

which have imbalanced behavior in the directions of bellicosity and repression of women. Written shortly before the Soviets withdrew, these arguments anticipated the difficulties the resistance has faced in achieving unity or even coherence while efforts at resettlement and rebuilding have stalled.

Other developments which have since become glaringly evident were not foreseen: the fecklessness of the Peshawar resistance parties and their political as well as material dependence on Pakistan's intelligence agency, the impact of Pakistan's determination to control the process and results of a mujahideen victory, or the extent of the demoralization and confusion caused by Iranian and Arab intervention. An impression emerges that the contributors underestimated the damage the war wreaked on Afghanistan's prospects for restoration and recovery.

Nevertheless, a variety of significant points are made. Weinbaum anticipates the shrewdness of Soviet manipulations leading up to the Geneva accords and Collins gives an informed and balanced assessment of motives and tactics in Soviet conduct of the war. Anderson offers a particularly incisive analysis of the disadvantages of landlocked states. Dupree details the burdens and achievements of Afghan women in the camps. Kushkaki makes clear the disabling costs to young refugees of educational deprivation. Pawal points to the integrative role of nomads for the Afghan economy. Majrooh draws behavioral distinctions between Afghan intellectuals with Islamic roots and those without. These and other insights make this anthology a useful point of departure for attempts to understand the post-Soviet plight of Afghanistan.

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Jones, Gregg R. *Red Revolution: Inside the Philippine Guerrilla Movement*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1989.

Former US Ambassador to the Philippines during the fall of Marcos, Stephen W. Bosworth describes this work as "a seminal account of the origins and development of the communist-led New People's Army." This reviewer finds no reason to disagree with this assessment. There has been a flood of articles and books on the Philippines since the overthrow of Marcos in 1986 and this work deserves a place among the best. Jones spent five years in the Philippines as a free lance journalist and his credits include such diverse publications as *The Washington Post*, *The Guardian*, and *U.S. News and World Report*.

This work is both a personal account of interviews and experiences with the leaders and members of the communist insurgency and a history of the origins and development of the three organizations which it fostered, the

Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), the New People's Army (NPA) and the National Democratic Front (NDF) which is dedicated to organizing anti-government political movements under communist leadership. He begins with the assessment that these forces were expecting victory in 1986 stimulated by the hostility to the Marcos regime which was attempting to perpetuate its power and possibly to establish a hereditary dictatorship. The events of February 1986 which ended in Marcos' flight and the triumph of Corazon Aquino and her People Power Reform movement short circuited the communist's plans. They had mistakenly decided to boycott the February elections which they correctly expected Marcos to gerrymander, but in doing so abandoned the leadership of the democratic reform movement to Mrs. Aquino. Despite attempts to paint the new government in the same colors as the Marcoses, the communists lost face which is very important in Filipino politics. Uncertain as to which line to take, their leaders reluctantly agreed to a cease-fire and negotiations. This predictably led to stalemate despite the freeing of communists in the amnesty of political prisoners. The NPA then returned to the field stepping up attacks in urban areas using assassinations and terrorist tactics, which prompted the normal military response and the mutual claims of atrocities by both sides. The weakness of the Aquino government has been revealed by the five attempts to overthrow her, four originating among dissatisfied officers of the Army, who claim to be upset by the failure to suppress the communists.

As an American, Jones finds much to sympathize with in the demand for social reform and more even-handed justice by the Philippine masses, which the communist leadership articulates so strongly. While recognizing that they are not alone in their advocacy of reform, Jones reports on the failures of successive Philippine governments, including that of Marcos, to achieve their promises of removing basic social inequalities and the economic disparities which result therefrom. This is hardly surprising because the landholding elite expanded by Marcos to include numerous cronies and relatives plus their lawyers dominate both the courts and the political system. In the chapter entitled "Revolution in the Church" Jones cites the example of 96 court cases filed in 1972 involving land grabbing by rich landowners, disputes about ownership of land and landlord-tenant agreements, none of which were decided in favor of the peasants. Other chapters such as "Land to the Tillers" reinforce this impression of the inability of the toiling masses to obtain the basic land rights necessary for existence. The Agrarian Reform Bill of 1988, which required 25 percent of the landowners to register land to be examined for possible redistribution to the landless, with compensation for the former, resulted in compliance by only 37 percent of the landowners in central Luzon, one of the richer farm belts, when this book went to press. Other sources such as *The Far Eastern Economic Review* give similar reports (eg. 12 July 1990).

Apart from the natural desire of the landowners to retain their lands and privileges, other major problems face the Aquino government: a rapidly growing population, a failure to develop industry at a sufficient rate, a large foreign debt, an inadequate average income in addition to the headline grab-

bing incidents produced by the NPA and the three Moslem insurrectionary armies. Even the weather conspired against the government with a massive earthquake in July 1990 followed by floods and storms. Jones offers no solution to these problems and while he was impressed by some of the communists' solutions, other policies such as the failure to find adequate outside assistance coupled with their own basic weaknesses does not seem to promise much success by the communists in the future. The failure of the attempt to capitalize on Beijing's support when it was offered is a tragedy-comedy of errors succinctly described by Jones. Beijing lost interest once the United States moved to recognize its government in 1977, and the NPA have failed to find another sponsor.

Although a warm admirer of the many good qualities of the communists, Jones is aware of their shortcomings. Fear of betrayal and of the loyalty of new recruits, who were believed to be Army of the Philippines agents, led to a major purge in the NPA and the CCP in Davao Province in late 1985, which continued into 1988. The author calls this a terrible time because the end result was the creation of vigilante right-wing militias, whose intimidation of neighbors is as rigid as the communists had been, with little of the ideological devotion to health and education services, which the communist movement had promised, and whose political control they now replaced. A much vaunted communist stronghold had crumbled and the party had lost face. Jones makes it clear that the CCP and the NDF have a confused concept of the nature of the society which they would try to create in the event of their success. A mixed socialist and capitalist economy seemed to be their best prediction for the future, with strong opposition from the Marxist-Leninists who were replacing the Maoists in the party leadership by 1988, thanks to the move to urban guerrilla action rather than rural expansion. But even these ideologues talk of flexibility and compromise despite the violence which seems to favor the hardliners.

The events in Germany and Russia have occurred since this book was published and pose some questions as to the continued viability of a communist revolution in the Philippines. For a broader view of Philippine history one can read Stanley Karnow's *In Our Image* (1989) which offers a personal and well-researched account of Philippine society and politics. From the United States the Filipinos acquired the trappings of democracy and a love of guns. The conjunction of the two in an elitist, almost feudal society produced the Philippine world of this book. With atrocities committed by both sides a peaceful solution seems far in the future. Only an acceptable level of violence seems the present answer to the divisions in society discussed so perceptively in this work.

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