

ethical, social, and cultural ideals it embodies" so that "the rest of the nation might begin to value the Muslims and embrace them as fellow citizens (pg. 96), "while he encourages the majority to accept "the cultural pluralism that is, whether they realize it or not, part of their own heritage (pg. 108)." Majul sees faith and religious goodwill as avenues out of the trap of Philippine history. His understanding of Moro political mobilization as part of a broader "Muslim movement" appears a product of his hopes for a peaceful and pluralistic future. Unfortunately, few observers share Professor Majul's optimism.

In his concluding chapter it becomes apparent that Majul shaped his presentation to appeal to a specific reader, President Marcos. He gently chides Marcos for having missed opportunities to resolve the conflict, but he also cites the 1982 lifting of martial law and expansion of executive powers as hopeful signs for Muslims since the president might finally undertake settlement initiatives unhindered by a reluctant military. The manuscript looks to have been completed in 1982, but by the time it appeared in print (1985), the Marcos era was drawing to a close and, in any case, Marcos' intransigence on the issue of Muslim autonomy never flagged. So far the Aquino government seems more open to Majul's vision than its predecessor. We must wait and see whether its policies lead to a lasting solution of the Philippine government's conflicts with the Muslim minority. In the meantime, Professor Majul has given us a concise introduction to Islamic nationalism in the Philippines. It is only because we know him that we hoped for much more.

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The Philippines After Marcos. Edited by R. J. May and Francisco Nemenzo.
New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985. xiv, 239 pp. \$27.50.

There is a temptation in reviewing a volume like *The Philippines After Marcos*, written while Marcos was still in power, to tote up the specific predictions, seeing which now appear prophetic and which ludicrous. But this would be to miss what is of value in the book, for the papers collected here offer many insights into Philippine politics and society that transcend the efforts at prognostication.

Reynaldo C. Ileto's essay on "The Past in the Present Crisis" argues for the importance of popular/religious symbols in mobilizing Filipinos historically, and specifically following the assassination of Benigno Aquino. (Even according to the Marcos press, Felipe Miranda tells us, the two months following the killing saw 77 demonstrations involving well over a million people.) Though Ileto wrote before the rise of Corazon Aquino, his analysis is obviously relevant for understanding her current popularity.

Francisco Nemenzo examines the opportunism of the traditional elite opposition and the conflicting tendencies within the Philippine left. Both the opportunism and the conflicts are more visible than ever today and his analysis aids us in our understanding. Dennis Shoemith's discussion of the divisions within the Philippine church emphasizes the essential conservatism of the moderate center, a view that may have seemed overstated in February 1986 but that gains in credibility in light of the current anti-Communist crusade.

R. J. May's analysis of the Muslim issue suggests that in many respects the situation is intractable. What is certain, however, is that neither the elite opposition nor the left has really come to terms with the demand for Muslim autonomy.

In his article on the urban poor, Michael Pinches argues that the slum dwellers and squatters are not a distinct social grouping from wage-earners, as is often claimed. However, they have great class hostility, though not yet class consciousness, so represent a latent social force. They constitute, "to twist the language that is often applied to their labor, a huge reserve army."

In another article, Brian Fegan finds that the Marcos land reform, while bypassing the majority of the rural population, created a bulwark of conservatism in a "kulak" class in Central Luzon.

Alfred W. McCoy continues his work on the sugar industry, describing its massive on-going shedding of labor, impelled by world market forces "no regime, not even a government of the left, can reverse" Gloomily he forecasts that migration, hunger, disease, or death wait to claim the Negros proletariat. He underrates, I think, the revolutionary potential of the sugar workers. Moreover, while a government committed to social justice cannot reverse world market forces, it could undertake policies to ensure that the sugar workers do not bear the full brunt of these forces. To be sure, though, to exercise power any such a government would have to overcome the immense political clout of the sugar planters.

In their paper on the economy, Sisira Jayasuriya and Hal Hill argue *inter alia* (1) that in some respects the economy has been too open and in other respects not open enough to maximize national economic welfare, and (2) "that increased export orientation is quite consistent with the goal of improved equity provided suitable policy reforms are initiated." The authors acknowledge that these complex issues need more extended discussion, but their argument is provocative.

Amando Doronila relates developments in the media realm to the changing social forces in Philippine society and warns that after Marcos the media are likely to be controlled by the economic elite.

Felipe Miranda's discussion of the divisions within the Philippine military, while revealing in 1983, seems dated today as four or five different factions vie for power within the armed forces.

David Wurfel's article on the "Succession Crisis" has likewise been largely overtaken by events. He reminds us, however, how late the United States was in coming to oppose the Marcos regime. Even the major congressional

expression of concern immediately following the Aquino assassination, the Solarz-Kennedy resolution, did not threaten U.S. aid to Marcos.

Robyn Lim discusses foreign policy and rightly focuses on the importance that the military bases play in the thinking of U.S. officials. She also neatly shows the relationship between the bases and social justice in the Philippines. Given the highly unequal distribution of income in the country, any government with a serious commitment to equity is likely to be strongly leftist and hence will also be committed to opposing the bases. In trying to secure its bases, Washington will thus inevitably be lined up against those seeking social change.

In the words of the late Jose W. Diokno, who contributed the first essay to this book, "any successor government to Marcos must, if it is to solve the problems of the nation, break away from the constraints of the predominant influence and control of the U.S. government."

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The Philippines at a Crossroad: A Background Paper for the U.S. Churches. Prepared by *B. David Williams*. New York: The International Affairs Commission, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. 1986. li, 54 pp. \$2.00 (paper).

Seeds of Injustice: Reflections on the Murder Frame-up of the Negros Nine in the Philippines. By *Niall O'Brien*. Dublin: The O'Brien Press, 1985. 208 pp.

How Long? Prison Reflections From the Philippines. By *Karl Gaspar*. Foreword by *Jim Wallis*. Edited by *Helen Graham, M.M.* and *Breda Noonan, S.S.C.* Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1984. xx, 171 pp. \$9.95 (paper).

These three studies focus on the struggle for justice in the Philippines during the Marcos years. They testify to the kinds of persecution the Marcos regime inflicted on church officials and lay workers engaged in the social justice programs of Roman Catholic and Protestant churches.

Each author is well qualified to address questions of social injustice in the Philippines. Niall O'Brien is an Irish Columban missionary with over twenty years experience in the Philippines, who, along with Brian Gore (also a Columban missionary), Fr. Vicente Dangan (a Filipino diocesan priest), and six lay leaders, was accused of complicity in the march 1982 murder of Mayor Pablo Sola of Kabankalan, Negros Occidental. Karl Gaspar is a well known Filipino Catholic layman, who is now studying to become a priest. From the late 1960's until his arrest in March 1983 on allegations of "conspiracy to commit rebellion" and