

## EIR Investigation

# Financing a revolution: the NPA's European backers

*The following report by an EIR special investigative team is the third in a series on the Philippines insurgency and its international supporters. Part 1 appeared in Vol. 15, No. 38, Sept. 23, 1988, and Part 2 was in No. 41, Oct. 14, 1988.*

On June 8, 1988, Filipino authorities arrested two Europeans returning from a "solidarity visit" to a New People's Army guerrilla camp. One was a certain Klaus Schmitt, a West German Protestant minister, and the other was Stellan Hermansson, the head of the Swedish Communist Party youth group who, in 1987, had led a violent riot against Nancy Reagan while she visited Stockholm.

Despite clear evidence of violations of numerous Filipino laws, including complicity in murder, the highest levels of the Swedish and West German governments intervened on their behalf. West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher interrupted an important diplomatic trip to personally intercede for Schmitt. Their subsequent release and deportation followed what was reported to be tremendous diplomatic pressure on Manila.

This open support for a terrorist and avowedly Marxist-Leninist movement, the NPA, besieging a democratic government in the Philippines, is striking confirmation of the Philippines government's charge that the New People's Army is receiving substantial support from Western Europe, and not merely from the leftist extremist elements of the numerous solidarity and Green groups, but from the highest levels of European governments. This amounts to foreign intervention into the internal affairs of a sovereign republic. Our previous reports documented that the Communist Party of the Philippines and the NPA have enjoyed an international apparatus for financing their terrorist insurgency. In fact, the money of European taxpayers, as well as the charitable do-

nations of the largest Catholic and Protestant philanthropic organizations, is going to pay for guns and ammunition for a terrorist insurgency that has taken tens of thousands of lives over the past decade.

The elimination of this support apparatus is one of the keys to eliminating the NPA threat and stabilizing the Philippines.

This support apparatus did not come into being because the Communist Party of the Philippines sent emissaries to Europe to mobilize support. Rather, the reverse. Three key multinational centers based in Europe, with close ties to Soviet capabilities, set into motion a process that led to the creation of the CPP/NPA.

These three international centers are:

- The World Council of Churches, an international institution comprising nearly 300 churches in 100 countries, including the Orthodox churches under the authority of the Moscow Patriarchate.
- The key Jesuit and other promoters of the "Theology of Liberation" within the Catholic Church.
- A broad layer of non-church political forces, ranging from the extreme left represented by the Green Party and various anarchist-terrorist organizations to leading elements of the European Social Democratic and Christian Democratic parties. One of the coordinating centers for these forces is the Transnational Institute, the Amsterdam-based sister organization of the Washington, D.C.-based Institute for Policy Studies.

These church and non-church networks overlap with one another, generally coincide with Soviet irregular warfare capabilities in Europe, and in the Philippines case, interface with the CPP/NPA's own Overseas Revolutionary Work (ORW). ORW is coordinated by the CPP/NPA's Internation-

al Department, and is administered by the leadership Council of the CPP/NPA's above-ground political arm, the National Democratic Front.

The Council's European Committee, one of several regional committees, is chaired by Luis Jalandoni in the city of Utrecht, the Netherlands. The NDF's Utrecht headquarters serves as the coordinating center for European-wide "revolutionary work," which is divided into three main areas of activity: mobilizing broad "solidarity" movements; mobilizing the overseas Filipino community via the Commission on Filipino Migrant Workers; and international diplomatic work. (See Figure 1).

### 1.1 Liberation Theology and the creation of the Communist Party of the Philippines

One cause of the failure of the old Philippines Communist Party (PKP) and its guerrilla army, called the Huks, in the 1950s was their failure to subvert the morality of a people that was 90% Christian, the vast majority of those being Catholic. The old PKP was avowedly atheist and saw religion as the "opiate of the people." The CPP/NPA, by contrast, has adopted the moral image of the Church to conduct a campaign of terrorism and violence in the name of Christ. Their doctrine, called *Liberation Theology*, is a doctrine provided to the Philippines by *Liberation Theology's* creators, who reside in Europe. Given Soviet strategic interest in the removal of U.S. bases from the Philippines, and thereby, the removal of the United States from Asia, the Philippines became one of the Liberation Theologists' early targets.

The four relevant leading Liberation Theologists in Western Europe are former Swiss Jesuit priest Hans Küng, the Belgian Jesuit François Houtart, former Spanish Jesuit José María Díez Alegría, and the Dutch Dominican, Eduard Schillebeeckx. All were censored after 1979, following the accession of Pope John Paul II, but their operations in the Philippines flourished under the post-Vatican II reforms of Pope John XXIII.

Spanish Jesuit José María Díez Alegría is a case in point. Díez Alegría was the head of the Sociology Department of the Jesuit Gregorian University in Rome. One of his protégés was Luis Jalandoni, current director of the National Democratic Front's international office in Utrecht, who studied there in the 1960s. Díez Alegría was subsequently forced to leave the university and the Society of Jesus. Upon returning to his native Spain, he joined the Spanish Communist Party and is currently one of its most outspoken representatives and one of the most vocal opponents of the Pope in Spain. His vicious attacks on Pope John Paul II and the Roman Church can be read weekly in *El País*, one of the largest-circulation Spanish daily newspapers, on whose board sits the Duke of Alba, whose famous ancestor served King Philip II—for whom the Philippines was named—in crushing resistance to the Inquisition. Jalandoni's early relationship to Díez Alegría in Italy no doubt explains why some of the earliest NDF

support work was initiated in Rome.

But the most powerful schismatic tendencies within the Church are based in northern Europe. These northern churches, moreover, are the wealthiest in terms of contributions to the Church. The excommunicated Hans Küng and Eduard Schillebeeckx are the leaders of the schismatic tendency in the Swiss, German, and Dutch Churches. Küng, a Swiss national and currently professor at the University of Tübingen, in Germany, often travels to the Philippines to aid in the creation of such organizations as Philippines Priests, Inc. and other centers of Liberation Theology, which formed the recruiting grounds for the NPA's own "Christians for National Liberation." (See Figure 2.)

Schillebeeckx teaches theology at the University of Nijmegen, the Netherlands' only Catholic university. One of his and the university's great patrons is the Jurgens family, founders of the huge multinational, Unilever, and one of the wealthiest families in the Netherlands. Unilever accounts for 25% of all Philippines trade with Western Europe. For over 100 years, this family has been one of the great supporters of schismatic tendencies within the Church. A scion of this family, Erik Jurgen, is the director of one of the government-owned national radio stations and the founder of the Politieke Partij Radikalen (PPR), or Dutch Radical Party. The PPR is the leading Dutch environmentalist party and one of the first European political parties to offer the NDF official recognition.

A third leading figure in the northern European Church is François Houtart, currently professor of sociology at the Belgian University of Louvain. Houtart is director of CETRI,

FIGURE 1  
NDF support network overseas

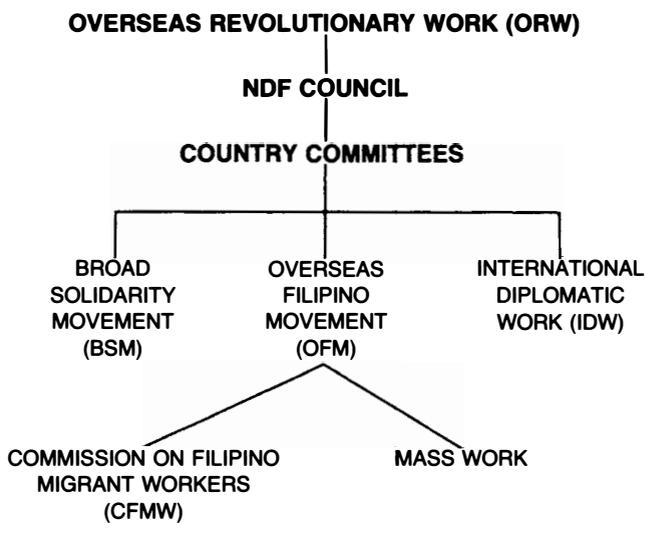


FIGURE 2

**List of legal and underground mass organizations in the different sectors**

Sectors	NDUGMOS*	Legal mass orgns
Health	MASAPA (Makabayang Samehang Pangkalusugan)	HEAD (Health Alliance for Democracy)
Labor	KRM (Katipunan ng mga Rebolusyonaryong Manggagawa)	KMU (Kilusang Mayo Uno)
Peasant	PKM (Pambansang Kaisahan ng mga Magsasaka)	KMP (Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas)
Youth	KM (Kabalaang Makabayan)	LFS (League of Filipino Students)
Teachers	Kaguma (Katipunan ng mga Gurong Makabayan)	ACT (Alliance of Concerned Teachers)
Church	CNL (Christians for National Liberation)	CROSS (Christians for the Realization of Sovereign Society)
Women	Samasaka (Samahan ng mga Makabayang Kababalanhan)	GABRIELA (General Assembly Binding Women for Reform, Integrity, Equality, Leadership and Action)
Professionals	SMP (Samahang Makabayang Propesyonal)	SPADE (Society of Professionals for the Advancement of Democracy)
Moro	MRO (Moro Revolutionary Organization)	—
Moro Youth	MNY (Moro National Youth League)	—
Cordillera National Minorities	CPDF (Cordillera People's Democratic Front)	CPA (Cordillera People's Alliance)
Cordillera Youth	DATA KOI (Democratika a Tigna Dagiti Agiutubati Kordilyera)	—

\*National Democratic Underground Mass Organization

the Tricontinental Center, a documentation center that serves as a base for operations into Asia, Africa, and Ibero-America. He is president of the Association Belgique-Vietnam, a professor at Managua's Jesuit Council in Nicaragua, and a member of the Soviet-backed World Peace Council.

Houtart's relationship to the Philippines is extensive. In fact, during the Marcos years, he was banned from entering the country, only to return recently.

Houtart is the mentor of Ed De la Torre, leader of the NDF's "Christians for National Liberation," who lived in Houtart's home in the 1970s after he was released from prison by Marcos on the occasion of the visit of Pope Paul VI. Since his second arrest and subsequent release when Cory Aquino assumed power, De la Torre has often been his house guest. De la Torre also traveled with Houtart to Nicaragua, where he established direct relations between the communist Central American state and the CPP/NPA.

Houtart was behind the Permanent People's Tribunal on the Philippines, which held its first meeting in Antwerp, Belgium in 1983. It was this tribunal which served as the strongest impetus to the European-wide support apparatus. At its inspiration, the subversive "social action programs" of the Philippines Catholic Church were created, for example, the National Secretariat for Social Action and Peace (NASSA). NASSA was recently reorganized by the Philippines Bishops' Conference, because it came out publicly that its financial resources were finding their way into NDF political front groups.

## 1.2 World Council of Churches

The World Council of Churches, with its many member churches, of all institutions, maintains the most organized and active intervention in the Philippines. Despite the small size of the non-Catholic Philippines Christian community, no more than 10% of Christians, the leading Protestant church institutions such as West Germany's Brot für die Welt or the Netherlands' Inter Church Aid, have financial aid programs equal in size or larger than those of the Catholic Church.

The World Council of Churches was founded in 1948 in the city of Amsterdam, bringing together Anglican, Protestant, and Orthodox churches of North America and Western Europe. These represented the same circle of one-worldist ideologues who formed such supranational institutions as the United Nations Organization, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank. In 1961, the Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate joined the WCC, giving churches living under the rule of the Soviet Union and its immediate satellites 40% of the WCC membership. The head of the Russian Orthodox Church delegation, and a member of the WCC's executive committee, is Archbishop Kiril of Smolensk, who travels between the World Council's Geneva headquarters and Moscow.

Thus, through the WCC, Soviet KGB operations have been mounted in support of everything from the international peace movement to opening up channels of support to the radical oppositions in South Korea, the Republic of China (Taiwan), and the Philippines.

The moderator of the WCC's Unit I: Faith and Witness is Prof. Todor Sabev of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church. Conducted under its wing is one of the WCC's most politically aggressive "social action programs," the Urban Rural Mission, which has stage-managed violent demonstrations in the Philippines and South Korea.

Based in Geneva, Switzerland, the World Council of Churches has a budget of over \$90 million, but it also influences the funding decisions of its member churches, amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars. The World Council's Justice and Service program is the coordinating center for its international activities, involving transfer of funds to projects and programs in the developing sector.

The WCC operates through an international network of national councils of churches of various countries. For instance, West German Protestant Minister Klaus Schmitt was working out of the National Council of Churches of the Philippines when he was arrested last June on his return from an NPA guerrilla camp.

In Europe, this network includes the Evangelische Kirche Deutschlands e.V. (EKD: German Protestant Church [Lutheran]), the Netherlands Reformed Church and the Reformed Churches of the Netherlands, the British Council of Churches, etc.

During the so-called Euromissile Crisis of 1982-83, these institutions played the key role in the peace movement. Russian Orthodox bishops and priests, many known to have been KGB officers, could be found at church council meetings in West Germany, the Netherlands, and elsewhere. In West Germany, the Aktion-Gruppe Philippinen, the leading CPP/NPA support group in West Germany, which has just opened a Philippines information center in the Cologne, was founded by a group of Protestant ministers.

This church apparatus interfaces with the most powerful political currents within the various countries. In this fashion, the CPP/NPA has gained direct and indirect support and legitimacy not merely among left-wing circles, but also more conservative circles of the Christian Democratic and Liberal Democratic parties. It is this influence which accounts for the Philippines government's inability to force European governments to put a halt to this flagrant foreign intervention.

Consider the Netherlands. Here, the Philippines government had clear evidence of church financial aid going to organizations such as the May 1 Movement (KMU), clearly documented to be a front of the NDF. An investigation by a panel including representatives of the Dutch government and church institutions gave the accused church organizations a clean bill of health, not by denying that funds went to the organizations the Philippines government identified, but by justifying that allocation.

### 1.3 Transnational Institute

The Transnational Institute (TNI), based in Amsterdam, is the most important political institution in the European

support apparatus

organization of the notorious Washington-based Institute for Policy Studies. Although TNI and IPS have been identified as extreme left-wing organizations, they are in fact much more. They are a private intelligence service of the left and not-so-left wing of the Anglo-American and European liberal establishment, with strong links to various national intelligence services, both East and West. Consider IPS's founder, Marcus Raskin, who, from 1960 to 1963, was a member of the Kennedy administration's National Security Council under McGeorge Bundy. Richard Barnet, another IPS founder, started his career in the elite Boston Brahmin law firm of Choate, Hall and Stewart. He moved on to the State Department, and later worked under Robert McNamara when the latter was Secretary of Defense in the Kennedy administration. Most telling are IPS's financial backers, which include the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Stern Family Fund, and the Rubio Foundation.

IPS serves as the coordinating center for the full spectrum of the American left, from the "peace movement" to the pro-Nicaraguan and Cuban support groups, as well as the American terrorist and proto-terrorist scene. Almost without exception, the leaders of the American terrorist organizations of the 1960s and early 1970s, from the Weathermen to the Symbionese Liberation Army famous for the Patty Hearst abduction, received inspiration and indoctrination at IPS "seminars."

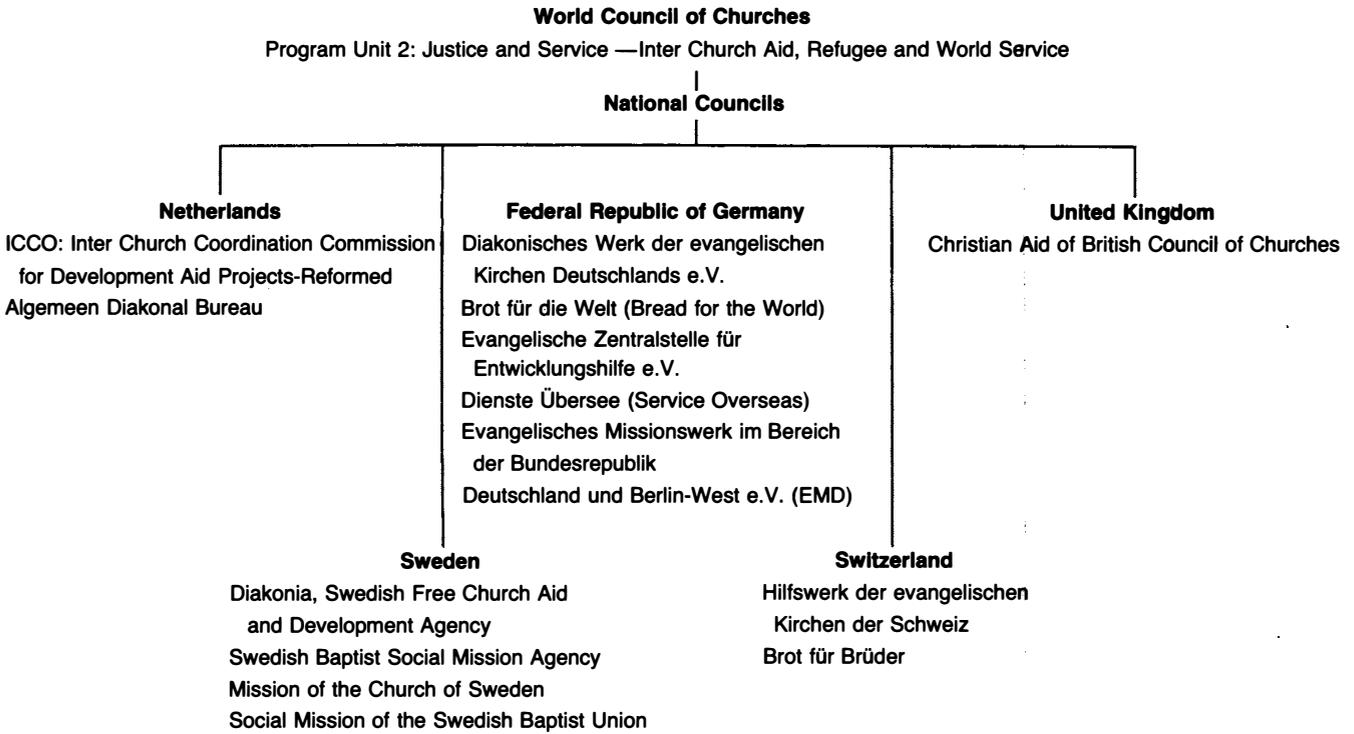
In Europe, the TNI plays a similar role. And, like IPS, it also maintains strong links to "mainstream" political layers.

TNI/IPS played a crucial role in coordinating operations that led to the downfall of President Ferdinand Marcos. It is now out to paint the "transitional" Cory Aquino with the same brush, on behalf of the CPP/NPA. In 1985, with Marcos still in power, the TNI, backed by leading Catholic and Protestant organizations, convened a European-wide conference on the Philippines entitled, "Philippines Crisis: the European Response." This conference brought together members of the European Parliament from the Netherlands, Belgium, Great Britain, West Germany, and other countries. Among the speakers were Bishop Hudio Labayan, one of the leaders of the Philippines Catholic Church's left wing; Sr. Mairani Dimaranan, chairperson of the Task Force of Detainees, which is considered heavily infiltrated and influenced by the NPA; and Dr. Joel Rocamora, director of the Philippines Resource Center of the United States, a leading CPP/NPA support organization.

Following the downfall of Marcos, TNI organized a fact-finding tour of the Philippines for parliamentarians from the Dutch Christian Democratic Alliance (currently the ruling party), the British Liberal Party, the Swedish Center Party, and the Dutch Labor Party. The object now is to shift European governments' policy away from support of the Philippines' Aquino government toward the so-called people's movements and non-governmental organizations, that is, the

FIGURE 3

**The World Council of Churches network**



main support apparatus of the CPP/NPA. It is this that has both enabled European Communist Party members and ministers and priests to collaborate with the CPP/NPA inside the Philippines with almost total impunity, as the Schmitt/Hermanssen affair illustrates.

**2.0 The financial institutions**

Hundreds of millions of dollars have been transferred from Europe (and the United States) to the CPP/NPA support apparatus, as well as other insurgencies in targeted Third World nations. This was in part made possible by the primary shift that was effected in the foreign aid policies of Western governments during the 1970s. Overall foreign aid from the industrial nations to the developing nations dropped sharply during this period, and at the same time, foreign aid by governments was increasingly “privatized,” i.e., channeled through private institutions, or what are called non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The emphasis in foreign aid was also taken away from support for programs of the *governments* of the developing sector nations, which served to build up the sovereign institutions of those nations. The aid money available was channeled by NGOs into NGOs, and programs devoted to “consciousness building,” “human rights,” “consultation” for ex-political prisoners, “people’s

theater,” etc.

So, the CPP/NPA, for example, created front organizations in the health, labor, peasant, youth, student, teacher, church, and other areas. They have two parallel apparatuses, an underground apparatus and an aboveground legal apparatus. Now, as much as 60% of Western nations’ foreign aid goes to non-income-generating “social” projects. It is, therefore, apparent how easily the money has found its way into CPP/NPA hands.

The Dutch NGO aid agency, the X-Y Movement, in a statement supporting the CPP/NPA and the NDF, confirmed this process. The statement appeared in the NDF’s own October-November 1987 *Liberation* publication. “The NDF has always attracted much attention by its well-tuned strategies, in which underground struggle is combined with semi-legal and legal organizations,” it said. The statement cited examples such as health care organizations, which receive a great deal of funding from Western NGOs. Citing an example, it explained, “The sectoral underground groups set up health projects and organizations from the illegal to the legal level; they increased their reach enormously. By that time, the NPA, with 28 fronts, was clearly present in more than half of the provinces.”

In the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands,

and other countries, the government gives grants to its own church-related or private sector foundations, who in turn choose the projects to be financed in various countries. In the Netherlands, the government has even agreed to not review the projects.

## 2.1 Church and private sector foundations

Church-related foundations account for most of the aid that is finding its way into secret NPA bank accounts. All these finances are derived from public sources, most given by individuals who think it is going to humanitarian causes. One source is church-related donations such as the Bishops' Lenten Campaigns mounted throughout Western Europe. Another source is taxpayers' money, given to the church foundations by governments for disbursement into develop-

ing sector countries.

The accompanying charts (Figures 3, 4, and 5) show the aid agencies. On the non-Catholic side is the World Council of Churches. While having its own aid program under its Justice and Service department, it serves as the policy-shaper for the various national councils, which, in the case of the Netherlands and West Germany, have very large programs. Examinations of annual reports and lists of projects of these agencies reveal vague, not-to-say misleading titles such as "Disaster Relief Program," "Leadership Training for Urban Poor," or "Human Rights Program." Though it is difficult to prove the transfer of funds on a project-by-project basis, the fact that the transfer to insurgents is occurring is clear. For instance, NASSA, the Philippine Bishops' Conference's leading aid agency and social action program, was reorga-

FIGURE 4  
The 'liberation theology' network

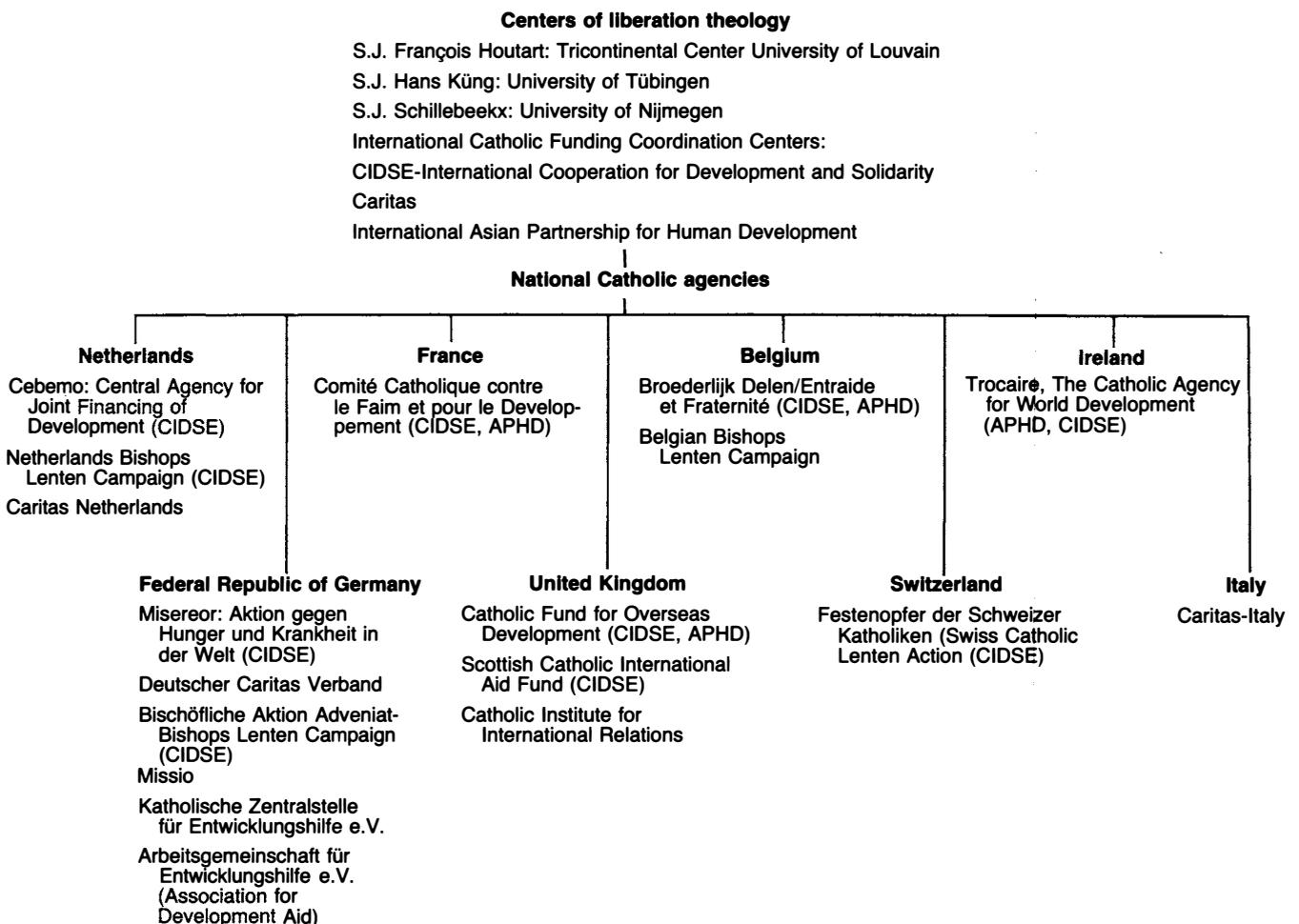
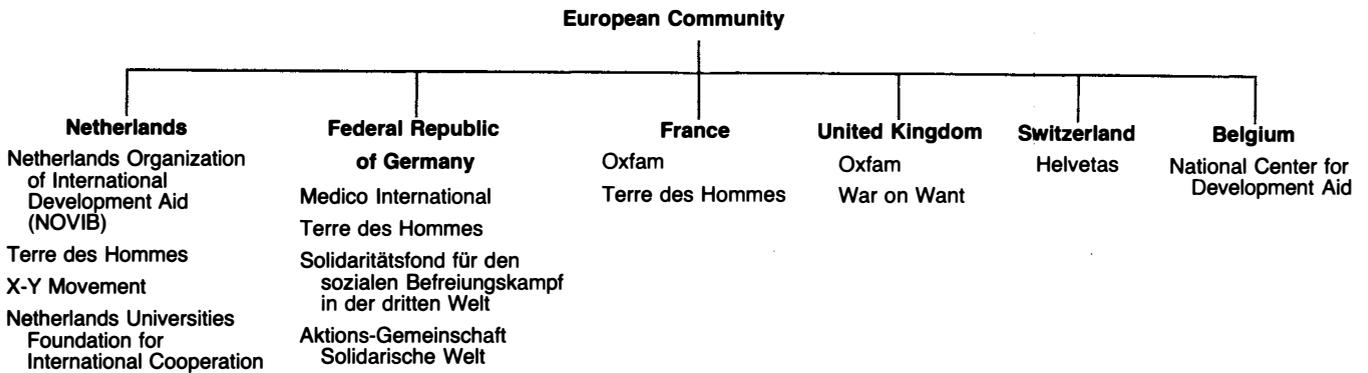


FIGURE 5

**Private, non-church-related aid groups**



nized only last year because aid was falling into the hands of the CPP/NPA and its various fronts. NASSA and its regional Philippines branches, VISSA (Visayas), MISSA (Mindanao) and LISSA (Luzon), receive large amounts of foreign aid to administer projects, which, for example, employ many of the 1,000 or more Catholic priests in the Philippines who secretly belong to the NDF.

On the Catholic side, at the European-wide level are CIDSE or the Foundation for International Cooperation for Development and Solidarity, and Caritas International. The former is the Brussels-based umbrella organization for Western European and Canadian Catholic foundations. Caritas International is the Catholic Church's disaster relief organization and has national chapters in almost every country. It is primarily from the North American and Western European countries that most of its funds are derived. Although food and disaster relief is its primary concern, it has been discovered that some of its relief monies find their way into CPP/NPA front organizations at the community level.

A third important organization, Asian Partnership for Human Development, is an umbrella for European church foundations. It is based in Hong Kong where the transfer of funds into CPP/NPA bank accounts (or anything else, for that matter) can be facilitated.

On the private side, many NGOs have extremely large programs, where policy input overlaps greatly with the above church programs.

The European Community has its own \$160 million international program of grants to NGOs within the participating nations. Its Philippines aid amounts to over \$1 million annually. In fact, in 1986, the EC made a grant of about \$22,000 to the National Federation of Sugar Workers, an NDF front founded by Luis Jalandoni, current director of the NDF's International Bureau in Utrecht.

**2.2 National sectors**

**2.2A Netherlands**

The Netherlands, host to the NDF's International Bureau in Utrecht, the base of its European operations, is the one country where the largest amount of aid is finding its way into the CPP/NPA. But then, the Netherlands is one of the largest European trade partners of the Philippines, or rather, Unilever is, accounting for a full 25% of all European imports, mostly coconut products. Under pressure from the Philippines government, aid agencies, including that of the government of the Netherlands, conducted a review of their aid projects. Although they denied financing the CPP/NPA underground, they not only confirmed support for the aboveground left, but praised it.

The Dutch Reformed Church's Inter Church Coordinating Committee for Development Projects (ICCO), which gives over \$2.5 million in aid to Philippines NGOs yearly, justified its aid program by stating, remarkably, that it aimed at fighting the "concentration of feudal, capitalist, and military power." An ICCO spokesman, Biem C. Lap, is quoted as justifying this shift: "Most of the people we talked to concluded that, because of the concentration of feudal, capitalist, and military power, even small income-generating projects are considered threats to the establishment. So they see instead the urgency of building an awareness of national issues, of the structures that prevent people from determining their own lives. . . . The legal democratic left represents a very important part of society and they contribute to the debate. That is also why the co-financing agencies are supporting leftist organizations here."

The leading Netherlands funding organizations include:

**The X-Y Movement.** Although the smallest of aid agencies, the X-Y Movement is the most outspoken in its support of the CPP/NPA. It is a member of the much larger NOVIB

organization (see below) and has transferred over 390,000 Dutch guilders to known NDF front organizations. It is the only organization thus far to be cut off from government subsidies because of Philippines government pressure. It also supports other "liberation movements" in El Salvador, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Thailand, and other countries. It subsidized the European stay of Sison, founder of the CCP/NPA, who was released from prison by an amnesty declared by President Aquino. He has most recently had his passport invalidated by the Philippines authorities. Sison is currently believed to be in West Germany.

**NOVIB.** The Netherlands Organization for International Development Cooperation is a private, non-religious agency that disburses over 100 million guilders annually to projects abroad. It finances over 50 projects in the Philippines. Besides supporting the NDF-infiltrated Task Force of Detainees, which was recently criticized by Philippines Cardinal Jaime Sin for its pro-NDF bias, it works closely with the World Council of Churches. It finances the movement against U.S. bases in the Philippines, including the "Nuclear-Free Philippines Coalition" as a "peace and development project." In 1985 and 1986, it extended financial aid to BALAI (Building Asian Links Against Imperialism), an organization that cooperates with European Nuclear Disarmament (END). In fact, one of BALAI's leading people, University of Philippines Prof. Roland Simbulan, author of *The Bases of Our Insecurity*, toured Great Britain as a guest of END Nov. 15-30. NOVIB also funds the "Anti-Bases Coalition." It has also funded organizations known to be semi-legal fronts for the CPP/NPA and NDF, including the Mindanao Interfaith People's Conference (MIPC) which the Philippines Bishops' Conference disavowed several years ago for its NDF sympathies. In fact, MIPC's former executive secretary, Bern Cacayan, is NOVIB's project consultant in the Philippines.

**CEBEMO.** The Catholic Organization for Joint Financing of Development Programs: This is the organization of the Catholic Church of the Netherlands. It is also a member of the Brussels-based CIDSE. With 137 million guilders in foreign aid, it finances over 60 projects in the Philippines, totaling over 4 million guilders. The description of the projects it finances are extremely vague, but they clearly interface CPP/NPA and NDF front organizations. Many of its projects in the field of "labor education" are no more than recruiting centers for the NDF's trade union, the May 1 Movement (KMU). CEBEMO has been investigated by Peruvian authorities for financing the Shining Path terrorists there.

In addition to CEBEMO, the Catholic Bishops' Lenten Campaign, which makes contributions to the Brussels-based CIDSE.

**ICCO.** The Interchurch Coordinating Committee is the aid agency of the Dutch Reformed Church and works closely with the World Council of Churches. It has a foreign aid budget of almost 150 million guilders, a large percentage of which is provided by the Dutch government. Despite the fact

that the Philippines has a very small percentage of non-Catholic Christians, not more than 5-10% of all Christians, its Philippines aid program totals over 7 million guilders, almost double that of the Catholic CEBEMO. In 1986, its largest grant to a Philippines project was 648,601 guilders to the Manila-based "People's Drama." This, in fact, was the Philippines Education Theater Association (PETA), a revolutionary theater group which was identified in the Malaysian 1988 White Paper on Internal Security as the training center for members of the Malaysian radical "Marxist Group," who traveled to Manila both to participate in anti-government demonstrations and to receive training by PETA. ICCO also supports the anti-bases groups and has extended over 1 million guilders to "human rights programs."

**Medical Committee Philippines (MCF).** Founded in 1983, this relatively small foundation exemplifies how seemingly benign programs are Soviet irregular warfare operations. The MCF is linked to the pro-NDF Philippines Support Group Netherlands. It has little to do with medicine. It proclaims that health projects "must offer a liberating perspective. . . . This means that the committee only supports health projects if political, economic, and social analysis are an integral part of these projects."

The CPP/NPA and the NDF place a great deal of emphasis on medical and health programs as part of their "Peoples War" strategy. The CPP/NPA maintains the National Association of Health Workers (MASAPA) as its underground "health" organization and the Health Alliance for Democracy (HEAD) as its legal mass organization. While they use terror to enforce their authority and discredit the authority of the government, they do set up medical programs, in some cases more advanced than the government's—after all, they may be better funded.

## 2.2B Federal Republic of Germany

West Germany maintains the largest "aid" program toward the Philippines of any nation, through a network of private civic and religious foundations. These foundations interface directly with German-based NDF support groups, and peace movement and Green Party groups, as well as the highest levels of government. They include:

**Catholic Church.** The German Catholic Church is the wealthiest in Western Europe, and support from its foundations is the largest. Misereor: Action against Hunger and Sickness, a member of CIDSE, funds over 100 projects and annual programs to the tune of over 11 million deutsche-marks. They have added "consciousness-raising" and similar programs to the category of "Hunger and Sickness," and also fund more overtly political programs. The German chapter of Caritas has a 1.5 million deutschemark budget. Although its programs mostly involve food donations, it also funds "social programs" and is suspected by the Philippines authorities of funding leftists, if not the NDF directly.

Then there is the German Bishops' Lenten Campaign,

which is also a member of CIDSE, and other programs shown in the chart, Figure 4. Among them, Missio, based in Munich and Aachen, serves as a coordinator of information for the various funding agencies. Although publicly critical of the CPP/NPA, it played host in 1987 to Sister Mary Johen Mananzan of Gabriela and Ed De la Torre of the NDF's "Christians for National Liberation."

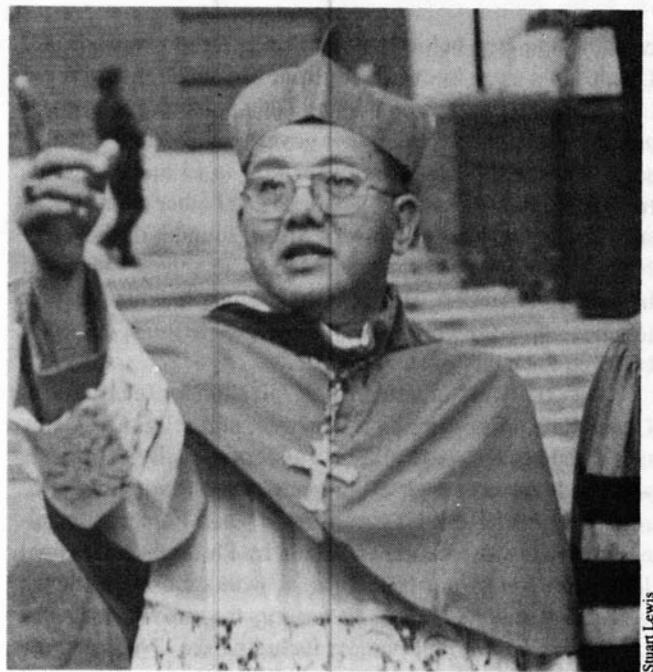
**Protestant Church.** The German Protestant Church (EKD) is one of the most influential institutions in West Germany. It represents the outlook of the old Central European aristocracy, is decidedly pro-Russian, and is at the center of the "peace movement." The Aktion-Gruppe Philippinen, the primary NDF support group, was founded by protestant ministers, and its Cologne-based Philippinen-Büro is a beneficiary of EKD financing. Being ecumenical, it has also hosted the Philippines Liberation theologians, Sr. Mary John Mananzan of Gabriela and Ed De la Torre, as well as members of the Philippines Educational Theater Association.

One of the EKD's most important funding organizations is Brot für die Welt (Bread for the World). Its 2.6 million DM aid program has stretched the concept of "bread" to include a great deal of "consciousness-raising" and obvious left-wing political programs. The other major foundation is the Evangelische Zentralstelle für Entwicklungshilfe e.V. which maintains over 50 million DM worth of Asian programs. Its annual report gives no breakdown of projects for the Philippines, and its staff refuses to release any information on its programs.

**Private foundations.** Among the private foundations giving aid are Terre des Hommes and Medico International, both openly leftist and open supporters of all the national liberation movements.

Terre des Hommes is an international foundation with its German, Swiss, and French chapters all sending aid to the Philippines left-wing scene. In an article openly supporting the NPA, it writes that the ideal of Philippine politics would be "that the forces that seek compromise on both sides would work together, that the NDF would strengthen the left wing of the Aquino government and weaken the right wing." The projects they support include such open NDF fronts as the Medical Action Group, Women's Workers Movement (KMK), and the National Federation of Sugar Workers.

Medico International is another foundation openly supporting national liberation groups including the Farabundo Martí Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador and an extremely large program for Nicaragua. Although its projects appear as charitable medical help programs, in reality the medical help is for the NDF or anti-government scene. One case is a 10,000 DM grant to establish an "emergency fund for street medics in Manila." It was later found that these "street medics" were accompanying anti-government street demonstrators. Medico International began supporting the NDF directly by making a 90,000 DM grant to the National Association of Health Workers (MASAPA), a member of the NDF.



*Cardinal Jaime Sin of the Philippines: He criticized the Task Force of Detainees for its bias toward the National Democratic Front, the above-ground arm of the Communist Party/New People's Army.*

## 2.2C United Kingdom

In the United Kingdom leading organizations include both Catholic and Anglican aid agencies as well as several private agencies such as Oxfam and War on Want. All work with the NDF's immediate British-based support group, The Philippine Resource Centre/Philippine Support Group based in London. One of the key information coordination agencies is the Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR) which cooperates very closely with the Transnational Institute. Despite being a Catholic organization, it receives funding from the World Council of Churches and the Anglican Church's charitable trust, Christian Aid, as well as the leading British and West European Catholic aid organizations. It serves as the key information agency for the various church organizations. Among its publications are those of the Ed De la Torre, chairman of Christians for National Liberation, constituent member of the NDF. It also publishes the works of Philippine Liberation Theologist Louie B. Hechanova, including his essays entitled "The Christ of Liberation Theology" and "Towards a Moral Theology of Violence."

The two principal aid agencies of the British Catholic Church are the Catholic Fund for Overseas Development (CAFOD) and the Scottish Catholic International Aid Fund (SCIAF). Both organizations, while maintaining a modest number of projects, contribute most of their aid through the Asian Partnership for Human Development in Hong Kong and NASSA in the Philippines.

The Anglican Church's foundation is called Christian Aid which maintains a development assistance program of over

£13 million worldwide. It cooperates very closely with the World Council of Churches, CIIR, and the Transnational Institute.

The two leading non-church organizations are Oxfam and War on Want. Oxfam, although founded in the United Kingdom as a relief organization to send humanitarian aid into Greece during the post-World War II civil war, currently has chapters all over the world. Its British chapter maintains aid programs totaling £135,347 in 1986 to the Philippines. According to its recent annual report, it has given financial assistance to the Philippine Resource Centre in London, the leading NDF support organization in the U.K. and to the Commission for Filipino Migrant Workers, an organization believed to be a key NDF front group for recruiting and fundraising from the overseas Filipino community. It has also given aid to the NDF's National Federation of Sugar Workers and the pro-NDF Task Force of Detainees. Oxfam also financed Philippine programs of the Transnational Institute and the CIIR while paying the expenses for a U.K. trip of the abovementioned Philippine Education Theater Association.

War on Want has an annual budget of over £3.4 million, with grants from the British government. It takes the lead in supporting financially all the left-wing causes and leading national liberation movements. It has cooperated or given financial assistance to the Philippine Resource Centre in London, CIIR, the KMP affiliated Philippines Peasant Institute, the National Federation of Sugar Workers, the KMU, and Gabriela. One of its programs, a "Revolving Land Scheme," is to "support small farmers displaced by conflict."

### 2.2D Other European countries

While the Netherlands and West Germany have the largest programs, other European countries play an important role in this type of support, either through such multinational agencies as CIDSE, the WCC, and APHD, or through direct support of Philippine support groups in their own countries. In France, the Comité Français Catholique contre la Faim et pour le Développement has come under critical attack for its support of the National Federation of Sugar Workers, the KMU, and other NDF-linked organizations. In Italy, which has the largest number of Filipino migrant workers, COSPE, the leading Italian NGO, not only has programs in the Philippines but lends support to the considerable number of pro-NDF support groups. Belgium, Norway, and Sweden also maintain programs.

On the European level, the European Economic Commission has a \$250 million foreign aid program. Its second largest recipient after India is Nicaragua, and the Philippines is among the largest recipients. EC aid is channeled through NGOs of various EC member states such as CEBEMO, NOVIB, and Brot für die Welt. According to the EC's annual report, one of its grants of over \$22,000 went to War on Want to co-finance a project for the National Federation of Sugar Workers. Another \$12,000 went to War on Want for a program with the KMP.

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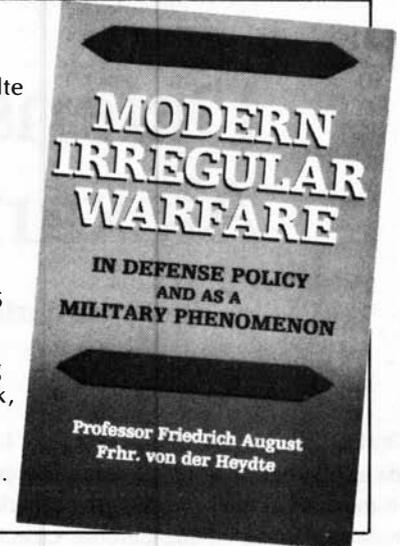
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