

AIR COMMAND AND STAFF COLLEGE

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**THREAT ASSESSMENT
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE PHILIPPINES –
NEW PEOPLE’S ARMY (CPP-NPA)**



By

Oliver P Casuncad, LTC, Philippines Air Force

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Advisor: Dr. Paul J. Springer

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Threat Assessment
Communist Party of the Philippines – New People’s Army (CPP-NPA)

Introduction

The September 11, 2001 World Trade Center bombing brought a new face of terrorism, not just to the United States but also to the entire world. Although terrorist atrocities have existed way back in early part of the twentieth century, it was only during that fateful day that the world came to know a different level of terrorism.

Section 2656f of Title 22 of the United States Code defines terrorism as “premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents.” Furthermore, a terrorist group is “any group practicing, or which has significant subgroups which practice, international terrorism.”¹

In response to the 9/11 attacks, then President George W. Bush steered the United States into a historic campaign against terrorism and violent extremism, known as the “Global War on Terror,” or GWOT. To further these efforts, he signed into law anti-terrorism measures to aid law enforcement in monitoring and intercepting terrorist organizations and preempt any planned atrocities.² This would start the US global effort in tracking down foreign terrorist organizations, not only those closely tied to those who carried out the 9/11 attacks, but also those sowing terror worldwide.

On August 9, 2002, the U.S. Department of State listed the Communist Party of the Philippines – New People’s Army (CPP-NPA) as a Foreign Terrorist Organization, in accordance with section 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA), as amended.³ The Philippine government gladly welcomed the news and sought help from a global effort to overcome this group, together with all other terrorist groups.

For the past 15 years, the group has continued to challenge the government, but its activity as an armed struggle has declined. It has been slowly losing its cause, as well as its support and influence. While not engaging in suicide bombings, the CPP has continuously harassed military and police personnel, especially those engaged in civil-military operations, even during medical missions or disaster relief operations.

Statistically, the CPP-NPA has a low record of terroristic activities and it has limited its atrocities within the Philippines, and operates a smaller scale compared to high profile foreign terrorist groups, or even to the local group, Abu Sayyaf. Its membership reached a peak of almost 30,000 during the Martial Law era. The Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) estimates its present strength around 4,000 to 5,000 members. It remains on the US list of terrorist groups, has been very vocal in expressing hatred for the presence of US personnel in the country, and have committed criminal acts against foreign nationals. However, the United States does not consider the Communist Party of the Philippines a significant threat to its citizens.

Background

The Philippine government has long been struggling with two insurgencies, the first communist in nature, while the other is a separatist movement. The insurgency carried out by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), has become one of the longest in Asia, almost half a century. It professes Maoist-Marxist doctrines, has a political identity, the National Democratic Front (NDF), and an armed wing, the New People's Army (NPA). It is more commonly known as the CPP-NPA. It opposes the United States' involvement in the Philippines and seeks to overthrow the Philippine government through sustained guerilla warfare.⁴ It has been targeting government and military personnel, even politicians whom it calls oppressors of the common Filipino. This organization has evolved into a gang of bandits and common

criminals, engaged in kidnapping and extortion, as part of their “fund raising.” It gained more notoriety when it started collecting “revolutionary taxes” from private businesses, both foreign and local, and issuing “permits to campaign” for aspiring politicians. Presently, the CPP-NPA have been in-and-out of an overdue peace process dating back in the late 1980s.

It has a central committee based in the Southern Tagalog region, in the Quezon province. Its organizational structure consists of small fronts led by a sub-commander. Although it has several fronts in the different regions of the country, it concentrates and maintains stronghold in the areas of the Cagayan Valley region in Luzon, Eastern Isaias, particularly in Samar and Leyte provinces, and Eastern and Southern Mindanao, in the provinces of Aucean, Davao, South Cotobato and Sarangani provinces.

The CPP-NPA does not differ from other insurgent groups in methods and targeting of recruitment for “fighters.” They prey on the impoverished families in the countryside, particularly the younger family members, including the indigenous people, whom they easily turn against the government because of their isolation from the mainstream communities. They also employ their more educated members in campuses of schools and universities as activists in order to attract the more idealistic individuals and keep them as their “brains.” Many of the above average students they recruit become sub-commanders or even commanders of smaller units in the NPA organization.

The Philippine government has been constantly extending its arm for peace talks to the CPP, implementing nationwide ceasefires and suspensions of offensives, even granting amnesty and providing safe passes to convicted insurgents, but the CPP has also consistently violated agreements, exploiting the situation to take undue advantage over the government forces that usually incur casualties.

Roots of the Filipino Struggle

The history of the Philippine – and the record of its revolutionary struggle – may be divided into four phases: the pre-Spanish period, the Spanish period (1521-1988); the American period (1898 – 1946) and the years since independence (1946 – present).⁵ Long before the Spanish colonialization, passed through the Philippine islands. The first recorded inhabitants of the islands are the Negritos, believed to have originated from Borneo and Sumatra. They were then followed by the Malays which traveled thru early land bridges connecting the southern part of the country to the Malayan peninsula, and the later batches on board boats called *balanghay*. These people settled in scattered communities called barangays, known to be ruled by chieftains or datu. The majority of the country became populated by Malays, although Chinese and Arab traders and merchants arrived sometime in the ninth and tenth centuries. The Arabs introduced Islam to the southern part of the Philippines.

In 1521, a Portuguese named Ferdinand Magellan arrived in Mactan, Cebu, an island in the central part of the country, and claimed the Philippines in the name of Spain. Although a chieftain named Lapu-Lapu killed Magellan in the famous battle of Mactan, Spain controlled the Philippines for the next 377 years. It was during this period many people converted to Christianity. The Spanish developed a colonial system with a strong centralized government and considerable clerical influence.⁶ Other colonizers, such as the Portuguese, Dutch, English, Chinese, and the locals tried to disrupt the Spanish rule with repeated threats.

A long line of revolutionaries followed, including Dr. Jose Rizal, Andres Bonifacio, Francisco Dagohoy, and countless more local heroes, who simply expressed their nationalism and desire for freedom. The Spanish executed Dr. Jose Rizal during his unsuccessful bid for freedom from the Spanish rule—one of the highlights of the Philippine revolution. Spain

ultimately ceded the Philippine rule to the Americans after a payment of US\$20 million.⁷ But, it did not take long for the Filipinos to rise up and seek complete independence, leading to the Filipino-American War. Heroes such as Antonio Luna and Macario Sakay came into the limelight, in defiance of the American rule.

When Imperial Japan wrought havoc throughout the Pacific and brought the country to its knees, a group known as Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon (HUKBALAHAP) or Huks emerged. These revolts sought to overthrow the regime of then President Ferdinand Marcos, who declared Martial Law in September 21, 1972 until 1983.

The struggle went on even after the famous EDSA Revolution, a bloodless people's revolt that toppled the Marcos dictatorship and installed the widow of Benigno "Ninoy" Aquino, Corazon "Cory" Aquino. The Reform the Armed Forces of the Philippines Movement (RAM), led by then Colonel Gregorio "Gringo" Honasan, one of the EDSA Revolution's key personalities staged one of the bloodiest coup d'état during Cory Aquino's rule.

Early Beginnings

The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) started as an offshoot from the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP). A member-activist named Jose Maria Sison, born from a landlord class family, wanted to inject Maoist theories in the PKP by convincing its leaders.⁸ However, the PKP leadership resisted and ejected Sison from the organization.

Along with a few other PKP members, Sison established the CPP on December 26, 1968 coinciding with the 75th birth anniversary of China's Revolutionary leader, Mao Zedong. A year later, Sison met Bernabe Buscayno, a prominent Huk commander, and together they established the New People's Army (NPA) – the armed wing of the CPP.

The Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP)

The Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP) was organized in 1930 in a 2-day convention which culminated on August 26, 1930, the 34th anniversary of the launching of the national revolutionary armed struggle against the Spanish colonialism (the 1896 Revolution, which was led by Andres Bonifacio).⁹ It organized electoral boycotts and had a guerilla army to fight Japanese imperialism, US colonialism and Filipino elites. However, the Republic Act 1700 banned the PKP from participating in politics. The PKP elites then decided to give up the armed struggle, but Sison disagreed and advocated the Maoist idea of communism. He proposed major changes in the PKP, criticizing the leadership as too narrow-minded in only aiming for Manila as target. He wanted to formally reestablish the Communist Party, so they expelled him from the group.

The HUKBALAHAP

The HUKBALAHAP or Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon was a peasant organization in Central Luzon with a three-point platform – economic, political and military – advocating a free and democratic Philippines.¹⁰ It was in Pampanga, Central Luzon, where agrarian radicalism – nurtured by communist and socialist leaders – encouraged the Huks to become a guerilla army.¹¹ The Huks proved very lethal against the Japanese forces and fought side by side with the American troops. However, during the closing months of the Philippine liberation in 1945, the Americans turned against the Huks. Together with the Filipino elites, the Americans feared any movement tainted with communism, and used “communism” to discredit the Huks.¹² This pushed the Huks to the hinterlands and into rebellion against the government, even after its liberation from the Japanese rule. However, the conflicting interests of its leaders caused some members to realize how far the movement had moved away from its revolutionary roots. One of

them was Bernabe Buscayno. Buscayno would later meet Jose Maria Sison, the founder of the Communist Party of the Philippines, and together they would establish the New People's Army (NPA).

The Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army

Both the CPP and the NPA were founded “under the supreme guidance of Mao Tse-Tung, the acme of Marxism and Leninism in the present era.”¹³ Although it slowly expanded from the northern part of the country in Luzon towards the south and westward, the NPA established its first fighting front in Mindanao. The group grew slowly but steadily from its establishment in 1968 towards the late 80's, peaking at approximately 30,000 members. Its influence derived from protest against military abuses, such as forced and prolonged detention and illegal arrests, during the Martial Law era, and the problems of agrarian reform program, like the cases of sugar cane farmers in Tarlac and Negros provinces.

In his autobiography, *The Philippine Revolution*, Jose Maria Sison enumerated the ten guidelines for a long term and general program for the Communist Party of the Philippines, as follows:

1. Overthrow the forces of U.S. imperialist and feudal oppression.
2. Establish a people's democratic state and a coalition or united front government.
3. Fight for national unity and democratic rights.
4. Follow the principle of democratic centralism.
5. Build and cherish the people's army.
6. Solve the land problem.
7. Carry out national industrialization.
8. Promote a national, scientific, and mass culture.
9. Respect the national minorities' right to self-determination.
10. Adopt an active, independent foreign policy.¹⁴

The CPP tested its tactics in the southern part of the country in Mindanao, Davao, in particular. Davao was famous in the international press as the “murder capital” of the

Philippines, partly as a result of the NPA's assassination team attacks; by mid-1984, killings took place almost daily.¹⁵ However, a local self-defense force, the Alsa-Masa, a vigilante group composed of former NPA members eventually displaced them. Local businessmen and the military chief supported this group in removing the NPA from Davao.

In other parts of the country, the CPP-NPA thrived in hard-to-reach communities, seizing the initiative in gaining the support the local populace and advocating anti-government sentiments. They have strongholds in Samar and Leyte provinces and the Bicol region, where calamities were a common occurrence and government services took almost forever to reach the constituents with the much-needed support. These circumstances supported the political agenda of the communist group for quite a long time, so the government, especially the military forces lost their appeal to the common citizen. The CPP-NPA invested in the ignorance and displacement of most people in these parts of the country, to condition their minds to only supporting them and their cause.

The Martial Law Years

The growing strength of the communists and widespread violence forced then President Ferdinand Marcos to declare Martial Law over the entire Philippines on September 23, 1972.¹⁶ The government enforced curfews and arrested known opposition leaders, particularly political figures, including Jose Maria Sison. Justifying his decision, President Marcos cited the infamous bombing of Plaza Miranda, where a "miting de avance" for the opposition Liberal Party was being held. Liberal party oppositionists fell victim to the communist guerillas who threw three grenades, wounding Jovito Salonga, a prominent liberal, together with other personalities joining him on stage. The event was initially blamed on Marcos, who allegedly staged the act in order to finally declare a state of emergency. However, it turned out later that it was the Communist

Party of the Philippines under Sison that conducted the act to instigate the looming clash between government and its opposition. No formal investigation proved the source of the incident, but rather Salonga revealed it.

Aside from restricting the freedoms of expression and association inside the country, the Martial Law also controlled the movement of alternative information about government activities and thus, affected its impact to the people. This translated towards the international community, thereby, hiding the cruelty and corruption occurring and observed in the Marcos administration.¹⁷ These fueled more of the communist's desire for reform on their terms. During this period, human rights activists and journalists recorded the summary killings of known opposition members, and even innocent civilians. Corruption in all government agencies ran rampant, and the people made massive complaints over land ownership. People blamed all these infractions on Marcos. This gave the CPP a propaganda theme to attract members. The communist organization grew steadily during the Marcos era and expanded its mass base throughout the country. While the Marcos administration grew infamous, the CPP-NPA gained a greater ground with the support of masses.

The CPP-NPA also gained support and sponsorship from known communist states, such as China and North Korea, which contributed to the challenges during the Marcos Regime.¹⁸ In fact, in a declassified Confidential Report in 1972 from the American Embassy to the US Secretary of State an unknown vessel in the vicinity of Palanan Bay, northeast of the main island of Luzon, was boarded by the then Philippine Constabulary and met heavy resistance from NPA units ashore.¹⁹ There were also accounts from former and retired pilots of the Philippine Air Force during the 1980s of an unmarked black aircraft flying very low in the mountainous terrain of northern Luzon that seemed to be avoiding detection and was rumored to be dropping supplies

for the CPP-NPA. The '70s and '80s were the strong decades of the communist group that claimed the lives of gallant military officers of the Armed Forces of the Philippines particularly in the provinces of Abra, Benguet, Cagayan, Isabela, Benguet, Kalinga-Apayao, and Mountain Province, all in northern Luzon.

EDSA Revolution

With his administration sinking into deep controversies, especially due to the consequences of Martial rule, then President Marcos announced a presidential election in 1985, which aimed to “erase doubts regarding the popularity of his administration.”²⁰ Despite meeting heavy opposition about the constitutionality of the said election, the National Assembly approved of the conduct of a presidential and vice-presidential elections on February 7, 1986. Beating the deadline for filing candidacies, Corazon “Cory” Aquino, the widow of the assassinated senator Benigno Aquino Jr, and Salvador “Doy” Laurel agreed to a joint ticket against the Marcos-Tolentino tandem for the elections. Meanwhile, the CPP-NPA declared its non-participation or “boycott,” because neither Marcos nor Aquino recognized their cause. They accused Aquino of “representing landowners and capitalists.”²¹

Observers claimed massive electoral fraud, which triggered a series of social movements in defiance of Marcos, starting with the very operators of the computers in the Commission of Elections (COMELEC), to a group of Catholic bishops; then, withdrawal of support of the Defense Minister, Juan Ponce Enrile, and the Deputy Chief of Staff, Armed Forces of the Philippines, General Fidel Ramos. Masses of people started converging in the Epifanio de los Santos Avenue (EDSA) in support of the opposition led by Cory Aquino, leading to a stand-off against Marcos loyalists and government forces. These events led to the eventual and famous “bloodless” EDSA Revolution that evicted Marcos and installed Cory Aquino as the president

and marked the triumph of democracy in the Philippines. Under the Cory Aquino administration, the strength of the CPP-NPA peaked in 1987 with a total of 27,020 members.²²

William Chapman's *Inside the Philippine Revolution*, claimed that the NPA's tactics were nowhere near the Vietcong's way of killing innocent people just to destabilize and create chaos. In the words of one American official having vast experiences both in Vietnam and the Philippines, "*The NPA are not terrorists. Their killing is selective and usually designed to make a political point... There is a high level of education, not like the Vietcong.*"²³

In Richard Kessler's *Rebellion and Repression in the Philippines*, a 1981 classified report from the American Embassy reports that, "the NPA portrays itself as inheritor of a revolutionary tradition, a force of destiny capable of leading the Filipino masses to victory in their long struggle for freedom."²⁴

After the election of Corazon Aquino to the presidency, she created an opportunity for the CPP-NPA to engage the government in peace negotiations. In an unprecedented gesture of sincerity, President Aquino released almost 500 political prisoners and offered amnesty to communist insurgents.²⁵ However, this effort fell into deaf ears: the CPP-NPA rejected the negotiation conditions and continued its fight against the government.

The Later Years

The CPP tasted its first formal recognition from the government when President Cory Aquino announced and declared an agreement with the communist organization to begin negotiations and establish a ceasefire between the government and the NPA. Aquino even offered an amnesty to guerillas who will lay down their arms. However, these efforts failed to reach an agreement on the conditions set by both sides.

Succeeding administrations of Ramos, Estrada, Arroyo and Aquino III also failed to bring the CPP-NPA to the negotiating table without a violation of truce and ceasefire. More importantly, the CPP-NPA have always been exploiting their advantages when the government would suspend military offensives. Treachery continued as individual fronts throughout the country launched offensives against military convoys and detachments, despite a ceasefire.

The CPP-NPA consistently launched offensives against the government, either through propaganda or armed atrocities. The organization has also strayed from its professed noble cause and resorted to criminal acts, not just against government forces but also against innocent civilians. The CPP-NPA exploits minors and women by recruiting them to join as fighters, with children as young as nine years old being killed in encounters with government forces. Women are likewise forced into relationships and even marriages with leaders and left without any choice but to stay or be killed.

The CPP-NPA would be known as traitors to government efforts to bring services to far-flung areas through medical missions, infrastructural improvements and relief missions. The latest of which would be the attack on military troops performing relief operations to victims of an earthquake in Surigao province in Mindanao.

Internal Struggles

Like any group or organization, the CPP-NPA suffered internal conflicts due to discontent or personal differences, especially among the top leaders. These misunderstandings produced splinter groups, such as the Alex Boncayao Brigade, formerly its urban terrorist wing, and the Revolutionary Proletarian Army (RPA). The two splinter groups joined and formed the ABB-RPA, headed by a former CPP Central Committee member, Arturo Tabara. Tabara was assassinated in 2004, by suspected NPA elements.²⁶

CPP-NPA – A Terrorist Group

The present administration had just recently resumed its offensives against the CPP-NPA after finding insincerities in their agreement to ceasefire, and proceeded with rounding up the negotiators, while putting aside the peace negotiation efforts that seemed to have been progressing. President Rodrigo Duterte, known to be left-leaning, was quoted to saying, “Because I lost so many soldiers in just 48 hours, I think to continue with the ceasefire does not or will not produce anything.” Duterte also ordered the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces of the Philippines to “Go back to your camps, clean your rifles and be ready to fight.”

The Present Administration

Three months after his election to the highest post in the country, President Rodrigo Duterte made good on his promise to engage the CPP-NPA in peace negotiations in a bold move to finally close the book of the longest running communist group in Asia. After so many failed attempts at peace—under five Philippine Presidents—Duterte set the talks with the National Democratic Front in Oslo, Norway to thresh out acceptable solutions for the insurgency issue.²⁷ Despite over 40 rounds of talks, 1,300 political detainees released and 20 agreements signed, both the Philippine government and the NDF have yet to agree over a final peace settlement.²⁸

Early this year, President Duterte ordered the resumption of military offensives against the CPP-NPA after it violated the ceasefire with an attack on military personnel involved in providing relief to the victims of an earthquake in Mindanao. Duterte also ordered the arrests of personalities involved in the peace talks, who had been temporarily released for that purpose.

Just recently, the government once again opened its doors or peace negotiations with the CPP-NPA and has even offered its founder, Jose Maria Sison, to come home for the talks. The

group has been enjoying great leeway from President Duterte as he envisions ending the half-century old insurgency during his term.

Conclusion

With primary objectives of toppling the government and installing a communist leadership, the Communist Party of the Philippines has continued to threaten the Philippine government. Similarly, it presents considerable risks to foreigners, especially to American citizens, since it harbors deeply-rooted hatred to colonizers caused by hundreds of years of oppression by Spain, the U.S., Japan and other foreign countries that established business and commerce and have exploited the country and its citizenry.

Assessment

The CPP-NPA since its conception, its establishment, and its existence have been fighting to overthrow the Philippine government thru guerilla warfare and other propaganda activities. Moreover, it resorts to kidnapping and extortion, deviating from its ideologies but still justifying these atrocities based on their cause. Their activities constitute mostly banditry, piracy, and common criminal acts, which have not necessarily impacted or instilled fear over the population. Even if it has been resisting the involvement or presence of the U.S. forces in the Philippines, the farthest that it has gone against foreign nationals have been through mass assemblies, rallies and protests. Despite the recent criminal activities conducted by the Communist Party of the Philippines-New People's Army (CPP-NPA), this group has weakened, with a handful of rebels returning to the folds of the government. Considering the terroristic acts that they have conducted against government and military forces, the population, especially their sympathizers has generally disapproved and condemned their actions. Lately, the group has been seen as insignificant threat, most of its activities confined domestically. According to the

Global Terrorist Database, there are 65 activities attributed to the CPP-NPA from 1991-2014, mostly in the form of ambushes on military and government personnel or harassment of private businesses. This organization committed a number of crimes against foreign nationals, particularly US citizens as well as its military personnel, the organization does not necessarily present a substantial or even a growing threat or concern for the United States or to other foreign countries. It may be prudent though to maintain this organization in the United States' list of terrorist groups.

¹ "United States Code," Office of the Law Revision Counsel, [http://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?req=\(title:section:2656f+edition:prelim\)OR+\(granuleid:USC-prelim-title-section2656f\)&f=treesort&edition=prelim&num=0&jumpTo=true](http://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?req=(title:section:2656f+edition:prelim)OR+(granuleid:USC-prelim-title-section2656f)&f=treesort&edition=prelim&num=0&jumpTo=true)

² Adam Clymer, "Bush Quickly Signs Measure Aiding Antiterrorism Effort." *New York Times*, 27 Oct 2001.

³ United States Department of State. *Foreign Terrorist Organization*. Accessed 20 March 2017. <https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123085.html>.

⁴ "New People's Army (NPA) / Communist Party of the Philippines," *Military Periscope*. (Updated January 2017), <https://apps-militaryperiscope-com.aufric.idm.oclc.org/Terrorism/ShowGroup.aspx?group=147>.

⁵ Leonard Davis, *Revolutionary Struggle in the Philippines*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989), p.18.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Martin Wright (ed.), *Revolution in the Philippines? A Kessing's Special Report*, (Chicago and London: St. James Press, 1988), p.4.

⁸ Jose Mari Sison and Rainer Werning. *The Philippine Revolution (The Leader's View)*, (New York: Taylor & Francis, 1989), p.1.

⁹ *PKP-1930 Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas*, <http://www.pkp1930.org/a-short-history-of-the-partido-komunista-ng-pilipinas.html>.

¹⁰ L. Davis, *Revolutionary Struggle in the Philippines*, p.37.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid, p.39.

¹³ Ibid, p.43.

¹⁴ J. Sison and R. Werning. *The Philippine Revolution*, p. 52.

¹⁵ Richard J. Kessler, *Rebellion and Repression in the Philippines*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), p. 52.

¹⁶ Wright, *Revolution in the Philippines?* p.10.

¹⁷ *Elections and Democratization in the Philippines*, Edited by Andrew Appleton. (New York: Routledge, 2001), p. 140.

¹⁸ *World Terrorism: An Encyclopedia of Political Violence from Ancient Time to the Post-9/11 Era (Second Edition) Vol I-III*. Edited by James Ciment, (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), p. 720.

¹⁹ American Embassy Manila. *Telegram MANILA06383*. 11 July 1972. Document is now declassified.

²⁰ Wright, *Revolution in the Philippines?* p. 20.

²¹ Ibid, p.23.

²² Romulo Supapo, PA, "U.S.-Philippine Security Relations: Its Implications for the Global War on Terrorism." *Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), Philippine National Police Year-End Order of Battle Validation Report* (Quezon City: General Headquarters, AFP, 10 January 2004), Annex IA.)

²³ William Chapman, *Inside the Philippine Revolution*, (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987), p.185.

²⁴ R. J. Kessler, *Rebellion and Repression in the Philippines*, p.5.

²⁵ Ibid, p.4.

²⁶ “New People’s Army.” *Jane’s World Insurgency and Terrorism*. London: HIS Markit, 2015.
<http://janes.ihs.com.aufric.idm.oclc.org/Janes/Display/1320726>.

²⁷ Katerina Francisco, Rappler, *Fast Facts: The CPP-NPA-NDF and the Oslo Talks*, (22 August 2016),
<http://www.rappler.com/newsbreak/iq/143551-cpp-mpa-ndf-peace-talks>.

²⁸ Ibid.

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