

Book Review: Abaya-Ulindang, Faina C. *Resettling the Huks in the Land of Promise: The Story of the Economic Development Corps in Mindanao, 1950-1970*

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ABSTRACT

Resettling the Huks in the Land of Promise: The Story of the Economic Development Corps in Mindanao, 1950-1970 by Faina C. Abaya-Ulindang is a rich analysis of the Hukbalahap Rebellion and the Philippine government's resettlement program through the Economic Development Corps (EDCOR). While accounting for the historical narrative of the Huk movement, a communist-led peasant uprising that started in Central Luzon, the book also analyzes post-Huk government actions in assimilating Huk rebels by land grant in Mindanao. Using the EDCOR program initiated by Presidents Elpidio Quirino and Ramon Magsaysay, Abaya-Ulindang reminds readers how this newly instituted program initially pacified tensions but still failed for all the right reasons, account of logistical problems, local resistance, and lack of continued support from the central government after Magsaysay's death. Through her work, Abaya-Ulindang focuses on the socioeconomic inequalities that led to the Huk Rebellion and its grand implications for land reform in the Philippines. Abaya-Ulindang provides a background of the EDCOR program within the Mindanao Problem: unresolved ownership disputes, questionable governance, and lack of resolution contribute to and sustain the unrest in the region. Thus, the book argues that the failure of EDCOR demonstrates the limitations of the piecemeal approach of the Philippine government in land reform, thereby calling for comprehensive, sustainable solutions to solving agrarian inequality and peasant discontent. Finally, the work by Abaya-Ulindang leaves a significant imprint on scholarship regarding peasant movements, counterinsurgency, and rural development in the Philippines as essential insights are given to historians, policymakers, and researchers into Southeast Asian studies.

Keywords: EDCOR, Huks, Hukbalahap Rebellion, Mindanao Problem, land reform

In exploring historical narratives, particularly those concerning socio-political movements, examining diverse perspectives that shape our understanding is crucial. This book, titled *Resettling the Huks in the Land of Promise: The Story of the Economic Development Corps in Mindanao, 1950-1970* by Dr. Faina C. Abaya-Ulindang delves into the complex history of the Hukbalahap Rebellion and the government's attempts to address the underlying land issues through the Economic Development Corps (EDCOR) program. The book offers a valuable contribution to understanding the "Mindanao Problem" by providing an alternative perspective that challenges the traditional government-centric narrative.

This book traces the development, implementation, and outcomes of the EDCOR initiative over two decades with a historical narrative approach. It relies on archival research, government documents, and personal testimonies from those involved in or affected by the program, including former Huks, local community members, government officials, and military personnel. From these sources, the author presents a view of the program, stating both successes and challenges encountered, as well as its impact on the region. The book is based on primary sources, which include government reports, official correspondence, and archival records from the 1950s to 1970s. Personal accounts of experiences and interviews have been used to recount the lived experiences of the settler and local communities. It is this interplay between governmental records and personal testimonies that make the narrative rich, offering both the state's perspective on resettlement and the human experience.

Although the book does not overtly use an intricate complicated theoretical framework, it still is somehow connected to theories of rural development, land reform, and post-conflict integration. The book implicitly speaks of agrarian reform and social reintegration by discussing how land redistribution and economic opportunities can stabilize post-conflict societies. The narrative is infused with the colonial and post-colonial dynamics of ownership and the displacement of the local people, though it does not really expand on the two theoretical dimensions.

Consequently, this book intertwines historical methodology and original archival sources and interviews, set within an underlying interrogation of land reform and social reintegration. The book provides a grounded analysis of the EDCOR program's impacts on former Huk rebels and the broader landscape of Mindanao social life.

Dr. Ulindang traced the origins of the Hukbalahap Rebellion, a communist guerrilla movement formed by peasant farmers in Central Luzon. Initially

fighting against the Japanese occupation during World War II, the Huks continued their struggle against the Philippine government in the post-war era, demanding land reform and better living conditions. The author highlights the deep-seated grievances of the Huks, who were driven by the unequal distribution of land and the exploitation of tenant farmers by landlords. As mentioned in the introductory part of the book, “The Elpidio Quirino government established the Economic Development Corps (EDCOR) as a response to the growing communist Huk insurgency in the late 1940s.” Accordingly, “to entice the Huks to surrender,” EDCOR promised land to the landless Huks in the peripheral areas of Luzon and Mindanao.¹ Benedict Kerkvliet’s work on the Huk Rebellion provides further context on these deep-seated issues of peasant revolts in the Philippines. It emphasizes the role of agrarian inequality in fueling the rebellion.²

Kerkvliet's study on the Huk Rebellion, in his book titled "The Huk Rebellion: A Study of Peasant Revolt in the Philippines," reveals a wealth of information on the agrarian struggles that would fuel the Hukbalahap movement. Accordingly, the heart of the rebellion was agrarian inequality and exploitation of tenant farmers. Grievances of peasant discontent over land allocations, tenancy issues, and oppressive landlord-tenant relationships created fertile ground for dissent. His work shows that this discontent was not only purely economic; it was also very deep, sociologically and politically. Landlords possessed both economic and political influence, so the peasants were left with few options to amend their issues.

Kerkvliet's analysis throws essential light upon Dr. Ulindang's discussion about how the grievances of the peasants develop from simple rancor and vituperation into an effective movement for collective action. He places great emphasis on the fact that the real content of the peasants' struggle lay in the demands for fair distribution of land, equitable tenancy contracts, and autonomy from exploitative landlords who imposed heavy burdens of share-cropping.

Through his work, it expounds how these grim conditions fostered a collective consciousness from the peasantry, galvanizing further their efforts

¹ Faina C. Abaya-Ulindang, *Resettling the Huks in the Land of Promise: The Story of the Economic Development Corps in Mindanao, 1950-1970* (Manila: National Historical Commission of the Philippines, 2017), 1.

² Benedict J. Kerkvliet, *The Huk Rebellion: A Study of Peasant Revolt in the Philippines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).

in the fight for systemic reform up until the transformation of Hukbalahap from an anti-Japanese guerrilla force to an important agrarian movement post-war. This puts the struggle in a frame that enables Kerkvliet to point out the peasants' search for social justice and how this very role played in determining the movement.

This historical analysis corresponds with Dr. Ulindang's depiction of the Huks' enduring fight against the Philippine government in the post-war era. Both scholars emphasize that the movement's resilience and fervor were fueled by the government's inability to adequately address critical agrarian concerns. These issues were intricately linked to the quest for dignity and autonomy among the peasantry, as much as they were about seeking immediate economic relief. The Huks' struggle, therefore, represents not just a fight for land and resources, but a broader fight for respect and self-determination in the face of systemic inequities.

The book then examines the EDCOR program, a government initiative aimed at resettling the Huks in Mindanao as a means of quelling the rebellion. This book presents a new outlook on the Mindanao issue, usually depicted from the government's perspective regarding peace and order conditions. The author underscores the complexity of the problem, emphasizing its multifaceted nature. Additionally, it is crucial to acknowledge that these land issues transcend time constraints and are impacted by the succession of leadership within the country. EDCOR, implemented during the presidencies of Elpidio Quirino and Ramon Magsaysay, sought to provide land and opportunities to the Huks to integrate them into mainstream society. The author analyzes the program's successes and failures, noting the challenges posed by logistical difficulties, resistance from local communities, and the ongoing conflict between the government and the Huks. The challenges of state intervention in land redistribution and rural development have been emphasized by other scholars, such as Alfred McCoy, who explored the role of political families and patronage networks in shaping land policies in the Philippines.³

Alfred McCoy's works, particularly his book, *An Anarchy of Families: State and Family in the Philippines*, trace how political families and patronage networks wield enormous influence over land policies in the Philippines. McCoy demonstrates how the fixed, entrenched patronage networks of these elite families shaped and controlled the distribution and use of land, favoring

³ Alfred W. McCoy, ed., *An Anarchy of Families: State and Family in the Philippines* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009).

the interests of powerful elites above the hopes and concerns of the rural poor. His analysis shows that, in fact, because of such opinion leaders, the policies intended to instigate reform were typically derailed as they used their political connections to acquire larger land portions and quash initiatives toward more equitable land distribution.

In relation to Dr. Ulindang's discussion on EDCOR (Economic Development Corps), McCoy's insights help explain the limitations of programs like EDCOR, which aimed to integrate the Huks into mainstream society by offering them land. While EDCOR sought to reduce rural unrest by addressing land access issues, the entrenched power of political families and their patronage networks often conflicted with these reforms. McCoy's work underscores that local elites—having economic and political leverage over rural communities—could resist or obstruct land distribution initiatives that threatened their interests. This dynamic likely compounded the logistical and social challenges of EDCOR, as McCoy illustrates how land policies could be co-opted or sabotaged to protect the status quo.

McCoy's findings offer valuable context to Ulindang's analysis, highlighting that EDCOR's challenges were not just logistical or administrative but deeply rooted in structural inequalities maintained by elite families. These dynamics made it difficult for government programs to achieve genuine reform and integration, as the patronage networks that controlled rural land access often had more direct influence over local communities than government-led initiatives.

One of the key arguments put forth by the author is that the untimely death of President Magsaysay, who was widely regarded as the "Father of EDCOR," had a considerable negative impact on the program. Accordingly, his death was a "turning point in the lives of EDCOR settlers".⁴ Magsaysay's commitment to EDCOR and his popularity among the Huks had been crucial to its initial success. However, his passing led to the eventual abolition of the agency, as "his successor, Carlos Garcia, did not deliver the same generous support Magsaysay had given these settlers",⁵ which contributed to the resurgence of the Huk rebellion and the perpetuation of the Mindanao Problem. The prolonged lack of resolution for many governmental issues can be attributed to the discontinuity of government projects. This discontinuity often arises from changes in leadership at the presidency, leading to the

⁴ Faina C. Abaya-Ulindang, *Resettling the Huks in the Land of Promise: The Story of the Economic Development Corps in Mindanao, 1950-1970* (Manila: National Historical Commission of the Philippines, 2017), 3.

⁵ Abaya- Ulindang, *Resettling the Huks in the Land of Promise*, 3.

interruption or abandonment of ongoing projects. This lack of sustained effort and commitment across administrative tenures significantly hinders the resolution of persistent problems. Renato Constantino's examination of Philippine political history sheds light on the broader political shifts that accompanied Magsaysay's death and the subsequent decline of reformist policies.⁶

Renato Constantino's *The Philippines: A Past Revisited*, offers a perceptive critique of historical Philippine political trends, especially concerning developments in reformist policies and governance in the aftermath of major political changes. Constantino asserts that political instability and the recurrent change of leadership have been the main barriers to a sustained course of reform in this country. He contends that reformist agendas and government programs are frequently disregarded or implemented partially because new leaders always prefer their own programs or agendas, and the initiatives started by predecessors remain unfinished.

If one has read what Dr. Ulindang had written in relation to EDCOR and its decline after the death of President Ramon Magsaysay, Constantino's assertion that reform initiatives in the Philippines were often thwarted. The personal stake of Magsaysay in EDCOR was the initial impetus to the program; his popularity and rapport with the Huks gave more faith and effectiveness to the program. Constantino's evaluation of leadership in the aftermath of Magsaysay's martyrdom demonstrates how the gap left by the latter's early death is translated into lesser support for projects like EDCOR, which eventually ended up being scrapped. This discontinuation did not only fail to propel the government further on the path of addressing rural unrest and agrarian reform but also helped revive the Huk rebellion, which extended the Mindanao Problem.

Constantino's overall critique of Philippine politics aligns with Dr. Ulindang's argument that the interruption of programs like EDCOR reflects a structural flaw in Philippine governance. These insights of Constantino highlight the lack of sustained commitment to reform which has contributed to frequent political turnovers, becoming a recurring hindrance for long-standing social issues. This structural weakness lay in the failure of reformist initiatives to yield lasting impact. This constitutes the overarching challenge that has characterized the political history of the Philippines: the problem of attaining continuity and commitment in and to transformative policies from one administration to the next.

⁶ Renato Constantino, *The Philippines: A Past Revisited* (Quezon City: Renato Constantino, 1975).

Dr. Ulindang also explores the broader implications of the EDCOR program for the Philippines. She argues that the program's shortcomings exposed the limitations of the government's approach to land reform and counterinsurgency. Subsequently, "with the withdrawal of the EDCOR contingent in Kapatagan (Lanao Del Norte), the natives started a series of actions referred by the military as "Operation Bawi," which was aimed at harassing and discouraging the settlers from staying in the area."⁷ The issues surrounding land not only escalated into further problems but also ignited severe conflicts and misunderstandings, exemplified by the clash between the Ilaga and Barracuda groups during the 1960s and 1970s.⁸ This unrest was one of the reasons why former president Ferdinand Marcos Sr. declared Martial law on September 21, 1972.

Rachagan and Dorall highlight that the dispute between the Ilaga and Baracuda groups was merely one episode in a series of conflicts triggered by the influx of Christian settlers from Luzon and the Visayas to Mindanao around the time of Philippine independence. This migration trend significantly altered the demographic landscape, relegating Muslim Filipinos to minority status in their ancestral domains.⁹ Rachagan and Dorall, in their studies, discuss how the migration of Christian settlers from Luzon and the Visayas to Mindanao were encouraged around the time of Philippine independence which triggered a series of intergroup conflicts that reshaped the region's demographic and cultural landscape. This migration, which was often state-supported, significantly altered the population balance in Mindanao, where Muslim Filipinos were relegated to a minority status in areas they had traditionally inhabited. Rachagan and Dorall argue that the resulting tensions between Muslim and Christian communities were not isolated incidents but part of a larger pattern of disputes over land, resources, and cultural dominance, as Christian settlers occupied previously Muslim-majority territories.¹⁰

In relation to Dr. Ulindang's discussion of EDCOR, Rachagan and Dorall's observations reveal how resettlement programs, such as those promoted by EDCOR, intensified interethnic tensions. While EDCOR aimed to

⁷ Abaya- Ulindang, *Resettling the Huks in the Land of Promise*, 3 & 139.

⁸ As mentioned by Rachagan and Dorall, the Ilaga and Barracudas," the situation came to a head with the widespread terrorism of the Ilagas (Rats), described as a "Christian" gang led by the notorious Kumander "Toothpick." In self-defence, rival Muslim gangs called the "Barracudas" and "Blackshirts" were established".

⁹ S. Sothi Rachagan and Richard F. Dorall. "The Conflict of Mindanao: Perspectives from South of the Border." *Philippine Social Science Council*. P.57 https://pssc.org.ph/wp-content/pssc-archives/Aghamtao/1981/10_The%20Conflict%20in%20Mindanao_%20Perspective%20from%20South%20of%20the%20Border.pdf

¹⁰ Rachagan and Dorall, *The Conflict of Mindanao*, 56.

reintegrate former Huk rebels by providing land in Mindanao, it also contributed to demographic changes that further marginalized Muslim communities, who saw the influx of Christian settlers as an encroachment on their ancestral lands. This demographic shift created a climate ripe for conflict, exemplified by violent clashes between groups like the Ilaga (Christian settlers) and the Baracuda (Muslim defenders). Rachagan and Dorall's analysis underscores that resettlement programs, while intended to promote national integration and social development, often intensified ethnic and religious divides, fueling resistance and conflict among indigenous Muslim populations who felt increasingly dispossessed and marginalized.

Furthermore, a multitude of factors also fueled tensions, including the 1951 Kamlon uprising on Jolo Island, limitations on the traditional free trade routes between Sulu and Borneo, and the controversial resettlement of former Hukbalahap rebels in Mindanao under the EDCOR program. Furthermore, the behavior of the Philippine constabulary and army, perceived as oppressive occupiers rather than protectors, along with widespread reports of civilian abuses and the government's persistent neglect of Muslim areas in its development agenda, exacerbated the sense of alienation and encroachment among Muslim Filipinos.¹¹ They felt increasingly cornered by what they saw as aggressive encroachment by fellow Filipinos and foreign interests.

In *Muslim Filipinos: Heritage and Horizon*, Peter Gowing examines the longstanding issues of alienation and marginalization that Muslim Filipinos have faced within the Philippine nation-state. He highlights the perception of the Philippine constabulary and army as occupying forces rather than protectors in Muslim-majority areas, noting how the military's behavior often fueled resentment rather than trust. Gowing points to numerous incidents where military presence was associated with civilian abuses, violence, and discrimination against Muslim communities, contributing to a sense of being oppressed rather than safeguarded by the state. This military behavior, combined with the Philippine government's history of neglecting development in Mindanao, reinforced the view among many Muslim Filipinos that the central government disregarded their needs and identities.

This analysis is relevant to the Ilaga and Baracuda groups' conflict, as Dr. Ulindang discusses. Gowing's work helps contextualize why resentment against state authorities could escalate into violent conflicts between Christian and Muslim groups, as seen with the Ilaga (a Christian paramilitary group) and the Baracuda (a Muslim armed group). Gowing's observations

¹¹ Gowing, Peter. *Muslim Filipinos: Heritage and Horizon*. Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1979.

highlight how the perceived encroachment and oppression by state forces intensified inter-group hostility, particularly in regions where Christian settler communities, backed by the government, appeared to encroach on ancestral Muslim lands. The Ilaga-Baracuda conflict exemplifies the deeply rooted tensions that arose from perceived government neglect and the lack of meaningful state protection, exacerbating the cycle of violence in Mindanao.

To address these challenges, the government implemented a "land for the landless" initiative aimed at resettling rebel returnees. This approach has since evolved into a critical component of the government's broader strategy to resolve disputes over land ownership and promote social harmony. The book emphasizes the issue of land not only as an economic resource but also as a political asset that may be used for counterinsurgency.¹² The author contends that the failure to address the root causes of the Huk rebellion, namely the inequitable distribution of land and the lack of economic opportunities for peasant farmers, has led to the ongoing conflict in Mindanao. Furthermore, as mentioned in the book, "the natives, as the real owners of the land, like the Muslims, were restive and blamed the government for what they perceived as discriminatory sociopolitical and economic policies." Since they believed that they were marginalized through land dispossession by resettling the outsiders from Luzon and Visayas. This point also resonates with Francisco Lara's work on insurgencies in Mindanao, which underscores the continued struggle over land and political legitimacy in the region.¹³

In *Insurgents, Clans, and States: Political Legitimacy and Resurgent Conflict in Muslim Mindanao*, Francisco Lara analyzes the outstanding problems of landed holdings and political legitimacy that have driven insurgencies in Mindanao. More fundamentally, Lara maintains, it is a matter of unresolved disputes over land rights and the nonexistence of a political framework that legitimates the needs and rights of the indigenous people of Mindanao. He asserts that such programs, however, were frequently rendered ineffectual by administrative lapses and neglect of historical land and exclusion grievances against which Muslims as a group had long protested.

¹² Faina C. Abaya-Ulindang, *Resettling the Huks in the Land of Promise: The Story of the Economic Development Corps in Mindanao, 1950-1970* (Manila: National Historical Commission of the Philippines, 2017).

¹³ Francisco J. Lara, *Insurgents, Clans, and States: Political Legitimacy and Resurgent Conflict in Muslim Mindanao, Philippines* (Honolulu: East-West Center, 2014).

Against this background, Dr. Ulindang talks about the government's "land for the landless" initiatives meant to resettle rebel returnees. While this program was originally intended as a means of reintegrating Huk rebel converts to society, it has transformed into a more comprehensive policy for resolving land conflicts and promoting social cohesion. Lara's work reminds us that such programs have often been less than successful in achieving their expected ends. He views that for having not really dealt with the root causes of past insurgencies, such as unequal land distributions and unsustainable economic activities, Mindanao rewitnessed the same forms of conflicts. Lara's insights raise how issues of land that are unprepared have moved into a cycle of conflict. The displaced and disenfranchised groups continue fighting for both political recognition and land rights, thus the struggle is usually accompanied by resistance and instability in the region.

The book concludes by emphasizing the need for a comprehensive and sustainable solution to the Mindanao Problem. As the land has long been a significant issue in the Philippines, Dr. Ulindang, the author, aimed to explain the government's efforts to address the insurrections by the Huks and the ongoing struggles of the landless farmers in the North. The government sought to distribute land to these farmers to make them more productive citizens and to prevent further conflicts between landlords and tenants. As a result, the government introduced various initiatives, including the EDCOR. As the author said, "EDCOR's rise and demise had obviously been influenced by the settlers ability to adjust to their situation as a consequence of the trust they gave to the government which brought them there. Despite of the challenges they faced to adjust to a new environment that had turned hostile by the 1970s."¹⁴ Reynaldo Iletto's research on popular movements in the Philippines adds to this discussion by framing peasant revolts like the Hukbalahap Rebellion as part of a broader continuum of social resistance against colonial and post-colonial powers.¹⁵ Reynaldo Iletto's research, particularly the book *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines*, presents peasant revolts, including the Hukbalahap Rebellion, as expressions of long-standing resistance against oppressive forces whether colonial, post-colonial, or local elites. Iletto frames these movements as part of a broader continuum of social struggle, rooted in historical grievances over land, economic exploitation, and political exclusion. He argues that these

¹⁴ Faina C. Abaya-Ulindang, *Resettling the Huks in the Land of Promise: The Story of the Economic Development Corps in Mindanao, 1950-1970* (Manila: National Historical Commission of the Philippines, 2017).

¹⁵ Reynaldo C. Iletto, *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1979).

rebellions were not isolated events but connected by a shared desire among marginalized communities to challenge structures of power and secure more equitable conditions. This perspective aligns closely with Dr. Ulindang's discussion of the government's responses to the Huk insurgency and the ongoing struggles of landless farmers. Ulindang describes initiatives such as EDCOR, which aimed to integrate former rebels by providing land and opportunities in an effort to prevent further conflict between tenants and landlords. However, as Iletto's analysis suggests, these government initiatives often addressed symptoms rather than the deep-seated issues that fueled social unrest. Dr. Ulindang's call for a renewed commitment to land reform and rural development echoes Iletto's emphasis on understanding the historical and social roots of resistance, highlighting that meaningful resolution of these conflicts requires addressing structural inequalities and historical injustices faced by landless farmers and rural communities.¹⁶

Dr. Ulindang argues that only through a holistic approach that addresses the needs of all stakeholders can lasting peace and stability be achieved in the region. Even though, as the author have noted that, the abolition of EDCOR indicated the end of counterinsurgency mission, those migrants who stayed in Mindanao found opportunities worthy to pursue despite the hardships as these settlers whether their migration were prompted by the EDCOR or not, inarguably, helped develop the Mindanao economy as an economic asset of the country. Despite that, questions and doubts persist: When will the farmers receive the attention they deserve? When will the land struggle come to an end? The author has created this outlet to convey her research and first-hand experiences, which provide valuable eyewitness accounts.

The *Resettling the Huks in the Land of Promise: The Story of the Economic Development Corps in Mindanao, 1950-1970* is one very well-researched, insightful contribution to our understanding of the Mindanao Problem and the broader socio-political dynamics of agrarian reform in the Philippines. Analyzing the EDCOR program of the 1950s, Dr. Faina Abaya-Ulindang's book provides a distinct insight into how resettlement initiatives might solve both the Hukbalahap Rebellion as well as the more generic issues of rural development. The book shows the transformation and often contentious roles of the agrarian policies in shaping the development in the Mindanao region at the intersection of peasant movements, counterinsurgency strategies, and land reform efforts.

¹⁶ Faina C. Abaya-Ulindang, *Resettling the Huks in the Land of Promise: The Story of the Economic Development Corps in Mindanao, 1950-1970* (Manila: National Historical Commission of the Philippines, 2017), 137-143.

The book's significant imprints lie in its abilities to provide essential insights for socio-political and economic dimensions of agrarian reforms that have implications beyond Philippines. It underlines the prime importance of land redistribution and development in rural areas as a precursor to addressing the root causes of insurgencies, providing for a historical context in determining how such policies can triumph or fail. For historians, policymakers, and researchers looking into Southeast Asian studies, it serves as a case example of how resettlement policy and counterinsurgency policy can shape the progress of rural development and peacebuilding.

Moreover, the work of Dr. Ulindang emphasizes the need to include local community perspectives and needs in agrarian reform policies to avoid reproducing cycles of inequality and unrest. With such contextualization of the EDCOR program within the broad history of peasant movements and the land reform challenges, it becomes possible to draw a wealth of lessons for today's agrarian reform effort in the Philippines and other countries across Southeast Asia, where these kinds of rural and insurgency dynamics remain. This work shall endow policymakers with historic insight to craft agrarian policies that are not only inclusive but also sustainable to focus on social justice and long-term development. However, future archival research is needed to understand the historical context of land problems in the Philippines, which can be traced back to Spanish colonization. While the book covers the period from 1950 to 1970, the underlying issues extend beyond these timeframes and continue to afflict our society. *

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