

Philippine Land Reform/Tax Reform
~~Talk for HGS to WAC~~

Philippines

I. Poverty

Eating garbage; prostitution; pimping; stealing

P.C. inc = \$772. Not many finish h.s.

Pop. now 57m, rapidly rising — as H. G. said. 490 p.s.m.

Colonial ec. Only 36% urban. } Cf. Peru, 40; Poland, 50; Switz, 40

Plantations geared for export: copra, sugar, timber, rice

— anomaly, w. dense rural pop., this emphasis on land-using crops, extensive plantation agric., low capacity to use labor.

Pop. distrib. follows: congested foothills. I got terraces;

Iloos, like W. Va; low density on fertile plains. Not highest & best use.

II. Fn. Domination.

Made for it. 7,000 islands. mountainous, is all seacoast.

Manila Bay, best nat. harbor in orient, maybe the world.

Coveted by any naval power. Subic also good.

Before age of imperialism, natives were not a nation.

Small, fractionated tribes. > 100 dialects. 5 between
Manila & Baguio, ^{+ Chinese; Negrito; *} Lingua franca was Sp; now Eng.

Arabs reached it, converted Mindanao to Islam.

Magellan killed three, intervening in quarrel, 1521.

Spanish founded Manila. Sp. missionaries.

Cultural + mil. + ec. imperialism combined.

Inst. called Encomienda. Natives paid for their own
conversion + suppression: call it tribute, call it rent.

Philip. land granted by Sp. King to his chosen.

Just like Calif. + its missions.

Sp. ^{had a conscience and} required a rationale - to instruct in the Faith. They were not just freebooters. They were, if possible, were more hypocritical than we are. Land of Don Quixote, chivalric ideals.

Treaty ^{of Paris} ending Sp. War did not disturb these holdings. (U.S. pd. \$20m. for sovereignty.) (Purported purpose of war was to help Cubans, but most serious & immoral action was attack Phils.) Am. ally Aguinaldo became an annoyance when he pressed for independence - presumably to result in nationaliz. of estates - so Am. force now turned to suppress independence. Long bloody guerrilla war. "ruthless" - Leonard Wood; Furnston. Wood later Gov. ^{authorless tyrant} "Force & fraud". Stimson, [†] MacArthur. Having earned his spurs in Nicaragua, succeeded Wood. MacArthur took command of armed forces. 80%. Philip. U.S. was protecting the Span. timer, who lost the war? The Filipinos! & Am. taxpayers.

✓ Effects on U.S.? Training ground for Am. of political ambition, of an anti-democratic learning mentality.

Chief lobbyist in U.S., Manuel Quezon. Nat. we picked him for leader, ~~of gov. inside our chosen instrument~~. He moved capt. to a priv. estate outside Manila, named for himself. One may suspect some unearned A - a trick he cd. learn in ^{† a Yale man, like missionaries in Hawaii.}

U.S.

Next, Japan occupied. More guerrilla experience for natives. Many remained such post war, the Hukbalahaps. Am. occup. as bad as Japanese, to them.

Meantime, what of the Spanish? Solomon & the "Spanish Master" - still sitting pretty at of Azucena Central de Tardac, 1945. Japanese left alone, Franco was ally. (analogy: French in Saigon)

So did U.S. confiscate from these Jap. collaborators? Refuse: main concern to put down Huk's, protect AO. The Spanish Master and his special claim on the virgins of the hamio. For to own the land is to own the people.

'54, Huk's "put down" - Magway, ^{Lansdale, "heart + mind".} '72, still at it, Marcos declares martial law.

'86, U.S. decided Aquino wd. be better, supported her. Big owner near Tardac, neighbor of The Spanish Master. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ '81 still at it. '87-'95 = 42 years. Won't stop tomorrow. ^{It's institutionalized, part of the culture, as in Ireland.} Cacique pattern. U.S. pays for defense, no taxes needed. No Ph. defense. - except to suppress own people, keep them paying rent.

Manila, "Pearl of the Orient," splendor amid squalor. But is where AO live + spend. Shipping big, but

a sterile city as far as spawning new indy.

Entrep. class ~~was~~ ^{was} Chinese, ^{a foreign enclave. Trade, not indy. (Chinese may have been expelled.)} quite punitivical
Culture is Sp. + Cath. for those who can afford not to be prostitutes. "No-Touch -- Filipino customs." No friendly middle-class necking.

III. Role of Church

Totally implicated in ~~very involved in~~ Sp. conquest, encomienda feud. cultural conquest, conversion.

[Still a Cath. country. Follow Vatican lead. -- or let Vatican block other leaders.]

Jesuits acquired vast lands of their own. 19th. So far as I know, still to hold them. If so, augers ill for expecting lib. theology to save us. [Maybe converted to Corps. like the missions in It.]
[Recall another Jesuit enclave: Paraguay, cf. I + P.]

José Rizal, martyr of Ph. struggle for indep., studied in Jesuit school in Manila. MD, Madrid, France, Gy. Novels attacked religious orders. Result: first exile; then execution, 1896. Pretty clear where religious orders stood.

Cath. hierarchy ^{worldwide has been} a bulwark of ~~AD~~ ^{AD} - recall Comigam v. M. Glynn. Cf. fate of Huns Hansen today; and Boff. Vatican put down radicalism of local priests + even bishops.

Intense interest of U.S. in Vietnam, later, partly

at behest of Cath. hierarchy. Reasonable inference, same
force helps explain our ~~own~~ obsession w. this distant &
unoffending land. Love can speak.

Paul VI visits Manila, '70 — war attempt on his life.
Suggests he aroused strong feelings.

✓ Can ^{church} ~~this~~ be changed?

Not in Rome — no more than any bureaucracy.

At Card. Sin? What has he done but support
Cory? She is about to unleash Gen. Ramos on Hukos.
Only in the field.

Meantime, church has another role: help assimilate
immigrants to U.S. Will return.

IV Role of U.S.

Wants bases: Cavite, Subic, Clark Fld, etc.

Why?

Circular pattern of imperialism. Interdependency.
One base supports another.

Is oil in S. China Sea, maybe someday Manila will
be letting rts. On the whole, no critical res. there, for
us, but sugar + rice add to our surplus.

Why there in 1st place?

~~From~~ Prior U.S. holdings? Not that I know.
(Cuba had iron, U.S. - owned.)

Cath. holdings? Probably a factor.

Potential absentees - the sort who ~~land~~
grabbed Hawaii about same time. Get land cheap; then get
Naval bases. } pref. access to U.S. mkt. Stimson a
Yale man.

Other than that, just compulsive ^{hate-hate} ~~imperialist~~,
~~hate-hate~~ ^{such} ~~as~~ as led us into Viet Nam later on, & Nicaragua.
Machismo, used quite cynically by AO to get young Am.s.
to die for their profits. [Call a boy a chicken & he'll
die for you to prove you're wrong. ~~That's~~ That's how I got suckered
in.]

U.S. Aid. \$334m, '85. + loans + grants + ^{+ bare minerals} World
Bank, etc. c/f. GNP = \$16b. One of our
larger dependencies. Why? So AO needn't pay taxes.

On the good side, we preach land reform, by Quirino.

a. Robt. Hardie. STEM. Suppressed, Hardie
dismissed. Mutual Sec. Agency, 1952.

Try to locate copy

b. Adm. Raymond Spruance.

~~Dealt~~ A Georist. ~~xx~~

Dealt from strength. Hero of Midway.

U.S. Ambassador, 1952-55. See his bio.

If we it cd. happen, that was the time. Land Reform was in the air. Lib. Repub. Presid. Maguayon. '53-57.

But nothing did, to the shame of Eisenhower Adm. + Repub. Party, who were ~~trusting~~ Joe McE.

V. Role of Philip. nationalism.

Lazy. U.S. defends their shores, rents their bases, ~~from their~~ puts down their rebels, no need to collect taxes.

✓ All nat. res belong to the state. Exploitation ltd. to citizens, or corps. 60% citizen-owned.

Flowing language abounds! ^{the language of hypocrisy.} De facto + de jure one far apart. Cf. B.C. Or Cal. Constr. re wtr. Imagine Ferdinand + Imelda in charge of all that.

Upshot: no resource revs; lots of sweetheart deals.

also maybe some lock out - Cagayan V.

VI. Role of rebels

Hills were originally
 Conc. around Tardac, lands of Cory + Sp. Munter.

Hill lands ~~do not~~ produce ^{some} ~~many~~ rebels, but ambitious
^{opportunists} like Marcos, Quirino, both Maknans.
 Tardac generates rebels.

Their role — to keep extracting concessions. It G said
 tyranny drives wags to min. at which consent to live. Shd. have said,
will consent not to rebel. Most useful citizens are the rebels.

VII. Role of Filip. — Am.s.

Parties w. most obvious human interest, are rarely consulted in making U.S. pol.
 They shd. lead + force rebellion, as Irish - Am.s. once
 did.

If they do, are very quiet about it.

Numbers growing fast. 1971-80, 8% of all immigrants
 to U.S. were Filip.s. Cf. Mexico, 14%. Fastest-
growing stream of immigrants, after Koreans.

But are invisible. In L.A., $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as many
 Ph. natives as Japanese — but where?

San Diego + San Fran have largest concns., 1.5%
 of pop.

Why invisible & powerless?

- a. Below critical mass. Maybe an explosion when they get there.
- b. No distractive church. Melt in w. Catholics.
- c. No enterp. class - Chinese are their businessmen.
- d. Cath. church has ~~not~~ discouraged rebelliousness.
- e. They are poor.

This group cd. be orgd. & motivated. Shall we?

But earlier Irish experience gives pause. Ethnic groups are just that, not reform groups, and they'll fall away from reform leadership & goals. (Jewish experience may be another case in pt.)
Irish dismaded in 1886 & after, ~~the~~ ~~other~~ ^{made to drop} groups.

Parnell & Conigan swung them away. Ford & Powderly fell away. Croker, Tammany boss who counted George out in 1886, was Irish.

VIII

So what can we do?

(A) ^{Reduce our spending in stages.} ~~Full out.~~ ^{they shd. pay us!} Stop ~~naval umbrella~~ bare next, anti-

insurgency help, AID, loans, grants - & pref. access to U.S. mkt. Last step, w/draw naval umbrella - is last step bcs. the hardest for our imperialists to swallow.

Make them defend selves, pay their own way. To do so must:

- a. Tax selves - mainly the A.D.
- b. Placate dissident pop.

c. Foster ec. dev. at home, like Taiwan, Korea, Japan, jobs & goods.

~~the~~

Let their fear of Marxism drive them to reform.

~~Now~~ Now, our fear is uppermost, so we shelter, they take free ride. We must learn to use fear of revolution constructively.

You have to scare people. The rebels do that; foreign invaders do that.

~~Some~~ Some will object that we thus give up any hope of imposing reform. All we give up is an unrealistic dream based on illusions: cultural superiority, & control.

1. As to culture, cite A. R. Wallace on Malaya.

2. As to control, you can impose better system on a conquered nation: Japan, Taiwan, Kiao Chow.

But Philis. not a conquered enemy. Hoover vetoed 1930 Indop. Act bcs. it left us w. Responsibility w/o Power. But that is where we are now.

(B.) Don't fall for ~~stating~~ hypocrisy.

When words are vague, flowery, & w/o means of early implementation.

1. E.g. all nat. res. belong to people.
2. E.g. the rumormongering we got in Rome from Comm. on Pax et Justitia: sympathetic, patronizing, & w/o any tangible results. So, don't go back. Look elsewhere. (over)
3. Preaching free trade in a colonial ec. dominated by AD.

B. Beware of ~~hoping~~ preaching free trade & free enterprise in a colony like Ph. These are code words, coopted by the Spanish Masters for the land-^{hogging}~~hogging~~, labor-^{wiping}~~wiping~~, foreign-enclave, sterile ec. They practice.

Settle the land & free enterprise will follow.

(C.) Put our efforts where highest chance of impact.
Nicaragua.

Why so negative? ^{about evolutionary reform in Phibs?} Once AD gets well entrenched, ~~never~~ takes a cataclysm to heat it. ~~Too many~~ Too many checks & balances, -- as planned by ^{Hamilton &} Madison in U.S. const. Even Cory & U.S. Ambassador & Archbishop. if all Bengists, who budge whole system.

Essentially, don't look to RCC.

Long hist. as agent & benefic. of imperialism & land grabbing.

Major concern of most Popes & Hierarchy is to preserve their Instn., its authority, power, & the very wealth. The McGlynns are eased out by the Corrigan's.

Track record is bad. I plead innocent of bigotry, but look around world. Jesuit governance in Paraguay, where did it lead? Jesuits in Philippines. Murder of Rizal.

Even the Bishops Encyclical Today in U.S. - pious good intentions w/o specifics.

All Churches. have vested interest in ministering to poverty, not solving it; in forgiving sin, not preventing it. Jack Webb, Dragnet, to priest: "If it weren't for crime, we'd both be out of business."

The mere threat of cataclysm is not enough. They've lived w. 12
that for centuries. Something drastic has to happen.

① What can an honest man do? Infiltrate the screening
process that selects leaders, Prepare for cataclysm: revolution,
depression. and generate ideas.

Keep the faith by continuing assoc. + good will.

Nicaragua's neighbors are also good place to work, bec.
an imminent threat, a clear + present danger, is
also an effective prod. Principle of Challenge + Response,
as Toyoke noted, makes things happen. Nicaragua
ideal: too small to ~~scare everyone~~ but threaten us but
near enough to challenge us.

✓ HG allied w. rebels, 1879-86. Only thus did he
dev. power to scare people, to be worth coopting. Cooptation
is death? No, was golden age of const. reform in Am.,
1886-1917. First you rebel, then you get coopted —
and leave an impact.

It's a dynamic process, + probly must be repeated
periodically bec. each cycle ends in decadence.

~~B. Abjure hypocrisy of all kinds.~~

~~As~~ Background

I. Poverty. (19, 23, 36)

II. Ev. domination (3, 5, 10, 14, 18, 20, 21, 30, 38, 40, 41)

III. Role of church. Hypocrisy, tempered w. missionary zeal,

Can this be changed? Not in Rome. (7, ¹⁷~~11~~, ~~14~~, 31, 37, 38)

IV. Role of U.S. (6, 8, 11, 12, 13, ~~21~~, 28, 32, 33, 38, 39)

V. ^{Hardy, Spence.} Role of Phil. nationalism. (1, 26,

VII Role of Phil. - U.S. (15, 16,

VIII What's left?

Pull out; make them face own defenses. (24,

abjure hypocr. of all kinds.

VI. Role of rebels. (2, 4,

Philippines. Ideas

1. NE Luzon, public land freeze?
2. Tarlac,
Cory owns
Aguinera Central. "Spanish Master"; *Nipa huts.*
3. Tagalog, Pampanga, Pangasinan, Ilocos.
4. Ilocos, home of Marcos. (Luzon dominant)
5. Pattern of:
Fertile flatlands, monopolized.
Heavy pop. in poor hills. Igorots; *Negritos;* *Tagalog. Baguio*

IV 6. Clark Fld; Subic Bay; *Cavite*

7. Jaime Sin.
Church landholdings?

IV 8. Bob Handy

9. U. S. interest?
Military base
U. S. corps?

10. Mindanao. Zamboanga. Moros. Only 5% of pop.

IV 11. Sugar quota

IV 12. Near Brunei - hist. claims to area.

IV 13. Near oil of S. China Sea.

14. a. U.S. colony
alliance w. local caciques
^{U.S.}
~~the~~ picks leaders, by backing whom we choose

15. Filipino - Amos. are rarely heard from - the parties w.
most obvious human interest.

a small, poor group.

Largest concns. are in San D. & San F., where foreign-born

& Filips. are c. 1.5 % of pop.

Migration to U.S. ~~is surprisingly small~~
(U.S. on Honolulu).

Tend to be invisible. E.g. in L.A. [22% of
the pop. are foreign born] there are $2\frac{1}{2}$ times more
native Filips. than native Japanese, but where?
Filips. are the largest single Asian ethnic group.

1971-80, 8% of all immigrants to U.S. were Filip.
 (legal ones, i.e.) Cf. Mexico, ~~14~~ 14%.
 Fastest-growing stream of immigrants, along w. Korea.

16. Why invisible? ~~No distinctive religion~~
 - a. Only Asian group Christianized
 - b. Can be taken for Mexicans.
 - c. Lack drive of N. Asians. No enter. class. Emigrating.
17. Like many other immigrants, are org. around Cath. Church.
18. Long hist. of Spanish rule, fb. by U.S. rule.
 - " " Chinese bus. enterprise
 - " " ~~Catholic opiate~~ accepting Vatican intellectual leadership.
19. Pop., 1985, 57 m 490 pm.
 36% urban
 Manila + Quezon City = 2.7 m
20. 100s of dialects. Lingua franca was Spanish.
 Now Eng. is official, along w. Tagalog.
21. Islands are all mountainous except for central plain on Luzon; + coastal indentations.
 42% forested; 34% arable.

22. Crude oil reserves. 31 in bbls. - not much.
23. P.C. inc = \$772
88% litigate.
24. No nat. defense. Milty. concs. on internal suppression.
Cf. H. George on Eng.
25. Huk "put down" by 1954. Keep coming back.
'72, Marcos, martial law. To '81. To put down Huk again.
2-86, Aquino replaces Marcos w. U.S. support.
26. "All natural res. of the Ph. belong to the state; expln. Ltd. to Ph. citizens or 60% owned corps."
Flowing language abounds. De facto + de jure are far apart.. Cf.
27. Spruance, Adm. Raymond [Col. Constr. re wtr; B.C. Crown Lands.
28. U.S. Aid, '85: \$334 m + military + IBRD etc.
Cf. GNP of \$166
One of our larger benefics.
29. Has respectable merchant fleet tonnage.
Merchant capn; fr. enclave.

30. Sp. used Encomienda system.

31. Jesuits acquired vast lands, 19th.

32. 1896, Aguinaldo rebelled vs. Spain.

Comm. G. Dewey supplied Aguinaldo.

But U.S. took side of absentee owners - i.e., legit. Sp. Holdings - so Furston had to put down Aguinaldo.

33. There were no large U.S. Holdings there, ^{as iron in Cuba.} Putting down rebels was act of compulsive machismo, ~~more than~~ imperialistic Pavlovian reflex of manifest destiny from Indian Wars.

We had saved them, they were supposed to be grateful.

We wanted naval bases.

Main beneficiaries were absentee landholders - Spaniards. Maybe Jesuits; Cath. Church. And potential absentee holders, hungry for land, timber, etc. Recalling success in Hawaii. Intl. comity of absentee ownership.

34. Pref. access to U.S. mkt. for sugar, & value.

35. As a soldier you have no choice, throw in your lot w. your group. The more doubt Filip. seemed good to me: the

Hubs might hurt me.

36. Poverty - kids gathering garbage.

37. Pope Paul VI visits Manila, 1970 - attempt on his life.

38. Key words.

Stinsons. Gale. '27, put down Nicaragua. '27-29, Phil. japs. inc.

Leonard Wood. Put down Moros, 1903 - "ruthlessly". Gov. '21-27.

Encomienda. Legislation for rfe of land rents to Spaniard.

Paul VI (Montini)

Jesuit. Paraguay, by G.

Rizal. grad. Jesuit School. Attacked the relig. orders; was exec.

Aguinaldo

Spencer. Amb. to Ph. '52-'55.

Quezon. Lobbyist in Am. Founded new cap. on a gov. estate.

MacArthur. Long history there.

Quirino. b. Marcos Sr

Magaray, Pres. '53-'57

Magellan d. 1521, intervening in Ph. politics.

39. Timber; export "indies" dominant

40. Midst all this poverty, Manila is the "Pearl of the Orient". Safe place - the AO live there. Is also some indy: auto assembly, food processing, hemp processing.

el. Manila fld. by Sp. missionaries.

"Encomienda". Spanish took tribute from natives, used
part in part to instruct them in the faith.

Then, church has long hist. of being used to sanctify
imp. land-grabbing.