secretary general of the PPT.

Over 500 people attended the sessions and 6,000 contacts were made in the process of building this conference which laid the foundation for action groups internationally.

The Utrecht-based KSP, which grew out of this conference, continues to be the European coordinating and information center of Filipino solidarity work. They attempt to hold a conference each year and have raised money through sponsoring rock concerts, including organizing a European tour of the Philippine rock group "Dingas."

The significant political and financial support the NDF receives from these Dutch organizations has created the sup-

portive environment over the past seven years that provides an effective screen and camouflage for "harder" subversive and funding operations by the Libyans and the KGB. The Netherlands' extensive international trade and port facilities provide the ideal setting for such operations.

It has long been known that the KGB finances a large part of its operations by means of drug sales. An extensive network of Soviet commercial shipping operations (integrated with export-import and financing facilities) is key to this and first positive proof came to light when the Soviet cargo ship *Kapitan Tomson*, docked in Rotterdam on May 27, 1986, was found carrying 220 kilos of heroin in two containers declared to contain raisins. Subsequent investigations uncovered the routing of the heroin shipment from Afghanistan through the Soviet Union to Rotterdam. The incident begs the question as to whether there exists a diversion of funds from KGB-controlled Benelux/Soviet commercial operations to the NDF.

## II. The NDF-Green connection and NDF support groups in West Germany

West German political and financial support for the NDF derives from three interlinked groupings:

1) The Green Party;

2) Protestant (World Council of Churches, etc.) and Catholic Church groups;

3) "Autonomous" Action Groups and Information Centers.

**a. The Greens.** Soon after Mrs. Aquino's accession to power in February 1986, two leading members of the West German Green Party, Wilfried Telkämper and Uschi Eid, visited the Philippines. Telkämper (a.k.a. Telkalten) is a member of the European Parliament and represented GRAEL (the Green-Alternative-European Link); Eid is the secretary to Barbara Unmüssig (a.k.a. Unsiek), a Green member of the West German Parliament who knows the NDF's Jalandoni personally. Their trip was also underwritten by two leading Dutch Greens, Herman Verbeek and Bram van der Lek. The group of Filipinos they met in Manila and elsewhere speaks for itself.

Telkämper works with a group of Greens in Strasbourg, France and Bonn, who are engaged in anti-NATO activities and contact work with terrorist organizations in Spain, Portugal, and Greece. He participates in "AG Iberia," a task force of the "Rainbow" fraction (GRAEL) of the European Parliament. "AG Iberia's" principal contacts in Spain are the anarcho-syndicalist trade union CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo), the Libya-connected farm workers union SOC (Sindicato de Obreros del Campo), and Herri Batasuna, the legal arm of the Basque terrorist organization ETA. Telkämper's contacts with the NDF are coordinated with the Southeast Asia Information Center in Bochum, West Germany.

Unmüssig's principal areas of international concern are

Africa and Asia (Thailand, Philippines). Since 1985, her group has launched a campaign of support for the Soviet/East German-controlled African National Congress. On Sept. 10, 1985, Unmüssig participated in a 48-hour occupation of the West German embassy in Pretoria, South Africa. As in the case of Telkämper, Unmüssig's contacts with the NDF run through the Southeast Asia Information Center.

Both Jalandoni and Green spokesmen have acknowledged some Green financial support for the NDF, though the publicly admitted sums are small. The communist-terrorist background of many leading Green Party members and the DKP presence in the Greens, however, makes the NDF-Green link an ideal conduit for covert NDF support.

**b. Protestant and Catholic church groups.** Unlike the Dutch Bishops' Conference, which is dominated by adherents of the Theology of Liberation, the German Bishops' Conference is split into a Theology of Liberation and a more conservative wing. Still, the relief organization Misereror has in the past several years been a significant source of NDF funding.

But the NDF enjoys considerable support from groups in or linked to the EKD (Evangelical Church of Germany). The Lutheran West German EKD maintains close ties with its East German counterpart as well as with Protestant churches internationally through the World Council of Churches (WCC). The theme of the EKD's recent (June 17-21) bi-annual Church Congress in Frankfurt was "Reconciliation with the Soviet Union." Guests at the congress were Metropolitan Pitirim and Bishop Longin of the Russian Orthodox Church and no fewer than 1,500 East Germans, 51 of whom were high-ranking government officials.

During its congress, the EKD staged a demonstration of solidarity with Third World groups; NDF representation was duly noted. Thirty largely pro-NDF European/Philippine solidarity groups were present. Protestant ministers and theologians have played and continue to play key organizing roles in pro-NDF solidarity, action, and information groups.

**c. Action and Information Centers.** These include:

1) Aktionsgruppe Philippinen E.V. (Action Group Philippines).

Located in Polch, West Germany, the Action Group publishes a bi-monthly magazine *Philippinen Informationen*. In the early summer of 1987, they sponsored the German trip of Jose Ma Sison. The group was organized in 1980 by social, medical, and development workers and several Protestant ministers. In 1985, they organized a \$50,000 donation to the NDF for medical supplies. Leading Action Group members include:

Dr. Claudia Dziobek, J.F. Kennedy Institut für Nordamerikastudien at the Free University of Berlin; Studied at Paris, Freiburg, and the University of Massachusetts.

Tim Kuschnerus, Protestant theologian, formerly with the Komite ng Sambayanang Pilipino in Utrecht, was in the Philippines in 1979 and 1982-83.

Dr. Gunther Reese, 49-year-old Protestant minister, lived in Hong Kong and the Philippines between 1974 and 1979, is a founding member.

Anke Reese, wife of Gunther, is secretary of the Action Group.

Gert Ruppell, Protestant theologian, studied at the Mission Academy at the University of Hamburg.

Dr. Rainer Werning, social worker, studied in Osnabrück, Manila, and Tokyo, and is active in the solidarity movements since 1970.

2) Southeast Asia Information Center.

SAIC was founded in 1984 by the Society for Development-oriented Education (founded in December 1983). They publish a quarterly magazine, *Sudostasien-Informationen*, in cooperation with the Action Group Philippines. There are SAIC correspondent groups in Hamburg, Göttingen, and Munich.

3) Other groups:

a) Südasien Büro, Wuppertal.

b) IMBAS (Initiative for Human Rights for All Citizens of the ASEAN States), Giessen.

c) Institut für Asienkunde (Institute for Asian Studies), Hamburg.

These groups are not explicitly pro-NDF, but cooperate with the Action Group and SAIC on special projects.



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