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Country Profile

Philippines

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NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE SURVEY

SECRET

30

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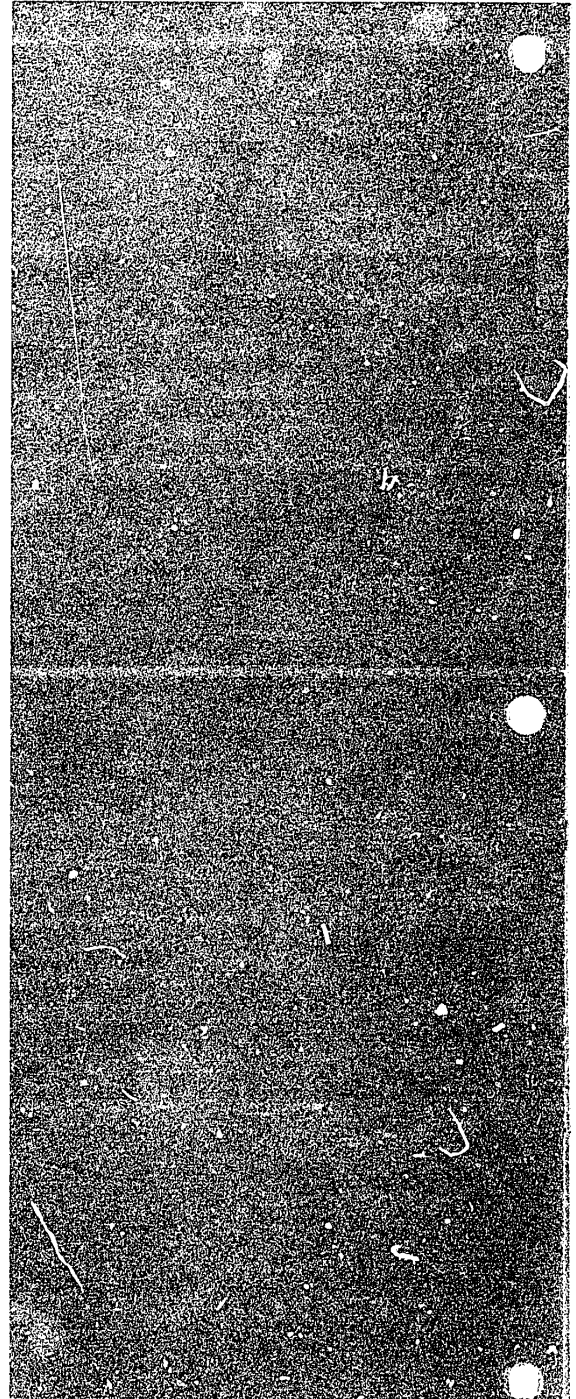
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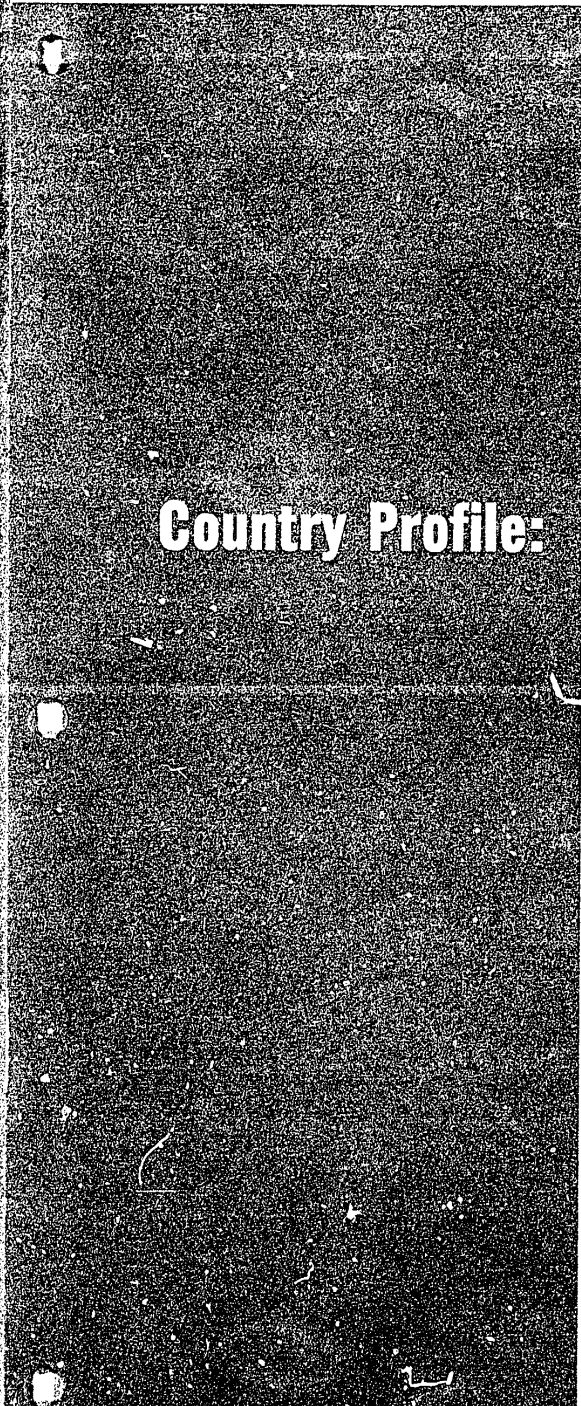
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ARMED FORCES The defense establishment • Joint activities • Ground forces • Naval forces • Air forces • Paramilitary





Country Profile:

Philippines

Troubled Ally 1

- The American Stake (s)
- Rugged Land, Sturdy People (u/ou)
- The Long Road to Independence (u/ou)
- The Presidential Era (c)
- The Years Ahead: Old Problems and Some New Ones (s)

Chronology 19

Area Brief 21

Summary Map follows 22

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SECRET



Troubled Ally

The Republic of the Philippines, an archipelago of more than 7,100 islands lying some 400 miles off the Asian mainland between the Pacific Ocean and the South China Sea, is a nation of great beauty and many problems. A 16th century territorial creation of colonial Spain, it was granted independence in the wake of World War II after nearly 50 years of American tutelage. It survived a difficult reconstruction period and the challenge of a serious Communist-led insurgency (the so-called Huk movement) to become for a time one of the most stable and rapidly developing countries in Southeast Asia. Set apart from its neighbors by the degree to which its customs and institutions have been affected by its colonial heritage (it is, for example, the only predominantly Christian country in the area and the only one—save, perhaps, Singapore—where English is so widely spoken), it remains linked to the United States by an extensive network of political, military, and economic agreements. (u/ou)

These close ties between the United States and the Philippines have lost some of their earlier warmth. As the passage of time has dimmed memories of wartime collaboration and the extent of American post-independence assistance, Philippine nationalism has taken on an increasingly anti-U.S. tone. But although it is now fashionable—and good politics—for prominent leaders and journals to attack the remaining special privileges enjoyed by U.S. businessmen and government agencies, few Filipinos as yet seriously seek changes which might drive out American investors or undermine the U.S. guarantee of their country's security and territorial integrity. Moreover, since Washington has responded to

manifestations of Philippine nationalism with understanding and restraint, there is still a considerable reservoir of good will on both sides. For their part, Americans of all ages have become firmly accustomed to thinking of the Philippines as a friendly bastion of democracy and free enterprise in an otherwise chaotic and strife-torn region. (u/ou)

Indeed, the Philippine Republic's original political system—established and refined during a decade-long and war-interrupted transitional period as a semiautonomous commonwealth—had many commendable features. It was not, nor could it have been, a carbon copy of the American model. Rather, it was a unique blend of American-style democratic institutions, of a strong executive and a centralized form of government (reflecting the influence of over 300 years of Spanish colonial rule), and of a complex *compadre* system of social values which placed overriding importance on real or ritual kinship ties. Firmly based on regular elections, a free press, and a tradition of civilian control over the military, the system gave the average citizen a satisfying sense of participation in national affairs (a feeling which was bolstered by the generally ready accessibility of their elected representatives) and provided aspiring politicians an avenue of upward mobility. (u/ou)

This highly personalized system was, however, both vulnerable to manipulation by unscrupulous leaders and distinctly resistant to revolutionary change. Behind their democratic trappings, the political processes were run from the outset by and for an oligarchy composed of a relatively small number of extremely wealthy families. Such talent as arose outside its ranks was generally quickly coopted by this ruling elite. As a

Victim of violence in Mindanao

result, the country's two major political parties—the Liberal Party and the Nacionalista Party—differ little in overall philosophy and have served primarily as instruments for advancing the interests of rival factions within the oligarchy. Moreover, since ambitious office-seekers are generally unburdened by any sense of loyalty to their party, switching from one to another has been common. (c)

Only one of the Philippine Republic's early presidents, Ramon Magsaysay, possessed enough popular support and strength of character to successfully challenge the power of the oligarchs. His enlightened administration brought domestic peace and considerable economic progress to his country in the mid-1950's. But Magsaysay was killed in a plane crash in 1957, and his successor quickly fell back into old ways. Once again Philippine politics became little more than a game of musical chairs in which the wealthy and those who aspired to be wealthy vied for the spoils and favors of public office. A sense of responsibility to the national interest or the general welfare was notably lacking. With few exceptions, politicians tended to be preoccupied with assuring that benefits accrued to themselves, their immediate families, and their extended kinship groups. Nepotism and the abuses associated with it were commonplace and were condoned by traditional social mores. Corruption extended from the highest levels of government to the lowest officials in the most remote villages. Violence was a regular part of political life. Private armies flourished, and every election had its quota of political murders. (c)

Under these circumstances, signs of trouble soon reappeared. The country's rate of economic growth began to fall off in the early 1960's. As boom conditions receded, the peasants and the urban poor became increasingly fretful about their government's failure to honor oft-repeated promises of a more equitable distribution of the nation's wealth. By mid-decade, economic grievances, resurgent nationalism, rising popular expectations, and the unsettling impact of changes in the international environment had combined to generate a clearly perceptible undercurrent of domestic discontent. (c)

In 1965, popular disenchantment with President Diosdado Macapagal enabled the tough and intelligent young President of the Philippine Senate, Ferdinand Marcos, to defeat his former political ally at the polls. Despite the new chief executive's vigor and evident ability, however, the next 4 years brought little progress toward remedying the country's basic ills. A

self-made member of the oligarchy and a politician who had not hesitated to bolt his party to run for the presidency on the opposition slate, Marcos was too much a product (and captive) of the system to be able to force through the sweeping economic and social reforms he had advocated in his campaign speeches. On the other hand, he was also too ambitious to be bound very long by the accepted rules of the game. Setting his sights on reelection to an unprecedented second (and, by constitutional provision, final) term in office, he launched a skillful public relations campaign centered on his modest but undeniable achievements in increasing rice production, building new roads and schools, and curtailing smuggling. (c)

As time passed, it seemed increasingly likely that for better or for worse the 1969 presidential elections would mark something of a watershed for the Philippines. Most observers were agreed that Marcos was developing a sufficiently favorable image to win handily. The optimists among them hoped that he would use his popular mandate to curb the stifling influence of the oligarchs and to crown his final years in office with genuine progress toward needed reforms. The pessimists, on the other hand, feared that Marcos' egoism and burning ambition might precipitate some sort of political crisis, and in the end they proved to be right. (c)

Marcos not only wanted to win reelection, but he wanted to win by an overwhelming margin. To this end he employed bribery, fraud, and coercion on a scale unprecedented even in Philippine politics. His reckless expenditure of public funds nearly bankrupted the economy. His heavyhanded tactics and his subsequent efforts to find some way to avoid relinquishing power at the expiration of his second term in 1973 alienated many of his former supporters in all walks of life, occasioned massive student demonstrations and politically oriented street violence, contributed to a revival of Communist insurgency in the countryside around Manila, and generally polarized the body politic as never before. These developments, coupled with the stinging rebuke he received in the November 1971 off-year elections, when opposition Liberal Party candidates registered unexpectedly heavy gains, prompted Marcos to look more and more to the previously apolitical military for support. (c)

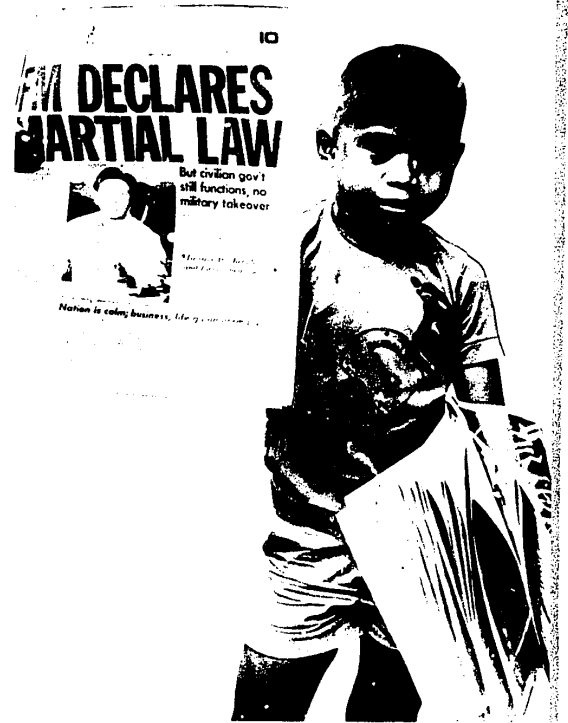
Soon after his reelection, Marcos began to fill key military command positions with officers personally loyal to him and to blame almost all political demonstrations and violence on Communist conspiracies. From time to time he threatened to impose martial law, and in the late summer of 1972 he decided

that he could wait no longer. Disastrous floods had just compounded his country's economic woes, and there were signs of increasing opposition to his plans to secure enactment of a new constitution which would give the Philippines a parliamentary, rather than a presidential, system of government—and, coincidentally, enable Marcos to retain power as his country's first Prime Minister. (u/ou)

On the evening of 22 September, within an hour of what seems likely to have been a staged attempt on the life of his defense secretary, President Marcos set his carefully laid plans in motion. Martial law was declared. In predawn raids, government troops seized control of all communications and public utilities, and many prominent anti-Marcos critics—including newsmen, politicians, students, and some elected officials—were arrested. All newspaper and broadcasting offices were closed, and tight travel restrictions were imposed. There was, however, no bloodshed. On the night of the 23rd of September, President Marcos went on the air to justify the moves he had made and to announce new ones, including plans for social reforms under the rubric of a "New Society" program. (u/ou)

No one really believed the official explanation that, in strict conformity with the existing constitution, martial law had been imposed solely because the nation was imperiled by a Communist rebellion. The only effective Philippine Communist organization, the Peking-oriented "Marxist-Leninist" group, and its military arm, the New People's Army, were still too weak to justify such drastic action. Yet most Filipinos tended to accept Marcos' secondary thesis that martial law provided a virtual last chance for curbing crime and overcoming domestic roadblocks to reform. Pleased by the President's moves to confiscate all private firearms and to round up known criminal elements, as well as by his promise to expedite long-stalled land reform measures, the Christian majority showed little resentment over the loss of some of their civil liberties. Similarly, the heavyhanded and sometimes extralegal measures which Marcos subsequently employed to hasten passage and adoption of a new constitution and to have himself installed as the all-powerful head of an authoritarian transitional government—one with an indefinite mandate and no obligation to lift martial law—evoked more of a wait-and-see reaction than any great degree of public outrage. (c)

Nevertheless, President Marcos' actions have introduced a considerable degree of instability into the Philippine equation. First of all, he must deliver on his promises of reform or lose such popular support as he



still retains, and progress here, particularly with respect to the critical issue of land reform, has thus far been painfully slow. Secondly, Marcos has both consciously involved the military in political affairs and failed to designate an heir-apparent. Thus serious internal disorders, his assassination (an increasingly credible possibility), or simple ambition could trigger a military takeover. Finally, Marcos' attempts to disarm the population and tighten the control exercised by the central government over all provincial and local jurisdictions have exacerbated Manila's already strained relations with the country's southern based Muslim Filipino (Moro) minority of some 2 million persons. What began in December 1972 as a new series of scattered clashes between Muslim insurgents and government forces in Mindanao and the Sulu Islands burgeoned into a small-scale civil war with widespread international ramifications just 3 months later. Even if cool heads ultimately prevail on all sides, pacification and reconstruction of the affected areas will likely require a great deal of time and money. (s)

The American Stake (s)



World War II wreckage on Leyte

The Philippine Republic is not, of course, the only developing country in Asia to experience both growing domestic difficulties and a shift from at least nominal democracy to martial law or one-man rule in recent years, but nowhere else has such a broad range of important and long-term U.S. interests been brought directly into question. In the first place, the Philippine Islands—by virtue of their location near the midpoint of a line of friendly nations which stretches from South Korea and Japan to Indonesia and Australia—are a key factor in America's Far Eastern defense system. Under a series of bilateral and multilateral agreements dating from 1947, the United States has for all practical purposes assumed full responsibility for the young nation's

external security. In return, the Philippine Republic has provided Washington with two major bases of strategic importance to U.S. operations in East Asia and the western Pacific—the Subic Bay naval complex and Clark Air Base—as well as with a number of smaller military installations and communications centers. These facilities are from 1,350 to 1,750 miles closer to the Southeast Asian mainland than similar installations in Japan or on Guam, and they played a critical role in support of U.S. and allied forces during the Vietnam conflict. What is less widely recognized is the fact that their importance to the United States has in no way been reduced by the negotiation of the Paris accords.

In the spirit of the Nixon Doctrine, which was introduced as the new basis for American foreign policy in July 1969, the United States has altered its posture in the Far East. It has aimed for a lower and more positive profile by working to bring an end to direct American military involvement in Indochinese affairs and exploring ways to effect a steady improvement in relations with both Peking and Hanoi. Unavoidably, American actions in this regard have shaken old Cold War alignments as well. But while Washington now places greater emphasis on self-reliance, it has no intention of shirking its established role with respect to Asian security and economic development, much less of simply withdrawing from the regional scene. In fact, the viability of the Nixon Doctrine depends to no small degree on the maintenance of a sizable American presence in Southeast Asia.

The U.S. naval, air, and communications facilities in the Philippines—developed over a long period and extensively modernized and expanded during the Vietnam war—are ideally suited for this purpose. Even if an acceptable alternate location could be found, these facilities could be duplicated there only at a cost of hundreds of millions of dollars. Under the terms of existing agreements, the United States is to enjoy unrestricted access to these installations until 1991. But previous concessions extracted by the Philippine Government have demonstrated that the scope and duration of American base rights in the Philippines are not cast in concrete. President Marcos himself has repeatedly affirmed his intention of raising this issue as a bargaining counter in negotiations covering all aspects of U.S.-Philippine relations. More troublesome, however, is the possibility that the increase in internal instability which has accompanied the recent shift to authoritarian, one-man rule could result in an upsurge of anti-Americanism or other changes in the political environment that could place the future of U.S. basing arrangements in serious doubt.

Mounting instability in the Philippines could prove costly to the United States in economic terms as well. Private American investment in that country now totals about \$1 billion. Beyond this, the United States is presently contributing some \$500 million a year to the Philippine economy through such things as base expenditures, military and economic aid grants, veterans' payments, and a persistent trade deficit. By any measure, America's cumulative economic stake in the Philippine experiment is substantial. Delicate negotiations scheduled to begin in late 1973 have as their aim the protection of U.S. business interests and

the development of normal and mutually beneficial economic relations following the expiration in 1974 of the reciprocal privileges set forth in the Laurel-Langley Agreement. These talks could all too easily be disrupted—or such new arrangements as they ultimately established be upset—by some adverse turn in Philippine domestic affairs.

Finally, the recent course of developments in the Philippines has presented the United States with a number of political problems and dilemmas. For example, it was quite acceptable for Washington to provide generous economic assistance to a popularly elected—if somewhat corrupt and inefficient—regime in Manila and to help it cope with the threat of Communist insurgency. Marcos still needs such aid as much or more than ever, but his at least temporary abandonment of democracy and the shift of focus from Communist to Muslim insurgents have created a genuine danger that any well-intentioned help rendered to his regime by the United States might be widely misconstrued and resented not only in the Philippines but in neighboring states as well. Moreover, the growing communal conflict in the Mindanao-Sulu Archipelago area has renewed old tensions between the Philippines and Malaysia and has engaged the concern of other Muslim nations throughout the world, thereby threatening to reverse the encouraging trend toward greater international cooperation in Southeast Asia and disappointing U.S. hopes that the Philippine Republic was beginning to play a truly constructive role in regional affairs.

Despite the troubling implications of what has been happening in the Philippines since September 1972, there has so far been little if any real damage to U.S. interests. What happens in the future will depend heavily on President Marcos—on his determination to press forward with needed reforms, on his skill in reaching mutually acceptable compromises with his domestic opponents (particularly with dissident Muslim groups), on his willingness to reinstitute democratic rule at the earliest practicable opportunity, and on his simple ability to survive at least long enough to insure an orderly and legal transfer of power to a civilian successor.

There is reason to hope that Marcos is sufficiently appreciative of the importance of retaining American good will to be receptive to Washington's advice. But even so, it is far too early to predict just how wisely and effectively he will employ his newly expanded powers or what additional difficulties he is likely to encounter.

Rugged Land, Sturdy People (u/ou)



The political and social evolution of the Philippine nation has been heavily influenced by the fragmented and rugged nature of its terrain. Its nearly 40 million people live on a cluster of islands—the higher reaches of a partially submerged and still actively volcanic mountain chain—which stretches more than 1,100 miles from north to south and, at its widest point, over 650 miles from east to west. Allegedly definitive but markedly varying figures for the total number of islands in the Philippine archipelago abound, but no one, not even the Filipinos themselves, really knows how many there are. Indeed, it would require a major effort just to keep track. New islands appear from time to time as volcanoes thrust their smoking cones above the sea. Some endure, while others vanish again under the ceaseless onslaught of pounding waves.

In total land area the Philippine Republic is slightly larger than the state of Arizona, but most of its islands are tiny. Fewer than half even have names, slightly more than 800 are inhabited, and only 462 have an area of as much as 1 square mile. In fact, just 12 islands account for about 95% of both the country's land area and population. The largest and most populous is Luzon, which is about equal in area to Kentucky. Site of the bustling port city of Manila (the republic's *de facto* capital) and its pretentious suburb, Quezon City (the official capital), this relatively fertile and mineral-rich island is the political and economic heart of the Philippines. To the south, the island of Mindanao is nearly as large but, unlike Luzon, it is largely forest covered and, despite a rush of internal

migration in recent years, most of it is still sparsely populated.

The eastern rim of the Philippine archipelago marks the edge of a very old Asian continental shelf. Here towering peaks and ridges often rise directly from the sea. The floor of the Pacific drops off abruptly to the east, and the Philippine Trench, with its low point of 34,440 feet below sea level, is the second deepest ocean area yet discovered. Unfortunately, the eastern islands also lie astride a major geologic fault, and destructive earthquakes are frequent.

Almost all the larger islands are mountainous, and sparsely settled uplands make up some 65% of the country's total land area. Rugged north-south trending ridges and spurs—with elevations ranging from 600 to over 9,500 feet—combine with the dense forests which still cover more than half of the land to divide the islands into isolated and, in some instances, virtually unexplored sectors. (In fact, *bundok*, the Pilipino (Tagalog) language term for Luzon's mountain country, has entered the American language as "the boondocks"—military slang for just about as far from civilization as a person can get.) In addition, numerous volcanoes, more than 20 of which are still active, stand alone or in clusters throughout the island chain. One forms an island in the center of Lake Taal, 40 miles south of Manila. In 1911 it snuffed out the lives of more than 1,300 people, and its latest eruption—in September 1965—also caused widespread destruction and many fatalities. Another, the equally active Mount Mayon, which

overlooks the southern Luzon port of Legazpi, is over 8,000 feet high and is considered by some to be the most perfectly shaped volcanic cone in existence.

Most of the larger islands have narrow coastal plains, and several have excellent natural harbors, but only four—Luzon, Mindanao, Negros, and Panay—have extensive lowland areas suitable for intensive agriculture and capable of supporting high densities of population. Of these, the most important is Luzon's central plain, which stretches from the Lingayen Gulf south to Manila Bay. Approximately 100 miles long by 40 miles wide and covered by a 1,000-foot-thick blanket of fertile alluvial soil, it provides enough food for almost all the people in the Manila area.

The Philippine archipelago lies between 4 and 21 degrees north latitude and has a tropical maritime climate typified by high temperatures, high relative humidity, and one of the highest average annual rainfalls (about 100 inches) in the world. But because of differences in elevation, in proximity to the sea, and in exposure to storms, there are many climatic variations. In general, the eastern parts have an abundance of rain in all seasons, with maximum rainfall occurring between October and April. The western parts, on the other hand, generally experience a dry season at that time of year—especially those areas that are sheltered by mountain barriers from the then prevailing easterly winds—and receive a high amount of rainfall from late spring to early fall when they are exposed to the strong southwest monsoon. Typhoons periodically lash Luzon and the Visayan Islands from the east or southeast during the summer and autumn months, severe ones occurring about once a year. The high winds can cause much destruction in exposed areas, but the worst damage to life and property results from the heavy floods which usually accompany these rain-filled storms and from the high waves and tides along the coast.

As might be expected from the nature of the climate, the islands have many small streams which become mountain torrents in the rainy season, but there are only a few rivers large enough for navigation by even small vessels. Nevertheless, the nation's water resources are important not only for local commerce but also for their hydroelectric potential and for irrigation. Indeed, this last use is likely to become increasingly critical to the economy. The country's relatively fertile soils and tropical climate permit the raising of a wide variety of crops, including rice, corn, sugarcane, coconuts, sweet potatoes, bananas, abaca (Manila hemp), tobacco,

and coffee. However, inadequate irrigation, tenant farming, and the failure to make wider use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides have contributed to keeping per acre yields among the lowest in the world.

There is no question that in some ways nature has been unkind to the Philippines. Over the years, high winds, torrential rains, floods, earthquakes, and volcanic eruptions have taken an enormous toll in life and property. On the other hand, the young nation has been rather generously endowed with natural resources. Much of the country is still relatively unexplored geophysically, but its known mineral wealth includes extensive deposits of copper, chromite, iron, nickel, and bituminous coal, rich gold fields, and commercially exploitable amounts of silver, lead, zinc, manganese, and mercury. Its dense forests support a substantial export trade in valuable tropical hardwoods. Its coastal waters abound with fish, mollusks, and crustaceans, which furnish the principal source of protein in the Philippine diet. In addition, the warm seas in the Sulu Archipelago area sustain a thriving pearl industry.

The oldest people of the Philippines—the small and dark-skinned Negritos who still live a primitive, semi-nomadic life in some parts of Luzon, Mindanao, and Palawan—are believed to have entered the area some 30,000 years ago across land bridges then connecting the islands to Borneo, Sumatra, and the Malay Peninsula. Subsequently, peoples of Malay stock come from the south in successive waves, the earliest by land bridges and the later arrivals by boats called *barangays*. Closely related to the present-day inhabitants of Indonesia and Malaysia, they settled in small, isolated family groups in coastal coves and estuaries and along river valleys. The original inhabitants of these places were either assimilated or driven back into the mountainous interior regions.

More than 1,000 years ago, trade brought the islanders into contact with peoples as far away as India and the Middle East. Marco Polo wrote of their archipelago in the 13th century, describing it as a place frequented by Arab and Chinese merchants. The Arabs introduced Islam in parts of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago in the 14th century, ultimately extending its influence as far north as present-day Manila. For their part, the Chinese built upon their temporary dominance of trade in the area to establish tributary relationships with a number of petty island chiefs for a brief period in the 15th century.

When the Western world in the person of Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese explorer in the service of Charles I of Spain, appeared on the scene in 1521, most of the islanders were of Malay stock. Their communities, called *barangays* after the boats in which many of their ancestors had arrived, were ruled by chieftans known as *datos*. Under the rulers were a nobility, freeholders of land, and a servant class which originated from prisoners taken in wars between the petty principalities or from men who had lost their freedom through indebtedness or punishment for crime. Loose confederations of *datos*, formed under a hybrid system of sultans and rajahs, existed in the south, but for the most part the *datos* were divided from one another by both geography and factional disputes. Family kinship was the basis of the social structure and, except in the areas under Muslim influence, animism was the dominant religious belief.

Philippine society still reflects its origin in small, self-sufficient groups. Not one of the local languages is the mother tongue of more than 25% of the population, family and community ties remain strong, and cooperative labor is common in many areas. The majority of the population still lives in small villages where nearly everyone is related by either natural or ritual kinship. Society is still mainly agricultural and largely dominated by a small landowning class.

Yet for all the diversity in local dialects (the 1960 census reported as many as 75) and customs, and despite the influx of a multiplicity of racial groups in the past, the Philippine population is both relatively homogeneous and possessed of a broad cultural unity. For one thing, the islands have been a true melting pot. Over the years the dominant Malay group has simply absorbed the bulk of the other ethnic communities through intermarriage. Strong infusions of Chinese and Spanish blood have contributed to marked variations in physical appearance, and anthropologists speak of more than 40 distinct ethnographic groups. But in 1973, more than 95% of the Philippine population was still predominantly Malay in origin. Scattered pockets of indigenous Negritos, a sizable ethnic Chinese minority, and a number of smaller alien groups—primarily Americans and Spaniards—accounted for the rest.

The cultural bonds which link most residents of the Philippine Islands are, however, perhaps less a product of this common ancestry than of the impact of their colonial heritage. The Philippine nation was subjected to Western colonization before it had developed a centralized governmental structure, and therefore it was

especially vulnerable to penetration by alien political and cultural influences. In contrast to the situation in other nearby dependent areas, where colonial and indigenous institutions tended to exist as competing systems, there was a general and lasting fusion of local and Western traditions. Today, just as before independence, Spanish and American-derived values dominate much of Philippine life.

As the result of energetic missionary activities, first and foremost by Spanish Catholic orders but later as well by Americans, Germans, and Belgians of both Catholic and Protestant persuasion, some 93% of the Philippine population is Christian. Although Pilipino (derived from Tagalog) has been designated as an official national language, English is spoken by nearly 40% of the people and continues to be an official language and the formal language of both government and instruction. Spanish, while no longer widely used, is still popular in fashionable circles. Both the educational and governmental systems, albeit the latter now to a lesser degree, bear a strong American stamp, and both suffer from a continuing conflict between old Spanish elitist tendencies and newer democratic traditions. Similarly, practices and attitudes of Spanish origin still strongly affect the agricultural scene, while American concepts and methods prevail in the more modern sectors of the economy. But little that the Filipinos have borrowed from abroad has escaped local adaptation. This is particularly true in the political field where, to the occasional despair of both Madrid and Washington, indigenous kinship ties and rivalries have traditionally played a key role.

The Long Road to Independence (u/ou)



Although Magellan's primary mission had been to find a westward route to the East Indies, then Europe's principal source of spices, his landing on Cebu—well to the north of his target—in 1521 established Spain's claim to what he chose to call the St. Lazarus Islands. (Some 20 years were to pass before Spain changed the name of the archipelago to the Philippines in honor of Crown Prince Philip, later King Philip II.) Magellan also gained the dubious distinction of being the first European victim of the intricacies and passions of the islands' clan-oriented society. He was killed on Mactan, a small island near Cebu, by a chieftain. While perfectly willing to swear allegiance to the remote Spanish King, this worthy was moved to mayhem by the demand that he also submit to the authority of a Cebu rajah who had accepted Christianity and allied himself with Magellan.

Leaderless and with their flotilla reduced to a single vessel, a handful of Magellan's men managed to complete their circumnavigation of the globe and to return to Spain in 1522. In the decades that followed, other Spanish expeditions followed Magellan's route around South America and across the Pacific to the Philippines. But Madrid's attention was still focused on the spice-rich East Indies, and it was not until 1565, when governor-designate Miguel Lopez de Legaspi reached Cebu from Mexico at the head of a well-armed expeditionary force, that the Spanish conquest and colonization of the Philippine archipelago began.

Once started, the subjugation process was carried out with great enthusiasm and dispatch. Moving northward from Cebu, Legaspi founded Manila and established it as the administrative capital in 1572. Spanish conquistadores and friars fanned out over the

islands, and by 1600 this formidable alliance of sword and cross had brought virtually the whole archipelago under the control of the colonial administration. True, the Spaniards were never able to completely subdue the Muslim Filipino inhabitants of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago—dubbed the Moros by Madrid in memory of its ancient foes, the Moors of North Africa—or the primitive Igorots in the mountains of Luzon. Nonetheless, they left an indelible imprint on their island dependency. They established the territorial limits of the future Philippine Republic and imbued the population with a sense of common national identity. They Christianized most of the inhabitants and accustomed them to centralized government. They established an elaborate judicial system based on both Roman and customary law. They introduced formal Western-style educational institutions in 1582, and extended them to include a rudimentary public school system some 250 years later. Toward the end of their colonial tenure they fostered the development of both export-oriented plantation agriculture and light industry.

But there were negative aspects and legacies of the Spanish colonial era as well. For the first 200 years, revenues to support the colonial administration were obtained primarily from heavy taxes, payable in cash or through involuntary labor, and a lucrative galleon trade involving the exchange of Mexican silver for such Chinese luxury goods as silk, carpets, and jade. The taxes and widespread corruption on the part of both civil and religious officials resulted in considerable popular discontent. The galleon trade encouraged a substantial influx of Chinese entrepreneurs, generating strong feelings of envy and ill will among the indigenous population which have persisted to the present.

Then too, Spain's persistent problems with the Muslim Filipinos not only are reflected today in the continued unwillingness of the Muslim minority to submit fully to the authority of the central government, but they also laid the foundations for the current territorial dispute between the Philippines and Malaysia over Sabah, a part of the island of Borneo that had originally been part of the Sultanate of Sulu. The British seized Manila in 1762 during the Seven Years War, and when they withdrew they took with them the Sultan of Sulu whom the Spanish had been holding captive there. An official of the British East India Company subsequently returned the Sultan to the Sulu Archipelago and restored him to his throne. In gratitude, the Sultan of Sulu ceded much of his do-

main (including his possessions in North Borneo) to the English company. This transfer of sovereignty was short lived. The Filipino Muslims drove the East India Company out in 1775, but in 1878 another arrangement was concluded between the then reigning Sultan of Sulu and two British businessmen, the owners of the British North Borneo Company. Under this agreement, Sabah was placed under the control of the two Englishmen; the Malaysians say it was ceded, the Filipinos claim it was only leased. In any event, the English entrepreneurs later turned over their rights and interests in the area to the British Government. Undeterred by the fact that few Sabah residents show any desire to become Philippine citizens, Manila continues to insist that the Sultan of Sulu never relinquished sovereignty over the area, and that London therefore never had the right either to make it a crown colony or to dispose of it through incorporation into Malaysia.

The intense nationalism reflected in the stubborn Philippine stand on the Sabah issue was also born during the period of Spanish colonial rule. Although a privileged class of wealthy and well-educated Filipinos of mixed parentage gradually appeared, Spain made no significant effort to prepare the islanders for self-government or otherwise to satisfy their nationalist aspirations. As a result, an active Philippine independence movement emerged in the late 19th century. A major rebellion erupted in 1896, and despite the ultimate success of the Spanish authorities in persuading its leaders to go into voluntary exile in Hong Kong, it was still simmering when the sinking of the U.S.S. *Maine* in Havana harbor on 15 February 1898 led to war between Spain and the United States.

Less than 3 months later, Commodore George Dewey sailed into Manila Bay and destroyed the Spanish fleet lying at anchor there. His victory gave new heart to the rebels. Their leader, General Emilio Aguinaldo, returned from Hong Kong with American assistance and once again rallied his countrymen against the Spanish. Buoyed by the successes of his forces and convinced that the United States merely wished to assist the Filipinos, as it had the Cubans, to gain their freedom, he proclaimed his country's independence on 12 June 1898. Although subsequently barred from entering Manila by the terms of its surrender to an American Expeditionary force, he convened a constituent assembly in the nearby town of Malolos which drafted a constitution that was strongly influenced by American traditions. This constitution was promulgated on 23 January 1899, and Aguinaldo

was promptly elected President of the first Philippine Republic.

In the meantime, however, the United States decided to retain the Philippines. This decision was prompted by fear that the Philippines might otherwise fall under the domination of another foreign power, the desirability of having a base from which to protect and expand American interests in eastern Asia, and a growing feeling that it was America's duty to bring the advantages of democracy to less fortunate peoples. Despite these considerations, many Americans actively opposed the decision. In fact, the Treaty of Paris, by which Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States in return for an indemnity of \$20 million and certain temporary trade concessions, was approved by only a one-vote majority in the Senate. Not surprisingly, it was even more vigorously opposed by the Filipinos. President Aguinaldo declared war on the United States in February 1899. The ensuing conflict was exceedingly costly and bloody for both sides. Effective Filipino guerrilla tactics prolonged the hostilities, and more than 2 years passed before Aguinaldo was captured and organized resistance to American occupation collapsed.

Despite these inauspicious beginnings, the United States quickly made good on its promise to train the Filipinos to govern themselves. With the end of the fighting, military government was replaced by a Philippine Commission which included a minority of Filipinos and had an American governor at its head. After 1907, this commission shared legislative powers with the elected Philippine Assembly. In 1916, landmark legislation (the Jones Law) gave the Filipinos considerable autonomy and clearly established that the ultimate aim of American policy was Philippine independence. The latter issue had been something of a political football, and America's major political parties continued to bicker over the means and timing of such action. But by the early 1930's, depression-born economic problems and growing isolationist sentiment combined to create a general consensus in the United States that it would be wise to give the Filipinos their freedom as soon as possible.

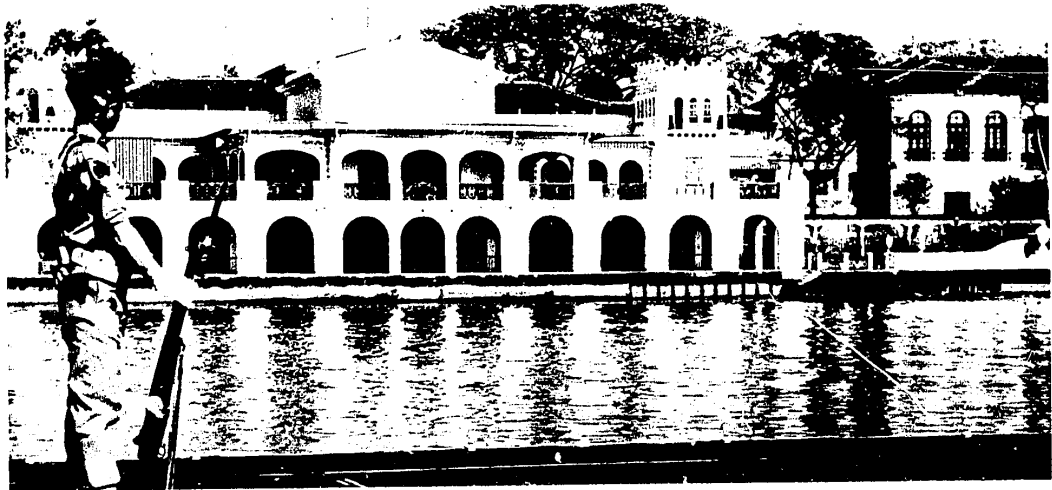
In 1934 the U.S. Congress passed the Tydings-McDuffie Act, authorizing the establishment of a transitional Commonwealth of the Philippines and promising complete independence after 10 years. Under the provisions of this act, the Filipinos drew up a constitution patterned on the U.S. model. With a few amendments, this constitution remained in effect until January 1946. The Commonwealth was in-

augurated in 1935 with the election of Manuel Quezon as President and Sergio Osmena as Vice President. The constitution provided for a unicameral Congress—changed to a bicameral body by constitutional amendment in 1940—and an independent judiciary headed by a Supreme Court. The Philippines operated under this regime until the Japanese occupation in early 1942.

The Japanese began their assault on the Philippines just 10 hours after their attack on Pearl Harbor, and by the end of 1941 they had taken virtually the entire archipelago. Quezon and Osmena were evacuated to the United States shortly before the surrender of the surviving American and Filipino defenders on Bataan and Corregidor in May 1942. The Japanese established a puppet republic with the prominent Jose P. Laurel as President. Laurel, like Quezon and Osmena, was a member of the Nacionalista Party. Although he enjoyed a favorable reputation, his conviction that collaboration was the best way to insure the safety and well-being of the population was not widely shared by his countrymen. Many Filipinos, including future presidents Ramon Magsaysay and Ferdinand Marcos, chose to join armed resistance groups which harried the occupation forces from forest and mountain bases. One such group, the Communist-led Hukbala ng Bayan (Huk), later became the nucleus of an insurgency directed against the nation's own postindependence government.

Osmena succeeded to the presidency of the Philippine Commonwealth upon the death of Quezon in August 1944 and returned to his country with General MacArthur in October. The problems facing his administration were staggering. Full control of the islands was not wrested from the Japanese until September 1945. Philippine society was torn between guerrilla and collaborator; the countryside had been raped and plundered; and Manila, which contained most of the Commonwealth's factories, universities, hospitals, and modern institutions, had been reduced to rubble. The country was ill prepared for independence, but few Filipinos were willing to wait much longer. The general elections which had been scheduled for November 1945 under the Tydings-McDuffie Act were postponed but 5 months. When they were finally held, Osmena was defeated by Manuel Roxas, a former Nacionalista Party protege who had broken with him to found the Liberal Party. On 4 July 1946, independence was declared and Roxas became the first President of the new Philippine Republic.

The Presidential Era (c)



Malacanang—Philippine White House

In the months just prior to independence, the United States had poured more than \$150 million in loans and other aid into the Philippines, but the full impact of this assistance was not felt until long thereafter. When Roxas was inaugurated, the Philippine scene was still in a state of chaos: two-thirds of the country's sugar mills lay in ruins; most of its mines were out of operation; 60% of all farm animals had been destroyed; and moral and social values were seriously corroded, the war having promoted widespread acceptance of violence as a way of life and disrespect for both authority and property rights. Moreover, the explosive issue of how to deal with wartime collaborationists remained unresolved. Roxas himself was not untainted, for although he had refused an offer of the puppet state presidency ultimately assumed by Jose P. Laurel, he had subsequently accepted a position in Laurel's cabinet. There were also a host of potentially troublesome political and economic questions that were sidestepped in the rush toward independence and which remained to be settled with the United States.

Much of Roxas' time during his early months in office was devoted to defining his country's new relationship to the United States. His efforts yielded some encouraging results. Generous American aid in the form of cash grants, gifts of surplus materiel, veterans' payments, and loans, was soon forthcoming.

In addition, the Filipinos were granted a 28-year period to make the transition from duty-free transactions to full tariffs in their trade with the United States.

On the other hand, Roxas was in no position to strike a hard bargain and, as it turned out, Washington proved to be somewhat less forthcoming than the Filipinos thought was their due as former colonial subjects and wartime allies. Furthermore, there were strings attached to American assistance which have been a cause of irritation in U.S.-Philippine relations ever since. For example, passage of the Philippine Trade Act of 1946 (subsequently superseded by the Laurel-Langley Trade Agreement of 1955) hinged on Manila's willingness to surrender control of its currency to Washington and to enact a constitutional amendment giving U.S. citizens equal rights with Filipinos in the exploitation of Philippine natural resources and in the ownership and operation of the country's public utilities. Similarly, conclusion of a military assistance agreement in 1947 was implicitly tied to satisfaction of Washington's demand for a number of military bases under a 99-year lease. A base agreement was reached, but its terms were modified in 1966, with the result that the leases on all remaining U.S. installations will expire in 1991.

American assistance enabled Roxas to launch a major reconstruction program and to encourage the development of new industry. Just before he died of a

heart attack in April 1948 he also managed to settle the collaboration question by agreeing that those accused of cooperating with the Japanese had acted in good faith. On the other hand, his administration established the pattern of corruption that has plagued Philippine politics to this day. Although he managed to prevent the Philippine Communist Party from securing a foothold in the national legislature, his failure to alleviate the plight of the rural population—suffering from the ills of tenancy, absentee landlordism, and grinding poverty—created fertile conditions for the growth of a Communist-led insurgency in the countryside around Manila.

The wartime Huk guerrilla movement, which had refused to disband after the Japanese surrender, was quick to exploit this opening. Under the leadership of Luis Taruc, it won many sympathizers by turning its guns first on the landlords and later on the establishment as a whole. Peasants who hesitated to lend their support to the Huks were often terrorized into cooperation. Despite Roxas' efforts to counter the Huk threat, the rebellion continued to grow.

When Roxas died, he was succeeded by Vice President Elpidio Quirino, a relatively weak leader who managed to retain the presidency in the 1949 general elections through wholesale employment of fraud and strong-arm tactics. The Quirino administration was marked by a sharp rise in corruption and economic difficulties and by the cresting of the Huk insurgency. The Huks stepped up their offensive operations in 1949, and within little more than a year they had succeeded in gaining control over much of central and southern Luzon as well as parts of other islands.

At this juncture, President Quirino appointed Ramon Magsaysay—a relative newcomer on the political scene but well known as a wartime guerrilla leader—as his Secretary of Defense. Magsaysay purged and reorganized the army, initiated a civic action program, captured the central apparatus of the Philippine Communist Party in Manila, and combined successful field operations against the rebel forces with the promise that Huks who surrendered would be given land of their own on Mindanao. These tactics, coupled with the force of Magsaysay's personality and reputation broke the back of the Huk movement.

Magsaysay's dedication to clean and responsive government put him on a collision course with Quirino. His use of troops to prevent foul play during the 1951 congressional elections resulted in a stunning defeat for Quirino's Liberals. In 1953 Magsaysay resigned his government post to campaign for the

presidency on the Nacionalista ticket. He won handily, and his victory ushered in an era of enthusiasm and reform.

Following his inauguration, Magsaysay opened the doors of the Presidential Palace to the public and established a number of commissions and agencies designed to make the machinery of government accessible to the most humble Filipino. He took firm steps to counter corruption and inefficiency in government. Important advances were made in such fields as industrialization, improved agricultural methods, irrigation, school construction, land reform, resettlement of landless tenant farmers, roadbuilding, and the development of rural credit facilities. Even though Magsaysay was unable to deal with the entrenched oligarchy as effectively as he wished, his concept that sovereignty resided in the people rather than with the elite profoundly influenced the thinking of a vast number of his countrymen.

Both Roxas and Quirino had pursued a policy of close cooperation with Washington (the latter even drew down his meager forces facing the Huks to send a battalion to fight as part of the U.N. forces in Korea), but during the Magsaysay administration U.S.-Philippine relations reached a degree of warmth unmatched before or since. In 1954 Manila hosted the establishment of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), a regional defensive alliance with headquarters in Bangkok. The following year, the United States and the Philippines negotiated the Laurel-Langley Trade Agreement, which removed or softened many of the more controversial elements in the 1946 trade pact. Under this agreement, which was designed to govern the economic relations of the two countries for the next 20 years, the United States relinquished the right to control the currency ratio between the dollar and the Philippine peso. The parity provisions of the 1946 trade agreement were made reciprocal, and Filipinos were granted the same rights in the United States as Americans were accorded in the Philippines. The Philippine sugar quota was extended; gradually diminishing quotas were established for certain other Philippine goods entering the United States; and provision was made for a phased mutual increase in customs duties on all other commodities over the 20-year period.

Vice President Carlos P. Garcia succeeded to the presidency when Magsaysay was killed in a plane crash in March 1957, and in 1959 he won election to a 4-year term of his own. Garcia was a professional politician who relied on the Nacionalista Party

machine to carry him to victory. An indecisive leader and manifestly less dedicated than his predecessor, he failed to carry out Magsaysay's reform program. His tenure was marked by a return to much of the corruption and lack of concern for the general welfare that had characterized the pre-Magsaysay period. To maintain popular support, Garcia inaugurated a chauvinistic "Filipino First" program of economic nationalism and deliberately exacerbated differences with the United States. While this policy met with some positive response in the cities, particularly in Manila, it was unpopular in the rural areas. In the 1961 presidential elections—notable for the introduction of a rapid polling station reporting system which made it difficult to juggle the vote count—Garcia was decisively defeated by Diosdado Macapagal of the Liberal Party.

Like Magsaysay, Macapagal was not of the elite class, and also like Magsaysay he ran on a platform of socioeconomic reform and honest government. One of his first acts was to free the peso from a 2 to 1 peg to the U.S. dollar and thereby wipe out a flourishing black market trade in foreign exchange. He also managed to force an ambitious land reform bill through the Philippine Congress, but this law—like most of Macapagal's other reform measures—was never implemented. Throughout his administration, Macapagal's domestic programs suffered from a lack of trained personnel, inadequate financial resources, and his own inability to overcome the resistance of entrenched special interest groups.

In the international field, however, Macapagal did succeed in replacing the basically negative chauvinism of Garcia's foreign policy with a more positive approach to regional affairs and in developing an image of the Philippines as a distinctly Asian and totally independent country. His pursuit of a separate Philippine identity took various forms—for example, he changed his country's annual independence day celebration from 4 July to 12 June, the date in 1898 when Aguinaldo proclaimed the independence of the Philippines—and sometimes produced an adverse reaction in Washington. Nevertheless, U.S.-Philippine relations recovered some of their pre-Garcia warmth, and by mid-1965 the two countries were moving toward resolution of a long-standing dispute over criminal jurisdiction and the negotiation of a new military base accord patterned along the lines of the NATO Status of Forces Agreement.

Despite his positive accomplishments, Macapagal's inability to deliver on his promises of basic reform,

coupled with his failure to solve his country's persistent rice shortage problem, cost him much of his initial popular support. In November 1965 the electorate turned to Ferdinand Marcos in hopes that his strong personality and reputed ruthlessness would enable him to overcome the powerful domestic forces opposing socioeconomic change. Marcos' record during his first and second terms as President has been summarized in earlier paragraphs. Operating within the framework of the then existing political system, he was unable to make much progress toward resolution of his country's basic difficulties.

Since mid-September 1972, however, Marcos has completely changed the rules of the game. By concentrating so much power in his own hands, he appears to have put himself in a far better position to implement needed reforms. Nevertheless, he is still faced with all the old problems—including the deep-seated economic ills, the regionally, economically, and politically based dissidence, the pervading influence of the oligarchy, and the growing nationalistic sentiment—that he and his predecessors have had to contend with in the past. Moreover, as indicated earlier, his moves have introduced new elements of instability into the domestic scene, provoked a virtual rebellion in the south, and seriously complicated his country's relations with its neighbors and with Washington. Thus the road ahead is unlikely to be easy.

The Years Ahead: Old Problems and Some New Ones (s)

Most of the problems facing Marcos are interrelated, and thus it is difficult to analyze any one of them in isolation. Nevertheless, it is clear that much will depend on Marcos' ability to improve his country's economic performance. Philippine society, like that of virtually all other developing nations today, is subject to sharply rising popular expectations. Moreover, the socioeconomic reforms—particularly land reform—envisaged under Marcos' current New Society program will be expensive. Yet over the past few years, the increase in real GNP has barely outpaced a growth in population of about 3% annually. As a result, per capita income has registered little improvement, and in 1972 was less than \$200.



Slum in old quarter of Manila



*Antigovernment sign in Manila
before martial law was declared*

Agriculture is still the backbone of the Philippine economy, employing about half the total labor force and accounting for the bulk of Philippine export earnings. Despite its importance, however, the agricultural sector has been seriously neglected. Modernization and irrigation programs have not been pushed. Inefficient and socially disruptive sharecropping remains widespread. Even Marcos' vaunted campaign to promote a "Green Revolution" through the introduction of high-yielding varieties of seeds has run into difficulties. After an encouraging spurt, rice production began to lag again in 1971, and large-scale imports have had to be resumed.

Despite a steady increase in mineral production, overall industrial performance has fallen short of expectations in recent years as well. In part, this is attributable to longstanding protectionist policies. While intended to provide a secure market for local business, high Philippine tariffs have resulted in the development of an inefficient manufacturing sector that is plagued with the twin ills of substantial overcapacity and products which are generally noncompetitive on the world market. Marcos, aware of this problem, is attempting to rationalize some sections of Philippine industry; progress, however, has been slow.

In the meantime, difficulties and imbalances in the agricultural and industrial sectors have resulted in rising unemployment in the cities and underemployment in the rural areas. Inflationary trends have caused a decline in real wages; the consumer price index rose 22% in 1971 and, despite the introduction of austere anti-inflationary monetary and fiscal policies, climbed another 8% in 1972. In addition, domestic economic problems have continued to hamper the government's efforts to overcome persistent balance of payments difficulties.

Philippine foreign economic relations in general—foreign trade in particular—suffer from an overconcentration of products and partners. Just four primary commodities (sugar, coconut products, logs and lumber, and copper) account for 70% to 75% of the country's total exports. As a result, export earnings have fluctuated widely, thereby contributing to recurrent and sometimes massive trade deficits as well as to the accumulation of a foreign debt, which by 1973 had risen to over \$2 billion. Moreover, although the Japanese have recently entered the picture in a major way (Japan presently accounts for about one third of all Philippine trade), the Philippine economy is still heavily dependent on American consumers, credits, and products.

When negotiations for a new accord to replace the expiring Laurel-Langley trade and investment agreement begin, consideration will have to be given to the fact that the United States presently not only takes some 40% of all Philippine exports but is also the major market for a number of Philippine primary products. Almost all Philippine sugar exports, for example, are sent to the United States. Moreover, Washington has provided a total of over \$1.8 billion in economic assistance to Manila since 1946, and is still its principal source of foreign aid. Despite Japanese inroads, about 25% of all Philippine imports are still obtained from the United States.

In addition to purely economic problems and restraints, Marcos is faced with a number of social and political obstacles to effective reform. Among other things, he must overcome the inertia and inequities inherent in his country's deep-seated kinship system. Moreover, there is no question that his success in advancing his New Society program—and thereby in reducing popular discontent—will also depend heavily on his ability to cope both with the oligarchy and with a much larger group of relatively well-to-do officials and businessmen who have a vested interest in the status quo.

Marcos has silenced the opposition press and reduced petty corruption. He has lashed out at the oligarchy and has jailed some of its members. Little progress, however, has been made toward implementing his key scheme for turning over about 5 million acres of rice and corn land to the tenant farmers working it. Furthermore, although Marcos has implied that he intends to dismantle the economic empires of virtually all the oligarchs, his critics have noted that the two wealthy families he has moved most forcefully against—the Lopez and Osmena families—were and remain his bitterest political enemies. Thus the issue of the future role of the Philippines' traditional political and economic elite remains in doubt.

The imposition of martial law has forced the opposition Liberal Party into the background, but Marcos must still contend with plots hatched by disgruntled politicians and oligarchs, with a restless non-Communist left composed of students, intellectuals, and reformist priests, with the subversive activities of various Communist groups, and with the Muslim revolt in the south. The relative importance of these threats to domestic stability could well change over a period of time. Indeed, it is possible that further internal difficulties could strengthen all anti-Marcos forces and even encourage them to coordinate their activities. In the late spring and early summer of 1973, however, the Muslim situation was the most ominous.¹

¹The non-Communist left was relatively quiet. The tiny pro-Soviet Philippine Communist Party (PKP) represented no threat. The militant and avowedly Maoist Philippine Communist Party-Marxist/Leninist (PKP-M/L) was believed to have fewer than 2,000 members. Despite grandiose membership claims, the PKP-M/L's front organizations probably could muster no more than 3,000 activists. And although active in parts of Luzon and the Visayas, the PKP-M/L's military arm—the New People's Army—was estimated to have an armed cadre of only about 1,300 men.

The roots of Filipino Muslim discontent in the Philippines are old and deep. The Muslims of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago have consistently resisted encroachment, whether Spanish, American, or Filipino Christian. In recent years their suspicions and resentments have been nourished by an influx of Christian homesteaders and speculators seeking traditional Muslim lands in western Mindanao and by governmental indifference or even hostility to Muslim interests. Since the Muslims regard their rifles both as symbols of manhood and as their only reliable defense against the depredations of nonbelievers and the central government alike, the incidence of bloodshed has tended to increase apace. Nevertheless, the situation remained manageable until the government announced its intention of picking up all private weapons under the provisions of President Marcos' martial law decree. This announcement not only offended Muslim custom but also was interpreted by many Muslims as a tactic to expand and perpetuate Christian dominance in the Mindanao-Sulu Archipelago region. They refused to surrender their arms, and for the next 4 or 5 months there was a standoff as the two sides took each other's measure.

In February 1973, Marcos commenced preparations for launching a major offensive against the Muslim dissidents, but his plans miscarried. Faced with early reverses in its offensive, the central government risked censure from Malaysia and the Arab nations by making greater use of close air support, naval gunfire, and armored personnel carriers. More ominous, it began forming armed Barrio (village) Self-Defense Units—in some cases said to consist of anti-Muslim vigilantes—in Christian areas, thereby exacerbating religious tensions and making the conflict more intractable.

In his initial appeals for additional U.S. military assistance, Marcos laid the blame for the fighting in the south on Communist-influenced Muslim separatist organizations and foreign intervention. But like his estimate that there were then nearly 17,000 armed Muslims facing his forces, this analysis was self-serving and well wide of the mark. The insurrection had in fact been provoked by ill-conceived government policies. True enough, Libya's militant President Qadhafi had loudly espoused the rebel cause, and Malaysia was working quietly to use Marcos' troubles with the Muslims to pressure him into renouncing his country's claim to Sabah. Nevertheless, the covert support—arms, money, and training—furnished the insurgents by and through the tough-minded and free-

wheeling Chief Minister of Malaysia's self-governing Sabah State had been limited. While certainly a contributing factor, it could not be counted as a primary cause of the crisis. Similarly, all the known Muslim secessionist organizations in the southern Philippines were weak, and there was no concrete evidence to support Marcos' assertion that they were dominating or guiding the uprising. Nor did there appear to be any factual basis for his claim of significant Communist influence over the rebels. While available data were admittedly fragmentary, it seemed likely that Marcos was overstating Muslim armed strength by about 10,000.

Nevertheless, the situation Marcos faced in the south was serious enough. The Muslims were well armed with modern weapons, including mortars, machine guns, and rockets, and they exercised *de facto* control over large areas. Moreover, they were operating over familiar terrain and among a generally sympathetic population. Although the government had deployed nearly 11,000 men, including two-thirds of its infantry battalions and most of the Philippine Constabulary's local units, it was unable to gain the initiative. The small (29,000) Philippine Army, burdened with its new administrative duties under martial law and confronted with the growing Peking-oriented PKP-M/L threat in the north, was taxed to the limits of its capabilities. The country's first military draft—initiated in May 1973—offered no quick and effective solution to this manpower problem. In fact, even if the United States had been willing and able to provide all the additional military assistance that Marcos had requested—which it was not—it seemed most unlikely that government forces could soon score a decisive military victory over the Muslim insurgents.

Fortunately, there were signs that Marcos was heeding the urgent advice offered him both by Washington and by his ASEAN partners and was trying to pave the way for a negotiated settlement with the Muslim dissidents. In early April 1973 he conceded that the Muslims did, in fact, have many legitimate grievances. Shortly thereafter, he dispatched two engineering battalions to Mindanao to help with community electrification and road repair projects. He toned down his charges of foreign intervention, and as summer approached he seemed to be considering burying the territorial claims that had prompted Malaysia to allow Sabah to be used as a logistical base for the rebels.

The Sabah issue is, in fact, illustrative of a broader problem: how to reconcile a consciously fostered and

growing spirit of Philippine nationalism with pragmatic considerations of national interest. Like most other Philippine politicians in recent years, President Marcos has sought to manipulate nationalistic sentiment to his own advantage. His predecessor, President Macapagal, was the first to press the Sabah claim, but it was Marcos who raised it to a point of honor in 1968. Similarly, Marcos has tended to adopt a particularly assertive posture vis-a-vis the United States whenever he has wished to distract popular attention from domestic problems. But such tactics are becoming more tricky. The character of Philippine nationalism has changed. Once confined for the most part to a small circle of leading families, it is now a broadly based and powerful political force. Moreover, as more and more members of the better educated postwar generation have come of age, there has been a weakening of many of the restraints which previously kept Philippine nationalism from developing a strong and consistent anti-U.S. tone.

Marcos must move very carefully if he is to avoid releasing passions which could greatly complicate his efforts to protect basic Philippine political and economic interests in the Nixon Doctrine era. However strong the urge to rally popular support under a banner of chauvinism, he cannot afford to alienate Washington or his ASEAN partners, and neither can he risk foreclosing any movement toward limited rapprochement with Peking. Yet he must maintain his nationalist credentials. Martial law has at least temporarily freed him of the worry that rival politicians or a jingoist press might attack him over such foreign policy concessions as he may feel compelled to make. But if only bottled up, Philippine nationalism could all too easily be exploited by the Maoists and other extremist groups. Hence Marcos is faced with the twin—and demanding—tasks of giving his countrymen's nationalist aspirations a more pragmatic and positive cast and of linking them more directly to achievement of his projected New Society reforms.

Chronology (u/ou)

1565

Spain establishes first permanent settlement at Cebu; begins colonization of the Philippines.

1572

Manila founded by the Spanish.

1896

August

Katipunan Society under Andres Bonifacio and Emilio Aguinaldo begins revolt against Spain.

1898

December

Philippines is ceded to the United States by Treaty of Paris.

1899

January

Malolos constitution is promulgated; Aguinaldo is elected President of first Philippine Republic.

1916

August

Jones Act creates first elective legislature and vests greater powers in Philippine Government.

1934

March

Tydings-McDuffie Act provides for Philippine Commonwealth and full independence in 10 years.

1935

September

Elections are held for President, Vice President, and National Assembly; Manuel Quezon is elected first Commonwealth President.

November

Commonwealth is formally established; United States retains control of defense and foreign relations, supervisory rights over certain financial questions, and the right to intervene to preserve the Commonwealth.

1941

December

Japanese initiate air attacks on Philippines 8 December; fall of Corregidor on 6 May 1942 ends organized resistance.

1944

October

United States forces under Gen. Douglas MacArthur land on Leyte and begin reoccupation of Philippines. Organized Japanese resistance ends in September 1945.

1945

November

Manuel Roxas is elected President.

1946

July

Philippines is granted independence by the United States. U.S.-Philippine Trade Agreement provides for an 8-year period of free U.S.-Philippine trade to be followed by 20 years of gradually imposed tariffs; Americans are given equal rights and privileges in exploiting Philippine natural resources and operating public services.

1947

March

U.S.-Philippine Military Base Agreement grants to United States the use of bases in Philippines for 99-year period; is followed by signing of Military Assistance Agreement.

1948

April

President Roxas dies; Vice President Elpidio Quirino assumes presidency and is elected to office in November.

1951

August

Philippines and United States sign Mutual Defense Treaty; the United States pledges to act "in accordance with its constitutional processes" in defense of the Philippines.

1953

November

Ramon Magsaysay is elected President.

1954

September

South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) Agreement ("Manila Pact") is signed.

1956

January

Laurel-Langley Agreement revises 1946 trade agreement; provides for less rapid imposition of U.S. duties on imports from Philippines.

1957

March

Magsaysay is killed in air crash; Vice President Carlos Garcia succeeds him as President and is himself elected in November.

1961

November

Diosdado Macapagal, Vice President under Garcia, is elected President.

1962

June

Philippines formally claims sovereignty over part of British North Borneo (now Sabah); joins Indonesia in opposition to proposed formation of Malaysia.

1963**September**

Philippines breaks relations with Malaysia following formal inauguration of Malaysian federation.

1964**May**

Jesus Lava, Secretary General of the Communist Party of the Philippines, is captured after many years of hiding. Consular relations are established with Malaysia.

1965**November**

Ferdinand Marcos wins election to Presidency over incumbent Macapagal.

1966**June**

Full diplomatic relations are resumed with Malaysia.

July

Marcos signs to send civic action group to South Vietnam.

September

U.S. military bases agreement of 1947 renegotiated to provide for a 25-year tenure dating from 1966.

1967**November**

Marcos' Nacionalista Party wins significant gains in the off-year elections.

1968**March**

Strained relations develop with Malaysia over revelation of Philippine plotting against Sabah.

July

Philippine-Malaysian talks in Bangkok on Philippine claim to Sabah collapse.

September

Malaysia suspends relations with the Philippines as a result of Sabah dispute.

December

Marcos quietly suspends Philippine claim to Sabah.

1969**November**

Marcos re-elected to unprecedented second term.

December

Diplomatic relations with Malaysia resumed; moratorium on Sabah issue continued.

1970**January-April**

Students demonstrate against Marcos' plans to perpetuate himself in office.

November

National election of delegates to constitutional convention.

1971**January-May**

Students again demonstrate against Marcos' political ambitions.

June

Constitutional convention convened.

August

Marcos suspends writ of habeas corpus in wake of bombing at political rally; restored in some areas in September.

November

Marcos' Nacionalista Party suffers severe setbacks in Senate elections.

1972**September**

Marcos imposes martial law.

October

Long-smouldering Muslim rebellion breaks out in south.

December

Constitutional convention completes work on new constitution calling for parliamentary system.

1973**January**

Extra-legal citizens' assemblies ratify new constitution, but Marcos delays full implementation in favor of continued indefinite period of one-man rule under martial law.

March

Sabah issue stirred up again by Marcos claim of Malaysian involvement in Muslim insurgency problem.

Area Brief

LAND (U/OU)

Size: 116,000 sq. mi.

Use: 53% forested, 30% arable land, 5% permanent pasture
12% other

WATER: (U/OU)

Limits of territorial waters (claimed): Under archipelago theory, waters within straight lines joining appropriate points of outermost islands are considered internal waters; waters between these baselines and the limits described in the Treaty of Paris, December 10, 1898, the U.S.-Spain Treaty of November 7, 1900, and the U.S.-U.K. Treaty of January 2, 1930 are considered to be the territorial sea

Coastline: About 14,000 mi.

PEOPLE: (U/OU)

Population: 40,194,000 (estimated 1 July 1973); density 346 persons per square mile; 32% urban, 68% rural (1970 census)

Ethnic composition: Approximately 96% of the population of Malay stock; 2.5% indigenous tribal peoples, and 1.5% Chinese or other

Religion: 84% Roman Catholic, 9% Protestant, 5% Muslim, 2% animist or followers of traditional Chinese religions

Languages: National language, Filipino (Tagalog); leading foreign language, English; other vernacular languages include Cebuano, Iloco, Hiligaynon, Bikol, Samar-Leyte, Pampangan, Pangasinan, and Muslim Filipino (Moro) tongues

Literacy: About 83% of the population age 10 and over (1970 census)

Labor force: 11 million; 51.2% agriculture, forestry, and fishing, 12.2% manufacturing and mining, 3.7% construction, 12.2% commerce, 4.5% transport and utilities, 16.2% services

GOVERNMENT: (U/OU)

Legal name: Republic of the Philippines

Type: Republic

Capital: Quezon

Political subdivisions: 72 provinces

Legal system: Based on Spanish, Islamic, and Anglo-American law; parliamentary constitution passed 1973; judicial review of legislative acts in the Supreme Court; legal education at University of the Philippines, Ateneo de Manila University, and 71 other law schools; accepts compulsory ICJ jurisdiction, with reservations; currently being ruled under martial law

Branches: New constitution (currently suspended) provides for unicameral National Assembly, and a strong executive branch under a prime minister; judicial branch headed by Supreme Court with descending authority in a Court of Appeals, courts of First Instance in various provinces, municipal courts in chartered cities, and justices of the peace

in towns and municipalities; the justices have considerably more authority than do justices of the peace in the U.S.

Government leader: President Ferdinand E. Marcos

Suffrage: Universal over age 18

Elections: Elections suspended for the indefinite future

Political parties and leaders: Liberal Party, Gerardo M. Roxas; Nacionalista Party, Gil J. Puyat; all political party activity now suspended under current state of martial law

Communists: About 1,300 armed insurgents

Member of: ADB, ASEAN, ASPAC, Colombo Plan, ECAFE, IAEA, ICAO, IHB, Seabeds Committee (observer), SEATO, U.N., UNESCO, UNICEF, WHO

ECONOMY: (U/OU)

NDP: \$6.7 billion (est. 1972)

Agriculture: Main crops—rice, corn, coconuts, sugarcane, abaca, tobacco

Fishing: Catch, 1 million tons (1971)

Major industries: Agricultural processing, textiles, chemicals and chemical products

Electric power: 2.9 million kw. capacity (1972); 10 billion kw.-hr. produced, 251 kw.-hr. per capita

Exports: \$1,106 million (f.o.b., 1972); sugar, copper concentrates, logs and lumber, coconut oil

Imports: \$1,230 million (f.o.b., 1972)

Major trade partners: (1972) exports—40% U.S., 34% Japan; imports—32% Japan, 25% U.S.

Aid:

Economic—U.S. (FY46-72) \$1.8 billion committed; Japan (repairs), \$550 million extended in 1956, \$337 million drawn through 1969; IBRD (1953-72), \$268 million committed

Military—U.S. (FY46-72) \$673 million committed

Monetary conversion rate: 6.78 pesos = US\$1.00 (May 1973) (floating rate)

Fiscal year: 1 July-30 June

COMMUNICATIONS: (C)

Railroads: 2,177 mi.: 727 route miles of government-owned 3'6"-gauge common-carrier lines on Luzon and Panay; 19 industrial lines of four different gages totaling 1,450 miles—most are short lines of very narrow gage

Highways: 45,690 miles; 2,084 miles concrete, 2,324 miles bituminous, 4,478 miles bituminous-surface treatment, 23,770 miles gravel or crushed stone, 13,034 miles of earth roads

Inland waterways: 2,000 miles; limited to shallow-draft vessels

Pipelines: 158 miles for refined products

SECRET

Ports: 11 major, 100 minor

Merchant marine: 170 ships, 1,000 g.r.t. and over, totaling 834,931 g.r.t., 1,202,539 d.w.t. (Oct. 1972)

Civil air: 83 major transports

Airfields: 386 total, 273 usable; 42 with permanent surface; 6 with runways 8,000-11,999 ft., 26 with runways 4,000-7,999 ft.; 6 seaplane stations

Telecommunications: Excellent international radio, submarine cable, and communications satellite ground station services; interisland services are adequate but intrainland domestic services are inadequate; over 350,000 telephones; nearly 6 million radio sets; about 500,000 TV sets; over 100 primary AM, 8 FM, and 16 TV stations; submarine cables extend to South Vietnam, Hong Kong, Guam, and the U.S.; international satellite station; troposcatter link to Taiwan

DEFENSE FORCES: (S)

Military Manpower: Males 15-49, 9,209,000; about 65% fit for military service; average number reaching military age (20), 1974-79, about 392,000.

Personnel: Total, 79,000; general headquarters, AFP, 3,400; army, 29,000; navy, 11,500 (including 3,200 marines); air force, 8,200; constabulary, 26,900

Major ground units: 2 light infantry divisions; 3 separate infantry brigades; 1 engineer brigade

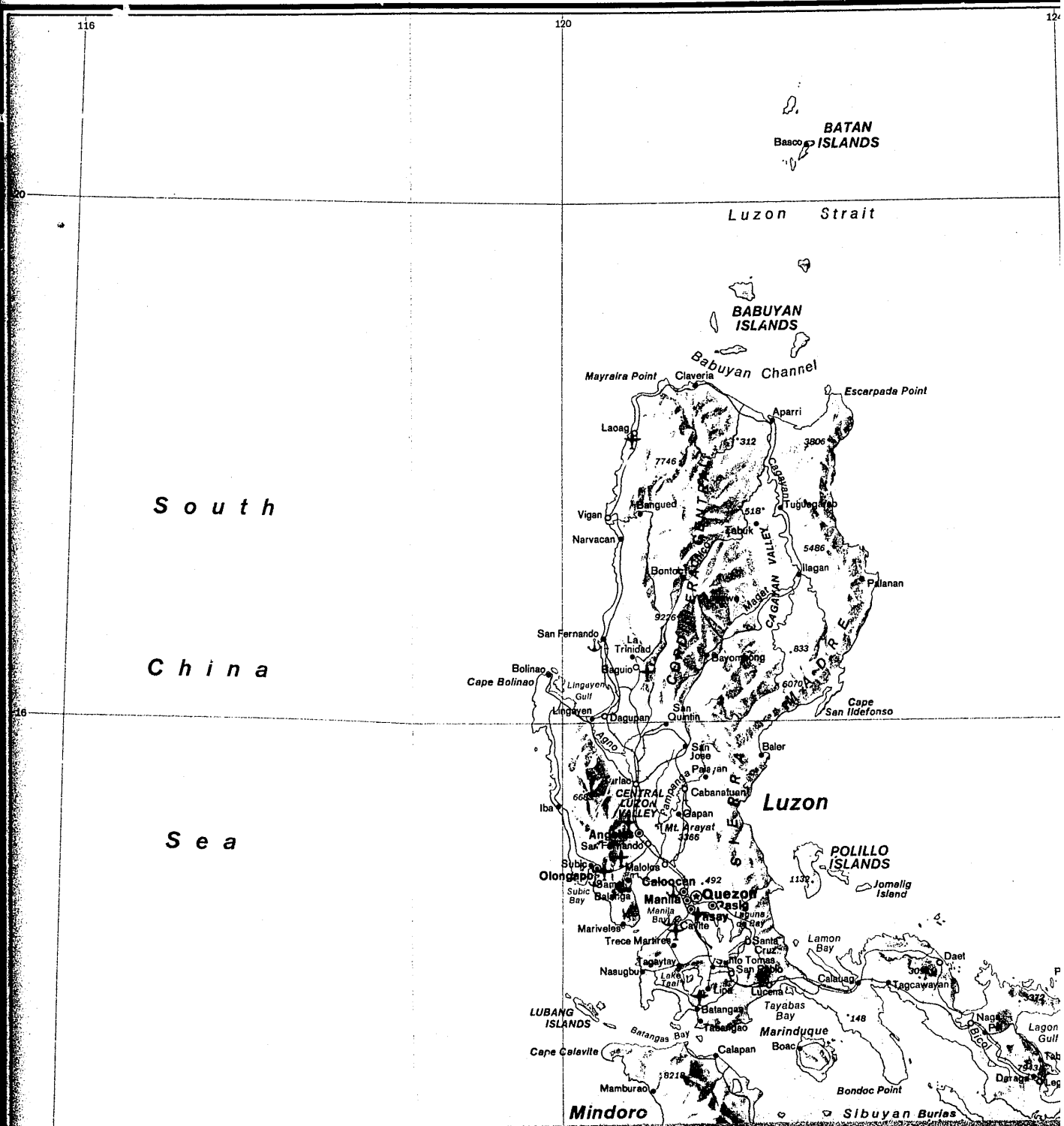
Ships: 122 ships and craft

Aircraft: About 235 (54 jets)

Supply: Provided almost exclusively by the U.S. Military Assistance Program; minor amounts from Japan, Australia, and Italy; virtually no domestic production capability for military equipment

Places and features referred to in this General Survey (u/ou)

	COORDINATES			COORDINATES	
	° 'N.	° 'E.		° 'N.	° 'E.
Agno (<i>strm</i>).....	16 02	120 08	Luzon (<i>isl</i>).....	16 00	121 00
Agus (<i>strm</i>).....	8 11	124 12	Maetan Island (<i>isl</i>).....	10 18	123 58
Agusan (<i>strm</i>).....	9 00	125 31	Makati.....	14 34	121 02
Agusan del Sur (<i>prov</i>).....	8 30	125 50	Malolos.....	14 51	120 49
Albay Gulf (<i>gulf</i>).....	13 10	124 00	Mandaluyong.....	14 38	121 03
Ampayon.....	8 58	125 36	Manila.....	14 35	121 00
Angat (<i>strm</i>).....	14 53	120 46	Manila Bay (<i>bay</i>).....	14 30	120 45
Angeles.....	15 09	120 35	Marawi.....	8 01	124 18
Antipolo.....	14 35	121 10	Maria Cristina Falls (<i>falls</i>).....	8 11	124 12
Antique (<i>prov</i>).....	11 10	122 05	Mariveles.....	14 26	120 29
Arayat, Mount (<i>mtn</i>).....	15 12	120 45	Masbate (<i>isl</i>).....	12 15	123 30
Bacolod.....	10 40	122 57	Mayon Volcano (<i>mt</i>).....	13 15	123 41
Bagacay.....	11 49	125 14	Mindanao (<i>strm</i>).....	7 07	124 24
Baguio.....	16 25	120 36	Mindanao (<i>isl</i>).....	8 00	125 00
Balabac Island (<i>isl</i>).....	7 57	117 01	Mindoro (<i>isl</i>).....	12 50	121 05
Balayan Bay (<i>bay</i>).....	13 51	120 47	Mindoro Occidental (<i>prov</i>).....	13 00	120 55
Baler.....	15 46	121 34	Mountain (<i>prov</i>).....	17 05	121 10
Baler Bay (<i>bay</i>).....	15 50	121 35	Muntinglupa.....	14 23	121 03
Baliwasan.....	6 55	122 03	Naga.....	13 37	123 11
Basilan.....	6 42	121 58	Nasugbu.....	14 05	120 38
Basilan Island (<i>isl</i>).....	6 34	122 03	Navotas (<i>port</i>).....	14 39	120 57
Basilan Strait (<i>str</i>).....	6 49	122 05	Negros (<i>isl</i>).....	10 00	123 00
Bataan (<i>prov</i>).....	14 40	120 25	Negros Occidental (<i>prov</i>).....	10 25	123 00
Batangas.....	13 45	121 03	Nueva Ecija (<i>prov</i>).....	15 35	121 00
Batangas Bay (<i>bay</i>).....	13 43	121 00	Olongapo.....	14 50	120 16
Bauan.....	13 48	121 01	Paete.....	14 23	121 29
Bauang.....	16 31	120 20	Pakiputan Strait (<i>str</i>).....	7 07	125 40
Benguet (<i>prov</i>).....	16 30	120 40	Palawan (<i>isl</i>).....	9 30	118 30
Bicol (<i>strm</i>).....	13 44	123 07	Palawan (<i>prov</i>).....	10 00	118 45
Bohol (<i>isl</i>).....	9 50	124 10	Pampanga (<i>strm</i>).....	14 47	120 39



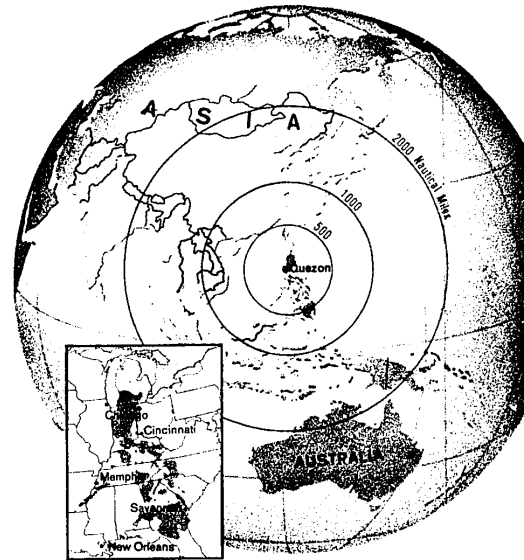
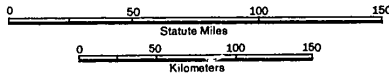
Philippines

- Railroad (3'6" gage)
- Road
- Airfield
- Major port

Populated places
 Quezon 754,452 (1970)
 ● Over 100,000
 ○ 20,000 to 100,000
 • Under 20,000

Spot elevations in feet

Scale 1:4,000,000



Philippine

Sea

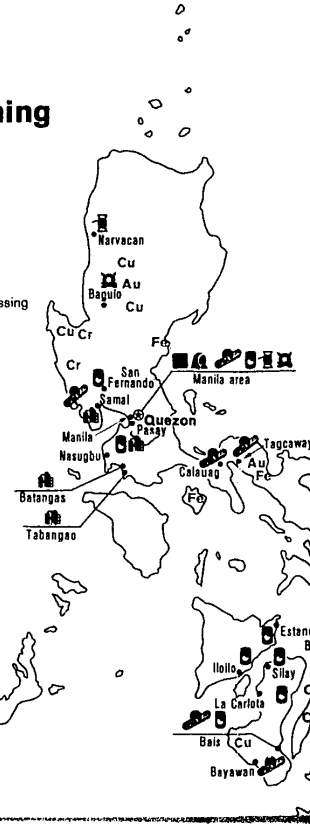
Catanduanes Island
 Virac

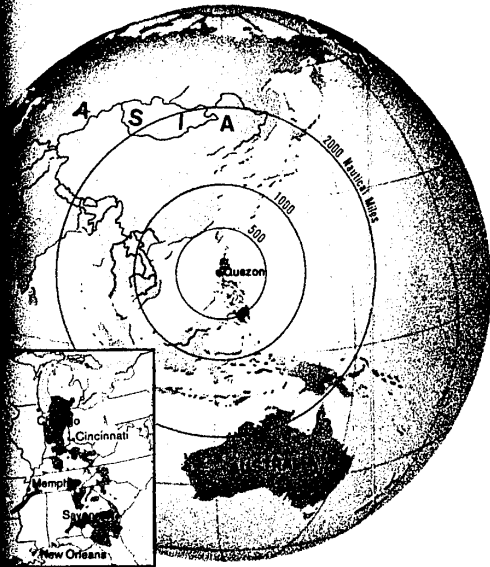
Bay Gulf
 Socon
 rdinc

Industry and Mining

- INDUSTRY**
- Fabricated metal products
 - Hydroelectric powerplant
 - Thermal powerplant
 - Petroleum refining
 - Forest products processing
 - Food and tobacco processing
 - Textile and fiber products processing

- MINING**
- Cr Chromite
 - C Coal
 - Cu Copper
 - Au Gold
 - Fe Iron
 - Ni Nickel



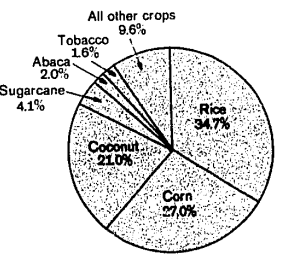


Land Utilization

- ◀ Major fishing port
- ▨ Cultivated land
- ▩ Commercial forest
- Fishpond development
- Uncultivated land

PRINCIPAL CROPS

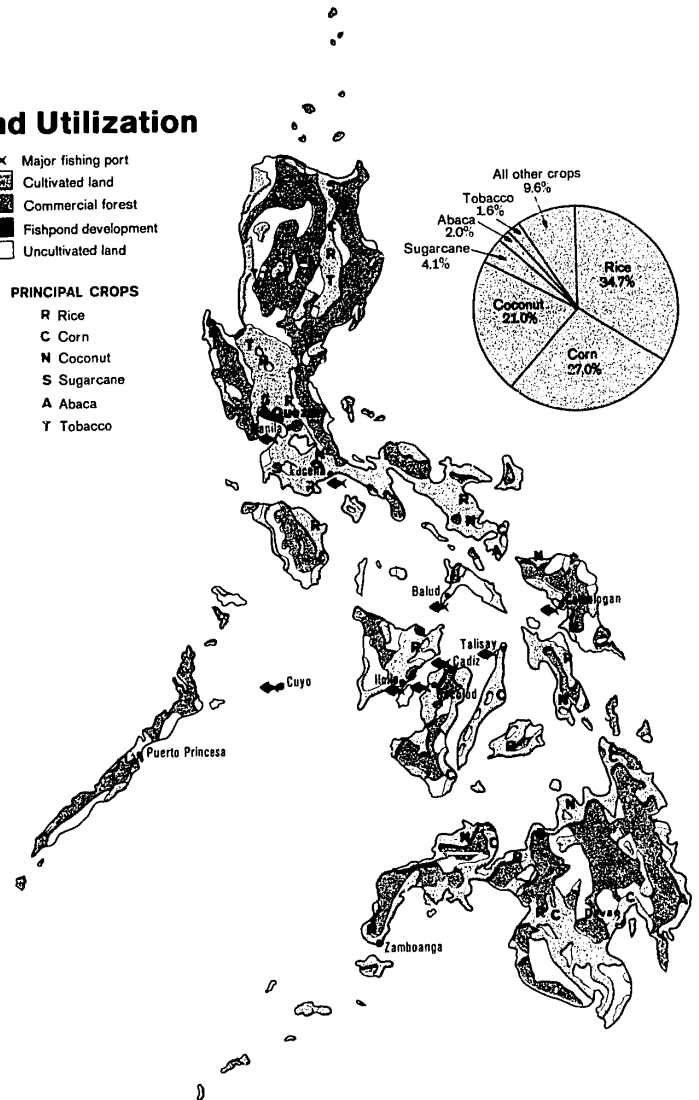
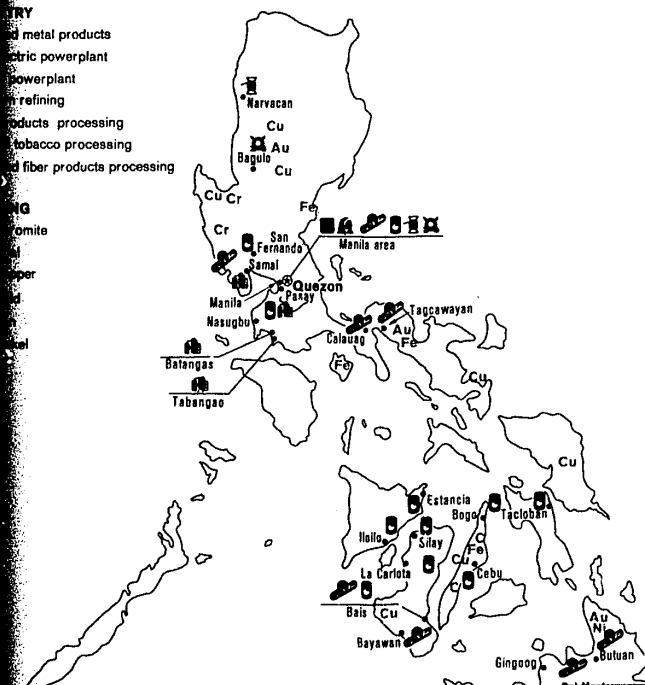
- R Rice
- C Corn
- N Coconut
- S Sugarcane
- A Abaca
- T Tobacco



Industry and Mining

- metal products
- electric powerplant
- powerplant
- refining
- products processing
- tobacco processing
- fiber products processing

- Mining
- omite
- Copper
- Iron
- Nickel

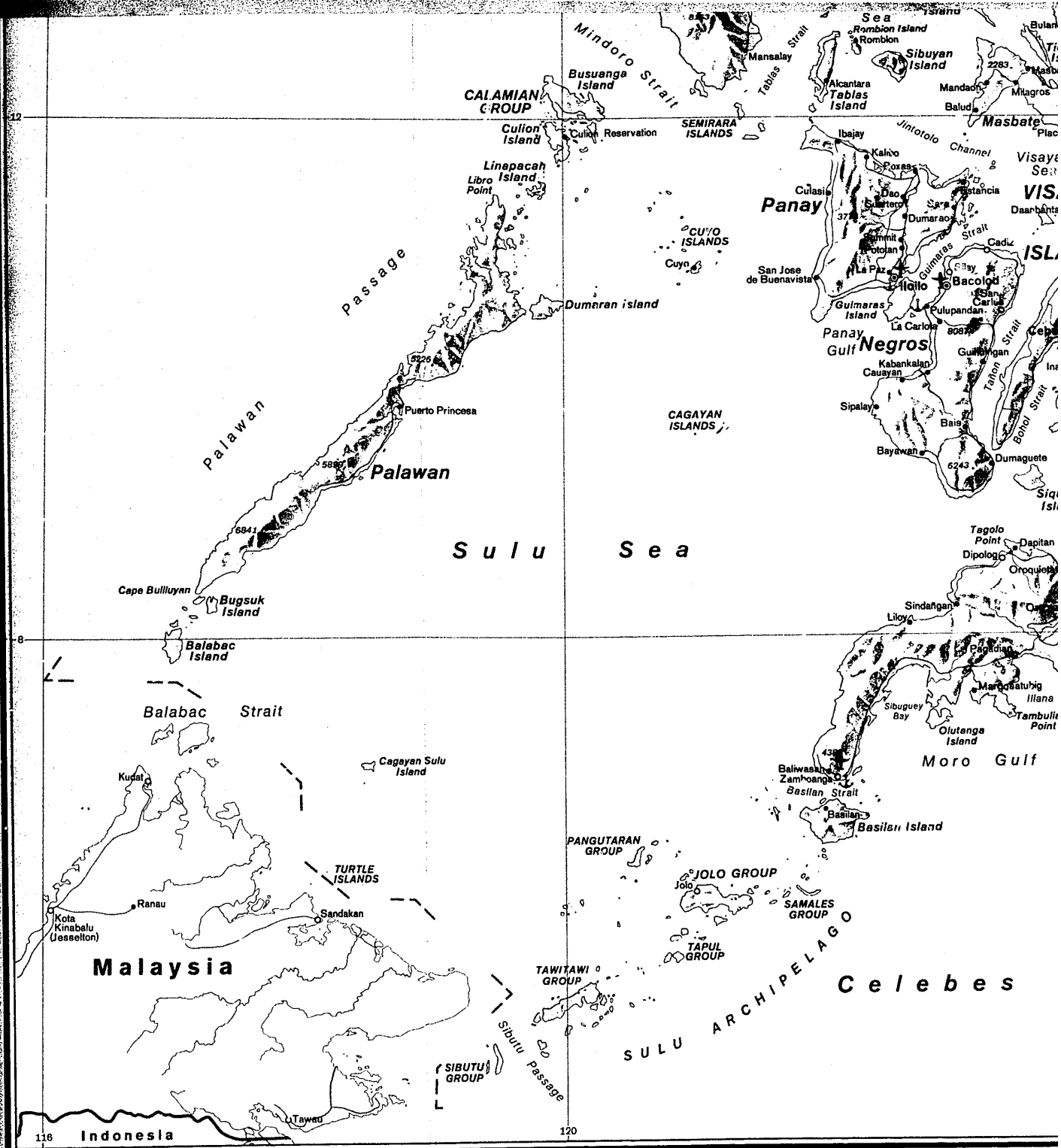


Bontoc	17 05	120 58
Buayan	6 07	125 15
Bukidnon (prov)	8 00	125 00
Bulacan (prov)	15 00	121 05
Butuan	8 54	125 35
Cabanatuan	15 29	120 58
Cadiz	10 57	123 18
Cagayan (strm)	18 22	121 37
Cagayan de Oro	8 29	124 39
Cagayan Valley (val)	17 30	121 45
Calamba	14 13	121 10
Caloocan	14 38	121 03
Camalig	13 11	123 39
Camarines Norte (prov)	14 10	122 45
Canlubang	14 15	121 05
Capiz (prov)	11 24	122 34
Carmen	15 01	120 32
Casiguran	16 17	122 07
Catubig (strm)	12 34	125 01
Cavite	14 29	120 55
Cavite (prov)	14 15	120 50
Cavite Peninsula (pen)	14 26	120 53
Cebu	10 18	123 54
Cebu (isl)	10 20	123 45
Central Luzon Valley (pln)	15 30	120 40
Corregidor Island (isl)	14 23	120 35
Cotabato	7 13	124 15
Cotabato (prov)	7 00	124 40
Cuartero	11 21	122 40
Cubi Point (pt)	14 48	120 16
Dagupan	16 03	120 20
Danao	10 32	124 02
Dao	11 24	122 41
Daraga	13 09	123 43
Davao	7 18	125 25
Davao del Norte (prov)	7 30	126 00
Davao Gulf (gulf)	6 40	125 55
Digos	6 45	125 20
Dumaguete	9 18	123 18
Dumarao	11 16	122 41
Floridablanca	14 59	120 31
Gapan	15 19	120 57
General Santos (Rajah Buayan)	6 07	125 11
Guimaras Island (isl)	10 35	122 37
Guimaras Strait (str)	10 30	122 44
Iligan	8 14	124 14
Iligan Bay (bay)	8 25	124 05
Ilocos Norte (prov)	18 19	120 45
Ilocos Sur (prov)	17 20	120 35
Iloilo	10 42	122 34
Iloilo (strm)	10 42	122 35
Iloilo Strait (str)	10 43	122 36
Kalibo	11 43	122 22
Kalinga-Apayao (prov)	17 45	121 15
Laguna (prov)	14 10	121 20
Lanao del Norte (prov)	8 10	123 55
Lanao del Sur (prov)	7 55	124 20
La Paz	10 43	122 34
Larap Peninsula (pen)	14 18	122 39
La Trinidad	16 28	120 35
Lebak	6 32	124 03
Legazpi	13 08	123 44
Lepanto	16 52	120 46
Leyte (isl)	10 50	124 50
Ligao	13 14	123 32
Limay	14 34	120 36
Lingayen Gulf (gulf)	16 15	120 14
Lipa	13 57	121 10
Lubang Island (isl)	13 46	120 11

Pampanga (prov)	15 04	120 40
Pandacan (part of Manila)	14 36	121 00
Panay (isl)	11 15	122 30
Pasay	14 33	121 00
Pasay (Rizal)	14 33	121 00
Pasig (strm)	14 36	120 58
Poros Point (pt)	11 58	124 20
Poros Island (isl)	16 06	120 06
Port San Vicente	18 30	122 09
Pulupandan	10 31	122 48
Quezon	14 38	121 00
Rizal (prov)	14 35	121 10
Rosario	14 25	120 51
Roxas	11 35	122 45
Samar (isl)	12 00	125 00
San Carlos	10 30	123 25
San Fernando	15 01	120 41
San Fernando	16 37	120 19
San Fernando Point (pt)	16 38	120 17
Sangle Point (pt)	14 30	120 55
San Jose	15 48	121 00
San Juan	14 35	121 07
San Juanico Strait (str)	11 20	124 58
San Pablo	14 04	121 19
San Pedro Bay (bay)	11 11	125 05
Santo Domingo	14 14	121 03
Sipalay	9 45	122 24
Sorsogon	12 58	124 00
Sprately Island (isl)	8 38	111 55
Subic Bay (bay)	14 45	120 13
Sulu (prov)	5 30	120 30
Sulu Archipelago (isls)	6 00	121 00
Summit	11 06	122 38
Surigao	9 45	125 30
Surigao del Norte (prov)	9 46	125 38
Tabangao	13 42	121 05
Taal (lake)	13 55	121 00
Taal, Mount (mtn)	14 00	121 00
Tacloban	11 15	125 00
Tarlac	15 29	120 35
Tarlac (prov)	15 30	120 30
Tawitawi Island (isl)	5 10	120 00
Toledo	10 23	123 38
Tondo (part of Manila)	14 37	120 58
Tuguegarao	17 37	121 44
Valenzuela	14 42	120 58
Visayan Islands (isls)	11 00	123 30
Zambales (prov)	15 20	120 10
Zamboanga	6 54	122 04
Zamboanga del Sur (prov)	7 30	122 25

Selected airfields

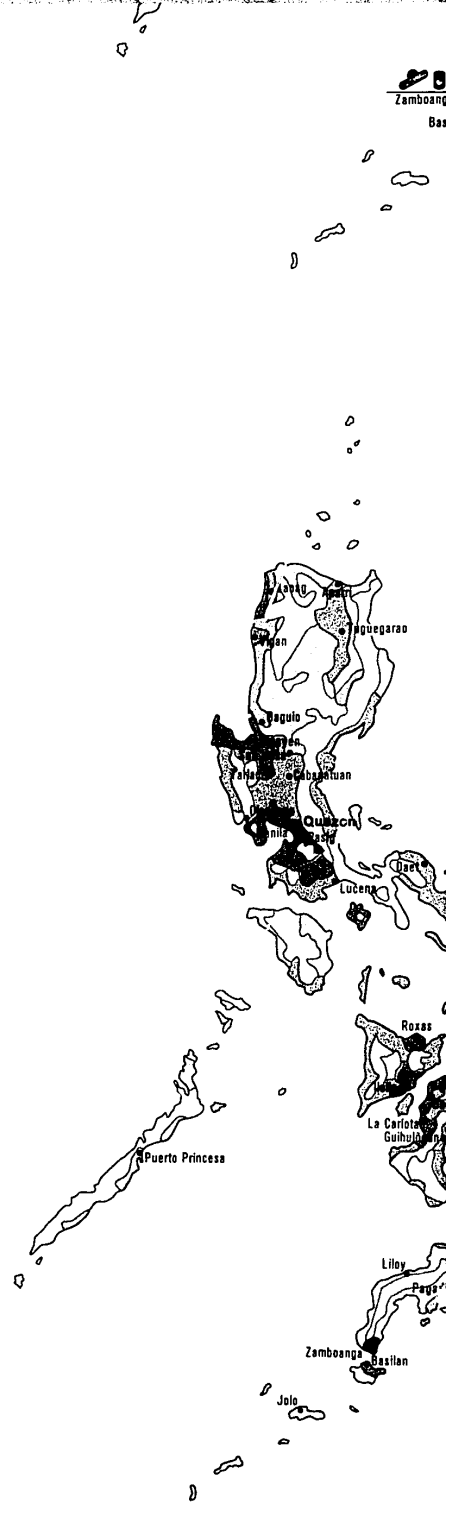
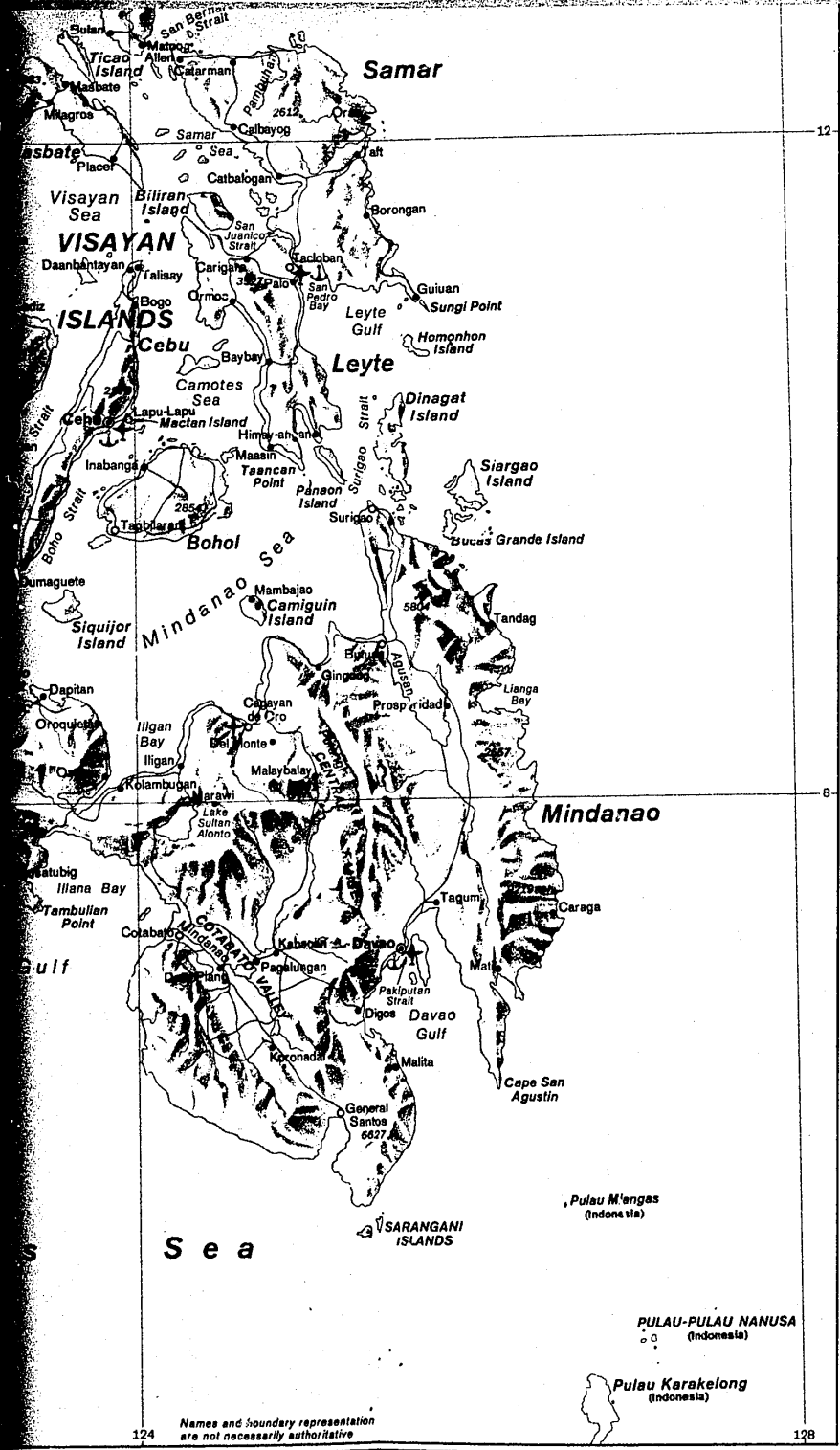
Bacolod	10 39	122 56
Baguio	16 23	120 37
Basa AB	14 59	120 29
Cagayan de Oro	8 25	124 37
Clark AB	15 11	120 33
Cubi Point NAS	14 48	120 16
D Z Romualdez	11 14	125 02
Davao	7 08	125 39
Fernando AB	13 57	121 07
Iloilo	10 43	122 33
Laog	18 11	120 32
Manetan International	10 19	123 59
Manila International	14 31	121 01
Sangle Point AB	14 30	120 54
Zamboanga	6 55	122 04

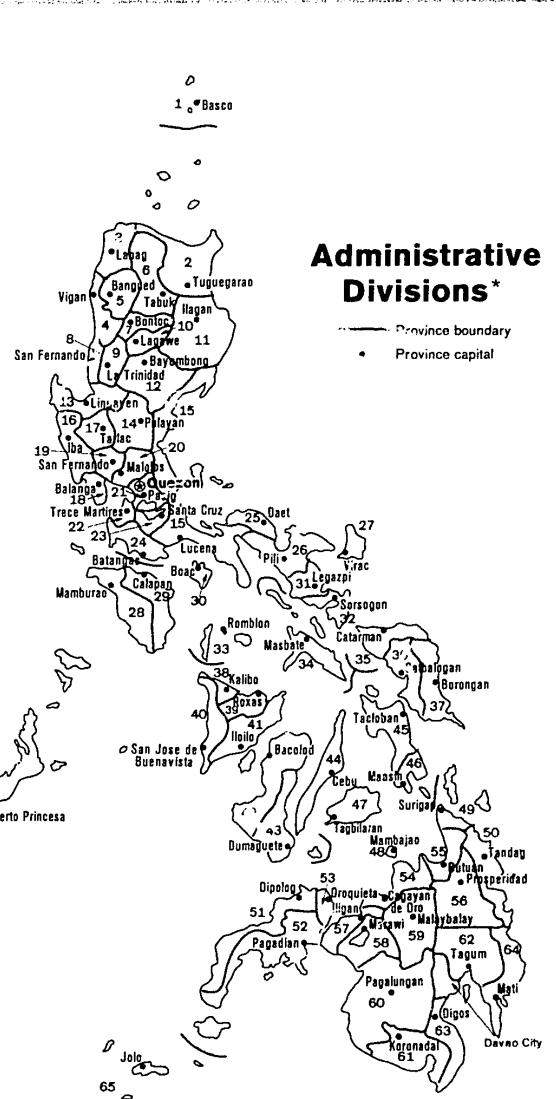
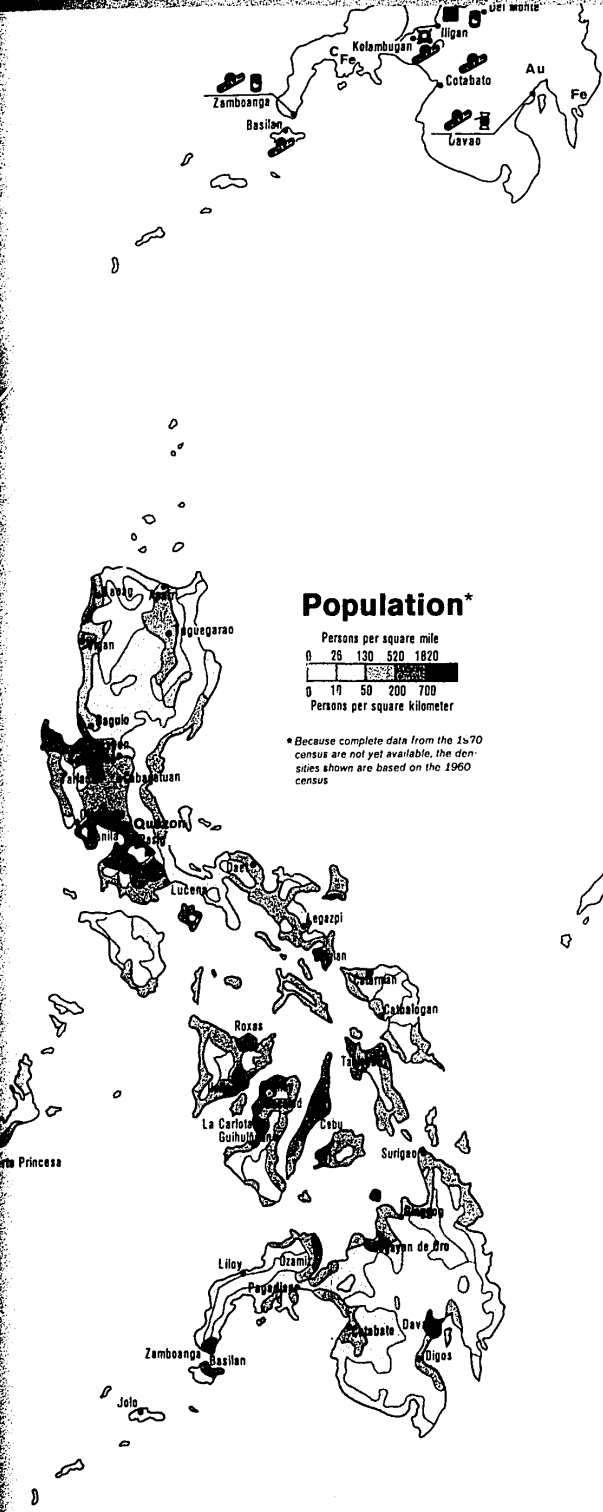


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INDEX TO PROVINCES**

1. Batanes	15. Quezon	28. Mindoro Occidental	41. Iloilo	54. Misamis Oriental
2. Cavite	16. Zambales	29. Mindoro Oriental	42. Negros Occidental	55. Agusan del Norte
3. Ilocos Norte	17. Tarlac	30. Marinduque	43. Negros Oriental	56. Agusan del Sur
4. Ilocos Sur	18. Bataan	31. Albay	44. Cebu	57. Lanao del Norte
5. Abra	19. Pampanga	32. Sorsogon	45. Leyte	58. Lanao del Sur
6. Kalinga-Apayaon	20. Bulacan	33. Romblon	46. Southern Leyte	59. Bukidnon
7. Mountain	21. Rizal	34. Masbate	47. Bohol	60. Cotabato
8. La Union	22. Cavite	35. Northern Samar	48. Camiguin	61. South Cotabato
9. Benguet	23. Laguna	36. Samar	49. Surigao del Norte	62. Davao del Norte
10. Ifugao	24. Batangas	37. Eastern Samar	50. Surigao del Sur	63. Davao del Sur
11. Isabela	25. Camarines Norte	38. Aklan	51. Zamboanga del Norte	64. Davao Oriental
12. Nueva Vizcaya	26. Camarines Sur	39. Capiz	52. Zamboanga del Sur	65. Sulu
13. Pangasinan	27. Catanduanes	40. Antique	53. Misamis Occidental	66. Palawan

* 59 chartered cities (province level) are not shown except Iloilo
 ** Administrative divisions shown are pre-1970. Adequate information is not available to show boundaries of the provinces created since 1970: Nueva Vizcaya and Quirino from Nueva Vizcaya (12); Negros Oriental and Siquijor from Negros Oriental (43); Lanao del Sur and Marawi from Lanao del Sur (58); Cotabato, Sultan Kudarat, and Maguindanao from Cotabato (60); Sulu and Tawitawi from Sulu (65)

Summary Map