

13 - Patronage Democracy

Political Colonial Period

American colonial period:

- one-party rule: Nacionalista
- state entralization: Quezon the dictator?

Political Parties

- two-party cycle between Liberals and Nacionalistas
- clientelism: personal ties and favors to get votes
- loose coalition of political patrons and clients
- public office to advance private economic interests
- restricted patronage + defections = alternation

unwritten rules:

- press freedom, elections
- military not used against opposition
- budget deficits during election years
- austerity during non-election years
- fiscal stability

1949 Elections

- near breakdown of Philippine democracy
- Quirino used fraud and terror
- massive campaign spending
 - foreign exchange crisis + budget deficit
- opposition explored alliance with Huks
- Jose P. Laurel - "If we are cheated again, let the people take matters into their own hands."
 - break rules -> rebellion

1953 Elections

- US supported Magsaysay
- control Huks and protect US investments
- moral appeal: honest Magsaysay vs corrupt Quirino

1965 Elections

- Marcos + Lopez
- political understanding: public demand for economic stability, public disgust with Congress
- heavy borrowing for development program

1969 Elections

- 1st president to win reelection
- Campaign spending = budget deficit
- Used unprecedented Military force and Patronage resources
- Opposition also used coercion
- Polarized political climate

Marcos

abnormal political behavior:

- no austerity during non-election years
- deficits for infrastructure program
- patronage: cash to local officials
- reorganized armed forces: increased election killings
- no orderly succession

Political Activism

- Catholic Church
- Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (PKP)
- Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP)
- student movement

Opposition

- CPP: 1969 New People's Army (NPA)
- student protests: support from opposition, positive media treatment

Julius Caesar

- Marcos (1970): "Saw the film Julius Caesar. Superb acting but it reminded me of the conspiracy going on now against me by all the envious men who had failed. Remind me to have the guards around me always. I have always wondered why Caesar had no protection when he was assassinated."
- Ninoy Aquino (1971): "Has the alleged greed of a certain individual acquired individual"

Communist party

- Ninoy's private army had ties with Huks (Commander Dante)
- Sumulong: Ninoy "poisted Dante's mind so that they could use him and his men in intimidating voters in the election"
- Ninoy arranged meeting between Dante (Huk) and Sison (CPP) -> NPA
- armed force vs Marcos

Ninoy

- "Byroade, don't make any mistake about me; I want power in the Philippines, and I'm willing to kill to get it, and I've done so a lot of times
- CIA: "In many ways, Aquino and Marcos closely resembled each other, and as a result each recognized the danger the other represent[s]. Both took the expedient, if not ruthless approach [...] Both came from provinces with traditional violence, and both took part in it."

Muslim secessionists

- Marcos candidates vs ruling clans
- 1968 Jabidah massacre
- religious conflict, but struggle between Marcos and traditional opposition

1971 Local Elections

- most violent (especially areas with communists and Muslim secessionists)
- political defections
- opposition victories -> will also win 1973 presidential elections
- but 1971 constitutional convention
- Marcos: military, local powerbrokers, US support

Prelude to martial law

- desperate opposition -> assassinate Marcos
- Marcos didn't play by political rules