

WHERE I STAND

A Campaign Kit on the Issues

SECOND EDITION

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A PRELIMINARY WORD FOR ALL OUR CAMPAIGNERS

THIS PAMPHLET SUMS UP my views on aspects of this election campaign and my position on substantive issues—of public administration and the management of the economy—that have been raised in its course.

It is designed as a campaign kit on the election issues for our national and local candidates, our Party spokesmen, our Speakers' Bureau, our precinct workers—in fact for every Filipino individual sympathetic to our political cause.

I hope it proves a useful tool for you, as you strive to bring our Party's point of view to our electorate, in the course of our crusade to offer a modernist alternative to the politics of patronage that has kept down our country for so long.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, likely belonging to Manuel L. Quezon, written in a cursive style.

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PART ONE

A Coalition of Conscience

WHEN I ACCEPTED THE BANNER of our Party in this election, I also accepted wholeheartedly—without reservation—the political reform program for which we stand.

We started out from many parties, many groups, many persuasions. But a common dream—a common hope—a shared vision—has brought us together.

One from many, we are a single constituency of conscience.

For much too long have the traditional politicians had their will of us. For much too long have they ruled us—in their *own* interest, *but not* in ours.

It is time we *empowered* our people to speak out—and to act—in their own behalf.

This is the alternative we offer to the politics of patronage:

A *new* politics: A *different* politics—founded on the principle that our country can attain social stability and economic development only *after* ordinary Filipinos *have taken control* of every aspect of their lives—their livelihood, their politics, and their culture.

Our adversaries ridicule us as amateurs and do-gooders.

Yes, we are amateur politicians. We are in politics to *raise* its standards—*not* to make our fortunes in it.

And we glory in *being called* do-gooders—by *do-nothings*.

But the fault is ours: Long before today, we should all have realized that politics is too serious a business to leave

to the professional politicians.

We can no longer still our civic consciences—we can no longer cultivate our gardens—in utter disregard of a country in turmoil.

We cannot continue being spectators to the meaningless alternation of political power in our political system.

No matter what the odds, we must take part in our country's civic life. If things are to be set right, it can only be through *our own* engagement in politics.

AT EDSA in February 1986, we had a historic opportunity to make a new beginning.

That chance—when ordinary Filipinos took destiny in their hands—has all but vanished.

Over the last six years, we have seen our politics relapse into the traditional quarrels for factional supremacy and personal gain.

Now, on the eve of a Presidential election, we Filipinos stand at a fork in the road.

We can carry on yesterday's agenda and yesterday's failures. Or we can start out fresh—renewed in purpose—to build a better tomorrow.

We have made manifest our choice. And it is to accept that we will realize our dreams and win our hopes only if we ourselves pursue them.

At EDSA six years ago, we stood together to reclaim our civil liberties.

Once again, we stand together—in a crusade to make politics serve the nation; and our economy to satisfy the needs of the many, before it caters to the greed of the few.

Our crusade is *not* a set of promises. It is rather a set of challenges.

It sums up not just what we hope to offer our people. It embodies what we intend to ask of them.

Our crusade calls to Filipino pride, to Filipino purpose, to Filipino love of country.

To those who would join us, we can hold out only the promise of effort instead of ease.

We shall gather under our flag all those of our countrymen who love this country—and despair for it.

We offer our hands to all those who hope next May's elections will mean something more than just another victory for the same old faces—and the same grasping hands.

We seek solidarity with all those who believe these elections should mean the victory *not* of families, factions or parties, but the victory of our nation.

Until we empower our nation to heal itself, it is empty rhetoric to talk of peace, prosperity and progress.

These can be won *only* by leaders who can truly lead, by citizens who truly care, and by policies and programs that truly work.

This is the message we shall carry throughout this archipelago.

WE OFFER GOVERNMENT THAT WORKS—a Presidency that will brook neither corruption nor incompetence in office—and an Administration that will compel all its instruments to serve the public purpose.

The government that governs least may be the ideal in the mature democracies. Under our harsh circumstances, the State must be interventionist and strong-minded—*without* monopolizing social and political power and while allowing the freedom of autonomous groups in society.

But we insist that the State intervene only on the side of

equality—to level the playing field of individual enterprise; to smooth the ragged edges of unrestrained capitalism; to prevent exploitation of the weak; and to bridge the gap between rich and poor.

We offer a movement for authentic transformation of national society—a movement daring enough to do what must be done to break the poverty and underdevelopment that holds us down.

Our highest priority shall be to raise the material conditions of life for the masses of our people—so that the poorest of our poor can live in human dignity.

To this effort, I shall commit all my energies and all my heart.

I ask the same of you.

PART TWO

The Political Order

THE TRADITIONAL POLITICS

Why do we need an alternative to the traditional politics? What harm has the old politics inflicted on our country and our people?

By tradition, national leadership—the Presidency and Congress—has been contested by individuals and parties immersed in the politics of patronage.

This has gone on over the last 45 years. Yet during all this time we have *not* found the kind of leadership we need to turn the hopes we share for ourselves and our children into economic and social reality.

And the reason has been that—in our country—politics so far has served the family, the faction and the party but *not* the nation.

We were the first Asian people to recover our Independence after the Pacific War. Thus we had a head start on all our neighbors in the work of nation-building. Yet today we lag behind almost everyone else—in a Pacific Basin which is growing at the world's fastest rate.

What is worse, we are drifting from one crisis to another. As we have grown in numbers, our collective well-being has declined. As our needs have multiplied, our capacity to satisfy them has diminished.

We may *not* agree entirely on its causes, but we all know there *is* something terribly wrong about national society.

ROOTS OF OUR ECONOMIC MALAISE

What are the root causes of this national malaise?

I see our economic malaise as being rooted in an inward-looking industrialism and a business ethic founded *not* on self-discipline, thrift, hard work and productive enterprise *but* on easy money from official power, privileged access and legal monopoly.

Politically, the public purpose is strangled by the undue influence of private interests in the making of public policy. This dominance of private interests has also abetted graft and incompetence in the civil service.

What are the remedies we propose for our basic economic difficulties?

The first thing a reformist Government should do is to dismantle the complex rules, the differential tariffs, the licensing powers—the entire regime of regulation and controls on which this ethic of easy money is founded.

We must *reduce* severely the economic role of the State—by handing over to the free-market system the discretionary power of officials, which enables them to favor one businessman over another.

We must turn our economy outward—toward a competitive position in world markets.

We must demolish the entire structure that enables people possessing influence to extract wealth without effort from the economic system.

Why are so many of our people so increasingly frustrated over our traditional political system?

A recent assembly of the Catholic Church stated briefly and clearly the main theme of this criticism:

"The traditional parties are so strongly linked with powerful vested interests that they are unable to introduce truly transformative social content in their platforms. As a result, power remains concentrated in the hands of a few—the influentials in society."

How did this "unholy alliance" between politicians and vested interests come about? How does the politics of patronage work?

The old politics victimizes the Filipino poor by making them dependent—from birth to death—on local godfathers.

The whole of national society was once built on these pyramidlike relationships between "little people" and "big people." On the tip of these clusters of pyramids representing local communities perch the "influentials in society"—the ruling oligarchy.

What is an oligarchy?

It is "rule *by the few*—and in *their own* interest."

Like the South American elites with the same background of Spanish rule, the Philippine oligarchy prizes loyalty to the family *above* loyalty to the nation.

THE PHILIPPINE OLIGARCHY

How has this oligarchy preserved its political and economic power for so long?

The Americans as well as Spanish used the indigenous chieftain (*datu*, later *principalia*) institution as the main pillar of their regimes. These co-opted nobles kept their followers submissive to imperial rule. In return the colonialists allowed this *principalia* to control the land, dominate national politics and keep private armies.

In other Southeast Asian countries, national elites

took the colonial power's side in the fierce struggles for freedom that broke out in the post-1945 period. As a result, they were thrown out together with the imperial powers. They lost their political power; their properties and lands were confiscated; and in some places (as in Indonesia) they were forced into exile.

In our country the oligarchy—by its masterful opportunism—kept its grip on political power through the change of colonial masters and the transition to Independence.

We all know, from our study of Philippine history, how eagerly the wealthy and educated Filipinos—the so-called *ilustrados*—who sat in the Malolos Congress defected to the Americans even before the first Republic was extinguished by force of arms.

By late 1901 two of their leading members were part of the Philippine Commission, the lawmaking directorate of the US military government. And many others of their social class were serving in provincial and municipal governments.

CRONY CAPITALISM

Our oligarchy has proved just as adept at converting political power into economic advantage.

A crude Spanish-time prototype of this kind of political entrepreneurship—the purchase at auction of money-making government offices—the Philippine oligarchy has in our time turned into an entire ethic founded on easy money.

The proprietary bureaucrat of the Spanish period recouped his investment from the sale of the official favors he could grant.

Today's political entrepreneur who invests successfully in a national election (by backing the winning candidate) gets his payoff from a much wider array of monopo-

lies, quotas, franchises, leases, protective tariffs, tax exemptions, import licenses and behest loans—the whole system of legal and administrative preferences which Jaime Ongpin called “crony capitalism.”

Crony capitalism involves no risk at all. The only capital it needs is influence in the right places.

Crony capitalism has made us what we are: “The Sick Man of Southeast Asia.” Basic flaws in our economic, social and political structures have made us impotent to reform our situation. Too much wealth is in the hands of a very few, fostering social dependence and creating a monstrous political superstructure.

This is the situation we must rescue ourselves from.

PEOPLE EMPOWERMENT

As a political grouping, what is our reason for being?

The Lakas-NUCD (National Union of Christian Democrats) Party offers a modernist alternative to the traditional parties—which have dominated our political life since Independence, but which have failed to improve our people's lives.

What is our basic objective in politics?

Our basic objective is to ensure that politics serves *not* the family, not the faction, nor the party but the nation.

We intend to demolish the entire structure of patronage that enables people possessing political influence to extract wealth without effort from the economic system.

We intend to empower the people.

What do we mean by people empowerment?

Development *cannot* happen for all our people with-

out their participation in it. We must unleash the dormant energies of ordinary Filipinos by encouraging them to band together in groups that will pursue their collective interests.

People empowerment requires three things:

One, communities must have access to natural, physical and financial resources.

Two, these communities must eventually assume control of these resources, so that they can develop their own potentials to the fullest.

Three, the capacities of communities to organize and manage themselves must be enhanced.

A community's access to resources and, ultimately, control of these resources can only become possible with the participation of its people and with Government's unequivocal support.

Capacity-building means building up the community's social infrastructure—upgrading its technical skills, its ability to manage its own affairs, and developing its democratic institutions.

People empowerment means—finally—the *politicization* of ordinary citizens. It means converting people's organizations into potent participants in the national political processes.

Only by marshaling their collective political strength can disadvantaged groups compel the holders of national power—Government policymakers and administrators as well as the captains of industry and the arbiters of national culture—to attend to their needs.

Only by becoming politicized—by using their vote and their organizational strength to make their views heard—can ordinary people influence the making of public policy and ensure the fair implementation of programs.

PEOPLE POWER AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY

How does 'People Power' relate to Christian democracy?

Christian democracy has greatly influenced our own political movement. It inspires our efforts to modernize our country's political institutions. And we have incorporated elements of its political thought into our own ideology. One of the parties in our coalition—the National Union of Christian Democrats (NUCD)—is a leading member of CDI (Christian Democratic International), based in Brussels, Belgium.

As part of our program of empowerment, we mean to diffuse social and political power, so that the State does not monopolize it—following the Christian democratic principle of “subsidiarity.”

We also seek freedom of groups within society—according to the ideal that Christian democracy calls “pluralism.”

Like the Christian Democrats, we reject the passive State idealized by classical liberalism. We believe that, given our difficult situation, the State must be strong-minded. It must intervene whenever necessary—to level the playing field of individual enterprise; to smooth the rugged edges of unrestrained capitalism; to prevent exploitation of the poor; and to bridge the gap between rich and poor.

We seek our own solutions to our unique problems, under our unique circumstances—influenced and informed by Filipino values, which are of course Christian in origin.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Where do we stand on the problem of human-rights violations?

There is an unavoidable tension between national security and human rights whenever the sovereign State under siege invokes its sovereign right to defend itself—

and in the name of national security overrides individual rights to their privacy, their property, their civil liberties and even their physical well-being.

Our own collective experience under martial law has confirmed us in the belief that there can be no substitute for constitutional democracy—no matter what its shortcomings.

The new AFP—of which I used to be part—shares the popular concern for the sanctity of constitutional processes and the safeguarding of individual liberties. It realizes that in a revolutionary war like the one we are engaged in, victory is awarded to the side better able to attract and keep popular allegiance and support.

The AFP even now has ongoing several programs to instill among its officers and men an abiding respect for human rights—even in the most desperate combat situations. It has tightened up unit discipline and set up intensive programs of troop moral-value formation.

It is also necessary to broaden our concern for human rights to include the violation of the human rights of soldiers by the Communist insurgents, who use systematic terrorism as a basic strategy.

PART THREE

Wiping out Mass Poverty

The Philippines has one of the highest poverty rates in the Third World. How do we propose to reverse it?

The high rate of poverty in our country—it exceeds 50 percent of the population—is the result of traditionalist structures still embedded in national society.

Customary ways and outmoded institutions have held back the modernization of our economy and prevented the masses of our people from benefiting politically from the restoration of Independence in the postwar period.

Our platform of government is anchored on harnessing ordinary Filipinos' will, energy and vision to shape their own future.

THE LIMITS OF "TRICKLE-DOWN"

In the past we have relied on "trickle-down" mechanisms—from large Government projects and national businesses—to ease mass poverty. But development has *not* trickled down, because there are no "channels" through which growth can flow downward.

No financing is available for the poor. And their production systems are limited by their technology, their low skills and their limited access to markets.

The only way to wipe out Philippine poverty is to make a direct attack on it. And we must begin by identifying *who* the poor are; locating *where* they are; and understanding *why* they are poor.

Once this is done, then all the policies of Government

must take on a pro-poor bias. They must begin to stress the well-being of the majority of us who are without the means to lead decent and useful lives.

We will initiate programs and projects that address directly the concerns of specific groups of the poor—marginal farmers, artisanal fishermen, upland cultivators, disempowered women, out-of-school youths and urban squatters.

These programs and projects shall include alternative financial systems; education and training to build up people's skills and managerial capacities; and appropriate technology to increase their productivity.

In this effort, Government will work cooperatively with NGOs and people's organizations—to lay down the social and economic infrastructure upon which the poor can build new lives.

What are the demographics of Philippine poverty?

Poverty is glaring in all our cities and our countryside. Roughly one-half of all the 63 million Filipinos cannot meet their daily needs for food, clothing and shelter. Some 14.4 million people are unable even just to feed themselves properly. These poorest of our poor are rural people—rice and corn farmers, *kaingineros*, *sacadas* in the sugar industry and coastal fishermen. Corn- and rice-farm families are worst-off.

The poorest communities are to be found in the Ilocos, the Cagayan Valley, Bicol, the Visayas and most of Mindanao. Not coincidentally, these regions are the most deprived of infrastructure like irrigation and farm-to-market roads, health-care clinics and competent schools—in Government's mistaken belief that scarce public capital is best invested where it will multiply the fastest. These

regions also have the least access to credit and even to agricultural extension services.

These poorest regions cry out for Government's specific—and special—attention. This special concern a Lakas-NUCD Administration will give to them.

Why are people poor?

Unequal landownership and low agricultural productivity are the two major reasons that so many Filipinos are poor.

Despite several decades of agrarian reform, landholding is still severely unequal. In 1980 less than 4 percent of all farms took up over a fourth of all agricultural land. What is worse, Philippine farm incomes average only the equivalent of US\$500 per hectare. The comparative figure for China is \$2,500; for Taiwan, \$4,500; and for South Korea, \$5,800.

Our economic program makes land reform and agricultural productivity its highest priority-concern. Awarding the land to those who till it will satisfy the requirements of both productivity and equity. Everywhere in the developing countries, family-sized farms turn in the finest yields.

How do we view the relationship between growth and equity?

We believe economic growth by itself to be meaningless. We must judge its worth by its content. We who aspire to lead must first of all ask ourselves whom growth benefits the most.

Public investment must be weighted in favor of those who need it the most. A Lakas-NUCD Administration will give farm-to-market roads in Cagayan or Northern Mindanao priority over highways and overpasses in Metro Manila.

What is our population policy?

We recognize that providing for the needs of more people is a burden, and that rapid population growth may be accompanied by social and economic problems. But we also believe that people are *not* the problem. In fact, the solution to the problems of poverty lies in their hands—in their creativity and responsible behavior.

Our population policy will respect the spiritual value of life as well as the value of individual choice. It will respect Filipino religious beliefs and convictions just as much as it will value the needs of the national community.

Individuals have the right voluntarily to regulate their own fertility in accordance with their personal preferences and convictions. We believe government is obliged to provide individuals the required range of methods for regulating their own fertility. Development is essentially about expanding choice. The individual's right to choose is the heart of the family-planning program. Adequate information must be the basis of choice.

WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

Where do you stand on women's rights?

We regard Filipino women as a special constituency. While the popular culture pays lip-service to their social equality, they have yet to achieve this equality in actual life. A Lakas-NUCD Administration will take the following steps to enhance women's rights in our country:

One. Enact laws covering sexual harassment in the workplace; and strengthen laws punishing rape and pornography.

Two. Ensure the freedom of choice in child-bearing and fertility for every couple; and provide sufficient day-

care centers for working parents.

Three. Uphold international agreements protecting women and children in situations of armed conflicts.

Four. Ensure their sufficient participation in the making of public policy by appointing women's sectoral representatives in Congress, the executive branch and in the judiciary.

NGOS AND PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS

Do you favor a major role in development for NGOs and other people's organizations?

Most definitely. I regard them as Government's partners in development. The finest of them have done a great job in areas where official agencies have had difficulty reaching. As President, I shall certainly support their claim to represent their clienteles—farmers, workers, women, the urban poor and so forth—in the relevant policy-making bodies of Government.

I shall also set up mechanisms that will enable them to have better access to Official Development Assistance funds. These mechanisms must of course include adequate accounting and monitoring systems.

I shall be prepared to work with all legitimate NGOs and people's organizations on a basis of cooperation and mutual trust. Even NGOs operating in areas heavily infiltrated by Communist insurgents and their front organizations need not fear they will automatically be tagged as "radical" and "anti-Government." Until the contrary is proved, I shall take their credentials at face value.

PART FOUR

State of the Economy

Why are we called "The Sick Man of Southeast Asia"?

We are the tail-end in a dynamic region which is growing at a rate unprecedented in the world.

While our neighbor-countries are suffering severe shortages of work-people, our unemployment is at a horrendous 17 percent. Close to five million able-bodied Filipinos are entirely out of work, and an even bigger number work less than 40 hours a week. Our agriculture, industry and service sectors are engaged in very low-value-added production. We have not developed a broad ownership base and we still rely on imports for many of our basic needs.

The Asian Development Bank says our country posted the lowest GNP growth in all of Asia in 1991—and will do so again in 1992.

STILL A "SOFT STATE"

In contrast to our neighboring countries, we are still very much a "soft state"—qualitatively different from the rugged societies of East Asia, whose interventionist bureaucracies could set development targets and make sure they are carried out.

In our country—as we know only too well—the national interest still takes second place to the private interests of groups holding economic and political power.

STATE OF THE ECONOMY

What is the basic problem of our economy?

It still has most of the characteristics of a colonial economy.

Under Spanish and American rule, export enclaves had developed around Manila and other ports like Legaspi, Cebu and Iloilo. From these ports, plantation crops like abaca, copra and sugar—and later gold, copper and iron ore—flowed into the world market, in exchange for luxury goods for the Philippine elite. Throughout the colonial period, this modern sector existed side by side with—but separate from—the traditional economy on which the masses of Filipinos subsisted.

Despite Independence, this basic division persists. And unless some structural reform takes place—most crucially, agricultural modernization—the two sectors can remain indefinitely *separate* and *unequal*, although as a whole the national economy may be growing satisfactorily in GNP terms.

But were we not at one time—during the postwar period—East Asia's most dynamic economy, second only to Japan's?

Yes, we were. Our venture into import-substituting industrialization under protectionism—forced on us by the first foreign-exchange shortage of 1949—stimulated light industry around the Manila area. During this time, our income per head was nearly twice that of Thailand. But this growth was soon stunted by the smallness of the national market.

Before that point of declining growth was reached, we should have dismantled our protectionist policies and shifted to export-promoting industrialization.

But we were unable to do so, because by that time

vested interests had coalesced around the import-substituting industrialization policy—and the Philippine State was *not* strong enough to enforce what was in the national interest against the clamor of partisan interests.

IMPORT SUBSTITUTION, EXPORT PROMOTION

Hindsight tells us that import substitution and export-promoting industrialization are not *either/or* choices for a poor country struggling to modernize its economy. They are instead parts of a policy continuum.

Import substitution builds up national industry behind tariff walls. It gives national industry what the Japanese call “production experience.” If made at the right time, the switch from import substitution to export promotion increases by quantum leaps the potential market for national industry—just when the home market is beginning to be saturated. This was what happened essentially in Japan, Taiwan and South Korea.

But, in our country, protectionism imprisoned a soft state in an outmoded policy and condemned it to lag farther and farther behind its competitors. The abuse of the protectionist principle by industrialists with political influence retarded the growth of “infant industries.” These fattened unhealthily on monopoly profits at home but remained too inefficient and too self-satisfied to compete in the outside world.

TAKING PART IN THE WORLD ECONOMY

How, then, do we begin to revive our expiring economy?

The key reforms are democratization and deregulation—because they make more accessible to the majority of the people the bounty of the nation. They set our

a sense of social usefulness.

The first step in generating jobs is for Government to create a good business environment.

Political stability, sound economic policies and strong leadership—which a Ramos Presidency shall bring—will in themselves create the environment for renewed economic activity.

A Lakas-NUCD Administration will embark on a program of infrastructure-building to bind the isolated regions into one national economy. Irrigation facilities—including community water-impounding systems—will enable more agricultural land to be used even in the dry season. Government’s industrial program will initially encourage labor-intensive manufacturing and the new information industry.

Specifically, we will strengthen the institutions and mechanisms that sustain small and medium-scale industries—emphasizing agro-industrial ventures.

The greatest potential for job generation lies in export promotion. Our Administration will encourage regional growth centers: La Union-Pangasinan, Calabarzon, Cebu-Mactan, General Santos-South Cotabato, Zamboanga and Davao cities, etc.

Improving productivity and international competitiveness

We need to restructure our economy to increase productivity. Many of our industries have low value-added; a low linkage to other industries and to the rural areas; and a low multiplier effect. Exports are always outpaced by imports and every cycle of growth ends up stunted by a balance-of-payments crisis.

To enhance domestic productivity, we must encour-

age local innovation, introduce appropriate technology and undertake research and development in new technological fields.

To strengthen our competitiveness, we must open our economy—and our industries—to the outside world.

Government can spur Philippine enterprise by making available easier and longer term credit, better infrastructure, and more reliable sources of energy.

Adoption of a more realistic exchange rate—coupled with strong incentives for exports—will also work to increase our competitiveness in the world market.

LABOR AND BUSINESS AS PARTNERS

What role do we envision for national business in our economic programs?

Our Administration will regard national business as a partner in development. We will encourage and applaud honest business success. We will support—rather than deter and harass—individual enterprise.

Government's primary role will be to provide the environment conducive to the conduct of private enterprise as the engine of economic growth.

Within the first hundred days of a Ramos Administration, Government will establish a private-sector Council of Economic Advisers, which will serve as a sounding board for economic policy. I myself will meet with this Council once a month—and I will give its recommendations and criticisms Government's utmost consideration.

We also favor handing over export promotion to the initiative and leadership of private businessmen. The experiences of Hong Kong, Singapore and Thailand commend such an agency to us.

As a general rule, a Ramos Administration will not undertake economic activities that the private sector itself can better accomplish.

What is our view of labor's role in development?

We believe there can be no economic progress without industrial peace. We will therefore give the highest priority to the maintenance of an economic climate that will be conducive to harmonious relations between labor and management.

These relations should be cooperative and not adversarial. We will vigorously resist agitators and saboteurs who aim only to destroy what we work so hard to build.

We will emphasize skills development—and will invest heavily in vocational and technical education.

WORKERS' RIGHTS

We are committed to realizing the democratic aspirations of Filipino workers—to their rights of self-organization, collective bargaining and concerted, nonviolent action.

We are committed to the economic well-being and social uplift of all workers. We believe the best way to maintain industrial peace is to give labor a stake in the development of an enterprise—through profit-sharing, workers' cooperatives and stock-dispersal schemes.

A Lakas-NUCD Administration will involve worker-representatives in every agency whose policies affect the well-being of workers.

We call for the ratification by the Philippine Government of all international covenants that guarantee the well-being and occupational safety and job security of all workers.

EMPLOYMENT AND PRODUCTIVITY

Determining wages through collective bargaining

We believe in collective bargaining as the principal means of arriving at just wages. We are against the principle of setting wages through legislation. In a poor country like ours, minimum wage laws favor those who are fortunate enough to have jobs, but tend to make employment harder for those who are jobless.

However, in the interest of social justice, we should review our minimum wage laws. The real solution is to enter production activities that can afford to pay good wages to skilled labor, thereby obviating the need for setting floor wages for labor. The country should strive to move away from industries that capitalize merely on very cheap labor and to those that would hire better-paid laborers.

How will President Ramos help Filipino overseas contract workers?

I have always been a staunch supporter of our overseas contract workers. I see them as the real heroes of our country. They accept separation from their loved ones to earn a living; they remit home the billions of dollars that sustain our economy.

Few people know I helped secure a decision from the National Labor Relations Commission on the case of 1,698 Filipino overseas workers against Brown & Root International Inc.

This was a case for the recovery of unpaid benefits. The NLRC sat on it for seven years. The litigants, composed of workers from all over the country, went to their Congressmen and mayors asking for help to unblock the case, but those officials did nothing during those seven years.

Exasperated, the workers finally came to me.

So I had the chairman of the NLRC, Bartolome Carale, called and asked him to expedite a decision. Two weeks later he did, on September 2, 1991, and the workers who benefited from the decision came in delegations from all over the country to thank me.

HOUSING

Our housing problem is a by-product of rapid urbanization—and generations of neglect by successive central governments of countryside development. Slums and squatters are symptoms of unequal development—of growth concentrated in the city.

Greater Manila alone has almost nine million people—and it is still growing at well over four percent a year. Every third Metro Manilan lives in a squatter slum.

Our housing program has two main aspects. Socialized housing will provide decent housing on unused public land and other sites that are affordable to those who need it most. Zonal improvement projects will bring basic social services to squatter areas that are titled through negotiated purchase from landowners.

We believe in the concept of urban land reform as a means of preventing land speculation.

PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT

What relation do you see between development and the environment?

We believe that development must be environmentally sustainable. It should not exploit our country's natural wealth at the expense of future needs.

We also believe that development and protection of

the environment are *not* incompatible. We can safeguard our natural resources and still attain a strong economy and a healthy environment.

We can achieve sustainable growth—growth consistent with the needs and constraints of nature. And we can do this if we can link environmental and economic policies at all levels of government and in all sectors of the economy.

LAND IS MORE THAN JUST A COMMODITY

Historically we have regarded the natural environment as an endless source of raw materials, or as a bottomless pit to take in all our waste. But private irresponsibility soon produces public consequences—because the natural environment is in fact a seamless, living ecosystem.

A world-view that is materialistic and *unecological* also regards land as just another commodity. As a result, real-estate speculation results not only in *unearned* income for speculators but also in the suboptimal use of land.

Another result is that our country's economic growth has taken place at the expense of rapid—and often irreversible—withdrawals from our ecological capital, rather than from our natural income.

This type of development is *not* sustainable.

We believe the development of human communities and their ecological habitats should start from where they are; build from what they have; and proceed from their own needs and aspirations.

This means planning must be community-based and ecosystem-wide—rather than an absentee process emanating from a faraway and often indifferent center like Metro Manila.

We must adopt the community and its associated

habitat—and ultimately its component households—as our basic unit of economic analysis and planning.

Any project, venture or development policy must prove its social worthiness according to this measure. We must insert new “intermediate societies”—autonomous centers of power—between the individual or the family and the State, as the basis of a new and different model of development.

Planning should start not from capital or technology but from the culture of the community and its ecological uniqueness.

Finally, economic planning must be governed by the criterion of sustainable development—replacing policies and superstructures produced by unecological world-views.

We must generate new systems based on human-kind's responsible stewardship of the earth, and human-kind's harmonious relation to his living environment.

PART FIVE

Administrative Reform

PROFESSIONALIZING THE CIVIL SERVICE

A Ramos Administration will trim the bureaucracy and severely curtail non-essential spending. It will continue the Aquino Administration's freeze on hiring in the civil service—converting savings from unfilled positions to merit promotions for deserving civil servants.

We need to simplify and professionalize our civil service—by freeing it from the influence of political patronage, safeguarding its political neutrality and restoring it to the meritocracy.

Investing in social infrastructure

My Government will concentrate public spending on basic social infrastructure. Farm-to-market roads, interisland shipping and ports are the best way to raise farm incomes. Adequate supplies of water and electric power plus good telecommunications facilities are the best way to stimulate investment.

As the Communist threat subsides, we should begin harnessing the armed forces for major infrastructure projects. These could include a railway-and-road backbone for the archipelago—extending from Northern Luzon to Mindanao. Regional AFP engineering battalions—equipped from the Defense budget—can build roads, bridges and water-impounding systems for local governments.

EDUCATION

That education is the foundation on which an individual life—and the life of a nation—are built is a truth that is not diminished from its being said so often. Nothing in our country's traditions does our people more honor than their belief in education's power to prepare their children for lives of purpose and achievement.

Where education remains a privilege in other poor countries, it has become the right of every citizen in the Philippines. Yet, as we take pride in our literacy and the quality of our workforce, it is also plain we have reason to be anxious about the state of education in our country.

Our school system is literally running a race with numbers. Our school population is rising faster than we can allocate money for its education. Our corps of teachers is itself badly trained, underpaid and demoralized. Yet investment in teachers—in their training, conditions of recruitment, support and status—is so crucial. So are the production—and delivery—of textbooks and supplementary materials.

We should begin the effort to make education work by increasing its share of GNP to 3 percent by 1993. Then we should decentralize it—by involving local governments and local communities more closely in the management of our public school system, perhaps through school boards like those that work so well in the United States.

I note the fine work that the bipartisan Congressional Commission on Education has done in recommending practical steps toward education reform. Following its guidance, my Government will develop a comprehensive reform policy that looks at national education as a whole—from the basic education of elementary and high school to

university and technical-vocational schools.

A Development Fund for higher education will provide more scholarships for poor but deserving students and accord investment priority to career guidance and counseling in the last years of high school.

Science and technology, particularly, are the key to modernization. We obviously need to adopt much of this new learning from the industrial countries. But we must make sure we borrow only those skills and techniques suited to our economic circumstances and to our own needs and priorities.

Finally we should emphasize education for citizenship and democracy. We cannot look at our schools—and education in general—as a neutral institution. The school system—particularly our colleges and universities—must be the place in which to realize our ideal of a pluralist and democratic Philippine society.

TRADE REGULATION

My Administration will redefine Government's role—so that Government gets out of the business. We will deregulate many areas of the economy, from agriculture onward. We will reorient agencies like the BOI and the National Food Authority from regulating trade to promoting it. We will privatize every Government corporation—except those needed for security reasons. We will break up cartels, as in banking and in telecommunications.

Too many tariff lines, quotas and licensing requirements merely encourage smuggling and corruption.

Encouraging foreign investment

The Foreign Investments Act is a good beginning

which we fully support. We are unequivocally committed to a policy of welcoming foreign investments channeled to areas which would have the highest benefit for the country in terms of technology, markets and economic returns.

We will encourage multinational corporations that export to their mother countries.

We will award residence visas to investors who bring in at least US\$250,000—as is the practice in both Canada and Australia.

We will award an export-zone status to the whole of Cebu City.

Abandoning the "cheap dollar" policy

My Government will give domestic producers vigorous and decisive protection. Both Taiwan and South Korea managed this by using the exchange rate aggressively.

Similarly, my Government will abandon the "cheap dollar" policy. A higher foreign-exchange rate will encourage producers from the home market to increasingly source their inputs from domestic suppliers.

Goods assembled here at home but which require a lot of imported inputs will be compelled to earn their own way in the export market.

Putting an end to the "cheap dollar" policy will also destroy smuggling as a pillar of the easy-money ethic.

Export promotion

The examples of Hong Kong, Singapore and Thailand commend to us the idea of an agency promoting our country's exports.

I favor the idea of giving over this export promotion body to the leadership and initiative of the private sector.

My Government will not merely shift the Department of Trade and Industry and the Board of Investments from regulatory to promotional roles. It will also restructure our foreign service to focus it on trade promotion. My Government will have fewer political embassies and more trade missions. We shall co-opt the most prestigious Filipino businessmen, persuading them to spend a year or two away from their corporations, to serve as foreign-trade ambassadors for our country.

Export leaders

My Government will actively encourage industrial corporations with proven organizational records—like San Miguel, Ayala and ShoeMart—to look outward for markets.

But our basic incentive will be an adjustment of the exchange rate to favor exporters, instead of penalizing them—which is now the case. This incentive therefore will be available to all exporters, large and small.

TOURISM

A Lakas-NUCD Administration will promote tourism aggressively. The industry in the Asia-Pacific region has been growing nearly 30 percent faster than the regional GNP. Experts expect this rate of growth to continue throughout the 1990s.

Until now the Philippines has benefited only meagerly from this expansion of Asia-Pacific tourism. We intend to ensure that tourism becomes a major contributor to our country's economic development, and to its integration in the world-community.

Tourism promotion under our Administration shall focus on building and expanding travel infrastructure;

liberalizing travel and tourism policies, and seeing to it that the industry's growth in our country is environmentally compatible.

THE ECONOMIC OFFICES

What measures will we take to make the Central Bank more independent?

The Central Bank should not be treated just as another Government department. A Ramos Administration will support any measures to strengthen its independence. One such step would be to require that the Monetary Board majority be composed of members of the private sector.

Are we in favor of lowering tariffs?

Yes we are. We favor lowering tariffs and further simplifying the Tariff and Customs Code—because doing so will result in greater efficiency, which translates into higher quality and lower-priced goods.

My Government will reduce the tariff structure to two or three tariff lines, with the average tariff remaining at around 25 percent.

The budget deficit

The budget deficit is as much a failure of revenue collection as it is of overspending. Our Administration will work both to reduce public spending and to increase revenue collection.

How shall we keep down inflation?

The recent causes of our inflation suggest we should keep down our consolidated Government deficit to about 2 percent-3 percent of GNP by resisting any temptation to

finance economic growth by borrowing.

Domestic savings plus foreign-equity investment—not foreign borrowing—must finance our long-term growth.

Real interest rates have for sometime now been negative: We must assure depositors of a return of at least 3 percent over the inflation rate. Government subsidies for industrial loans must never be awarded at the expense of small depositors.

A Lakas-NUCD Administration would do all it can to keep the inflation rate within the range of 5 percent-6 percent.

It will also plug revenue leakage from tax evasion, import undervaluation and smuggling. It will vigorously pursue the privatization of public corporations, which are a major drain on the budget.

What is our tax policy?

Government revenues cannot be enhanced simply by imposing an ever-increasing burden on those who are honest and law-abiding, while tax-evaders go scot-free. A Lakas-NUCD Administration will spare no effort to ensure that the burden—as well as the benefits—of taxes and other duties are shared equitably.

The key to any successful regime of tax administration is the determined pursuit of tax evaders and their forceful prosecution. We will also move to simplify the Internal Revenue Code.

We also favor lowering tariffs and further simplifying the Tariff and Customs Code—because doing so will result in greater efficiency, which translates into higher quality and lower-priced goods.

THE FOREIGN DEBT

But what do we do about our debt problem?

We cannot forever be bogged down in the sterile debate about whether or not we should service all our external obligations. We must instead address the root cause of our foreign debt problem—the inadequacy of our foreign-exchange inflows.

More investments, more exports, more tourism and more remittances from our overseas workers will deal with this inadequacy.

The Foreign Investments Act is a good beginning which we fully support. We are unequivocally committed to a policy of welcoming foreign investments.

I do not think our Secretary of Finance and our Central Bank Governor should continue to double as our principal debt negotiators. Debt negotiations have distracted these officials from their principal duties. I will consider appointing a full-time Ambassador Plenipotentiary whose special mission will be to represent our country in future negotiations.

ENERGY RESOURCES

What would be the key elements in our energy policy?

Energy will get our special attention. We shall begin by re-establishing a Department of Energy to formulate and implement national energy policies.

We will push for the aggressive development of indigenous energy resources—geothermal fields in particular. We will also encourage the search for oil and gas in our territories; and the development of our domestic coal industry.

To rid oil-price policies of political influence, we shall deregulate the oil industry.

We will decide once and for all what to do with the Bataan nuclear power plant. If the studies—by an expert panel we will convene—are positive, the Ramos Administration will not hesitate to carry out the plant's rehabilitation and commercial operation.

FOREIGN POLICY

How do you see the world and the regional situation?

New centers of economic power are emerging in Europe and East Asia. In place of the ideological struggle, we are seeing once centrally-planned economies adopt the market system.

The end of the Cold War has eased the danger of a nuclear confrontation. But, ironically, the emerging situation makes more likely the breaking-out of local quarrels, which the big powers once restrained, for fear of getting involved in them.

A Ramos Administration will aspire for a new world order in which free states share a responsibility for global freedom and justice.

NATIONAL SECURITY

We believe that regional stability must be founded on the internal stability of every Asian state. And this internal stability rests on two bases—on effective government and an efficient economy.

Securing access to markets and technology must become East Asia's primary concern. This will be our foremost foreign-policy goals, in cooperation with our Asean partners.

PART SIX

The LDP Convention

Why did you—after a distinguished career in the profession of arms—join such a traditionalist party as the LDP?

I entered the LDP in April this year to be part of a political process that I envisioned would institutionalize participative democracy, reform our political culture and harness the collective will of our people toward a more accelerated attainment of national development.

I was encouraged by vastly more experienced politicians that we together could reform the party, to make it respond to change, so that it could itself be an instrument of change.

Today, seven months later—after an instructive experience in intra-party politics, and after seeing the good and the bad in Philippine traditional politics—I have come to conclude that such a vision cannot be realized within the LDP.

How did you come to such a conclusion?

Although the LDP was founded in the post-EDSA period, I discovered its power structure to conform substantially to the same system which had governed the country for at least the last 90 years.

This system is still so entrenched that it was able to distort even the ideals of the EDSA Revolution of February 1986.

If I had been chosen the LDP's presidential nominee, I might have been in a position to advocate specific reforms.

But after the Party chose another nominee, I con-

cluded that our cry for reform would go unheeded.

At that point, I became convinced that I would have to leave the LDP.

What was significant about the outcome of the LDP convention?

In essence, the LDP convention proved to be a triumph of the local party machines—the factional organizations run at the level of the province, the congressional district, the municipality and the barangay by professional politicians.

Many of us have been accustomed to think of Philippine electoral politics in the Western sense of the competition for votes—for popular support—as the free interplay of candidate and elector in a functioning democracy.

But this is obviously still far from true in our country. Our politics still is in transit from the old patronage system to the new representative system.

TRANSITIONAL POLITICS

In our transitional politics, factional machines still based on the traditional systems co-exist *uneasily* with new-style, reformist politicians who are supported primarily by people who live *outside* the patronage system: people who make up the “independent” vote of the urban and town middle class.

In the struggle for the LDP presidential nomination, Speaker Ramón V. Mitra clearly depended on the mostly rural LDP machines run by professional politicians and authoritarian local personalities.

NEW-STYLE POLITICIANS

By contrast, I drew my staunchest support from the reformist sectors of the party—mostly the *Kabisig* -type

younger, first-generation politicians of the more modernized sections of the country.

Of course some local rivalries resulted in traditional politicians and reformists finding themselves in the same camp. The most casual analysis will tell us that. But this mixing-up of generational and ideological roles was the exception and *not* the rule.

WITHDRAWAL AS AN ALTERNATIVE

My initial inclination—after the LDP convention— was to withdraw altogether from electoral politics. But a campaign for the presidential nomination, like the one we have just ended, does *not* involve any individual by himself. The candidate gathers people around him: He attracts the support of like-minded people. He develops responsibilities to them—just as much as they develop a loyalty to him.

Those mutual loyalties—those mutual responsibilities—do not end just because the campaign for the nomination is over.

My other major consideration is the cause—the political program, the crusade—the shared vision that I share with like-minded people who had joined me in fighting for the LDP nomination.

Should we dismantle this program; should we unfold the banner of our crusade; should we allow this vision to fade—just because of one setback?

I decided we could not. Our obvious option is to take our case directly to the people. Ideally in alliance with public figures, political parties and non-Government organizations of a like mind—by ourselves if need be.

President Aquino’s subsequent endorsement of my candidacy was a major factor in this regard.

Are we not being impractical—quixotic—in carrying on without the backing of a major party?

Perhaps we are not being practical. Perhaps by taking the course we are considering, we shall suffer a bigger defeat. But should we give up trying now for fear that our best may not be good enough?

For many of us—the question of the Presidency has become secondary to the obsession that our country's political hopes for civic modernization rest on the sanctity—the honesty, civility and peacefulness—of the electoral process.

For once the free exercise of this right to choose our leaders is compromised or tainted, then ordinary people begin to lose hope in the democratic process.

The only way we can heal our country is to have clean elections in 1992. Whoever is elected is less important than the cleanliness of the electoral process.

We must do all we can to ensure that People Power—expressed freely at the polls—prevails in May 1992, just as People Power triumphed at EDSA in February 1986.

How do we ensure this in operational political terms?

Our present objective is to form a broad coalition with other reformist groups and even individuals. These groups and personalities may come from the established parties. They may come from civic organizations, business, the professions and the arts. They can be the leaders of religious lay associations or of NGOs engaged in social service.

The only thing they must share is a fervent desire to reform, to modernize, to clean up the nation's kind of politics—and the willingness to work hard and long, to sacrifice their comfort to achieve this.

Together we will offer our people a *genuine* alternative to the traditional politics—in the form of an independent movement which will put in its own candidates for office—not just at the national but at the local level.

PART SEVEN

Call for A New Leadership

MY PERSONAL QUALIFICATIONS

My lifelong background as a constitutional soldier enables me to offer you civic stability—stability that can be the foundation of our country's progress and prosperity. Without stability no economic program can succeed.

Beyond stability, I offer a genuine partnership between Government and the business community.

I am proud to have served our country as a soldier and an officer for over 40 years. I am proud that I did my share to restore democracy in this country, and to protect it against extremist adventurists from both Left and Right.

It is on my record of strong leadership and unwavering sense of loyalty to our country and people that I stand.

I can also claim to be the leader best qualified to restore civic order and the rule of law in national society.

In the effort to restore integrity to public life, I intend my own behavior as President to be the standard against which the performance of other officials will be measured.

The World Bank, recently surveying the lessons of 40 years of development efforts in the Third World, noted that correct policies are the most important factor in successful development.

What are these correct policies?

To me they are a national economy that is market-oriented and strongly linked to the outside world's; a government that looks after the country's needs for infra-

CALL FOR A NEW LEADERSHIP

structure, social peace and civic stability; and a citizenry that is healthy and educated.

These are the policies my Government would follow—and the policies on which I would build my Presidency.

CALL FOR A NEW LEADERSHIP

A new leadership must free us from policies that haven't worked—and will never work.

A new leadership must put new purpose and new direction in our common life.

Adlai Stevenson once said that "weakness begins at home, in doubts, suspicions and whispers." A feeble nation is "the result of self-inflicted wounds."

We are that nation today—weakened not so much by the intrusion and dominance of other peoples as by the wounds we have inflicted on ourselves and on each other.

Our people long for order, social discipline and a leadership with the vision and the energy to lift up the common life.

A sense of community is not just a rhetorical need but a practical necessity for us Filipinos today.

For we need urgently to rid ourselves of the power politics, the self-perpetuating oligarchies, the smallness of spirit and the naked self-interest that have so demeaned our collective life.

Only the sense of community, of a shared nationhood, can move each of us to act in the larger interest of all of us who share this archipelago.

Next May's elections will not just be an exercise of our democratic duty. They will mean the difference between peace with prosperity and the continued loss of civic morale with worsening poverty. They will mean the dif-

WHERE I STAND

ference between moving forward and being overtaken by more and more countries in the race for development.

Let us not take chances with our future.

Let us break out from the chains of mediocrity.

Let us put in place a take-charge leadership— leadership that will enable us to realize our dream of a progressive and proud Filipino nation!