

*Student activism in the Philippines is examined in terms of two questions: Why Filipino students, for a period after the second world war have been relatively passive compared to their counterparts in other parts of the world; and what factors, in the past five years, appear to be responsible for an increasingly more militant Filipino student body.*

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## Student Activism and National Development: The Philippine Setting

This paper examines two questions relating to student activism in the Philippines. First, why students in this particular setting, at least for most of the years following the second world war, appear to have been more passive politically than their counterparts in some other parts of the world?<sup>1</sup> Secondly, if recent demonstrations in the Philippines can be regarded as symptomatic of basic changes auguring more effective activism on the part of Filipino students, what factors might account for this change? It would be well at this point to define this paper's frame of reference in terms of time as well as in terms of subject.

The time is limited essentially to the years after the second world war. Although focusing upon this particular period, this paper recognizes that historically Filipino students have been significantly involved in the struggle against Spain, and also against the United States during the initial stages of that country's occupation of the islands. These, however, were times involving different political systems, quite unlike that which obtains in the Philippines today. Thus, in order to hold somewhat "constant" the factor of political structure and ideology, the analysis is limited to the time following the establishment of political sovereignty on July 4, 1946, and developments before then are included as background material.

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<sup>1</sup>In developing this position, the writer disagrees with John A. Lepper's view in his paper entitled "Student Politics in the Philippines" in which he claims "that in actuality Filipino students have been as involved and active in politics as their counterparts in other countries . . ." While young Filipinos have been politically active in the struggle against Spain and the United States, activism in the Philippines after the second world war has been pathetically fragmented, sporadic and certainly does not approach the intensity and violence that often characterize student demonstrations in other countries. In addition to the sources assembled for this paper, the writer has drawn upon his observations and participation as a student, a member of the student council, and, later, a faculty member of the University of the Philippines, and also as one of the organizers of the now defunct Integrity Incorporated — a short-lived student organization for political action which suffered the same fate as other similar ventures in the Philippines after 1946.

"Student activism" is defined as the involvement in mass demonstrations of young people drawn predominantly from college and university populations who are protesting the *status quo* or some segment of it (a phenomenon of varying magnitude, intensity and organization) and raising some problems of public order for the university and/or public authorities.<sup>2</sup> Not falling within the purview of this definition are such activities as student government, campus elections, or membership in fraternities or sororities — enterprises that do not normally raise problems of public order.

Although varieties of student activism in some other parts of the world can be traced as far back as the days of Socrates, and has been episodic in the evolution of the modern university, it was not until recently that scholars have shown considerable interest in investigating and writing about this phenomenon. The preponderance of studies on the subject have focused understandably upon case histories of student movements identifying some of the factors influencing activism. A summary of some relevant findings might serve as comparative background for the subject of this paper. For this purpose, it might be useful to draw from Seymour Lipset's article on "Students and Politics in Comparative Perspective" which is a summary of the various issues examined in the analysis of student politics in a number of studies conducted under the auspices of the Comparative Student Politics Project, Harvard Center for International Affairs.<sup>3</sup> Here are a few selected propositions from the article:

1. In most countries, the vast majority of the students are apolitical and tend to endorse the moderate or even conservative parties.
2. Although students may be catalysts for political action, they can seldom bring a revolutionary movement to fruition.
3. Academic ecology, the social environment in which a student happens to find himself by virtue of his choice of university or academic field, tends to be more important than his class background in affecting his opinions.
4. American research findings suggest that there is congruence between characteristic political orientations of different disciplines and the political beliefs of entering students who plan to major in them.
5. Student groups whose actions are directed mainly against the authority structures of their societies are more likely to be found among liberal arts students than among those in professional schools, such as engineering, education or business.

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<sup>2</sup>This definition is a synthesis drawn from E. Wight Bakke's article "Roots and Soil of Student Activism," *Comparative Education Review* (June, 1966), in which he proposes a theoretical framework for the analysis of student activism.

<sup>3</sup>Seymour Martin Lipset, "Student and Politics in Comparative Perspective," *Daedalus* (Winter, 1968).

6. Regardless of class, students living away from home, either in dormitories or in private accommodations, are more likely to participate in activist politics than those commuting from home.
7. There is no clear-cut simple relationship between size or rate of expansion of the student body and patterns of political behavior.
8. Academic disciplines tend to be identified with student activism and leftist ideas in some countries, but not in others.
9. Tension between university and society will be great in authoritarian societies, considerable in emerging nations and relatively small in developed democratic societies.
10. Influences derivative from university experiences are not the sole or even primary determinants of student political beliefs.

These propositions are only a sampling from various studies dealing with societies where the students have been politically active. Let us now turn to the Philippines where the students appear to have been relatively passive — quite unlike, for example, the involvement of the students in the dislocation of power in Indonesia, the abortive uprising in Hungary, or the so-called “Berkeley Revolt”. Are the determinants of inactivism any different?

In attempting to explore the role of Filipino students, a number of factors are examined including (a) the nature of the country’s “political formula”<sup>4</sup>, (b) the substance of its “political culture”<sup>5</sup> focusing on the question of congruency with the political formula, (c) the structure and authority of the Philippine kinship system, and (d) level of economic development and employment opportunities.

“Political formula” is used here to mean a system of evolving, defining and allocating power for the purpose of transforming a population into a sovereign and viable political community, with guidelines for government embodied usually in a constitution. Applied to the Philippines, the political system that has been established since its emergence as a sovereign nation may be characterized, at least in structure or formula, as one based on the principles of democratic liberalism — a political philosophy that inspired the American and French revolutions of the eighteenth century; a political procedure which, as it has evolved over time, appear to have maintained its appeal to a number of emerging nation-states. Translated and embodied in the present Philippine constitution, this formula includes (1) a unitary republican government, (2) a system of separation of powers between the three major branches of government, (3) commitment to secularism based on the principle of separation between church and

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<sup>4</sup>After H. Laswell and A. Kaplan in *Power and Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

<sup>5</sup>After G. Almond and S. Verba in *The Civic Culture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963).

state, and (4) a bill of rights. In this connection, it seems reasonable to believe that the peaceful relocation of power from the United States to the Philippines and the adoption of the principles of a liberal political philosophy, may have removed one potential factor of student activism. Such interpretation is admittedly plausible only to the extent that demands for self-government and/or the establishment of a government more responsive to the people influence student political activism as, for example, in the overthrow of Peron in Argentina, Perez Jimenez in Venezuela, Sukarno in Indonesia, or Syngman Rhee in South Korea.<sup>6</sup>

In making the above interpretation, it needs to be added quite emphatically that mere provision of such mechanical guarantees as the bill of rights does not by itself, however, constitute adequate explanation. The possibility of a gap between the intent of the law on one hand and its actual implementation on the other is enough of a reality even to us in North America that it would be reasonable to expect some discrepancy between theory and practice in a developing nation. On the other hand, the faith and commitment of the Filipinos to the ideals of a political formula that obtains in the country today cannot be minimized in this attempt to explain why the young have not been active anymore than they have been relative to the *status quo*. It would be well to explore this further as we now turn to examine the political culture of the Philippines.

“Political culture” is used here to mean the guiding dispositions, ideals and traditions in the field of law and government as expressed in social movements, goals of formal education, pronouncements of leaders, or as embodied in the organic laws of the land.<sup>7</sup> In this particular section of the paper, it is proposed that the political formula has shown some degree of stability partly because of its congruence with the political culture. By the same token, this could have discouraged any strong radical student actions to the extent that, in spite of periodic set-backs, there has always been a lingering faith in the belief that abuses can eventually be redressed by the promulgation and application of laws.

Crucial to the implementation of these laws, has been the recognition that the government being established was a “participant-determining” one — a political system that was going to be ultimately dependent upon the quality of the electorate. Along this line, it is significant and fortunate that even before the establishment of the present republic, a number of American and Filipino leaders supported the proposition that education is essential to a representative democracy. Governor William H. Taft of the Philippine Commission announced, for example, that since the object of the American people was to help the Filipinos for self-government, “popular education is in our judgment, the first and most important con-

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<sup>6</sup>Lipset, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>7</sup>For a brief treatment of the indigenous elements in the development of Filipino political institutions, see Onofre D. Corpuz's article entitled “The Cultural Foundations of Filipino Politics” in *Philippine Motif*, Volume 1, No. 1 (1960).

cern".<sup>8</sup> Likewise, Manuel L. Quezon, then Senate President of the Jones Act Legislature and later the first President of the Commonwealth, declared that "illiteracy is taken all over the world as a sign of backwardness and unfitness for civilized government. It is a curse that brings in its train bigotry and superstition, corruption and anarchy. Our country must have a literate population, because only on the foundation of an intelligent public opinion can we build the structure of liberty and sound government."<sup>9</sup>

Accordingly, a system of public education was established with "citizenship training" as one of its major objectives. In this connection, although Hayden makes the statement that the educational system of the Philippines "resembles the totalitarian systems in the predominant emphasis which it places upon moulding the national character",<sup>10</sup> he also goes on to observe:

If the development of a literate body politic and the introduction of English as the common language of the Archipelago have been the outstanding undertakings of the public schools of the Philippines, yet the schools have aided in many other ways in the great work of creating a democratic Philippine state. Not least in importance is the part which they played in developing the sentiment of Filipino nationality. A people which speaks more than four score different languages and is scattered among the islands of an archipelago extending through 1,500 miles of dangerous ocean does not become a nation by blood alone. The Swiss are a nation despite diverse blood, languages, and separating mountains because they possess the other elements of nationhood. They have a common history which extends back through the centuries, share the common traditions of a great struggle for freedom, venerate the memories of Swiss heroes, and unitedly face present national problems. The polygot masses that have come to the shores of the American Republic have been made Americans politically in so far as they have become imbued with the American tradition, as expressed in the lives and utterances of Washington and Lincoln, Roosevelt and Wilson, and in the great documents of American law and polity. The Filipino people possess the fundamental basis of nationality in their common blood, but only within the last generation have they become generally conscious of a national history, national heroes, and common aspirations for a national destiny.<sup>11</sup>

We know that the problems of education in developing nations are legion and, indeed, the Philippines is no exception. Cognizance of this fact does not, however, minimize the contribution of its schools towards

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<sup>8</sup>Quirico S. Samonte, *A Situational Analysis of Public School Enrollment in the Philippines* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1965), p. 8.

<sup>9</sup>Samonte, *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>10</sup>Hayden, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>11</sup>Hayden, pp. 514-515.

promoting greater harmony between the country's political institutions and the aspirations of the Filipino people. In addition to the establishment of a school system congruent to the political formula, other evidences on the operational level may also be cited.

In the process of learning the rudiments of representative democracy, it is noteworthy that national and local elections continue to be held regularly. These elections have, admittedly, become more turbulent lately, but they still continue to provide the mechanism for the transfer of power in the government without, as yet, the necessity of a *coup d'etat* or a revolution. Significant also is the fact that in the Emergency Powers cases of 1949 and 1953, the President of the Republic, respecting the separation of powers between the three branches of the government, yielded to the Philippine Supreme Court in its decision that the President's attempt to exercise legislative powers under the Emergency Powers Act was against the spirit of the constitution. Thus, in 1953, the Supreme Court declared: "Much as it is imperative in some cases to have prompt official action, deadlocks in and slowness of democratic processes must be preferred to concentration of powers in any one man or group of men for obvious reasons."<sup>12</sup>

What has been done so far is to support the proposition that because the political formula has been congruent with the political culture, this could have removed one other possible ground for student activism. Let us now examine other possible explanations.

Turning to the kinship system, we will relate how its structure and authority have exerted a rather conservative influence over the political behavior of its young members.

Structurally, the Filipino kinship system has been described as a collectivity of nuclear families bound together as an "extended family" group. Classified under the bilateral descent principle, relatives are traced "upward through both parents, downward through either male or female progeny and their spouse, and even laterally through siblings".<sup>13</sup> With marriages between relatives within the fourth civil degree considered incestuous and, therefore, prohibited by law, the resulting pattern of exogamy can expand considerably the boundaries of a given extended family.

Beyond family ties by reason of blood or marriage is another extension of the structure based on the principle of reciprocity called the "compadre system". This is a network of relationships, oftentimes functional and enduring, that is established by virtue of a person serving as a sponsor at a wedding or baptism. And, as noted by Hunt and others, ". . . the

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<sup>12</sup>Remigio E. Agpalo, "Democracy and the Political Formula and Political Culture of the Philippines" (Unpublished manuscript).

<sup>13</sup>Ruben Santos-Cuyugan, "Socio-Cultural Changes and the Filipino Family," in Espiritu and Hunt's *Social Foundations of Community Development* (Manila: R. M. Garcia Publishing House, 1946), p. 366.

compadre relationship extend the line of family influence beyond that set even by broad consanguinal lines, and throughout life one has certain privileges and responsibilities to those with whom he is connected by the ties of the compadre system".<sup>14</sup>

What is the authority of the Filipino kinship system over its young members? In responding to this question, two qualifications are necessary: First, the focus is upon those families who would ordinarily expect their children to go to college eventually as this is the segment of the population we are concerned with in this paper. Secondly, although industrialization and urbanization continue to have some effect upon the structure and authority of the contemporary Filipino family, it seems reasonable to assume that the pattern still tends to be largely tradition-oriented and kinship-oriented. As noted by Cuyugan in his article "Socio-Cultural Change and the Filipino Family":

Kinship considerations, including those sometimes described as quasi-kinship in character, continue to exert considerable influence in the many differentiating parts of contemporary Filipino society. The nuclear Filipino family continues to be imbedded within the larger extended family. There is evidence, still to be more fully investigated, as to the persistence of traditional patterns associated with the dominance of kinship, despite the multi-faceted impact of foreign cultural influences. The emergence of kinship into other sectors of society is clearly evident in the emergence of the family corporation in industry or business, family dynasties in politics, paternalism in formal organizations, the nepotism or the favoritism so vehemently condemned in the behaviour of public officials, practices which are very much a part of the system of role-obligations in traditional kinship groups.<sup>15</sup>

Like many other families the world over, the Filipino family's concern includes the general welfare of its members such as, for example, protecting their economic interests, promoting employment opportunities for its young workers, or defending the "good name" of the family. In pursuit of these objectives, it is viewed as an authorization entity that demands from its young members respect for the position of the elders not just out of filial loyalty, but also as a matter of economic necessity. As in many agricultural societies where the institutionalization of social services is still relatively limited, the young members of the family tend, as a rule, to depend considerably upon the nuclear and extended family for a great many necessities such as financing education, welfare in case of need and, of course, inheritance particularly among the land-owning segment of the population. Commenting on the extent of individual dependency on the family, Cuyugan observes:

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<sup>14</sup>Chester L. Hunt and others, *Sociology in the Philippine Setting* (Quezon City: Phoenix Publishing House, 1963), p. 160.

<sup>15</sup>Cuyugan, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

This means for the individual the relationship involves everything that he considers vital for his continued existence: his life-chances, economic interests, political ambitions, religious participation, his personal values and the cultural meanings he attaches to significant features of his environment, and basically, the satisfaction of his emotional needs. The person literally never gets out of his kinship group.<sup>16</sup>

Admittedly, what has been said so far about the authority of the Filipino kinship system is probably no different from that of many other societies which are also kinship oriented. In transposing this background information to the political behavior of Filipino students, we then need to recognize the view held by the family that the government, in spite of the growing corruption that seems to be undermining its integrity, is still in control of the forces of power and, therefore, much too entrenched for radical changes.<sup>17</sup> The expedient but pragmatic course of action, therefore, is for elders to counsel their young not to jeopardize their chances or that of their relatives in connection with the *status quo*. And this observation appears to apply also to the scion of "prominent families" who may be active in campus politics, that is, active to the extent of being conspicuous and recognized as leaders while avoiding situations that involve questions of public order. On this basis, it seems reasonable to regard the Filipino kinship system as more of a conservative influence that can, with economic sanctions, provide some stability to the political behaviour of Filipino students.

Level of economic development and employment opportunities are now examined. The Philippines is basically agricultural where, according to a Philippine government report, agricultural production "represent 35% of the national product, 85% of the country's exports, and (at least) 60% of the total labor force."<sup>18</sup> Along this line, the efforts of the country to diversify and industrialize must also be noted, and developments in selected sectors of the economy might illustrate this. For example, agriculture's share of 37.8%<sup>19</sup> to the national income in 1957 was reported to have dropped to 33.4%<sup>20</sup> in 1964, while the share of manufacturing for the same period was reported to have increased from 14.0%<sup>21</sup> to 19.5%.<sup>22</sup> Using a more technical measure of economic growth such as rate of savings and investment relative to net national product, Rostow in 1960 classified the Philippines among the countries on the threshold of the "take off" stage along with Mexico (1950 data), Chile (1950), Panama

<sup>16</sup>Cuyugan, p. 365.

<sup>17</sup>The legal and military setbacks suffered by the "Huks" under President Mag-saysay in the 1950's dramatized how far the government would pursue its policy, deal with radicalism, and maintain the *status quo*.

<sup>18</sup>*The Philippines: A Handbook of Economic Facts and General Information* (Manila: Department of Commerce and Industry, 1966), p. 20.

<sup>19</sup>Samonte: *op. cit.*, p. 80.

<sup>20</sup>Hilarion M. Henarez, Jr., "The National Economy — In 1964 and 1965, *The Fookien Times 1965 Yearbook* (Manila: Philippines, 1965), p. 113.

<sup>21</sup>Samonte, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

<sup>22</sup>Henarez, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

(1950), Puerto Rico (1952), and India (1953).<sup>23</sup> Rostow noted, however, that a U.S. government report classifies the Philippines among countries which are "either attempting take off or which have, perhaps, passed into a stage of regular growth" along with Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Venezuela.<sup>24</sup> Granting that significant changes are indeed taking place in the development of industries, the fact remains that agriculture is still the mainstay of the Philippine economy.

For college and university students in search of prospective "white collar" jobs, this means that the government is still the single biggest source for employment. As noted in an article on the Philippine Civil Service: "it hires more people than the country's 30 largest industrial companies combined . . . Every year, the government hires 15,000 new employees, the population of a fair-sized barrio, to keep pace with its growing needs and the demands of the country for more public service."<sup>25</sup>

Viewed differently, it is noted that 90% of the government revenues are raised by the national government, while the rest of the country contributes only about 10%. Accordingly, local governments are heavily subsidized by the national government. According to Abueva:

It is in the process of subsidization that the President and the Congress wield tremendous power and influence over the whole country, including large urban centers which, ironically, must also depend on the national government for allocations for the bulk of its finances. The power and authority of the national government takes many forms: (1) the rendering of technical services in education, health, agriculture, social work, national policy protection, public works, communications, and of course, the patronage and spoils involved in their administration; (2) central controls over monetary and credit policies, export and import transactions, allocations of scarce foreign exchange, and other aspects of commerce and industry; (3) taxation policies and tax administration, and (4) the operation of two huge government banks, a sweepstake and lottery agency, a government insurance system, and a social security system for employees in private enterprises.<sup>26</sup>

Given these conditions: a fairly liberal political formula congruent with and rationalized by the country's dominant political culture, a conservative and authoritarian kinship system with effective economic sanctions,

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<sup>23</sup>W. W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth* (Cambridge University Press, 1960), p. 44. Rostow defines the "take off" stage as "the interval when the old blocks and resistances to steady growth are finally overcome. The forces making for economic progress, which yielded limited bursts and enclaves of modern activity, expand and come to dominate the society. Growth becomes its normal condition." p. 7.

<sup>24</sup>Rostow, *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>25</sup>Rodolfo G. Tupas, "Our Government Today," *Sunday Times Magazine*, (December 15, 1963), p. 18.

<sup>26</sup>Jose V. Abueva, "The Interrelation Between Local Governments and Community Development," in Espiritu and Hunt's *Social Foundations of Community Development*, (Manila: R.M. Garcia Publishing House, 1964), pp. 432-433.

and a government that appears well-entrenched and is the biggest single employer, what are the prospects of an activist *visa vis* the *status quo*? For those who defy the law, the price can be high indeed as exemplified by those who chose to cast their lot with the "Huks" — a rebellious movement of peasants that had its roots in the social and economic injustices of agriculture's tenancy system, but which has since become the feeding ground of Communist agitators. The fate of a number of "Huk" leaders is well known.<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, for the few politically active students who choose to operate within the framework of the law, the pattern has been fragmented, short-lived, sporadic and pathetic. As noted in 1961 by Alejandro Roces, a former Secretary of Education:

This is the ugly picture of present-day youth movements. The youth of the land has been smashed into insignificant splinters. Something has to be done to gather these splintered groups into one collective force. For the youth of a country is always looked up to as an initiating force and a sobering influence in the affairs of the government. And it cannot properly perform these tasks divided.<sup>28</sup>

This completes the response to the first question raised at the beginning of this paper: why students in the Philippines have been more passive politically than their counter-parts in some other parts of the world. We should not lose sight of the fact that the explanations were intended for the period from the date of independence in 1946 to the early 1960's. From here on, it might be well to bear in mind that as a transitional society has, by definition, some degree of dynamism, be it manifest or latent, it seems reasonable to explore whether the political role of Filipino students might change. In this connection, an analysis of present-day social, political, economic and demographic trends might yield some guidelines for speculation. This brings us to the second question: If recent demonstrations in the Philippines can be regarded as symptomatic of basic changes auguring for more effective activism on the part of Filipino students, what factors might account for this change?

On the occasion of the 1966 Manila Summit Conference in which the chief executives of the countries with troops in South Viet-Nam met, university students staged a mass demonstration against the policy of the United States in South Viet-Nam. In 1966 a number of faculty members and students from the University of the Philippines were in a group which openly questioned the wisdom of a government-imposed travel ban to Communist China. An application for travel permit followed and was, as expected, turned down by the government although it is significant to note that the university took a permissive view of the matter. In the school year 1966-67, some students of a provincial branch of the University of the Philippines protested openly and strongly alleged "discrimin-

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<sup>27</sup>For those who managed to survive the armed encounters with government forces, captured "Huk" leaders have been tried and sentenced accordingly.

<sup>28</sup>Alejandro R. Roces, "Student Leaders: Rebels With Many Causes," *Progress* 61 (Annual Supplement of the *Manila Times Publishing Co., Inc.*), p. 103.

ation, favoritism and inefficiency" on the part of the administrators of the college — a demonstration against the authorities of a segment of the university quite unlike anything known to this writer as a former student or as a faculty member of the University of the Philippines. More recently, frequent student demonstrations have been held in front of the Congress building in opposition to a number of pending legislative proposals, one of which was the prospect of allocating additional funds to maintain and extend the commitment of the Philippines in South Viet-Nam — an issue over which some of the demonstrators were reported to have branded the President of the Republic as a "puppet of the United States." Whether the illustrations just cited are any more significant than student demonstrations in the past is, of course, a matter for interpretation.<sup>29</sup> In this connection, this writer tends to concur with the view expressed in a newspaper editorial which said: "There can be no dispute over the fact that the daily demonstrations staged in front of the Congress building are at once symptoms and proof of the state of health of our democracy."<sup>30</sup> If these demonstrations can be regarded as a manifestation of trends that can, among other things, encourage more activism, what are the developments which may account for it?

The possible effect of mass media as an external influence is one. It is, however, difficult to estimate its impact upon the behavior of Filipino students as they become more aware of the role of their counterparts in other countries. To the extent that demonstrations lend themselves to sensational reporting and are usually given quite a bit of prominence in various mass media, it seems reasonable to believe that the effect is probably to encourage more activism. But more important than examples from abroad are domestic developments such as graft and corruption in government service, the development of the private sector of the economy, and a rather alarming rate of population growth.

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<sup>29</sup>In a speech to the Philippine Harvard-Yale Alumni Annual Dinner for 1966-67, President Romulo of the University of the Philippines recalled two incidents in the past in which students of the University of the Philippines have been involved in demonstrations.

"The Manila Times, American-owned and American-edited at the time, had severely criticized President Villamor, the implication being that a Filipino was not good enough for the presidency of the University of the Philippines. Our studentry at Padre Faura, waving placards, forthwith marched to the newspaper office to demand a retraction.

One editorial of that day said: 'It was a sad spectacle and one we hope never to see again in our country — young men marching like rowdies to besiege a highly respected editor'.

During the administration of President Rafael Palma, our students were hardly beautiful angels either. In a dramatic endeavor — and this was characteristic of the man — to present before the nation the issues in the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Bill, which had created a wide split in the ranks of the intelligentsia President Manuel L. Quezon had sought a hearing at the University of the Philippines. The studentry, vigorously siding with Speaker Roxas, whom they carried on their shoulders in a parade, met him with placards saying 'Fuera si Quezon', 'We are against Dictators etc.', hissed and booed and heckled him as he had never been before. He was indignant and he read the riot act to the students in what turned out to be one of his best speeches." (*U.P. Faculty Association, Inc.*, Newsletter, Second semester, 1966-67, No. 4, p. 6).

<sup>30</sup>*Manila Daily Bulletin* (February 1, 1968).

While corruption in government is by no means new in this setting, its cumulative effect over the years tends to undermine the peoples' confidence in the integrity and sincerity of the men who run the affairs of government. And the magnitude of this problem is discouraging. As one observer notes: "For over a decade four Presidents tried to fight venalities in the government service but failed. Investigating agencies have been created, presidential probe committees have been formed, anti-smuggling bodies have been organized, millions of pesos have been spent, but the government cannot catch a single culprit (not any man of power, anyway) and put him in jail. The drive against graft and corruption just seems too much for any Chief Executive to tackle."<sup>31</sup> Perhaps expressing the apprehension of the people is a statement by a newspaper columnist: "It is a sad state of affairs when the very people we look up to [for] upholding law and order are the very same people that flaunt and break the law in full view of the public. Time might come when that respect for the law and the law enforcer disappears completely and the common man becomes an island unto himself and decides to protect his home and family with his bare hands. If and when that time comes, then we have, indeed reached the lowest ebb of social justice."<sup>32</sup> In this connection it may well be that what A. N. Whitehead calls the "stage of romance"<sup>33</sup> is almost over and that what people used to accept philosophically as "growing pains" is no longer tolerable.

The development of the economy is also noteworthy. With the growth of private industries, possible *political* and social consequences can be encouraging. Along this line, one can hope for the nourishment and growth of a middle class that does not have to be too dependent upon the government for patronage and, hopefully, provide some balance to a power structure dominated by a landowning class.<sup>34</sup> The development of non-agriculture industries might also have the effect of reducing the authority of the extended family upon the individual which, as noted earlier, tends to be somewhat conservative.<sup>35</sup> But while economic development could enhance political activism, one must also recognize its effect upon the growth of the population a negative force but certainly no less a factor to the extent that it is a source of economic as well as social pressure.

Demographically, the Philippines represents today one of the highest growth rates in the world. The population of approximately 19 million

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<sup>31</sup>Nicasio Tumalak, "The Futile Drive Against Graft," *Nation* (January 15, 1968), p. 6.

<sup>32</sup>Lito R. Gorospe, Scoreboard, *Evening News* (January 24, 1968).

<sup>33</sup>Alfred North Whitehead, *The Aims of Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929), pp. 27-40.

<sup>34</sup>To the extent that the development of representative democracy in Western countries may have been enhanced by industrialization, it seems reasonable to expect that economic development might have the same effect in developing nations today as far as representative government is concerned.

<sup>35</sup>Agaton P. Pal and Lino Q. Arquiza, "Deviations and Adherences in Philippine Familism," cited in Hunt and others, *Sociology in the Philippine Setting* (Quezon City: Phoenix Publishing House, 1963) p. 158.

as reported in the 1948 census is now estimated to be about 33 million — a staggering growth of about 75% in just 20 years. Although some quarters take the view that, given the present state of technology, the resources of the islands can probably maintain its present level of living with twice the population the country had in 1948, such a view I believe tends to over-simplify and minimize the problem. A simple man-land ratio does not take into account the distribution of the population over the land and, perhaps even more important, it says nothing about the existing pattern of economic organization which, among other things, influences unemployment, under-employment as well as income distribution.

These are some of the growing pressures upon the country — pressures which may well influence the political behavior of Filipino youth in the years to come. Young Filipinos today would not be incapable of idealism nor would they be without the courage to sacrifice for what they believe in. These are challenging times for the republic and, perhaps, more so in the years ahead.