

Explicitly, Bronger claims to advance knowledge about the *causes* of underdevelopment and to point to the human factor in the *process* of the present state of affairs in the Philippines. He rightly places himself in the tradition of the previous geographical overviews by Kolb (1945), Spencer (1954) and Wernstedt/Spencer (1967), aiming at surpassing them in analytical depth.

Bronger does this in five chapters and each is introduced with a theoretical essay. It starts with (1) a general introduction to the country, followed by (2) the attempt to establish whether the Philippines is in fact a developing nation or a third world country, (3), the decisive role of the metropolitan monster of Manila in the formation of the country, logically connected to the next chapter (4) on the regional disparities, which finally leads (5) to an overview of the regional planning efforts, with special emphasis on economic policies, including agrarian reform. Bronger also does not shy away from suggestions (which ought to be taken seriously) about how to overcome the widening gap between rich and poor and between town and countryside. The entire book demonstrates an alert political mind, an approach most probably at variance with the majority of his colleagues.

Each chapter in which Bronger attempts to present causal links between his hypothesis – i.e. why there is what type of underdevelopment – also contains ample material on comparative data from other regions of the world. This makes his contribution especially valuable for teaching purposes.

Throughout the study, Bronger's sympathy for the poor and the wretched is felt and not buried in this myriad of facts and figures. It is especially this combination of humanity with the desire to prove everything down to the smallest detail which makes a fair review of this work of enormous diligence so difficult. And that is maybe the highest compliment to be made to this book: each reader knows exactly where s/he can place the counter arguments. To summarize, this is an extremely valuable book for every Philippinist, though of less theoretical clarity than I would have liked.

Frank Hirtz

Tim Kuschnerus/Rainer Werning: Die Philippinen unter Aquino. Facetten eines Machtwechsels. (ISP-pocket 29). Frankfurt/M.: ISP-Verlag, 1987. 144 pp., DM 17.80.

Granted: a fair review of this booklet is difficult for me. The "Facets of the Change of Power" (so the sub-title) are spelled out in 13 articles, equally distributed between

the two principal authors, and a valuable critique by Ruppell about a development project planned by the European Community in the Northern Philippines. The articles describe the mounting resistance within the Philippines and the US administration to the Marcos regime, point out the contemporary problems of the Aquino administration, and rightly denounce the deplorable human rights record in the Philippines. The personal account of the Mendiola massacre – 19 participants in a farmers' demonstration were shot dead near the president's palace – is very moving. Other articles are concerned with the economic choices of the new government, the question of the Bataan Export Processing Zone. Some contributions deal with the political options of the Left and one with "The South", the mainly Muslim inhabited parts of the island of Mindanao. There are five annexes covering political and historical subjects, including a description of the various parties in the May 1987 election and the 14 point program of the National Democratic Front.

Simplified, the authors' main arguments are threefold. They demonstrate that (1) the changes brought about in the Philippines are neither "people power" nor "people's power"; (2) the role of the United States in putting an end to the Marcos regime has been grossly underestimated and (3) that basically nothing has changed. (This latter point can be seen in the uninterrupted employment of pre-Marcos figures, the conscious continuation of the same economic and social structures and the emergence of a "state terrorism with populist backing" (p. 109).)

Why then is it difficult to review this book? I find the presentation of issues problematic. Like the authors, I am against poverty, discrimination, terror, and the violation of human rights and I agree with most of their causal explanations. However, from their language, the selection of facts, and the concoction of examples I detect a self-conscious, a "Philippine-solidarity-insider-and-we-know-best" attitude. This is combined with a sweeping condemnation of the IMF/WB (or US) and frequent reference to members of the various opposition groups. Within the German solidarity network, this may create the appropriate admiration, but it may also have prevented a deeper analysis of what one could call the Filipinos' share in their dismal state of affairs. However, what is left is a well documented demystification of the glory of Cory Aquino.

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