



# Social Science INFORMATION



In this issue:  
Quantification as applied to elections and public opinion  
Philippine radicalism and the New Society

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**EDITORIAL****A More Committed Social Science****GABRIEL U. IGLESIAS**

Vice-Chairman, Philippine Social Science Council



It is becoming more evident that the social sciences and social scientists are increasingly involved in the design, implementation and evaluation of development strategies, programs, and projects. This is indeed a most welcome development considering the criticism that National development plans in developing countries generally stress economics to the relative neglect of the social dimension. While the government's current and future development plans and projects invariably include non-economic or the social aspects, there appears to be a need for a more self-conscious and deliberate strategy of social development on the one hand and analysis of the social implications or policy outcomes of national, regional and local government plans on the other.

These are veritably rich areas of engagement for the social scientists *cum* researcher, policy advisor, evaluator, and social critic. Since the object of his study and assistance is continually changing and invariably implicated in and interacting with an

ever enlarging set of systems, the sharpness and utility of his disciplinary tools to comprehend the field of interest is severely tested. This raises serious problems on how far viable multidisciplinary activities could be promoted.

For example, even the "simple" problem of low loan repayment in the Masagana-99 program in reality reflects an intricate web of social, political, and economic relationships which would need an interdisciplinary team of social scientists to untangle.

The PSSC provides a framework within which a deliberate strategy for collaborative multidisciplinary approaches and collaboration could be fostered. The recent strengthening of the Secretariat through a system of fund support and the appointment of an Executive Director to provide leadership and professionalism to the Council's activities indicate a more favorable environment for the growth of collaborative efforts among the social sciences.

There is also a commitment to erect a center to house the social sciences, a project which the Council hopes could lead not only to physical but also professional linkages among its various disciplinary constituency.

The problems of the Seventies and the coming decades, such as environment, technology transfer, and regionalization require a stronger, better organized, and professionally strong social sciences. A more integrative interdisciplinary perspective brought to bear on policy issues, development strategies and policy outcomes is, therefore, an urgent agenda for the social sciences. A strengthened Secretariat and the proposed Social Science Center can only provide the basic infrastructure. A committed band of social scientists, spurred and nurtured institutionally by their professional association under Council auspices, could contribute more powerfully in shaping the directions and goal-attainment of national development efforts.

**Social Science INFORMATION**

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The PSSC is a non-stock, non-profit private association of social science organizations in the Philippines. Incorporated in 1968, it was NSDB-certified as a tax exempt science foundation in 1973.

The Council has, since 1972, been engaged in 13 special programs of research, training, and publications assistance aimed at making Philippine social science more professional, relevant and rewarding.

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**Announcements**


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**Scholarships at DLSU**

The graduate school of De La Salle University announced the availability of 13 scholarships for schoolyear 1977-78 under its Master of Science in Guidance and Counselling program.

Seven scholarships financed by the Fund for Assistance to Private Education are earmarked for private schools in the Philippines to assist institutional faculty development programs.

Six scholarships financed by the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia are earmarked for the member schools of the Association of Christian Schools and Colleges.

Interested parties may contact Miss Rose Marie C. Salazar, acting department chairman or Miss Teresita Juntilla, administrative assistant at the Graduate Department of Guidance and Counselling, DLSU, 2401 Taft Avenue, Manila, telephone no. 58-64-28.

**U of Michigan to expand Philippine studies program**

The Henry Luce Foundation, through the Luce Fund for Asian Studies, has granted support to the University of Michigan Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies for a three-year project on "U.S. — Philippine Interactions as Reflected in Oral Histories." The grant will enable the Center to expand its program of Philippine studies in the following ways:

1. Some monies will be available for direct support of Michigan faculty and students undertaking oral history, both in the Philippines and among Filipinos and Americans with Philippine experience in the United States.

2. An inventory of Filipiniana at the University of Michigan will be undertaken immediately.

3. Tagalog instruction will be offered, after an interruption of several years.

4. Next fall, and each succeeding year, the Center will offer a weekly seminar on various aspects of Filipino-American interactions.

Any comments, queries or suggestions should be directed to Prof. Norman G. Owen, Department of History, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48109.

**Research program on population and development policy**

The Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation announce the opening of the Research Program on Population and Development Policy in support of research relevant to the formulation, implementation and evaluation of population policy as it relates to social and economic development.

Research topics include studies on determinants of demographic behavior, consequences of population trends, policy process and policy impact.

The program is open to researchers at various points in their career. Graduate students may apply only if they obtain a faculty co-sponsor and arrange to have three confidential letters, in support of the project, submitted by persons knowledgeable about the proposed research area.

The research should begin in 1978 (on or before January 1, 1978) and should be fully completed within two years.

Deadline for the submission of proposals is July 1, 1977. Awards will be announced by the end of December 1977. All proposals from developing countries should be sent to the nearest office of the Ford Foundation or the Rockefeller Foundation by July 1, 1977.

In the Philippines, interested applicants may send their proposals to the Ford Foundation, M.C.C. P.O. Box 740, Makati, Rizal or to the Rockefeller Foundation, P.O. Box 43, UP Diliman Post Office, Quezon City.

**EWC offers programs for cross-cultural research**

The Culture Learning Institute, East-West Center, Hawaii invites applications to two of its programs.

*Advanced study in cross-cultural research:* To be conducted from January 4 through April 30, 1978, the program provides opportunities for behavioral and social scientists from the United States, Asia and the Pacific to study the design of research projects in which data are gathered in two or more cultures to involve the contributions of several disciplines.

*Applications of cross-cultural research:* Scheduled from February 1 to March 31, 1978, the program provides opportunities for individuals involved in applied programs dealing with problems of intercultural relations to review existing knowledge and to identify needed areas of emphasis.

Participants in the two programs will interact frequently. Stipends and travel funds are available. Deadline for the submission of applications: August 1, 1977.

Interested scholars may write to: Richard W. Brislin, Culture Learning Institute, East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822, U.S.A.

# Quantification as Applied to Elections and Public Opinion

LESLIE E. BAUZON

## Definition of terms

Quantification is of enormous significance in scientific and social research. It is, so to speak, the backbone of science. As someone once remarked, "if you cannot quantify, your knowledge is indeed meager." In order to understand it fully, one should know the nature of its foundation, which is measurement. Norma Campbell defines measurement as "the assignment of numbers to represent properties."<sup>1</sup> For Russell L. Ackoff, it is "the procedure by which we obtain symbols which can be used to represent the concept to be defined."<sup>2</sup> As a methodology, it is then concerned with the problem of how one goes about his investigation in such a way as to enable him to denote a defined concept and its properties through ordinates or numerical values.

Basically, quantification is an "operationally definable process"<sup>3</sup> by which experimental results can be obtained and realized, such as the speed of sound or light, or a nation's rate of employment or unemployment in a particular period. Furthermore, its results are characterized by their "reproducibility."<sup>4</sup> Precisely because of this characteristic, it is possible for two researchers working independently on a similar experiment to arrive at the same conclusions. A "reasonable agreement"<sup>5</sup> of the results is always expected to be achieved. Finally, the quantitative method is characterized by its high *validity* or

*accuracy*.<sup>6</sup> The task of achieving validity "requires that the numerical value produced by the measurement process be approximately the same as the true value of the quantity being measured as determined by some independent and valid procedure. . . ."<sup>7</sup>

While quantification possesses these three basic requirements, its application in the various disciplines of science (natural, physical, and social) vary. For example, in the physical sciences, quantitative investigation is employed to formulate new laws about the physical universe, or to validate those already in existence, such as the law of gravitation, the quantum mechanical theory of light, the electromagnetic theory, or even the theory of relativity.<sup>8</sup> In chemistry, quantitative analysis involves "the delicate business of determining *how much* there is of a given substance in a given mixture of compound,"<sup>9</sup> in contrast to qualitative analysis, which merely involves detecting "the presence of the different chemical substances by characteristic reactions."<sup>10</sup> Quantification for the social scientists is the process of "counting, the development of classificatory dimensions and the systematic use of 'social symptoms' as well as mathematical models and an axiomatic theory of measurement."<sup>11</sup> Psychologists, economists, political scientists, and sociologists employ essentially the same quantitative me-

thods mainly because they virtually share similar interests: for example, sociologists and economists study family budgets, and psychologists together with political scientists study attitudes and opinions — an endeavor in which sociologists, too, show enthusiasm.<sup>12</sup>

It is with the latter methods of quantification — those used by social scientists — that we are primarily concerned in this paper, especially in their application to the measurement of public opinion and voting behavior, for these are the ones which an increasing number of political historians on both sides of the Atlantic are beginning to find useful for their own purposes.

Informally, of course, we are all involved in gauging attitudes and opinions. This is conducted mainly in our interpersonal relations with members of our circle of friends. While such a process is nothing but simply "sizing up" a person mentally, it is adequately reliable in guiding our daily contacts with the people immediately around us.

However, there are systematic ways by which people's attitudes and opinions can be measured. These were originally used to measure a person's sensory ability to discriminate between an object that is heavy and one that is slightly less heavier, or between a long line and another line that is

The article is essentially written by an outsider in the field of quantification, looking into how the insiders, particularly the sociologists, psychologists, and economists proceed with their methods. It was written not so much for the author's colleagues in the quantitatively advanced social sciences as for his fellow practitioners of the historian's craft to demonstrate to them that even through independent, non-formal work, quantification can be learned, and once it is learned, it can be applied in his-



torical research.

Dr. Leslie E. Bauzon is chairman of the Department of History, College of Arts and Sciences, University of the Philippines System. He obtained his Ph. D. in history from Duke University in 1970. He was the recipient of a Modern Philippine History Program grant from the Philippine Social Science Council for his study on "Rural History, Land Tenure and the Negros Hacienda Complex."

slightly longer.<sup>13</sup> Such methods were later borrowed and refined by social psychologists whose aims include determining with reliability and accuracy how their origins are identified and located.<sup>14</sup>

For these social psychologists, an "attitude" is defined as "the sum-total of a man's inclinations and feelings, prejudice or bias, preconceived notions, ideas, fears, threats, and convictions about any specific topic."<sup>15</sup> One psychologist referred to these attitudinal reactions, which prepare an individual to adjust to a given situation, as that individual's "overt-symbolic"<sup>16</sup> behavior. To illustrate: today, a person opposed to "that stupid and unjust" Vietnam War is invariably known as a "dove" or a "pacifist." As a "dove" everything that he feels and thinks about the Vietnam War or any war for that matter, constitute his "attitude." Naturally, attitude research is always concerned with what is considered the "subjective side of human behavior."<sup>17</sup>

On the other hand, "opinion" is regarded as the verbal manifestation of a person's attitudinal behavior. To follow our illustration above, when a "dove" says that the Vietnam War is "unjust and stupid," that it is an "unmanageable mess" brought about by the "blunders" of the Johnson administration, then he is expres-

sing an opinion. Thus, in attitude research, opinion is "restricted to verbal expression. . . . An opinion symbolizes an attitude,"<sup>18</sup> despite the fact that a person's opinions may be detected or surmised easily from the way he acts — for example, draft resistance for him who is genuinely against the war. The indispensability of opinions has shaped the character of the methods that are being employed in attitude survey.

**The methods**

An early pioneer of attitude research is Emory Bogardus. In 1928, he developed the "social distance" method. To measure the degree of acceptance Americans have toward members of some selected foreign groups, Bogardus made up a battery of questions related to each other. The questions were arranged in such a manner that a respondent or informant could be placed in a position which corresponded with his stand on the issue being explored: in this case, acceptance of other races. Because each of the questions differed very little in their implications, it was easy for a respondent to answer "yes" to a succession of questions. There were few questions to which a respondent could answer "no."<sup>19</sup>

In using this method, Bogardus "had to

assume that informants' reactions to . . . the different degrees of intimacy. . . would be complex — that is, that they were unidimensional; he must also have hoped that they would provide good scaling points along this single dimension."<sup>20</sup> Bogardus' study arrived at the conclusion that "if a given group is not accepted in a given role, it will be refused in all 'nearer' roles."<sup>21</sup>

The desire of Bogardus to achieve a unidimensional scale was not realized though. One grave defect of this method was that the degrees of intimacy were arbitrarily selected. Thus, while we see in the table an upward trend in the percentage of the people agreeable to accepting the natives of Wales, no such trend is detected in the case of the English and the Americans. Furthermore, there is noticeably no wide variation in the percentages involving the two different degrees of intimacy. "To my street as neighbour" and "To employment in my occupation in my country."<sup>23</sup>

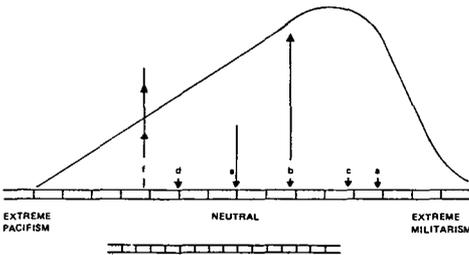
In order to remedy the defect of Bogardus' "social distance" method, Leon L. Thurstone created a less arbitrary way of constructing a scale. It was pointed out earlier in this paper that opinions are nothing but the verbal expression of a person's attitude; as such, opinions have no

**Social distance table<sup>22</sup>**

| <i>I would admit</i> | <i>To close kinship by marriage</i> | <i>To my club as personal chums</i> | <i>To my street as neighbors</i> | <i>To employment in my occupation in my country</i> | <i>To citizenship in my country</i> | <i>As visitors only to my country</i> | <i>Would exclude from my country</i> |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
|                      | %                                   | %                                   | %                                | %   | %                                   | %                                     | %                                    |
| English              | 94                                  | 97                                  | 97                               | 95  | 96                                  | 2                                     | 0                                    |
| American (White)     | 90                                  | 92                                  | 93                               | 92  | 91                                  | 1                                     | 0                                    |
| Canadians            | 87                                  | 93                                  | 96                               | 96  | 96                                  | 2                                     | 0                                    |
| Scotch               | 78                                  | 89                                  | 91                               | 93  | 93                                  | 2                                     | 0                                    |
| Irish                | 70                                  | 83                                  | 86                               | 90  | 91                                  | 4                                     | 1                                    |
| French               | 68                                  | 85                                  | 88                               | 90  | 93                                  | 4                                     | 1                                    |
| Welsh                | 61                                  | 72                                  | 80                               | 81  | 86                                  | 5                                     | 0                                    |
| Spaniards            | 28                                  | 50                                  | 55                               | 58  | 82                                  | 8                                     | 2                                    |
| Armenians            | 9                                   | 15                                  | 28                               | 46  | 58                                  | 18                                    | 5                                    |
| Japanese             | 2                                   | 12                                  | 13                               | 27  | 29                                  | 39                                    | 3                                    |

value except as "mere indices of attitude."<sup>24</sup> According to Thurstone, the "subject's attitude is measured as expressed by the acceptance or rejection of opinions,"<sup>25</sup> although there is no inference whatsoever that he would *act* in a fashion consonant to his verbal behavior. Like the weather, a person's attitude is admittedly unpredictable.

The application of Thurstone's technique is limited to the measurement of those attitudes that are scalable, or those that can be signified in a "linear continuum." These attitudes are expressed in the "more" and "less" judgments that we constantly make, suggesting either acceptance or rejection of an opinion. Thus we speak of a person as more intelligent, more liberal, more in favor of student activism, and more favorably inclined to support foreign aid than another individual. Specifically, Thurstone's method was applied to measure the attitude variable, militarism-pacifism. The diagram below was used to serve as a model:<sup>26</sup>



The base line in the scale denotes a "continuous range of attitudes."<sup>27</sup> A point in this line indicates the degree of intensity of the subject's attitude, ranging from "extreme pacifism" to "extreme militarism," with a "zone of neutrality" sandwiched by both extremes. This unidimensional scale also shows what opinions are acceptable or detestable to the subject. For example, a subject sympathetic to pacifism may endorse all opinions, as demonstrated graphically, between *d* and *e*, but reject all opinions under "extreme pacifism" as well as all the opinions on the right side of the "zone of neutrality." Such a scale is not only applicable to individual persons but also to a group of individuals.<sup>28</sup> Through the use of this attitudinal scale, Thurstone made it possible to determine: (a) a person's attitudinal mean or average on the question being explored; (b) the range of opinions acceptable to him; (c) a group's position in relation to the range of attitudes repre-

sented in the base line; and (d) the extent of that group's unity or diversity of attitudes with regards to the issue at hand.<sup>29</sup>

Of course, this scale was constructed only after a certain procedure was followed. At the outset, statements numbering from 100 to 150, all pertaining to the issue at stake, were formulated. Care was taken to make them brief, concise, clear, and answerable only by either total acceptance or total rejection. Then groups of individuals totalling 200 to 300 were asked "to arrange the statements into . . . eleven piles ranging from opinions most strongly affirmative to those most strongly negative. . . . The task is essentially to sort the small cards into eleven piles so they *seem* to be fairly evenly spaced or graded."<sup>30</sup> Every statement in the list submitted to the subjects was assigned a scale-value. Later, through a process of careful elimination, the number of statements in the list was pared down to 20 items. This represents the final Thurstone scale; in it, all 20 items are sufficiently spaced from one end to the other.

Thurstone's development of this method of constructing a scale was certainly a step forward in attitude research. His work was continued by Paul F. Lazarsfeld, a sociologist. Lazarsfeld's efforts had been devoted to the refinement of Thurstone's scale that was gravely defective in one way; only the subjects having the same attitudinal behavior could be selected and asked to participate in the experiment. His controlled measurements were not applicable to the "numerous workday groupings of society"<sup>31</sup> which are of principal concern to the social researcher.

In using Lazarsfeld's technique, known as "latent structure analysis,"<sup>32</sup> one proceeds from the assumption that there exists an unbroken unidimensional range of attitudinal reactions toward the issue at stake, say, for instance, the morality of the Vietnam War. The informants participating in the experiment are arranged and ranked in the continuous unidimensional scale in accordance to the position they take toward the issue by which attitudes are gauged. This is done after the informants have been confronted with a set or battery of questions related to the issue, like the morality of the Vietnam War,

and toward which they can indicate their attitudes by merely answering "yes" or "no," "true" or "false," and "agree" or "disagree."<sup>33</sup>

Let us use as example Lazarsfeld's own questions in studying the American G.I.'s "ethnocentrism" during the Second World War:

1. I believe that our European allies are much superior to us in strategy and fighting morale. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

2. The majority of all equipment used by all the allies comes from American lend lease shipment. True \_\_\_\_\_ False \_\_\_\_\_

3. Neither we nor our allies could win the war if we didn't have each other's help. Agree \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree \_\_\_\_\_

Percentages pertaining to the degree of the American soldier's ethnocentricity are not available, but the test items were formulated so that he who answered "yes" to the first question indicated his low ethnocentrism in the same way that he who said "yes" to the second question possessed high ethnocentrism. The third question was classified as a "middle item." Madge asserts that Lazarsfeld's method "has an especially interesting application to the problem of shifts in attitude. On the theoretical side it sustains the age-long search for latent psychological constants which are more than mere statistical artifacts."<sup>34</sup>

In addition to the "latent structure analysis" method, Lazarsfeld devised the "panel technique," an instrument used in the study of people's voting behavior during an election. The "panel technique" enables the social researcher to trace "the development of vote during a political campaign,"<sup>35</sup> taking into account all kinds of influences upon the voter and the way he makes his choice. In its application, Lazarsfeld and his associates selected a site (Erie County, Ohio - 1940) that was in all respects ideally and appropriately suited to the observation of "the *development* of votes and not their distribution."<sup>36</sup>

Three thousand persons were chosen with care to participate in the study. They were later divided into four groups, each group consisting of 600 persons. The members of the first three groups were interviewed in July, August, and October,

mainly for the purpose of determining what effects repeated interviewing would have. These three were called "control groups." The last group was described as the "panel," and its members were asked to submit themselves to monthly interviews from May to December. Thus, the "panel" subjects were interviewed before the Republican convention, between the conventions of the Republicans and the Democrats, after both party conventions, before the presidential election, and after Election Day — for a total of seven calls. No stone was left unturned: all 600 members of the fourth panel were placed under constant observation, with all pertinent data gathered about changes in voting intention, the effects of political propaganda, and all other information "which might contribute to our knowledge of the formation of his (i. e., the respondent) political preferences."<sup>37</sup> This method is of course currently used by public opinion pollsters, for the simple reason that it is more suitable for mass interviews than Thurstone's technique, which is limited in its application to a lesser number of people.

There is one last approach that is of great importance to attitude surveyors. This is referred to as "scalogram analysis," first employed with considerable success in the study of the American soldier's morale during the last global war.<sup>38</sup> Scalogram analysis, invented by Louis Guttman, a Cornell sociologist, provides "the configuration of the qualitative (i.e., non-numerical) data"<sup>39</sup> about a particular attitude variable. To understand well the mechanics of this particular method of quantifying non-numerical attitudinal data, one should keep in mind the meaning of the terms frequently used. The word "variable" designates an attribute, such as a person's opinion or religion. A variable may either be "quantitative" (i.e., numerical) or "qualitative." Quantitative variables like  $x$  and  $y$  may be used as mathematical symbols for an attribute or qualitative variable. The mathematical foundation of scalogram analysis is awfully forbidding, but here is how Guttman explains it, as simply as possible:

A variable  $y$  is said to be a single-valued function of a variable  $x$  if to each value of  $x$  there corresponds a single value of  $y$ . Thus, if  $y$  has the distinct values  $y_1, y_2, \dots, y_m$ , if  $x$  has the distinct values,  $x_1,$

$x_2, \dots, x_n$ , where  $m$  and  $n$  may be different,  $y$  is called a single valued function of  $x$  if a table of correspondence can be set up like, for example, the following:

|     |       |       |           |     |       |
|-----|-------|-------|-----------|-----|-------|
| $x$ | $x_1$ | $x_2$ | $x_3$     | ... | $x_n$ |
| $y$ | $y_3$ | $y_5$ | $y_{m-2}$ | ... | $y_2$ |

For each value of  $x$  there is one and only one value of  $y$ . (The converse need not hold; for the same value of  $y$  there may be two or more values of  $x$ .) Obviously, if  $y$  is to be a single-valued function of  $x$ , then we must have  $m = n$ <sup>40</sup>.

In scalogram analysis, a "scale" is defined as "the multivariate frequency distribution"<sup>41</sup> of a set of attitudinal behavior. This set of attitudinal behavior is in turn understood to be the "universe" of attributes, in contrast to the "population" of objects or individuals from which these attributes are derived. A quantitative variable used to characterize an attribute is referred to as a "scale variable," and its value is termed "scale score." To achieve "scale order," the investigator should quantitatively rank the scale scores of the universe of attributes, which, as we have alluded earlier, constitute all of a population's attitudes or behavior. Guttman mentions marital adjustment, the American soldier's opinion of British fighting ability, and knowledge of arithmetic, as examples of what is meant by an "attribute." An attribute "belongs to the universe by virtue of its content."<sup>42</sup>

When a social researcher has randomly selected the population of objects or individuals (a population of roll-calls, in legislative voting research) with which he desires to work, the next step he follows is to observe, through questionnaires, interviews, case histories and so on, the behavior of that population vis-a-vis the universe. However, what matters is not so much the manner of getting the qualitative data, as the data itself.<sup>43</sup> Once the data is gathered, it is represented graphically or quantitatively by assigning:

... each individual a numerical value and to each category of each attribute a numerical value such that, given the value of the individual and the value of the categories of an attribute, we could reproduce the observations of the individual on the attribute.<sup>44</sup>

Essentially, scalogram analysis is based on the principle, inherent in all methods of scale construction, that allows the attitude researcher to frame suitable test items that will give the respondents a greater positive mark if they reply to a specific test item positively, and a low mark for the respondents who reply to exactly the same test item in a negative fashion. By just looking at the score of each respondent, it is easy to determine what items are accepted or discarded. As one of our over-worked authorities has stated, items "in a scalogram analysis. . . have a cumulative quality, like items in a height scale; if a man is over six feet tall he is unquestionably over five feet six inches tall."<sup>45</sup>

#### Quantification, anyone?

There is a great deal of debate among today's historians as to the real merits of the use of quantification, as applied to elections and public opinion, in historical research. One thing seems clear to us at this point: historians, being, . . . but not necessarily antiquarians, are more concerned with what actually happened, with the factual event or action, than the verbal manifestation of opinion. For some historians, "action, not verbal expression, is the real test of opinion — or, to be more accurate, an opinion which does not result in, or modify action is not very important."<sup>46</sup>

But public opinion does bring about action, executive-legislative action in particular. It is said that public policies formulated are attuned with the "prevailing values" or the "climate of opinion" of an age. Insofar therefore as pollsters, or attitude surveyors, can show this, they are invaluable aid to historians who are definitely interested in wanting "to know what issues are in the foreground of attention at various times and in various sectors of the population."<sup>47</sup>

It must be realized however that public opinion research is relatively of recent vintage. The systematic methods it employs were developed only in the last forty years; therefore, no public opinion data, except election statistics, is available prior to the Twenties. Consequently, as a contemporary historian, the pollster or attitude researcher is important only

# Philippine Radicalism and the New Society

REYNALDO V. SILVESTRE\*

## I. The Nature of Radicalism

### *Preliminary reflections*

**T**he statement, "We live in revolutionary times" is as contemporary as it is ancient. Mankind has always lived in revolutionary times, and it is in fact an open question whether periods of political stability are not aberrations from the rule. Every human being, every peasant, worker, soldier, philosopher, and king has been conditioned by forces of political change. It would be ideal, but impossible, to grasp the significance of human history by learning every social, cultural, economic, technological, and political detail that constitutes it.<sup>1</sup> Instead we are constrained by the finite capacities of mind to go by labels, and flags, and faiths.

In understanding the phenomena, direction, and effects of political change, we seek not knowledge but insight. All our efforts are based on the notion that once we have gained insight into the forces that generate change we can ride them and direct them to our preconceived goals of the good. At the very least, we may claim the Promethean privilege of participating consciously in the forging of our destiny instead of being buried in volcanic debris, like Pompeii, unaware.

For us Filipinos the cultural, social, economic, and political life-forms of the past are still in evidence, and very much alive in

our present ambience. Unlike Italy, for example, we have no buried cultures, no empires so remote they have shimmered into myth. Political change is for us a continuing condition, deserving our most careful consideration.

From what well-spring in our nation gushes forth this force?

And again, as we so regularly observe in any study of societal life-forms, we find that the moving edge of history is the human being, the human mind.

By the historical record, we may state as a premise that in every nation there have always existed individuals who have disagreed with the behaviour of institutions and with the conduct of political affairs. *Why* this is so is a growing concern of biopsychologists. Perhaps it may be true that contrariness is a programmed characteristic of the human psyche, energizing us away from the static perfection of apicultures, and giving us an evolutionary edge over such creatures as the beaver who seems to have settled once and for all on the talent of building earthen dams.

The point remains, however, and this is the focus of our discipline, that the contarious man, the maverick, the cimarron, the scholar suffering from acne rosacea, or, the presumptuous bodeguero, has quite often enough dragged kings to guillotines, destroyed czardoms, and broken colonial empires. He has been labelled by various

names in various societies — traitor, patriot, blasphemer, messiah, prophet, and more, and all connotative of visions, danger, the extreme, the outré.



LT. SILVESTRE

### *Nihilist radicalism*

For the sake of neatness in analysis, let us draw out the passions and the confusions inherent in these categorizings and give him the syncretism *radical*. But the radical on which we focus is not a Kaliyev whose influence ends with the assassination he commits,<sup>2</sup> nor do we mean a Nechayev

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The above essay is based on his Ph.D. dissertation: "The Philippine Radical Tradition; A Study of Filipino Ideas of Revolution" to be submitted to the Department of Political Science, University of the Philippines.

whose only program is destruction.<sup>3</sup> We see in their acts only spasmodic kicks. Such as these leave no progeny in either man or institutions.

The basic analytic problem we find in considering the radical is that he is not a specific historical archetype. The minions of the power elite, for instance, cannot say "Watch this group. From them will come our radical." He is Proteus, who can be recognized only when he sheds his myriad forms. He is from all races, from all economic levels, all social classes. Loyal to his class, disloyal to his class, loyal always only to his vision. Thus:

The radical is first of all someone who says 'No!' to the surrounding society. He mentally and emotionally rebels against the existing order, repudiates the world as it stands, or as he perceives it to stand...

[But] the radical is not simply a rebel but a visionary. What inspires his rebellion against the world as it stands is his vision of an alternative universe, a perfect social order. His negation of what exists proceeds from an underlying affirmation, an idealized image of the world as it ought to be. Indeed, it is the very perfection of his alternative universe that explains the depth and totality, i.e., the *radicalness*, of his act of world-repudiation.<sup>4</sup>

#### *Characteristics of a radical*

However, the radical is not everyman. He is a distinct personality. How do we reasonably recognize him?

Let us attempt the assumption that the political radical can be identified in History's crowd by these characteristics: he opposes an established political structure in whole or in part; he possesses a vision of a better order; he acts to destroy what he opposes and to build what he envisions. The element of activism must be stressed as an essential, integral, definitive characteristic of the radical. History, of course, has its dilettantes, but it passes over them with indifference. The mere dreamer is alive only in his world. The orator or the writer must be able to inspire demonstrably at least one member of his audience, else, he cannot be said to have caused any movement in the dynamic of history.

In brief, the radical, to be such, must be a discernible participant in the process of historical change.<sup>5</sup> To be sure, our insistence on activism will

decategorize a great many talkers and pamphleteers, but it will include a Karl Marx whose writings constitute the galvanic creed of the movement that has conquered half the world, and it will include a Ferdinand Edralin Marcos who founded the New Society before he published its formal ideology.

#### *Entities in radicalism*

In our attempt to arrive at a conceptual tool of analysis, we pass from the person of the radical to his participation *per se* in the historical process. Observing the need to preserve historical linkages through close identification, we ramify from the term *radical* to call this participation *radicalism*. We note the Latin *radix*<sup>6</sup> in the term, suggestive of historical origins and philosophical foundations, and we prescind from the scholarly consensus that radicalism "is a dynamic force which must be studied in terms of a dialectical progression of demand, concession, and renewed demand."<sup>7</sup>

It is dynamism, indeed, as it roils and shapes historical processes, that alone compels us to consider, understand, and perhaps use radicalism. We can view radicalism from the Bastille, or we can view radicalism from the besieging mass. Doubtless, the mass cries for liberty, equality, and fraternity, perhaps not thinking of itself as radical, nor even new. The mass, instead, normally harks back to some pristine condition of the past which the present has debased, and which must be restored in the immediate future; or, the mass insists upon the recognition of a humanism supposedly implicit and immanent in the condition of man, and which the status quo has debased in its dungeons.

#### *Objectives in radicalism*

This Rousseauan romanticism constitutes the mass appeal of radicalism. But the view from the Bastille is different. There, no distinction is made as to varieties of demand. It is sufficient that there is demand in the form of overt challenge against any of its ways and institutions. In every criminal law in the world there is a sanction for rebellion, our overt challenge. Thus, the monarchist keepers of a Bastille would define republican cries as radicalism, while the republican

keepers of a Bastille would define monarchial cries as radicalism.

Since, historically, radicalism has made quite contradictory demands, and since, just as historically, the established political order has defined as radicalism overt challenges of various differing persuasions, we are confronted with the conceptual problem of relativism. If we have not found a specific individual radical archetype, neither has history disclosed a specific archetypal force which we may call beyond semantical doubt *radicalism*.<sup>8</sup> For it may be true that radicalism is a dynamic force, but, so is a new technological application, and it is an open question whether inflation or Marxist-Leninist communism has overthrown more governments.

#### *Means in radicalism*

Neither do we find definitive certitude in the means of radicalism. Bastilles have been stormed, and entire social classes have been exterminated, to be sure. But, a palace *coup d'etat*, without so much as a drop of blood being shed, resulting in radical changes in the structure of political power, is also an old and continuing historical fact.<sup>9</sup> Political movements have proliferated, some have failed, some have succeeded. Rebels have succeeded to become revolutionists, while a great many other rebels have fallen before the firing squads of the regime they challenged. Here we note that success is not a defining element of radicalism. Bolshevism would have been radicalism even if every Bolshevik had been exterminated by the czar. For radicalism exists in the historical process at that moment of its overt, participatory act. Action, in the realm of politics, is the *coqito* of the existential world.<sup>10</sup>

In this welter of entities, objectives, and means, what historical constant remains?

#### *Radicalism defined*

Only the element, it would appear, of opposition. To Egon Bittner, a definitive feature of radicalism is that "it differs from the normal, ordinary, traditionally sanctioned world view prevalent in any society and that this is not a difference of degree but a juxtaposition of opposites."<sup>11</sup> But, taken in the socio-political context of our inquiry, radicalism may be stated as a de-

liberate and persistent thrust toward a qualitative change in the socio-political status quo.

As a direct corollary of this constant, there is always an element of violence *sought* or *actualized* upon the socio-political status quo, or, upon the system. Physical violence upon persons or property, by the historical record may or may not occur in the phenomenon of radicalism, but violence sought, or violence actualized, *upon the system*, has always occurred.

Understanding radicalism in its dynamism, then, we suggest the qualifying definitive elements of *a deliberate and persistent thrust toward a qualitative change in the socio-political status quo with violence either sought or actualized upon the system constituting the status quo.*<sup>12</sup>

#### *Rebellion and revolution*

As a corollary to these views, the desire to achieve a new beginning, create a new and better world, is radicalism.<sup>13</sup> But we are not refining our conceptualization of radicalism in a landscape without people. To twentieth century man, radicalism is inherent in the phenomenon of revolution. We may boldly say that radicalism interests us primarily because it has been the driving force of revolutions that have exploded societies, bringing about changes, often bloody, sometimes socially beneficial, and we somehow emphasize with either the victims or the beneficiaries of revolutions.

*Why* revolutions happen is not our aim. The question as to *why* revolution has happened in our country will be answered in the sense that radicalism exists only in a historical setting.

In discussing the dynamically intermeshed concepts of radicalism, rebellion, and revolution, it behooves us to provide a common point of understanding of these terms.

Noting, in advance, our national experiences of oppression, poverty, and vicious elitism, we may begin with Hannah Arendt's sentimentally evocative view of revolution as an event in which "change occurs in the sense of a new beginning, where violence is used to constitute an altogether different form of government, to bring about the formation of a new body politic,

where the liberation from oppression aims at least at the constitution of freedom..."<sup>14</sup> Perhaps we may find greater clarity in this statement if we reiterate the point that "violence" need not refer only to a disruptive force upon persons and property. Blood and destruction are dramatic, but not constant, features of a revolution. To encompass the reality of a palace *coup*, we stress that the essential conceptual view of "violence" is that its disruptive focus is upon the socio-political system.

With this point, we read Arendt's definition together with Cesar Majul's view that "a revolution represents the struggle for the control of the coercive power of society"<sup>15</sup> undertaken by a people who appear to have developed a "corporate quality."

The first phase of a revolutionary action commences upon its successful capture of power to become a revolution. It is difficult to pin the idea of a definite span of time to this first phase because the concept of "success" is always open to the vagaries of time and circumstance; but perhaps, for the sake of an analytic reference, we may state that the first phase of the revolution begins with the capture of power and ends with the moment it receives the general acquiescence of the body politic. Thereafter, the revolution passes into the next conceptual stage of its development as the new regime, the new status quo. Here, the process of institutionalization, or, in the parlance of the administrators of government, the process of "consolidation" and "reconstruction" begins.

It is significant that our criminal code punishes rebellion but not revolution.<sup>16</sup> This, considered with our sense of historical realism, and Professor Peter Calvert's statement, "the essential difference between revolution proper and sub-revolutionary violence lies in the successful transfer of power,"<sup>17</sup> suggests that there is a juridical and semantic distinction between a rebellion and a revolution.<sup>18</sup> This distinction may very well be the *capture* by the corporate body politic, acting through its leaders, of the coercive power of society.

Our notion here finds its basis in the idea that *coercive power* refers to the capacity of a government to compel obedience to its rules from the body politic.

By experience, obedience has never been universal, and, historically, we know of political systems that have been stabilized for decades, and even centuries, despite thousands of daily infractions of its laws by its subjects. There must, therefore, be a level of illegal actions, balanced against a level of general obedience, which do not constitute a force sufficient to disrupt a political system. Perhaps, this balance comes from the fragmented nature of illegality in politically stable societies, whereby crimes are committed by individuals, or small groups of individuals, for personal satisfaction, with a sense of guilt and without any sense of righteous identification with the mass concept of society.

With such entities, and their fragmented actions, a government can cope. Its military and police forces act as representatives of the obedient majority. A rowdy fellow, a thief, a murderer, an incendiary, can be apprehended by the police, and the consensus of onlookers is in favor of such police action in politically stable societies. We therefore make the assumption that there is a majority, although unquantified, whose obedience underlies the stability of a political system. To this we add the historical fact that a government also rules juridical entities in the form of political subdivisions in the representative designations of municipalities, cities, and provinces, each with its own political system subservient to the central government.

Here, too, the concept of an obedient majority is definitive of the stability of a national political system. It would be misleading here to introduce quantification. Seven strong provinces, united in common cause with the government, may bring to heel sixty weak ones. The point, however, is that a government must have on its side enough of the body politic and enough of its political subdivisions to contain or to quell any political challenge to its continued existence.

But what defines "enough"? *Success* in maintaining its integrity defines "enough" for a political system. For a totalitarian political system, a preponderance of armed might may be its effective majority. For a representative populist political system, one extra vote is a majority. In either system,

general obedience from the body politic is compelled.

When the rebel transfers, by any means, this effective majority<sup>19</sup> to his side, he has captured the coercive power of society, and, conceptually, for however brief a moment of historical time, he *is* a revolutionist.

#### *Scope of the study*

The specific focus of our inquiry is our national tradition of radicalism from the Propaganda Movement to the September 21 Movement. That we have had, and still have, radicals and radicalism will be demonstrated according to our previously stated referents.

## II. The Propaganda Movement

### *Monastic supremacy*

**T**he contradiction in the Spanish regime in the Philippines was inherent in its nature — a government forced upon its subjects by conquest. Spain set up a centralized administration in the Islands but did not have enough Spaniards to administer its bureaucracies and agencies. Against this sheer insufficiency of government functionaries, the colonial authority could not have persisted in these islands for four hundred years had it not been for two fateful factors. First, as the British discovered in India, the native mass was divided by tribal alienations and enmities. From these, with Spanish officers, came Spain's colonial garrison. Second, finding its moral justification for imperialism in the grant of Pope Alexander VI, Spain ruled by the Sword and the Cross.

Hordes of religious missionaries followed Spanish soldiers to spread over the archipelago with a zeal that triumphed over strangeness and death. If the civil authority held urban areas, the Spanish *padre* held the countryside for Spain. When the native *ilustrado* came to the urban areas for higher education, the *padre* was his determined mentor. When the rural masses looked up from their fields, there was the *padre* presiding and validating birth, marriage, and death. To the masses, the Governor-General was but a vague magnificence. The *padre*, instead, was the most visible manifestation of colonial so-

vereignty. Even in his daily toil, the native reckoned with the *padre's* tithes, shares, and rentals. When the time came for grievance and defiance, the most natural focus of hate and anger had to be the *padre*, the Spanish friar.

Remove him, the native would shrewdly perceive, and you remove Spain.

### *Stirrings of radicalism*

We reckon the beginning of the Philippine radical tradition from what scholarly consensus calls the propaganda movement. That this reckoning is necessary arises from our focus on this archipelago not as an aggragation of tribal territories but as a national state. Thus, Francisco Dagohoy, Diego Silang, and the like rebellions, while clearly within our referents of radicals and radicalism, were in fact local movements driven by indigenous aims. The proximate cause in each case was a grievance personal in nature such as the exaction of tribute in the form of personal services to the Spanish sovereign.

That these local uprisings were at all political rests only on the point that they each constituted an overt challenge to the prevailing political system. Dagohoy, we may say, wanted political freedom for Bohol; on the other hand, Marcelo H. del Pilar, Jose Rizal, and Graciano Lopez Jaena, among others, wanted political freedom for the Philippines. Thus, of all overt challenges to the prevailing political system in the Philippines, it was in the propaganda movement that we may first discern a totally national concern for the Philippines as one nation.

The propaganda movement succeeded in infusing in the native Malay Filipino three overwhelming beliefs: despite regional alienations the Filipinos constituted one nation; the Filipino nation shared a set of righteous grievances against a common foreign enemy; only political solutions enforced by armed struggle could settle all grievances. These beliefs, and the aggravations of their economic exploitations, coalesced into a mood of national bitterness that induced a people to rise against their rulers.

### *The secularization movement*

At this point, it becomes germane to clarify a trivia of historical ambiguity by

indicating that the "secularization movement," which apparently antedated the propaganda movement, is in fact a label attached to the efforts of two entities to realize entirely different objectives.

The first entity was the Spanish Archbishop of Manila. His aim, in replacing Spanish friars with native members of the secular clergy, was based entirely on his desire to enforce his personal ecclesiastical prerogative of visitation, or supervision and control of parishes. The other entity was the friar who owed his immediate personal loyalty to his Order. He acted as a Dominican first, we may say, and only second as a parish priest owing fealty to the Archbishop. The friar must have felt safe in his defiance, because the Order to which he belonged constituted, by reason of wealth and direct access to the Spanish Crown, veritable temporal powers.

Thus, it becomes quite clear why an archbishop of Manila, also the Catholic Primate of the Philippines, should have found it necessary to replace obstreperous friars with his own men, so to speak, from the more pliant secular clergy who by force of circumstance was composed of a significant number of native Filipinos. This aspect of the "secularization movement" properly speaking, does not concern us in its perspective of internal ecclesiastical policy; but it comes into our ambit at that point in our history when secularization — replacement of Spanish friars by native Filipino priests — became integral to the drive against Spanish hegemony.

When, therefore, Fr. Jose Burgos, the native Filipino priest, articulated and became martyr to, the cause of secularization, Philippine radicals preempted the Archbishop's term to invest it with a political meaning. Thus, when properly viewed as a natural drive against Spanish sovereignty, reinforced by the emotional vibrations of racial affinity, we can discern that secularization was in fact, not a movement distinct unto itself, but, a tactic of the propagandists to achieve their political objectives. By this tactic, the propagandists must have reasonably hoped to deal a fatally weakening blow to the power apparatus of Spanish sovereignty, thus making their over-all drive for political power the more possible to achieve.

### The reform movement

Again, we feel constrained to clarify another point of historical labelling when we confront the term "reform movement."

Having accepted the term "propaganda movement" as the historical labelling for the beginning of the Philippine radical tradition, we find it difficult to perceive the logical necessity of considering the "reform movement" as distinct in itself. For "reform," as with "secularization," was the first rallying cry of the propagandists. As such, it constituted a means of politicalizing the masses by vividly adumbrating their points of friction with Spanish sovereignty and instilling in the masses the idea, the belief, that *political remedies* were the only true solutions to their sufferings.

The cry for reform, therefore, with the cry for secularization constituted another major political tactic of the propagandists. If a distinction must be noted at all, then it would only be on the point that individual members of the propaganda movement differed on the wisdom of opting either for reform or revolutionary action.

For a sense of futility had started to seep into the propaganda ranks. On the one hand, some held steadfast to the view that qualitative changes in the socio-political system could be achieved by verbally importuning the Spanish Crown. On the other hand, some, noting that importuning was met with arrests, exile and other forms of punishment, naturally decided that if a tactic such as reform was not succeeding then it must be weak, and one more forceful must be adopted.

What stronger tactic gradates from reform? It is separation. From the conceptual view, it is of no significance to know *who* among the propagandists was the revolutionary radical. It is sufficient to realize that the men of words came to be understood by the people as proponents of revolution until the people finally responded to the "Cry of Balintawak."

Ideas, reinforced by personal grievance, animated our people into the revolutionary ethos. And it is our thesis that the propaganda movement directly catalyzed the historical setting that gave rise to the revolutionary movement associated with 1896.

### Setting the stage

Thus, after almost four hundred years, the classical matrix for radicalism had evolved in the Philippines. Colonialism had once more spawned an irony in the historical process. Driven by the internal logic of political administration, it imposed a uniform framework of laws, rules, and standards of social behaviour on a given territory over disparate aggrupations of people.

In the process of being held together, these aggrupations began to conceive of themselves as forming a nation occupying a definite set of territorial boundaries which was their country. The notions of nation and land had melded. The concept of independent statehood would inexorably follow. The colonial government, the proximate cause of this State's creation, would be henceforth clearly marked off in the national consciousness as a foreign intruder, then aggressor, which must be expelled from *our patria*.

Natural to the unqualified hostility which propaganda demands from the "true believer," blessings were forgotten and only evil remembered. Grievance, therefore, piled upon grievance. True to the timidity of initial movements, the first conceptual overt challenge to the system was "reform." This was voiced by the very elements in the native body politic who, as a class, had the largest access to the educational apparatus and economic benefits of the system. But the system in this case, the Spanish regime, had not the prescience of Rome in conferring citizenship upon its subjects. Thus, the native *ilustrado*, while preeminent in native society, was looked down upon as inferior by the foreign elite whose only claim to superiority was political power.

It requires no great stretch of syllogism to see the conclusion that the *ilustrado* must reach: the capture of political power is the equalizing principle, and the principle of role-reversal.

But generals need an army. Only the native masses could constitute such an army. To achieve this recruitment, they must be made to identify themselves with the interests of the *ilustrado*. Hence the struggle must be launched in the name of the masses and the system qualitatively

restructured for the salvation of the people. Man generally has only two basic methods of reorienting the behaviour pattern of his fellow-men: by force of words, or, by force of arms.

As befits the initially weak because of lack of arms, the first resort is to words. The "men of words" take to the fore and the propaganda movement is born. The enemy foreigner most visible to all is the friar, who is also conveniently the most fundamental control apparatus of the system. Secularization and separation — the one to remove him from the land, and the other to remove him from the government — would therefore constitute a broad spectrum remedy.

Fired by grievance and pride, with the zeal of the tiger that has spotted its quarry, the propagandist launches his attack with the virulence inherent to the rejected. But the system fails to note that its rejection spawned the attack. Perhaps the internal turmoils of the system have rendered it incapable of effective response, even of knowing that it has lost the capacity for effective response. Later on, a succeeding system would show how appointments of *ilustrados* to the Supreme Court, the Cabinet, and municipal offices could dissolve hate and evoke love.

But for now, the response is stupid. Hate is met with hate, instead of with amnesty and participation in political power. Sensing this, anger turns to bitterness and despair. The system, oblivious to the historical implications of its internal policy vacillations, and, crucially, its abandonment by the intellectuals, unwittingly provides the emotional catalyst that unites a mass into a "corporate body politic"; the men of words are killed, and the people have martyred saints.

Now the classic factors of a revolutionary situation coalesce. The system is weak from internal turmoil. The country is at its highest level of prosperity, but the producing masses share only the droppings while the foreign elite scoop up all the fat. The native elite are refused participation in the highest good of political power. The alienation of the masses coincides with the alienation of their elite, a sense of national grievance is crystallized, and a consciousness

of nationhood is achieved. When demands are rejected, then demands must be enforced. Having no parliament of any kind, and with the armed might of the system as the only obstacle to the capture of power, armed confrontation is inevitable.

The stage is set for revolutionary action.

### III. The Revolutionary Movement of 1896

#### *First phase: The non-revolution*

**A**s in all historical movements of societal restlessness, the people were ready for leaders; ready to elect or to select. But as it normally happens in such times of national ferment, the people do not gather in some valley or on some plain and there sit down to make nominations. Instead, by a biological streak observable in the species of primates, even on the level of the Madagascar lemur, someone stands up from the mass to assert himself as their leader.

In such a process, consensual acquiescence constitutes the definitive act of sovereign election and selection. Riding on the momentum of his sovereign mandate, the leader, by his personal will, selects assistants and subordinates to enable him to implement his sovereign mandate. Thereby, an *executive* of the people is created and an organization is born.

Our history records Andres Bonifacio as the man who first stood up to claim, and thereby receive, the sovereign mandate to lead our people in their first national armed struggle.

But our history also records that Bonifacio stood up rather diffidently, for while his was the assertion, he chose two other men to bear the title while he waited almost four years to confer it upon himself. Boldness and audacity are always the definitive characteristics of leadership in primate societies, particularly in tribal-level societies like the Malay nations with their *machismo* ethos. Worst still, in his first actual implementations of his sovereign mandate, Bonifacio failed.

In such historical moments, the people start to avert their eyes. The moment is therefore propitious for another to assert himself as the leader and sovereign

representative of the people. In steps that may blur, but not conceal this historic process of election and selection, Emilio Aguinaldo by his assertion and by the proof of his initial victories replaced Bonifacio.

As wolves devour a wounded leader, revolutionary movements are ruled by lupine logic. No mass pity censured Aguinaldo even when the story spread of how Bonifacio died: begging on his knees, desperately embracing the legs of his executioner. Perhaps, in fact, by dying as miserably as he had led them, the people were all the more confirmed in turning to Aguinaldo. Perhaps, also, the people sensed that at a critical point in all revolutionary movements a strong and efficient *executive* is vital to success and the preservation of their own lives, or, to the realization of their aspirations. The organizing ability is not usually found in elementary school graduates, and it is therefore not surprising that all twentieth century revolutions have been led and sustained by the highly educated middle and upper socio-economic classes of societies.

"Compassion," in Arendt's terms, characterized the ideas of both the propaganda and revolutionary movements. However, we do not perceive in these ideas the all-encompassing conceptualization of Rousseau, nor do we see the world-structuring view of Marx. The Filipino radicals in these movements had only one country in mind: The Philippines; and one people, the native Filipinos. We do not find a contribution to world philosophy, although we are not unaware of the inspiration we gave to Soekarno's struggle against Dutch rule in Indonesia.

In the sense that the ideas our radicals propounded were designed to achieve the specific aims of mass politicalization and armed mass action against Spanish, and later, American sovereignty, we may consider our radicals intellectual pragmatists. The radical objective was freedom from foreign domination, with its corollaries of war propaganda and armed uprising. The men of words succeeded in their aim of politicalizing the masses, or enough of the masses, to bear arms against Spain. The "men of action" waged armed struggle, with the primary objective of capturing "the coercive power of society."

But the men of action did not do as well. There was no full turning of the wheel. All the brave and ringing proclamations and decrees of Aguinaldo about the establishment of a revolutionary government, from the national to the municipal levels, including his decree establishing a national currency, never quite came true.

Revolution by press-release, we say with deep regret, was the Revolution of 1896. For on 14 December 1897, the Pact of Biak-na-Bato was signed, accepting, not native currency, but rather the more valuable pesos of Spain — 1,700,000 pesos to be exact. On 16 December, two days later, at the *behest* of the *Spanish Government*, Aguinaldo declared outlaws the masses who would refuse to abide by the Pact.

We may find consolation, if we had bitterness and shame, in the thought that 1,700,000 pesos is definitely much more than 30 pieces of silver. But we will content ourselves with the academic observation that, consistent with our definitions in the opening section of this paper, there was not, in the revolutionary movement, a successful transfer of power, and therefore much less a capture of the coercive power of society.

True, "revolution" was launched in the name of the masses, and quite many of them died for the visions bound up in the term. True, also, that "revolution" had a national character in its thrust for national sovereignty. But even its "national" character is cast in doubt when the "revolutionary government," speaking through Aguinaldo, just before embarking for exile in Hongkong on 27 December 1897, categorized the "revolution" as "the greatest social upheaval ever seen in the fields of Luzon."

Apolinario Mabini called the Pact vicious because neither side meant to honor it. Spain, in fact, never gave more than 400,000 pesos to Aguinaldo, while this let it be known that he would in fact use the money to purchase arms against Spain. Since the "revolutionary government" had itself recognized and capitulated to Spanish sovereignty, we therefore quite understand why America bought the Philippines from Spain and not

from Aguinaldo in the Treaty of Paris on 10 December 1898.

Conceptually, therefore, it is a gross misuse of language to call the armed revolutionary ferment of 1896 a "revolution." Perhaps, Providence, in its inscrutable wisdom, had decreed this for another date, as we may perhaps be able to perceive.

#### *Second phase: wishful thinking*

The people recognize and accept their need for sophisticated leadership. But since revolutionary movements are usually launched in their name for the realization of their aspirations, they may be forgiven the belief that their leaders will indeed fulfill revolutionary slogans. It is a remarkable commentary on human nature that the fraudulent promises of one generation could still find believing adherents in the next. Be that as it may, Aguinaldo's generation surely did not expect that they could be considered outlaws by the Pact of Biak-na-Bato. By this capitulation to Spanish sovereignty, the first phase of the revolutionary movement of 1896 failed.

How are we to understand this Pact of Broken Stone? On one level, we can call it a shameful sell-out, a putrid mercenary betrayal of the people. Certainly, the money that changed hands and the implementing letters and manifestos of Aguinaldo could constitute circumstantial evidence for such a view. On another level, we could ascribe the Pact to what Westerners call Oriental cunning, thereby taking Aguinaldo's word that his sole primary reason was to use the money to purchase time and arms the better to prosecute the struggle against Spain. The sealed train of Lenin and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk come to mind. The resolution of these views may be found in additional evidence not yet available. The men who conducted and concluded the arrangements of this event are all dead, and we may never know if even the letters they may have left behind are true or simply more rationalizing lies.

The point remains, however, that Aguinaldo continued to be recognized as the *supremo* of the revolutionary movement, even as an exile in Hongkong, and until his return to renew hostilities against Spain in

conjunction with the American invasion of the Philippines. Indeed, if we wish to find support for the view of Oriental cunning, perhaps we may note that we have no record of any of Aguinaldo's contemporaries charging him with having accepted a bribe. In addition, Mabini, the man deposed by Aguinaldo to make way for Pedro Paterno, the architect of the Pact, explicitly states that the Pact was "vicious" because *neither side meant to honor it*.

From the viewpoint of the revolutionary movement, however, our question is, did the people also understand the Pact of Biak-na-Bato in this perspective of Oriental cunning?

A plausible initial answer is that enough of the people did, and this enabled Aguinaldo to "control the island of Luzon with the sole exception of Manila," by the end of June 1898. Aguinaldo did not so much attempt to capture Manila because he acceded to the request of Admiral George Dewey to refrain from doing so. But at the time of his request Dewey had no ground troops, his flotilla consisted of only 1,743 men as compared to the revolutionary army of 30,000 men and the 3,800,000 Filipinos of Luzon.

Granting American superiority in arms, could not siege, blockade, and human wave attacks throw the Americans into the sea? With but one more exertion, final revolutionary victory could have been achieved. In the fervor of 1896, Filipinos fought with sticks, stones, and bolos against Spanish guns, and so were the Bastille and the Winter Palace successfully stormed by the people.

Apparently, by 1898 our people had lost their earlier revolutionary fervor. It is our thesis that the Pact of Biak-na-Bato had much to do with the dissipation of the revolutionary fervor of 1896. People branded outlaws once by their own leaders whom they followed unto death, cannot be humanly expected to fight under the same leaders in the same numbers and with the same zeal.

We will abandon gladly and gratefully this thesis when it can be shown that *in addition* to his implementing decrees Aguinaldo had also circulated explanations to our people that the Pact was a mere

revolutionary ploy. But since we have no record available now as to such an explanation, the most objective conclusion we can make is that, no matter what Aguinaldo's motives really were for the Pact, he succeeded in confusing our people and in driving them never to return to the battlefields of 1898.

Thus, we view his 'army of 1898 as mercenaries, composed of the adventurous unemployed, and as feudal followers loyal as Caviteños to a Caviteño, or as Batangueños to a Batangueño, or as Novo Ecijanos to a Novo Ecijano. These, in our view, no longer represented the masses, and Aguinaldo's "control" of Luzon can be deemed to be much more the bonus of Spain's token resistance in fear of American might and in anticipation of the Treaty of Paris.

The bitter tree of 1897 had yielded its fruit, for by 1898 Aguinaldo found himself consulting, not our people, but Admiral Dewey. In less than three months time, from the inauguration of the Malolos republic on 23 January 1899 to its downfall on 1 March to American forces, Aguinaldo would find himself running for his life, accompanied only by bodyguards and retainers through the Luzon that he "controlled," until he at last was captured by a Filipino-American squad and brought to Manila where he recognized, for the second time in his life, another foreign sovereign on 1 April 1901.

In this last phase of Aguinaldo's revolutionary career, the truly bitter irony is that Aguinaldo knew he was being duped by Dewey who was merely playing for time until his reinforcements arrived. But true to his earlier form, he fought the Americans with manifestos and letters pathetic in their historical naiveté. His appeals were to Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, but, perhaps with a gambler's last-bet despair, apparently unaware of Washington's dictum that amongst nations there are no permanent friendships but only permanent interests. America in the nineteenth century was well aware of the implications of German, English, and Dutch expansions into the raw material supply centers of Asia. The Spanish-American war afforded America the welcome opportunity to establish an Asian enclave by holding the Philippines.

Pathetically in hindsight, Aguinaldo had been overtaken by America's "manifest destiny," and he found no masses with him to contest its iron logic. Betrayed in the Pact of Biak-na-Bato, the masses did not rally sufficiently to Aguinaldo's flag to help him crush a foreign intruder with a supply line 10,000 miles far away. In refusing, by their preponderant neutrality to rally around Aguinaldo's flag, the Filipino masses at least proved one talent: they had the ability to distinguish between traitors and heroes, and could at times resist the manipulative arts of the *ilustrados*.

### *The long trek*

From that fateful morning of 17 February 1872 when Gomez, Burgos, and Zamora were publicly garroted at Bagumbayan to 19 April 1901 when Aguinaldo issued his final manifesto of capitulation, Filipinos had experienced the historic trauma of national self-identification and national armed struggle through the classic process of great words inducing great deeds. Original political philosophy was neither produced nor necessary.

Even if we hear Rousseauan echoes, we cannot ascribe the propaganda and revolutionary movements to foreign inspiration. The yearning for liberty and self-realization is immanent and universal in human hearts. Our radicals, our people, of these epochs acted on the pain of their suppression, and the cry of pain is the same sound no matter from what throat it issues. The residue of these epochs is our nationhood. The Philippines came into America's control as a Malay nation-state, if only in its collective self-perception.

As we now turn to the next unfolding of our radical tradition during the American regime, we may attempt to advance a perspective that may explain why our radicalism took the nature and the form that it did during the Commonwealth period. For in the Malolos constitution, or, more precisely, the Calderon constitution, the *ilustrado* class openly asserted its interests and its class-drive to rule the masses. Contempt and fear of the masses were starkly and righteously expressed by Felipe Calderon. From this point on-

wards, the *ilustrado* would consistently act to expand and to consolidate his status and his properties. The masses would be left to fend for themselves in an ever-constricting socio-economic field.

Suppressed and excluded politically and economically, a new tension would grip our people until armed struggle would once more emerge as the last way to freedom.

(For lack of space, the *sakdalista*, communist and socialist movements will not be treated here.)

## IV. The September 21 Movement

### *The Ferment of the 70's*

**I**n the protest movement of the seventies there was poignant drama with the sight of youth marching through the avenues of Manila and crying out to a bland sky. What could these beardless youth possibly achieve? Were they driven by despair or by design? We are mindful that the appearance of logical continuity in historical events is all too often illusory. But the days of the propaganda movement, the days of the men of words, came readily to mind. Then, as in the seventies, words were used to convince the masses that the regime was alien to, and contemptuous of, their deepest aspirations. Individual objects of attack had changed, but cries of foreign puppetism evoked similar racial overtones, and the slogans carried the same unqualified hostility to the socio-political system.

Gradually, again, political remedies were suggested as the only true correctives for social disorder, until calls for reform changed entirely into summons to arms.

The pattern of income distribution had not changed at all in 100 years. The economy was at its highest level of historical productivity, but still only a small socio-political elite enjoyed the fat of the land, while the masses found themselves between the pincers of inflation and diminishing job opportunities.

The regime, as with the regime of Spain, was enfeebled by internal vacillation caused by a Legislature at loggerheads with

the Executive. The days of the revolutionary movement appeared all too imminent of rebirth, and, indeed, gunfire in the country-side counterpointed the cries of youth in the city.

The grievances of disenfranchisement, elitism, and mass exploitation that rang in the propaganda and revolutionary movements continued to reverberate in the ferments of the Commonwealth and Post-Liberation periods, and to grow with shriller peals in the ferment of the seventies. If any conceptual change had at all occurred in the articulation of mass grievance in 1970, it was only in the growing sophistication of ideologizing.

Echoes of Rousseau and the French Revolution continued to resound, but their romanticist egalitarianism had been transmuted into the structured world-view of Marx, Lenin, and Mao Tse-tung. Whereas, it was implicit in the programme of 1896 that the Spanish regime would be replaced by an elitist set of native *ilustrados*, the most violent protesters of the seventies directly called for the replacement of the regime by the class of the proletariat.

The socio-political system enshrined in the Constitution of 1935 was to be abolished. This, and no less, was the radical issue of the seventies.

### *The internal seizure of power*

The coercive power of society was to be captured. But different from the revolutionary movement of 1896 (even having in mind its leadership schisms), the revolutionary ferment of the seventies was not syncretized in one distinct entity. The New People's Army; the inchoate youth mass; the Communist faction of the Lavas; and, ambitious presidential hopefuls, were all in the race to capture government. Confusion of course abounded, since these elements quite cynically used each other, with each, no doubt, quite confident of eliminating his partner at the gates of Malacañang, and of giving the revolution the definitive nature of his own vision.

Unknown to these elements, or underestimated by them, someone else was in the race; someone who differed with them in tactical means but who shared with

them the same revolutionary vision of a new socio-political order. At the height of the ferment of the seventies, while the various radical elements were engrossed in their revolutionary schemes, they woke up in the early hours of 22 September 1972 to learn, with what imaginable dismay, that Ferdinand Edralin Marcos had just instituted martial law.

Without so much as a spilt drop of blood, the coercive power of the society established within the matrix of the Constitution of 1935 had been captured!

Prior to martial law, the socio-political status quo was that established within the framework of the 1935 Constitution. How Marcos acted against this framework could alone define him as a radical and his acts part of Philippine radicalism. If we were, in the alternative, to take Marcos at his word that he merely employed a power and a mandate already in the system blue-printed and established by, and under, the 1935 Constitution, then he is *not* a radical vis-a-vis 1935, which is the only political baseline against which he may be measured, for the reason that his martial law and its features were in fact part of the 1935 Constitution. For surely no system can have an inherent logic for its own dismemberment.

But Marcos can be evaluated by his acts, and this in fact is the only analytical device by which man can cut through verbal veils to the truth.

And what are these acts which may be considered as definitive of his radicalism? They are: his abolition of the electoral process *in fact* as envisaged in the 1935 Constitution; his abolition of its process for amendment; his abolition of Congress and consequent transfer to himself of legislative authority; his establishment of military courts alongside the civilian courts; and *all* his consequential acts, such as land reform, that followed from the seizure of power by these abolitions. All these acts inflicted violence upon the socio-political system.

#### *Constitutional authoritarianism*

In 1897, Mabini called upon the revolutionary congress to establish a preeminent, powerful Executive as the best means to rationalize the confusion and disorder of

his times. With the validation that Time gives to genius, Mabini found his milieu in the seventies and his apt listener in Marcos. Mabini articulated a "unified authority" which is the conceptual twin of Marcos' "constitutional authoritarianism." Both concepts are premised on the sovereignty of the people and on the need of the people to achieve a socio-political re-ordering reflective of, and responsive to, their aspirations.

Implicit in these concepts is an ideal Future which the Present approaches unbearably slowly. To reach such a Future, an acceleration of the historical process is therefore required. Only the totalized might of the people can energize such an acceleration. But can the people in their fragmented millions do this effectively?

Only the integral nature of one will can do this. For a period of history, therefore, coeval with the people's satisfaction, the sovereign will of the people must be focused through the will of one man. Of course, the possession of power could have all the dis-orienting effects of an hallucinogen and the mechanical apparatus of power could for some time preempt the will of the people.

But the egalitarian test of the concept of constitutional authoritarianism rests on the nature of the force required to evoke the habitual obedience of the people. Where capricious brutality is required, as it was in Stalinist Russia, then the people's will must be deemed withdrawn, but subverted and perverted. However, when the habitual obedience of the people is evoked by dialogue and consultation, at least on the basic programme of the government, and, the traditional police powers of the government are basically enforced through the traditional democratic "due process" of the judicial system, then, the discipline inherent in an acceleration of the historical process is precisely the discipline that a reasonably prudent man, the *bonum paterfamilias* of the Civil Code, would also impose on himself.

It is by this egalitarian test that social equilibrium is reached. The maintenance of such an egalitarian equilibrium, to be sure, is daily subject to the stresses of time, circumstance, and the maverick streak of hu-

man nature. The stability of a government animated by such a concept presupposes its capacity to manifest, even as it leads, the will of the people.

The egalitarian test of the element of free volition is based on the irreducible minimum of the evocation of the people's habitual obedience through their own traditional notions of democratic due process. Implicit in such a sovereign act is the definitive element that the corporate body politic is motivated by only one view: the accelerated realization of a socio-political system truly reflective of, and responsive to, their own aspirations.

But the concept of delegation also directly implies that the people retain the right to withdraw it. Their sovereign delegatee is in fact a regent, a trustee ruler, and an agent whose power to act in their stead is absolutely limited by their self-interest. The trustee ruler holds authority at the pleasure of the people and for a period of historical time exactly coeval with the people's satisfaction in the fulfillment of his historic mission. The concept of delegation, together with the presumptive rationality of the mission, therefore, reasonably imply fulfillment and a terminus.

This is the view that Marcos means when he describes his government as a "transition regime."

Marcos explicitly accepts humanist egalitarianism as the test of his sovereign mandate. He accepts his mission to cure societal ailments that were given national focus in the 1870's but which have remained agonizing problems of our people to this day. But these elements are necessarily rooted in both the character of our social classes and the individual character of our people. The historical greed of our economic elite and the induced apathy of our masses have resulted in societal dis-orders that will require for their ordering nothing less than transformative transmutation to achieve the society that we envision.

Only a mission of this vast scope could move a people to delegate their sovereign will, and only History can reveal the validity of our people's trust.

At this moment, and subject to the scope of our inquiry, we are concerned with the September 21 Movement as the contemporary unfolding of our radical tradition. This movement opposed the system of the Constitution of 1935. This movement envisioned another and better system that necessarily consisted of instituting qualitative changes in the status quo opposed. To accomplish this objective, the coercive power of the status quo had to be captured. The nature and power objectives of the September 21 Movement are conceptually identical with the propaganda, revolutionary, *sakdalista*, socialist and communist movements we have considered. But none of these other radical forces succeeded in achieving the capture of the coercive power of the societies they opposed.

Since, as we have explained earlier, the definitive element of the term *revolution* is the successful transfer of power to the opposition, then it appears conceptually clear that only the September 21 Movement achieved this, thereby making the New Society the proximate result of the only revolution that has occurred in Philippine history.

#### V. The New Society in History

##### *The Marcos image*

**T**hese are the headiest of political times for we are living a revolution. The professional observer of the political process ought to be avidly awake. Our era is the kind on which historians concentrate. Would that some young Filipino Toynbee already had his wits about him now, and may it be that his life would encompass this era and beyond until, in the maturity of his capacities, he may produce a complete, profound, and perceptive living record of these our times. The socially upsetting force of 1896 will be as ambiguous vapor when compared to the initial and consequential socio-political upheavals of 1972.

In considering the Revolution of 1972, within the context of the only data we now have available, we find an element unique, or at least, quite unusual, in the history of revolution: we are not dealing with a discernible apparatus — we are dealing with one man. Who are the del Pilars, Rizals,

Bonifacios, Aguinaldos, Mabinis, Ramos', Evangelistas, Lavas, and Guerreros of what has been termed the September 21 Movement? Thus far we have only one name — Marcos.

We are reminded of how Bertrand Russell and Alfred North Whitehead resolved the age-old Cretan puzzle by discovering the intellectual construct of the class with only one member. We are loathe to study history in terms of personalities, particularly in terms of one personality, but we are also aware that many social institutions are in fact the living residues of particular individuals. We must study Marcos for what he is — a man making history, and being made by history into an institution. The crucial point of our study is that it is our history that Marcos is making.

No matter what rationalizing factors of

thus revealing not only a human egotism but also, more significantly, that he considers these as undesirable characteristics based on his awareness of, and longing to possess, the obverse characteristics of industrious perseverance, civic conscience, and purposive planning.

##### *Marcos as folk hero*

The Filipino has noted these characteristics to an intense degree in Marcos. The *tao* in the remotest hamlet of our land has learned by now that Marcos neither smokes nor drinks; eats only food carefully balanced and even weighed; works long and hard but wakes up at a regular early hour; exercises daily and strenuously at specific times; continues to hone his early scholastic brilliance by reading, as a speed-reader, scholarly and cultural books; always



**PRESIDENT FERDINAND EDRALIN MARCOS**  
 Founder of the New Society of the Philippines

climate and domination went into its making, the point remains that the public image of the Filipino is constituted of the elements of indolence, undiscipline, and happenstance. *Ningas kugon*, *kanya-kanya* and *bahala na* are the vernacular colloquialisms expressive of this image. When jokingly and gently stated, the Filipino will ruefully and wryly accept this image. But when the very same concepts are stated by an "outsider," or, as critical dictums, the Filipino will bridle, if not counter-attack,

acts on the basis of thoroughly prepared studies; speaks, even in times of crises, calmly and deliberately, creating confidence where panic may have erupted. The people know of how Marcos gives the same loyalty he demands; of how he never requests, but firmly instructs; of how he improves the lot, yet disciplines without fear, the very forces by which he rules; and of how he anticipates problems by quietly developing factors for their solution now.

The young, including those who used to demonstrate against him, now say, "Wise *talaga si Macoy*" in the admiring tone they reserve for their folk heroes. The people, with knowing smiles and appreciative clucks, tell stories of his so-called amorous adventures in the spirit of the traditional saying "*Talagang lalake kasi*," giving Marcos the same *machismo* admiration they gave in this regard to Manuel Quezon. This is part of the Malay way of accepting a leader, by including in his other virtues that of sexual prowess. Even the old charges levelled by his enemies of homicidal ruthlessness and voracious venality have become transmuted in the minds of the people into elements that confirm his strength as a leader and ensure his selfless devotion in their service.

We are witnessing, in brief, the transfiguration of a man into a folk hero. To our mind, a substantial rise in real income coupled with national peace and order will make the transfiguration complete and fixed in the minds of our people.

How Marcos will react to this developing adulation must be a matter of serious national concern. We are not alarmed, however, because the usual effect of appreciation and admiration on the human psyche is to induce benevolence and the reiteration of the acts that evoked appreciation and admiration. Our concern, however, academical though it may now seem, is that our people may continue to prefer a great father-figure as their sovereign regent than parliamentary representative democracy.

To prefer a sovereign regent may be a prophetic fulfillment of Jose P. Laurel's prescription that the ideal government for the Philippines would be "a monarchy with an angel on the throne." The transfiguration of Marcos into a folk hero would presuppose his having become an "angel," in effect, in the minds of our people.

Against the great societal good that this event would reflect, we are constrained to advance the point that human beings, no matter how angelic, do not live forever. After Marcos, *who* and *what*? If only his successor could be exactly like him, then let sovereign regency be our form of government. To trust our destiny in a group of men may be even more ominous

than to trust in one man, as our own history has revealed. But, the second alternative does not have the comforting element of the first in that here we have the concept of virtue counterchecking error.

It is our thesis on this point that the transfiguration of Marcos, given the present trend and the thrust of his socio-political programme, into a folk hero will inexorably happen. In which case, the people will be supine, as it were, and it will be only Marcos who will be left with the vision and the strength to establish our political heritage.

Thus, if we have dwelt on some length on some of the elements, with some of their implications which constitute the public view of Marcos, it is because we must confront as a matter of historical significance the fact that, for this moment of historical time, at least, the character of Marcos is the apparent vehicle of the destiny of our people.

#### *The process of legitimation*

How did Marcos become so melded with our national fate? This question actually encompasses two other questions which must be answered separately. The first question must ask how Marcos captured the power apparatus of the 1935 socio-political matrix. The nature of the answer here finds its essence in the term "realpolitik". The second question must be conceptual in nature, concerning itself with the process of sanctification, or, as used by Max Weber, "legitimation," to which we may add our own indigenous observation.

*Charismatic authority:* The complete answer to the question of realpolitik can be answered only by Marcos himself. Our attempted answer must begin with the observation that Marcos already had his hands on the levers of power of the 1935 system since he had been elected president, or chief executive, and commander-in-chief of the armed forces under the 1935 Constitution. As such, Marcos, in his official personality was a one-man branch of government coequal with the other two branches, the legislative and the judiciary. But equality here must be understood by the Latin term *primum inter pares* as Augustus Caesar applied it to himself.

For Quezon had so influenced the preparation of the 1935 Constitution that it invested the presidency with more power than its model, the American Federal Constitution, gave to the president of the United States of America. For one, only the state governors of America could declare martial law under varying degrees of constraint and duration. But in the 1935 Constitution, only the president could impose martial law under terms so broad that only his discretion could determine its effective nature and duration.

*Legal Authority:* This was the self-renewing force that Marcos discerned in the "democracy" established in the 1935 Constitution. As early as 1971, during the second year of his unprecedented landslide second-term victory, Marcos clearly announced his revolutionary intentions. It therefore cannot really be said that Marcos worked his plans in stealth.

But we speculate that Marcos was loathe to impose martial law before the senatorial elections of 1971, if only because he must have been agonizingly aware of the historical burden that would be focused upon himself. Prescient student of history that he is, he must have been aware that the intensified security requirements of a martial law regime would consign him in the lonely isolation of Malacañang. Thus, despite the emerging crystallization of the martial law necessity, we feel that Marcos temporized by waiting for the 1971 senatorial elections to give him the effective legislative majority that he would need to pass laws he deemed vital to the salvation of our economy.

But, his candidates lost. His hope to break the impasse between himself and Congress had disappeared. Only two more years of his term remained, with the certain prospect of a shattered nation, and its stigma of personal failure as well, looming at the end of his presidential term. How much of pride, and how much of altruistic concern for the very real plight of our nation moved Marcos to declare martial law perhaps not even Marcos can say.

But the last moment for temporizing had gone. Thereafter, the placing of trusted men in positions of power, particularly in the armed forces, began in earnest and for the definite purpose of capturing the coercive power of society.

Our view for this supposition rests on the significant factors that there was not a single open demurrer in the armed forces when martial law was proclaimed; the lengthy proclamation of 1081, and the completeness of its implementing decrees and instruction argue absolutely against week-end spontaneity; members of the enemy opposition had obviously been followed long enough for them to have been pinpointed and arrested *en masse* in one 24-hour period; and, it is simply not in the character of Marcos to act either impulsively or haphazardly.

We hazard the estimate that the revolutionary programme of Marcos formally started right after the senatorial elections of 1971 when the last opportunity disappeared for uniting the political powers of government; and we place the technical moment of its emergence as a revolution on 17 January 1973 when the people, in the national *barangay* (citizens assembly) referendum called by Marcos, formally replaced the 1935 Constitution with the Constitution of 1973 in accordance with Proclamation 1102.

The opponents of Marcos have tried to make much of the point that the provision of martial law in the 1935 Constitution could not have comprehended the very restructuring of both Government and Society. Again, we hazard the view that even Marcos would agree with them, on the plausible conceptual basis that the primordial principle of self-preservation cannot logically allow an organism to contain a contradictory principle for its own annihilation.

But a political system is not quite a biological being. A political system is a function of human society. A political system exists solely as a social servo-motor to be modified, or to be replaced, by society at its sole discretion. *Per se*, and as a mere societal function, a political system has neither a life of its own nor so much as a claim to life, in the same manner that a tractor has neither life nor a claim to life. The mere acceptance by society of a new political system is total justification for the destruction of the previous political system.

What the opponents of Marcos have therefore overlooked, either in despair or

in naiveté, is that the reference of Marcos to the martial law provision in the 1935 Constitution was not at all material to the fact of his successful capture of societal coercive power. His vantage position and his consolidation of the levers of power unto his person, were in themselves sufficient for his sovereign assertion. Power in itself legitimizes.

The reference to the martial law provision must be understood for what it really is: the first conceptual step initiated by Marcos for the legitimation of his leadership.

*Traditional authority:* As habits guide the patterned responses of an individual, so does tradition guide the patterned responses of a nation. In the political process, the habitual obedience of a people is substantially based on their traditional notions of what constitutes the authority in society that has the legitimate claim to the monopoly of physical force.

Of course, the people can be reoriented in their thinking, and the violence necessary for such a reorientation will vary in direct proportion to the degree of departure undertaken away from traditional authority. Where the degree of departure is total, as in the case of the French and Russian revolutions, the process is regularly disruptive on persons and property. On the other hand, whenever a revolutionary can successfully avail of the tactic of linking his assumption of authority to a traditional source of authority, he can thereby abort the ferment that would usually accompany his assumption of power.

This tactic would obviously not be successfully availed of by just anyone shouting in the street that he is some rightful heir, for the entrenched might of the system he confronts would be there to contest his claim. But for a man already in effective control of the power apparatus of a given system, the problem of legitimation does not arise vis-a-vis the might he controls; the problem of legitimation arises in establishing his rightful junction with the masses of the body politic.

Thus, his linkage to a traditional source of authority will at least confuse, and thereby prevent the crystallization of, mass opposition to his personal assumption of power. To prevent this crystallization of

mass opposition during the first few days of a palace *coup* is, in itself, the essence of victory because the inertia of mass lassitude swiftly reasserts itself if only because most men must attend to the daily tasks and routines of pursuing a livelihood, particularly where there are neither other charismatic or traditional leaders around to mobilize and sustain their latent initial hostility.

The tactic of linkage to a traditional source of authority in a palace *coup* also serves to reinforce the leader's control of the power apparatus because the tactic serves as a rationalization for the members of the apparatus to believe in the righteousness of their loyalty to the leader. Again, the first few days of apparently popular acquiescence to the leader are crucial to the holding of the loyalty of the power apparatus, because the momentum of their initial loyalty swiftly settles into the reinforcing pattern of routine.

To achieve all this is by no means an easy feat. The character, the talent, and the will that can do all this raises the achiever to the level of a historical force. To sustain his regime, and not to lose control except by voluntary abdication, will be a more arduous task which, if achieved, will evolve the achiever into a shaper of national destiny.

The turmoils of 1972 constituted a propitious historical moment for the assertion of sovereign leadership. Marcos made the assertion and the acquiescence of the people constituted his selection and election as their sovereign regent.

#### *The dynamics of institutionalization*

*Popular consultation:* In propounding "constitutional authoritarianism" as the nature of his sovereign regency, Marcos accepts the egalitarian test of evoking the people's habitual obedience by the process of consulting them on his basic programme and of enforcing the police power of the state through the people's traditional notions of due process. The medium of popular consultation is the *barangay*-centered referendum.

Conceptually, as an expression of the popular will, there is no distinction between *barangay*-centered voting and the previous form of voting without reference

## QUANTIFICATION

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to the *future* historian, but only when he carefully preserves his data and results, and also when his findings reveal not "snap judgments (for Schlesinger, "irresponsible opinions") on issues about which the public knows little" but "the basic convictions or beliefs which influence action"<sup>48</sup> by the leaders in a given period.

Of the empirical approaches discussed in this paper, perhaps the one that is of greatest value to historians interested in analyzing voting behavior *before* methods of scale construction appeared in the Twenties, is Guttman's scalogram analysis. It has already been adopted by political scientists who view their task as that of "accounting for public policy" by studying and understanding the voting behavior of legislative members acting in politically influential roles; in other words, in knowing why members of Congress vote as they do on roll-calls. By applying Guttman's scalogram analysis, it becomes possible to (a) describe and measure variations in the way an *individual legislator votes* (b) describe and measure variations in the way *groups of legislators vote* and, (c) describe and measure roll-call variations.<sup>49</sup>

Quantification, despite the opposition of historian-humanists like Arthur Schlesinger, will probably continue to gain currency among historians, especially political historians. While it may be true that scholars employing quantification sometimes deal only with quantifiable problems and materials in history, the method nevertheless eliminates the risks and dangers of "impressionistic" research, that of confining one's investigations to the mere use of "source materials reflecting elite groups' views and experiences."<sup>50</sup> Thus, one significance of quantification is that it can be utilized in the verification and validation of generalizations.<sup>51</sup> Historical data presented in quantitative terms may also indicate and possibly provide clues to the explanation of the pattern of events in the past, as well as the underlying attitudes held by everybody from the government leaders down to the pedestrian. Learning what these attitudes were give historians a "better under-

standing about man and society."<sup>52</sup> Finally, applying quantification to history may provoke creative and constructive debates among historians — debates which may lead to the re-examination of the validity of existing hypotheses, and the formulation of fresh ones which may turn out to be closer approximations to historical truth and reality.

## Footnotes

1. Quoted in Aaron V. Cicourel, *Method and Measurement in Sociology* (London: Collier-Macmillan Ltd., 1964), p. 10.

2. Russell L. Ackoff, et. al., *Scientific Method: Optimizing Applied Research Decisions* (New York and London: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962), p. 177.

3. S. S. Wilks, "Some Aspects of Quantification in Science," in *Quantification: A History of the Meaning of Measurement in the Natural and Social Sciences*, edited by Harry Woolf (Indianapolis Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1961), p. 5.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, p. 7

7. *Ibid.*

8. Thomas S. Kuhn, "The Function of Measurement in Modern Physical Science," *Ibid.*, pp. 31-41.

9. Henry Guerlac, "Quantification in Chemistry," in Woolf, *Quantification*, p. 64. Underscoring not mine.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Notes on the History of Quantification in Sociology — Trends, Sources and Problems," *Ibid.*, p. 147.

12. *Ibid.*

13. L. L. Thurstone and E. J. Chave, *The Measurement of Attitude* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), p. 1.

14. John Madge, *The Tools of Social Science* (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1953), p. 187.

15. Thurstone, *Measurement*, pp. 6-7.

16. Richard T. LaPierre, "The Sociological Significance of Measurable Attitudes," *American Sociological Review*, III (April, 1938), p. 176.

17. George A. Lundberg, *Social Research: A Study in Methods of Gathering Data* (New York and London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1942), p. 212.

18. Thurstone, *Measurement*, p. 7.

19. Madge, *The Tools of Social Science*, p. 188. In this paper, the words "respondent," "informant," and "subject" are used in the same context.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 189.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 189.

23. Madge, *The Tools of Social Science*, p. 188.

24. Thurstone, *Measurement*, p. 8.

25. *Ibid.*

26. Thurstone, *Measurement*, p. 13.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 14

29. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

30. Thurstone, "Attitudes Can Be Measured," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII (January, 1928), p. 545. See also pp. 74-82 of his book already cited in this paper.

31. Madge, *The Tools of Social Science*, p. 190.

32. For details, see Samuel A. Stouffer, et. al., *Measurement and Prediction: Studies in Social Psychology in World War II*, Vol. IV (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950). N. V.

This paper's discussion of Lazarsfeld's "latent structure analysis" is based on Madge's chapter on the subject of attitude survey. Stouffer's book, where Lazarsfeld himself wrote the portions pertaining to his technique, is not available in the Perkins Library. There is a book edited by Lazarsfeld which includes a chapter on this same technique. But it is prohibitively mathematical in nature. Its use in the preparation of this work has therefore been deliberately avoided, realizing how limited my background in mathematics is.

33. Madge, *The Tools of Social Science*, p. 192.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 193.

35. Paul F. Lazarsfeld, et. al., *The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1944), p. 2.

36. *Ibid.* Underscoring not mine.

37. Lazarsfeld, *The People's Choice*, p. 5.

38. See Louis Guttman's chapter on this subject in Stouffer, *Measurement and Prediction*.

39. Louis Guttman, "A Basis for Scaling Qualitative Data," *American Sociological Review*, IX (April, 1944), p. 139.

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**PSSC activities**


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**Executive Director  
for PSSC**

Dr. Loretta Makasiar-Sicat assumed the new post of Executive Director of the Philippine Social Science Council effective February 1, 1977.

Dr. Sicat is associate professor in political science at the College of Arts and Sciences, University of the Philippines. She served as chairman of the PSSC Executive Board in 1976, was vice-chairman of the Board in 1975, and served as secretary-treasurer of the Board in 1974. She was discipline representative for political science in the PSSC Research Committee for three consecutive years.

**PSSC-IDE undertake  
joint research project**

The first of the PSSC and Institute of Developing Economies (IDE) Joint Research Projects commenced with the approval of Dr. Jesucita L. G. Sodusta's project entitled "Assessment of the Effectivity of the Land Reform Implementation: Micro Socio-Economic Survey in Calumpit, Bulacan."

Dr. Sodusta is assistant professor at the department of anthropology, College of Arts and Sciences, University of the Philippines. The counterpart researcher is Tsutomu Takigawa, Chief, IDE Area Studies Division.

The period of agreement covered December 1, 1976 to March 31, 1977. IDE support for the research project is coursed through the PSSC which in turn decides on which research study to approve, among the many proposals submitted for the purpose.

The PSSC-IDE project is one of the five projects in Southeast Asia, the other four being:

Indonesia: "Study on Technical, Economic, Social and Political Factors Limiting the Diffusion of New Technological Innovation in Rice

Growing", Sjarifuddin Baharsjah, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Bogor Agricultural University; IDE joint researcher - Takahiko Haseyama, chief, Economic Growth Division;

Malaysia: "The Structure of Earnings, Human Capital and Labor Market Mobility in Malaysian Manufacturing Industries," Gan Wee Beng and Soon Lee Ying, lecturers, faculty of economics and administration, University of Malaya; IDE joint researcher - Hideo Yamada, professor, Hitotsubashi University;

Singapore: "Elites and National Development in Singapore," K. E. Shaw, professor, Nanyang University; Peter S.J. Chen and S. Y. Lee, University of Singapore; IDE joint researcher - Shigekazu Matsumoto, senior research officer, Research Plans and Coordination Office; and

Thailand: "Japanese and American Investments in Thailand's Manufacturing Industries: An Assessment of their Relative Economic Contribution to the Host Country," Somsak Tambunlertchai; IDE joint researcher - Hiroji Okabe, Chief, Economic Cooperation Research Office.

Dr. Sodusta's study will identify and collect data which document changes in the socio-economic aspects, production, and production practices brought about by the implementation of the Land Reform Program; assess the effects of the program on peasants involved in the Operation Land Transfer (OLT); and provide guidelines for policy decision and program reevaluation with respect to the Land Reform Program of the government.

The data on the subject once carefully collected, analyzed and evaluated will serve as a useful information feedback on the formulation of viable development policies.

Dr. Sodusta and Pilar Ramos Jimenez, Officer-in-Charge of the PSSC, will leave for Japan to attend a joint discussion meeting on the results of the PSSC-IDE joint research project. It will be held at IDE, Tokyo on March 22 - 29, 1977.

**PSSC - NRCP sponsor workshop  
on social scientists -**

Secretary of Economic Planning Gerardo P. Sicat delivered the keynote address at the National Research Council of the Philippines - Philippine Social Science Council sponsored seminar on December 8 - 9, 1976. The joint seminar - workshop on the theme "Enhancing the role of social scientists in national development" was held at the Institute of Small Scale Industries, UP, Diliman.

Dr. Sicat in his address entitled "A living Filipino language: A challenge to social scientists" expressed confidence that with action in the proper directions a living national language will be a reality to appreciate by the year 2000.

Four paper readers brought to focus the contributions, problems and how to enhance the role of social scientists in nation building:

They are: Angelesio Tugado, "Governmental Policies Affecting Social Scientists;"

Raul P. de Guzman, "Towards an Authentic Participatory Democracy: The Social Scientist's Viewpoint;"

Armando F. Bonifacio, "Ethical Imperatives for Social Scientists;"

Rodolfo A. Bulatao, "Improving the Organization of the Social Scientists".

One hundred twenty five professionals from private and government educational and research institutions participated in the two-day gathering.

**New grantees**

The PSSC Research Committee approved eleven more proposals under the Discretionary Research Awards program bringing to 70 the total number of scholars who have been recipients of the grant since its inception in late 1972.

The new grantees are:

1. Nilda Almonte: "Sama ng Loob: Pagsusuring Sosyo-Sikolohikal;"

2. Basilio P. Balajadia: "Research and Preparation of Expanded Mono-

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**News briefs**


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**PSS national convention  
at Iloilo City**

The University of the Philippines at Iloilo City has agreed to co-sponsor the national convention of the Philippine Sociological Society to be held April 30 to May 2, 1977 on the theme "The Use (and Misuse) of Social Science Research in Policy Making and Program Planning." It will be held at the UP Iloilo campus.

Some papers already submitted provide theoretical and methodological perspectives on the theme while others deal with case studies of applied social science research. Topics of these case studies include population planning, ethnic communities, bilingualism, and development programs.

The PSS Convention Committee who had earlier called for papers outside the convention's theme announced that a separate session will be held to accommodate these papers. From the response received, the Committee has decided to focus the separate session on sex roles. Eleven papers will deal with this topic.

Inquiries on the schedules and expenses to be incurred for the convention may be directed to Dr. Ricardo Abad, Convention Committee Chairman, c/o Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University.

Meanwhile, at the PSS Annual Business Meeting held in January 23, 1977, three new members were elected to the Board of Directors: Leda Layo, Gabriel Alvarez and Eric Casiño. Subsequently, the Board elected its officers as follows: Randolph David, president; Isabel Panopio, vice-president; Gabriel Alvarez, treasurer; and Maria Elena Lopez, secretary.

**1977 PES board and officers**

The Philippine Economic Society elected its board of directors and officers for 1977 recently.

Elected were Vicente Jayme, president; Jesus Estanislao, vice president; Cesar Macuja, secretary-treasurer, Manuel Alba, Mahar Mangahas, and Edita Tan, directors.

**Set faculty-student workshop  
on social scientists**

In recognition of the need to answer the question "social sciences for whom?", the faculty members and some student representatives of the Divisions of Social Sciences of both the University of the Philippines in Diliman (College of Arts and Sciences) and in Los Baños (College of Sciences and Humanities), have coordinated to hold a workshop on the theme "The Social Responsibilities of the Social Scientist as an Intellectual."

To be held April 11 and 12, 1977 at UP Los Baños, the workshop hopes to come up with concrete suggestions on the teaching of the social sciences, on how to make them more responsive to the perceived responsibilities of social scientists as social scientists.

The seminar will feature nine paper writers and seven discussants. They are:

1. Ms. Ma. Serena I. Diokno — "History for Whom?"  
Discussant — Dr. Romeo V. Cruz
2. Prof. Felipe B. Miranda — "Political Science as an Ideology"  
Discussant — Prof. Emerenciana Arcellana
3. Prof. Randolph David — "Whose Side are We On: Sociologists in Contemporary Philippine Society"  
Discussant — Prof. Ricardo M. Zarco
4. Prof. Ponciano L. Bennagen — "Toward the Abolition of Anthropology: The Unmasking of Anthropologists"  
Discussant: Prof. Jerome Bailen
5. Prof. Noe R. Tuason — "Irrelevant Philosophy or Toward Philosophical Relevance"  
Discussant — Mr. Salvador L. Carlos
6. Ms. Mita C. Jimenez — "The Threat from Psychology"  
Discussant — Prof. Rita D. Estrada
7. Dr. Ernesto A. Constantino — "Language as a World View or as a Mirror of Reality: The Linguistic Illusion"  
Discussant — Prof. Consuelo J. Paz

8. Dr. Gelia T. Castillo — "The Relevance of Rural Sociology"

9. Dr. Tito E. Contado — "Action-Oriented Programs in the Social Sciences: An Evaluation"

**DLSU releases instructional  
tool in Philippine counselling**

The Department of Guidance and Counselling of the Graduate School of Education, De La Salle University recently released its first Research Monograph entitled *An Integrated Report on Five Counselling Cases*.

The monograph is a joint faculty and graduate student research work within the Master of Science Program.

Five typical problem areas are presented in the monograph namely: Stuttering, A Study of Enuresis, A Case Study of an Obese Middle-Aged Woman, Underachievement, and the Misunderstood; An Attempted Study on Homosexuality.

**PCARR to update production  
guides for vital industries**

The Philippine Council for Agriculture and Resources Research (PCARR) has launched the *Philippine Recommends Series* which collates all the latest available technology for a given commodity industry, publishes in semi-technical form and sends out to provincial officials and other personnel who have direct or indirect contact with the farmers.

PCARR is the government's coordinating arm for all research in agriculture and natural resources.

A distinguishing feature of the *Philippines Recommends Series* is its updating mechanism. PCARR has organized technical editing panels for all the *Recommends*: to continuously analyze the information available, discard obsolete data and incorporate recommendations based on the latest research results.

Started only in 1974, the Series has, to date, 25 volumes for 25 vital commodities.

This year, 1977, PCARR plans to update eight of these volumes.

### Visayas fertility study ends second phase

The Office for Population Studies (OPS) of the University of San Carlos in Cebu City has just completed the second phase of an area fertility survey of two pilot provinces of the Visayas as part of the family planning evaluation program of the Commission on Population.

The survey covered 2,500 households in Negros Oriental and 1,500 households in Capiz.

Related surveys are being conducted by the University of the Philippines Population Institute in Laguna, Nueva Ecija and Pangasinan, and by the Xavier University Research Institute for Mindanao Culture in Misamis Oriental and Southern Leyte.

The survey is being conducted to determine the birth rate and whether the family planning measures have been effective.

### Five IPC projects launched

The Institute of Philippine Culture (IPC) has recently launched five projects on various topics.

*Social participation in rural development*, directed by Carlos A. Fernandez II, is part of a three-country (Bangladesh, Indonesia, and Philippines) study on development and the low-income strata. This study seeks to understand the socio-economic mechanisms which explain the persistence or creation of poverty in certain sectors of the population, and to analyze current anti-poverty programs. This project is sponsored by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP).

*Increasing the participation of women in the development process*, headed by Elizabeth Uy Eviota, is part of the project review paper for the NEDA-USAID social and economic impact analysis project. The IPC project proposes and prescribes procedures for looking at ways in which women are sharing or not sharing in the resources,

skills and other benefits derived from development assistance programs. Specific measurement indicators are devised to assess the impact of developmental activities on the situation of women.

*A community-generated evaluation for UNICEF's women in development program*, directed by Carmelita E. Santiago, will evaluate the UNICEF-EAPRO Philippine project on the enhancement of women in development. A significant feature of the research, which focuses on Kibawe, Bukidnon and Cebu City activities, is the participation of the grassroots women themselves in the evaluation of the program. IPC will help them work out a monitoring, data-gathering and storage system according to their needs, and train them to manage it.

*Monitoring and evaluation of the development of a communal irrigation system in Nueva Ecija*, is sponsored by the National Irrigation Administration (NIA) and directed by Delia Cecilia Ochoa Unson. It is designed to evaluate the pilot program which the NIA launched in Barrios Pinagbaryuhan and Siclong, Laur, and to prepare the farmers in assuming responsibilities for maintaining and managing communal irrigation systems. The IPC's role is to monitor and evaluate the progress of the project.

*1976 socioeconomic study of Ateneo students*, directed by Frank Lynch, S.J., largely replicates one part of an IPC study conducted in December 1969 which established the socio-economic status of students enrolled in the Ateneo high school and college. The present study compares the 1976 findings with the 1969 data and draws conclusions about the trends and changes that have occurred in the intervening years.

### University of Hawaii lists courses for Philippine Studies

The University of Hawaii has released a list of courses on the Philippines and the Filipinos offered in Spring 1977 by different departments under the Philippine Studies Program.

Among the courses offered are: Philippine Culture and Society, Schools and

the Bilingual/Bicultural Child (with special emphasis on Filipinos), Philippine Social History, Philippine politics, Elementary, Intermediate, Third-level and Fourth-level Tagalog, and Elementary, Intermediate and Third-level Ilokano.

### Historians to hold international confab

The Seventh Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia will be held in Bangkok from August 22 to 26, 1977. Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok, in cooperation with several other Thai universities, will play host to the conference.

The conference will deliberate on the following topics: Asia — Problems and Prospects; International Relations of Asia; The Impact of Historical Heritage on Modernization; Ideology/Value System-Integration and Conflict; Role of Women in Asia; and Historiography, Archaeology and Oral History.

Interested historians may inquire from:

Dr. Pensri Duke  
Secretary-General  
The Seventh IAHA Conference  
Department of History  
Chulalongkorn University  
Bangkok 5, Thailand

### Set conference on SEA studies

The Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences of the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur will hold a Conference on Southeast Asian Studies in the latter part of 1977. To be conducted from November 22 to 26, 1977, the primary aim of the Conference is to bring together specialists who have had previous experience in the planning, organization and implementation of interdisciplinary area studies programmes in the field of Southeast Asian Studies.

It will be devoted to the task of evaluating the development of Southeast Asian Studies so far and at the same time providing an opportunity for academic specialists to discuss the current state of research in their respective disciplines.

The conference will be divided into four sessions:

**Country Reports:** Selected individuals representing major countries in which SEA studies have been developed will present an analysis of their experience in their respective countries.

**Research Papers:** Interested participants may submit original papers on the following topics:

1. Indigenous Society
2. Literature and Culture
3. Environment and Development
4. Economics and Politics

Writers are advised to concentrate on subjects which are either regional or interdisciplinary in content and should try to identify special areas of interest from both teaching and research standpoints.

**Curriculum Papers:** Papers are also invited on curriculum needs in the teaching of SEA Studies with emphasis on the structure of undergraduate programmes. These papers should outline the problems of obtaining adequate literature for teaching purposes and should also discuss the possibilities of integrating individual courses within an interdisciplinary programme of studies.

**Plenary:** A summary of the main conclusions arrived at the end of the three earlier sessions will be presented where recommendations and proposals could be made to serve as guidelines for the introduction of a SEA studies programme.

There will also be lunch talks by prominent persons who will be invited to comment on topics of current interest in Southeast Asian affairs.

Interested participants are requested to inform the Organizing Committee of their intentions to attend by April 1, 1977.

Those intending to write papers should submit an abstract of not more than 250 words by July 1, 1977. These abstracts would be published and circulated before the Conference.

The finalized version of papers should reach the organizers by September 1, 1977.

Further information regarding details may be obtained from:

The Organizing Committee  
Conference on-Southeast Asian Studies  
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences  
University of Malaya  
Kuala Lumpur 22-11  
Malaysia

### New periodical on ethnicity

*The Southeast Asia Ethnicity and Development Newsletter* has just published its maiden issue. This newsletter was born out of the need to stimulate and encourage research that would promote a better understanding of ethnicity and its implications for development in Southeast Asia.

The newsletter will be published three times a year. It is based at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies in Singapore.

The maiden issue contains reports on the Philippine Research Workshop on Ethnicity Problems held at Tagaytay City in 1975 and the Ethnicity and Development Workshop at Singapore in 1976.

In line with one of its objectives, the newsletter is compiling a list of persons in Southeast Asia who are interested or working in the field of Ethnicity and Development. All concerned are invited to submit the necessary information (name, address or P.O. Box number, present country of residence, country of permanent residence, academic qualifications, an outline of the research or general academic interest in the field of ethnicity and development, and a list of publications in the same field if any) to the Editorial Committee, *Newsletter on Ethnicity and Development*, c/o Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Cluny Road, Singapore 10.

### New officers for PHA

The Philippine Historical Association recently elected a new set of officers for FY 1977.

Elected were: Prof. Minerva Gonzales (University of Santo Tomas), president; Prof. Filipinas Pineda, (University of the East), vice-president; Mrs. Flordeliza Militante, (National Historical Institute),

secretary; Prof. Lourdes Santos (University of the East), treasurer; Prof. Paulino Capitulo (Lyceum of the Philippines), auditor; Dean Gloria M. Santos, (St. Mary's College), public relations officer; Prof. Buenaventura Medina, (Ateneo de Manila University), editor-in-chief; and Dr. Romeo Cruz, Dr. Bonifacio S. Salamanca (University of the Philippines), and Prof. Diosdado Capino (Arellano University), governors.

Executive Director is still Prof. Jorge Revilla of the University of the East.

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### Seminars, workshops, conferences

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The *Philippine Christian University* will present Dr. John. D. Maguire as second guest lecturer of the William P. Fenn Lecturers on March 1, 1977 at the PCU Auditorium. His lecture is entitled "Asian and American Universities: Some Common Challenges." An internationally respected teacher, scholar and administrator, Dr. Maguire is president of the State University of New York, College at Old Westbury. He is currently serving as visiting professor of humanities at the Silliman University.

The *Department of Education and Culture* will sponsor a two-week utilization seminar in population education starting February 14, 1977. The sessions will be held at the National Defense College of the Philippines, Fort Bonifacio, Rizal. The seminar aims to hasten the practical use of research studies in population education. Participants will be research and evaluation supervisors of school divisions and population-education research coordinators of state colleges.

A lecture and slide show on "The Naga Design in Southeast Asian Art" by Juan R. Francisco, executive director of the Philippine American Educational Foundation, was the feature of the fourth *Art and Society Lecture Series* of the Department of Humanities, University of the Philippines. It was held at the UP Faculty Center Conference Hall on February 28, 1977.

The *Extra-Mural Studies Program* of the UP College of Arts and Sciences and the *German Cultural Center* will sponsor two "World Today" lectures of Dr. Heinrich

A. Winkler on March 1 and 2, 1977 at the UP Faculty Center Conference Hall. The March 1st lecture will feature Dr. Winkler's talk on "The Bourgeois and the Proletarian Revolution: A Theory of Marx and Engels Reconsidered" while the March 2nd lecture will focus on "Organized Capitalism: A Theory of Rudolf Hilferding in Historical Perspective." Dr. Winkler is dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and director of the Department of History and Social Sciences, University of Freiburg, West Germany.

The *World Today* Lecture Series of the Extra-Mural Studies Program, College of Arts and Sciences, University of the Philippines aims to promote a critical awareness of the experiences of other peoples who strive to achieve development with equality and freedom. The program hopes that such an awareness will encourage the academic community to participate actively in the continuing search for alternative development strategies.

The lectures, which commenced in July are held monthly at the UP Faculty Center Conference Hall. Among those who have discussed the issues were: Onofre D. Corpuz, "Cuba Today"; Francisco Nemenzo, Jr., "Revolution and Socialist Construction: The Soviet Experience"; Renata Simpson, "Cuba: Old and New"; Roger J. Bresnahan, "Theory of Informal Empire and American Withdrawal from the Philippines: A Hypothetical Investigation". Other lectures conducted were: American Influence in the Philippines: A Reassessment, IMF, World Bank and the Third World, Socialist Construction: The Chinese Experience: Development Strategies in the Third World; and Philippine Interest Groups and their Role in Political Modernization and Development.

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### Social scientists on the move

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*Pacifico N. Aprieto*, director of the University of the Philippines Press and professorial lecturer at the UP Institute of Mass Communication, will leave for Tokyo to attend a working meeting of an international panel of experts on the Dissemination of Knowledge at the invitation of

the United Nations University. The meeting was convened to obtain the advice of international authorities and scholars on the role of the United Nations University in the free flow and use of scholarly information particularly in developing countries.

*Manuel Dia*, dean of the Asian Labor Education Council, will leave for Singapore in February to attend the Asian Seminar on Training of Moderators and Educators. The meeting will be held from February 8 to 18, 1977.

*Mahar Mangahas*, professor, UP School of Economics, will participate in a seminar on "Long-Range Development Prospects for the Asian-Pacific Region" to be held in Honolulu, Hawaii from January 15-21, 1977. The seminar is being sponsored by the East-West Center and the Systems Research Center of Case Western Reserve University.

*Edita A. Tan*, another professor at the UP School of Economics is scheduled to attend a seminar on "The Economics of the New Media: Present situation of Research" to be held in Washington, D. C. from March 1 to 5, 1977. The International Council of Educational Media will sponsor the seminar.

*Reynaldo V. Guioguo*, assistant professor at the UP Institute of Mass Communication will leave for Hawaii in late January to participate in the East-West Technology and Development Institute's Workshop on "Low Cost Housing Technology Research Dissemination (third series)". The workshop will be held from February 2 to 9, 1977.

*Mercedes B. Concepcion*, dean of the Population Institute, University of the Philippines, will participate in the January 8-23, 1977 19th Session of the UN Population Commission in New York.

Three professors from the UP College of Public Administration will participate in the 2nd Working Meeting of the "Bureaucratic Behavior Asia Project," January 17 to 24, 1977. They are: *Raul P. de Guzman* dean, *Jose N. Endrigo* and *Ma. Concepcion Alfiler*, assistant professors. The meeting is being sponsored by the International Development Research Centre in coordina-

tion with the UP College of Public Administration.

*Gabriel U. Iglesias*, professor of public administration, University of the Philippines will leave for Hawaii in the middle of January to participate in the case writing program on project management of the Technology and Development Institute of the East-West Center.

*Elena M. Panganiban*, researcher at the UP College of Public Administration, will attend the Asian Development Institute Seminar on Local Government and Development to be held in Manila, Malaysia and Thailand, February 28 to April 8, 1977.

*Teresita S. Palacios*, professor, UP Institute of Social Work and Community Development, leaves for Katmandu, Nepal, to attend the UNICEF-sponsored Seminar on the Participation of Women in Political, Economic, and Social Development, February 14-24, 1977. The seminar will focus specifically on the machinery to accelerate the integration of women in development.

*Francisco Albano, Jr.*, professor at the Araneta University Foundation, was recently appointed acting Dean of Students of AUF. Prior to his appointment, Prof. Albano was chairman of the department of psychology of the same university.

Three Filipinos are involved in the 1977 program of advanced study in cross-cultural research of the Culture Learning Institute, East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii. They are *Gloria Chan-Yap*, Ateneo de Manila University; *Eleanor Elequin* and *Virgilio Enriquez*, both from the University of the Philippines.

*Emilia del Callar*, chairperson of the Department of Guidance and Counselling, Graduate School of De La Salle University left for a three-month consultation trip in Asia and the United States. *Rose Salazar* will serve as the acting chairperson in Dr. del Callar's absence.

*Bro. Paul Hebert*, F.S.C., vice-president for development and research of De La Salle University will travel to Jakarta, Singapore and Hong Kong in February upon the invitation of the Asia Founda-

tion. He will serve as a consultant in university management at Air Langga University, Surabaya, Indonesia.

*Mary Racelis Hollnsteiner*, Institute of Philippine Culture (IPC) director, will leave for the University of Sussex, England to attend on March 2 to 4 a conference sponsored by the Institute of Development Studies on access to housing.

*Frank Lynch*, S.J., will leave February 5 for Washington D.C. to be a USAID commissioned consultant on manpower development for one month. He is a resident consultant of IPC, and director of the Social Survey Research Unit (SSRU) of the IPC at Naga City.

Five researchers have joined the Institute of Philippine Culture (IPC) since January under the Visiting Research Associate Program:

*Daniel F. Doeppers*, chairman of the Center of Southeast Asia Studies, University of Wisconsin, is doing a study on "Philippine intra-urban migration." The study aims to gain a refined conception of the nature of contemporary Philippine urban neighborhood and the processes which produce and maintain them. One question the study seeks to answer is whether or not residential mobility is related to the stage in the family cycle;

*Ronald S. Himes*, associate professor of anthropology at San Diego State University, is doing a study to discover patterns of change in decision-making as to household membership and neighborhood affiliation as people move from traditional rural settings to urban centers. The study, "Household formation, residence choice, and change in two Philippine communities," will be conducted in Marilao, Bulacan and Sagada, Mt. Province.

*Howard S. Sheehy*, candidate for Ph. D. degree at the University of Kansas, is working on his dissertation "Non-formal education in rural development." The study explores ways in which private agencies can participate with grassroots populations in planning, operating and evaluating modernization programs in ways the populations see as positive to their well-being.

*Ma. Monita A. Manalo* is doing "Oral language attitudes of selected Filipino mo-

nolingual and bilingual students" to explore the possible effects of bilingualism on children's communication attitudes. The study will be submitted to the Department of Curriculum and Instruction, University of Wisconsin, as her doctoral dissertation.

*Frederick Fox, S.J.*, is a professor of education of the Canisius College of Buffalo, New York, and a holder of Ph. D. degree in Education Administration, University of Chicago. Fr. Fox is currently writing a book-length account of Philippine education from 1860 to 1960. His project, "One hundred years of Philippine education: 1860-1960, a historical study," promises to be detailed, documented, and heavily based on a wide range of primary sources.

University of the Philippines President Onofre D. Corpuz has announced the appointment of 34 new full professors and 21 professorial chairholders of the university. The new appointments bring a total of 296 full professors and 98 professorial chairholders. Two of the new appointments are holders of the highest academic rank of UP professor.

Among the appointees are several social scientists: Prof. *Fe R. Arcinas* (sociology); Dr. *Fredegusto David* (psychology); Dr. *Bayani Baylon* (psychology); Dr. *Virgilio Enriquez* (psychology); and Dr. *Gabriel U. Iglesias* (public administration) who is the vice-chairman of the PSSC Executive Board.

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#### PSSC GRANTEES

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graph/Manual on Social Perspectives in the study of Religion;"



ALMONTE

3. Sister Isabelita Riego de Dios: "A Composite Dictionary of Philippine Creole Spanish;"

4. Adela I. Escover: "Death and Burial Practices Among Ifugao Groups;"

5. Sister Rita Ferraris, R. V. M.: "Native Beaterio for Women in Colonial Philippines;"

6. Violeta Ignacio: "Protest Against the Americans as Reflected in Tagalog Socialist Literature;"

7. Silvestre B. Maslang: "The Balangao Convent: A Research on the Animism of a Primitive Tribe and its Cultural Interaction with Christianity;"



MASLANG

8. Aida J. Mirasol-Ricarze: "The History of Antique;"

9. Susan N. Montepio: "Folk Practices: their Implications on the Rural Health Program of the Government;"



MONTEPIO

10. Teresita Rafael: "Negatives in Bisayan Language;" and

11. Renato B. Reyes: "Jesuit Missionary Endeavor in Northern Mindanao."

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**Information section**


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Due to lack of space, the subsections *Grantees, Research Projects, Unpublished Papers, Inventory of Social Scientists* will be published in the April – June 1977 issue.

### RECENT PUBLICATIONS

Reported publications for the period November 1976 to January 1977.

Entry format: Title. Author/Editor. Home institution. Type. Where published (if it is an article). Vol. No. Date. Pages. Price. Where Available.

- Agrarian Unrest in the Philippines: Guardia de Honor – Revitalization within the Revolution; Rizalistas – Contemporary Revitalization Movements in the Philippines.* David R. Sturtevant. Southeast Asia Series No. 8. 44 pp. 1969, reprinted 1973. \$2.75. Ohio University Press, Administrative Annex, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio 45701.
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- Conjugal Interaction and Fertility Behavior Among the Filipino Urban Working Class.* Natividad Martinez-Esquillo. 1977. Institute of Philippine Culture, Bellarmine Hall, Ateneo de Manila University. Loyola Heights, Quezon City.
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- Malpractices Faced by the Metro Manila Low-income Consumer: A Pilot Study with Implications for Consumer Education.* Cristina Montiel. 1977. Institute of Philippine Culture, Bellarmine Hall, Ateneo de Manila University. Loyola Heights, Quezon City.
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- Performance Rating and Promotion: The DBP Experience." Florencia C. Villanueva. Development Bank of the Philippines Research notes. *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*. Pp. 315-327.
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- "Sociolinguistics in the United States: Some Notes and Some Applications." Ma. Lourdes S. Bautista. De La Salle University. Article. *Dialogue*. Pp. 23-32. Please refer to Journal listing.
- The Future of Portuguese Timor.* Stephen Hoadley, Occasional Papers No. 270 p. 1975. 28 pp. \$2.50. Distributed by the Ohio University Press, Administrative Annex, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio 45701.
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- The Philippines and the United States: The Forging of New Relations.* Alejandro M. Fernandez. University of the Philippines. 1977. Published by the National Science Development Board and the University of the Philippines.
- "The Dialects of Panay." Eliza U. Griño. Central University. Article. *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*. Pp. 1-22. Please refer to Journal listing.
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- "The Rise of 'Participatory Bureaucracy' in the United States Federal Service." David H. Rosenbloom. University of Vermont. Article. *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*. Pp. 293-305. Please refer to Journal listing.
- "Thinking on Trial-Observation of Think-Tanking in the Philippines." Wilfredo Clemente II. Development Academy of the Philippines. Article. *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*. Pp. 306-314. Please refer to Journal listing.
- "Towards a Definition of Crisis Administration: Some Sociological and Legal Notes on Administering A Community in *Extremis*." Victoriano A. Hipe. College of Public Administration, University of the Philippines. Article. *Philippine Journal of Public Administration*. Pp. 257-277. Please refer to Journal listing.
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*Dialogue*. Official publication of De La Salle University. Marcelino A. Foronda, Jr., editor. Vol. XII No. 2 January 1977. 81 pp. Address all communications to the Editor, "Dialogue" DLSU, Taft Avenue, Manila.

*Philippine Journal of Linguistics*. Official journal of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines. Andrew B. Gonzales, FSC, ed. Vol. 6 No. 2. December 1975. Annual subscription: ₱15.00/ US \$5.00. Manuscripts and correspondence should be sent to Bro. Andrew B. Gonzales, FSC, De La Salle University, 2401 Taft Avenue, Manila. Mail subscription orders to PSSC Central Subscription Service, P. O. Box 655, Greenhills, Rizal 3113.

*Philippine Journal of Public Administration*. Official journal of the College of Public Administration, University of the Philippines. Ledivina V. Cariño, ed. Vol. XIX No. 4. October 1975. Annual Subscription: ₱30.00/US \$10.00. Manuscripts and communications should be sent to the Editor and orders for subscription should be sent to the Editor and orders for subscription should be sent to the Business Manager, "Philippine Journal of Public Administration", P. O. Box 474, Manila.

*The Philippine Statistician*. Official journal of the Philippine Statistical Association. Cristina P. Parel, ed. Vol. XXV Nos. 1-2. January - June 1976. Annual subscription: ₱12.00/US \$4.00. Manuscripts and correspondence should be sent to the editor, Dr. Cristina P. Parel, P. O. Box 3223, Manila.

### QUANTIFICATION

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40. Guttman, *ASR*, p. 140.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
43. Guttman, *ASR*, p. 142.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

45. Madge, *The Tools of Social Science*, p. 194.

46. Joseph Strayer, "The Historian's Concept of Public Opinion," in *Common Frontiers of the Social Sciences*, edited by Mirra Komarovsky (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951) p. 264.

47. Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "The Obligations of the 1950 Pollster to the 1984 Historian," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XIV (Winter, 1950 - 51), p. 625.

48. Strayer, "The Historian's Concept," in Komarovsky, *Common Frontiers*, p. 265. See also Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "The Limits of Social Science," in *American History and the Social Sciences*, edited by Edward N. Saveth (London: Collier-MacMillan Ltd., 1964), pp. 531-536.

49. Lee F. Anderson, et. al., *Legislative Roll-Call Analysis* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1966), pp. 5-7.

See also Duncan MacRae, Jr., *Dimensions of Congressional Voting: A Statistical Study of the House of Representatives in the Eighty-First Congress* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958).

50. Lee Benson, "Research Problems in American Political Historiography," in Komarovsky, *Common Frontiers*, p. 145.

51. William O. Aydelotte, "Quantification in History," *American Historical Review*, LXXI (April, 1966), p. 804.

52. Henry David, "Opinion Research in the Service of the Historian," in Komarovsky, *Common Frontiers*, p. 273.

### PHILIPPINE RADICALISM

From page 19

to a *barangay*. For in both processes the democratic essence is preserved of public explanation of the issues presented, non-coercion of the opinion sought, public debate, and the secrecy of the ballot. The martial edge is shown only in compelling the people to vote on pain of punishment if they do not.

But what is compelled is a civic duty, and if such a compulsion were removed from all our laws it becomes an open question whether civil society could continue to exist. The consensus of evidence is clear on the freedom that has prevailed thus far in all referendums to date, and even the Roman Catholic Church, as an episcopal body, and outspoken on various instances against the present leadership, has formally endorsed the validity of referendum results.

*Police power*: The other aspect of the egalitarian test concerns the use of the police powers of the state. Again, traditional civilian courts continue to adjudicate judicial matters amongst the people. Military courts account for but a fraction of litigations, and the only original jurisdiction exercised by them pertains directly to matters of national security. There has been no showing thus far of capricious arrests, and the prevailing policy of the leadership appears to be a rather eager policy of granting amnesty. There is no general fear of capricious arrests either, although there is a

most salutary feat that criminal transgressions cannot find *padrinos* to avert punishment.

The fear of detention does not reach to the level of the *tao*, for he knows that only the hoodlums and the criminal elements of his class are arrested, while he is left in peace to till his fields and hawk his wares. The middle class, meaning to say the level from supervisors to professionals, does not fear detention, for they see that only criminal elements such as *estafadores* are arrested from among them. The fear of arrest in the upper classes concerns only those whose shady financial dealings with respect to lending institutions, fraudulent titling of property, tax fraud, find themselves unable to find certain succor in bribery and shyster lawyers.

But the fear of unjust detention pervades the so-called intellectual class whose members, particularly political writers and teachers, long for the untrammelled freedom of venting their spleen on every act of government. Of course, counter-revolutionaries of every persuasion fear arrest, which is a fear they would feel under any regime.

Thus, when the people consider that the typical detainee is either a criminal or a counter-revolutionary, then their earthy logic makes the conclusion, no matter how unspoken, that the criminal and the loser deserve sequestration, thereby leaving the *tao* in enjoyment of public peace. The absolute lack of mass sympathy for detained

leaders of the *ilustrado* class, in particular, derives from the centuries-long experience of oppression and exploitation that our *tao* has suffered from the *ilustrado* whose present predicament the *tao* relishes in petty vengeance.

There is, however, a very fine line between the imperative of political stability and the excesses of tyranny. That line, in the mind of the masses, will not be crossed as long as the guns of the state are not turned on the masses, but only on their traditional enemies.

*A government that governs:* Except for his exercise of legislative authority, ratified and sanctioned by the people, and, his creation of military courts which supplant civilian courts only in matters of national security, Marcos has instituted no other qualitative change in our structure of government. It has become a general opinion that the only visible sign of martial law is the imposition of curfew. His power of sovereign regency is used by Marcos basically to remove the delays inherent in our previous legislative process, for the fundamental objective of infusing the element of instant response to the executive processes of government.

In essence, Marcos is functioning as a prime minister with a strong majority in a democratic parliamentary form of government. But in *praxis* we locate Marcos' effective majority in three factors: the charisma which enabled him to gain personal control of the power apparatus; his conceptual skill in sustaining the revolution; and, the economic egalitarianism of his program of government.

The first factor of *charisma* is too unquantifiable for analysis; suffice it to say that it must have been there or he would never have been able to gain personal control of the power apparatus.

The second factor of *conceptual skill* in sustaining the revolution has a scholarly fascination that deserves some mention. For by his acts, it were as if Marcos had studiously compiled a list of do's and don't's in the conduct of a revolution.

Does Brinton note that a uniformly recurrent element in revolutionary situations is the abandonment of the regime by the intellectuals? Then here is Marcos allowing the most virulent columnists against him to work in the government.

Does Hoffer say that gossip suppressed is more destructive than truth released? Then here is Marcos allowing newspapers to print stories about corruption in the highest places.

Does Arendt say that constitution-making is the noblest of revolutionary deeds? Then here is Marcos, locating his legitimation in one constitution and consolidating the same legitimation in another.

Did Gibbon observe that the collapse of the Roman empire accelerated when its emperors became victims of their own praetorian guards? Then here is Marcos placing a reservist at the head of his bodyguard and PMA career officers at the head of the regular services; improving their lot through a budget, not through impulsive largesse; preserving enough of their career hopes by a substantial observance of seniority, yet keeping them on their toes through occasional deep selection; leaning on their counsel but dealing with daily administrative routine through the Office of the Presidential Assistant on Military Affairs (OPAMA); with them as Chief, yet above them as unflinching disciplinarian.

Does the Filipino resent a hortatory address? Then here is Marcos speaking gently, cracking a witticism even as he announces a policy of arrest for tax evaders.

More examples are available, but the point we wish to stress is that now this skill is our shield against anarchy and chaos.

The *egalitarian economic programme* of Marcos indicates his recognition and acceptance of the view that the only real external threat to the stability of his regime would be a hostile army of the masses. By now, he fears no internal threat for his charisma has been reinforced by legitimation and the mechanical devices of check and balance over the power apparatus.

With the Marxists, Marcos believes that social and economic issues are fundamental, but the similarity here rests on the fact that the humanist precepts of Marxist ideology echo the primordial demands of all human societies. Humanist egalitarianism is a societal demand that antedates all formal political ideologies. Marcos, the humanist, not Marcos the ideologue, asserts his awareness of the economic basis of egalitarianism when he states:

A society in which the majority of the people are poor is . . . in constant danger of having its political authority corrupted and dominated by the rich minority. This was the essential point of my analysis of the oligarchic society. In these revolutionary times, such a society cannot last long. That society will endure whose members enjoy equality — in other words, a society which has eliminated economic inequality.

Marcos' strategy for political stability is both classic and clear: prosperity for the masses. Such a prosperity would necessarily mean prosperity for employers as well, but in the initial moves of Marcos we discern a deliberate policy of mass prosperity as a higher priority.

Thus, credit has become both massive and easier for rural folk, even as industrialists bemoan the lack of credit for operating capital. Their turn must come, but the allocation of scarce resources must flow first to the mass of the body politic. To counter the impoverishing effect of a wage-cost spiral, Marcos prohibits strikes, and simultaneously opens a safety valve by prohibiting dismissals without clearance from the Department of Labor, enforced arbitration, and persuasive pressure on companies to provide rice and housing benefits for their employees.

Marcos seems to have hazarded the stability of his regime and his place in history on the achievement of mass prosperity, which really means a rise in real income comfortably discernible to the mass of income-earners. That this is achievable is entirely within the realm of logical probability. At the height of Generalissimo Franco's achievement in this regard, he reached a stature in mass esteem that enabled him to force constitutional amendments by the threat of personal resignation.

In the instances of egalitarian balance we have noted above, the basic political tactic of Marcos would seem to be a form of barter. He does not merely impose; he trades, with the perennial thrust of the trader to obtain profit with maximum goodwill. We have seen instances of this tactic in his domestic policy.

But even in foreign relations as well, we note that even as he asserts sovereignty he soothes old allies. Thus, the opening to

the East was accompanied by allowing foreign oil companies to treat their bulk sales as permissible retail sales; the termination of parity rights also allowed Americans ample time in disposing of their holdings; we will remove extra-territorial rights over American military bases on our soil, but not U. S. bases *per se*.

Marcos strikes, but Marcos is ever ready to conciliate. Marcos consults even as he commands.

The rebellion in Mindanao must be firmly met with might, but in the spirit of containment. The final solution of Marcos is to reconcile them into the body politic by granting them pardon, giving them the economic benefits from which they have felt excluded, and accepting them as honorable companions in the sharing of political power. In time, only feudal loyalists and foreign mercenaries will remain, groups cut off from their base of mass support, thereby devolving from a national problem to a matter for local police action.

The formal rationalizations of Marcos for the revolution he waged are better understood as his tactical form of communication with the alienated intellectual class. To the men of words, Marcos addresses his own, attempting thereby to make them see in his programme a common vision, a common objective.

Again, he may succeed, for he has ranged the revolution on the egalitarian goals of the intellectual class. Many of them have joined his leadership, which may be a welcome augury for the decisions of the rest.

But as always, only performance and Time can truly judge us. The era of Marcos may be a golden era for our people, but if it ends with him then great will be our people's sorrow.

The lasting victory of a revolution is the institutionalization of its gains.

## NOTES

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rode to my rescue in a critical need like a regiment of U.S. Cavalry in an old-time western film. To my senior officers in the Philippine Army, Col. Jose O. Tansingco, Lt. Cols. Liberato A. Manuel and Oswaldo P. Villanueva, I am under heavy obligation for the time they have given me to pursue this work with consuming passion. While to the members of my doctoral committee for the written comprehensive examination, I owe an intellectual debt: Professors Remigio Agpalo, Emerenciana Arcellana, Alejandro Fernandez, Cesar Majul, Francisco Nemenzo, Jr., and Romualdo Tadena. Finally, to Regent Tomas Fonacier, whose godfather's role enabled me to enjoy a 5-year fellowship from the UP Endowment Foundation. Just where I would be without him, I cannot say.

1. To Michael Polanyi, this is a troublesome prospect for the task seems to be without end: "as soon as we had completed one such study, our subject matter would have been extended by this very achievement. We should have now to study the study that we had just completed . . . And so we should have to go on reflecting ever again on our last reflections, in an endless and futile endeavour to comprise completely the works of man." *The Study of Man* (Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1959), p. 11.

2. Hanged to death in 1905 for his terrorist activities against Czarist Russia and for assassinating the Grand Duke Sergei. See Albert Camus, *The Rebel*, trans. by Anthony Bower and with a foreword by Sir Robert Read (Middlesex: Peregrine Books, 1962), pp. 134-142.

3. His originality lay in coldly claiming, for those who dedicate themselves to the revolution, an "All is permitted" and in permitting himself everything in fact. Nechayev pushed nihilism to the extreme. His most exalted dream was to found a homicidal order which would permit him to propagate and finally enthrone the sinister divinity that he had decided to serve. See *ibid.*, especially pp. 128-133.

4. Robert Tucker, "Deradicalization of Marxist Movements," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 61, No. 2 (June, 1967), pp. 346-347.

5. Attempting to show how free are individuals bound by historical necessity, George Plekhanov, father of Russian Marxism, claimed: "If I know in what direction social relations are changing owing to given change in the social-economic process of production, I also know in what direction social mentality is changing; consequently, I am able to influence it. Hence, in a certain sense, I can make history, and there is no need for me to wait while 'it is being made.'" *The Role of the Individual in History* (New York: International Publishers, 1940), p. 61. For a criticism of historical and social determinism see Isaiah Berlin, *Historical Inevitability* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 19-25; and the rejoinder of E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), pp. 120-124.

6. The word *radix*, "root" was first used in a political sense in England, and its introduction is generally ascribed to Charles James Fox, who in 1797 declared for a "radical reform" consisting

of a drastic expansion of the franchise to the point of universal manhood suffrage. Thereafter, the term radical "indicated intransigent opposition to the Government; contempt for the weakness of the Whigs; opposition to restrictions upon political liberties; open exposure of corruption and the 'Pitt system'; and general support for parliamentary reform." E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1963), p. 466.

In France before 1848, the term radical designated a republican or supporter of universal manhood suffrage. Since the open advocacy of republicanism was technically illegal, republicans usually called themselves radicals. After 1869, a self-styled Radical faction led by Georges Clemenceau began to drift away from the moderate democratic-republicanism of Léon Gambetta and demanded "the suppression of the Senate and the Presidency, separation of Church and State, the substitution of a militia for the standing army, the election of judges, divorce, a progressive income tax, reduction of the working day, the abolition of the *livret ouvrier* — an extension of the Montagnard platform of 1848 with its slogan of '*vive la République démocratique et sociale*.'" David Caute, *The Left in Europe since 1789*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966), p. 40.

To Karl Marx: "To be radical is to grasp things by the root. But for man the root is man himself. What proves beyond doubt the radicalism of German theory, and thus its practical energy, is that it begins from the resolute *positive* abolition of religion." See his "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right," in T. B. Bottomore, ed., *Karl Marx; Early Writings*, with a new foreword by Erich Fromm (New York: McGraw-Hill Paperbacks, 1964), p. 52.

7. Caute, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

8. A definition is a focused view on a specific range of human experience. There must be a distinctiveness about it sufficient for it to be identifiable by a person other than the definer. Considering the inherent imprecision, or, even fallaciousness of language, there is usually a great deal of *a priori* concepts in any definition, together with variables and constants. It is the constants, however, which constitute the essence of any definition.

There are definitions which may be termed "pure" intellectual constructs in the sense that no physical phenomenon corresponds to them, as when we define "two" as the sum of "one plus one." There are also definitions which correspond to physical phenomena and direct human experience with such phenomena. Into this latter category falls almost all the words of any language, such that a dictionary is really essentially a record of verbal usages. Into this category also falls our definition of radicalism since its meaning can come only from historical usage, human experience.

See for instance, Egon Bittner, "Radicalism," in David L. Sills, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: The Macmillan Co. and the Free Press, 1968), Vol. 13, pp. 294-300; Fred Warner Neal, "Radicalism," in Julius Gould and William L. Kolb, eds., *A Dictionary of the Social Sciences* (New York: The

Free Press, 1964), p. 572; and Horace M. Kallen, "Radicalism," in Edwin Seligman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934), Vol. 13, pp. 51-54.

9. Because of their historical significance, which is extrinsic rather than intrinsic, various revolutions have been the popular subject of most historians and scholarly investigation tends to concentrate on the bloody and the spectacular. The neat, efficient, little *coup* is oftentimes passed over for the consideration of events which followed it. A grandiose blood-bath, however, may reflect an error of judgment for in point of revolutionary technique the *coup* has performed the same job much more efficiently.

See the following, *inter alia*: David C. Rapoport, "Coup d'Etat: The View of Men Firing Pistols," in Carl J. Friedrich, ed., *Nomos VIII: Revolution* (New York: Atherton Press, 1966); Andrew C. Janos, *The Seizure of Power: Study of Force and Popular Consent*, Research Monograph No. 16 (Princeton: Center of International Studies, 1964); D. J. Goodspeed, *The Conspirators: A Study of the Coup, d'Etat* (London: The Macmillan Co., 1962); Feliks Gross, *The Seizure of Political Power in a Century of Revolutions* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1958); Curzio Malaparte, *Coup d'Etat: The Technique of Revolution*, trans. by Sylvia Saunders (New York: E. P. Dutton 4 Co., 1932); and Edward Luttwak, *Coup d'etat: A Practical Handbook* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968).

10. To Hannah Arendt, each person in the public realm encounters a special "web of interrelationships" constituting that public; there they act and react during their lives. See *The Human Condition* (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1959), p. 163. However, this pattern of interrelationships changes constantly, and "the historian *qua* philosopher (and philosopher *qua* historian), who wishes to capture once and for all this spectacle of flux, seems 'destined' to fail. In other words, historical, on-going public action cannot be conceptualized or systematized as a dimension, but only sketched as one." Robert J. Pranger, *Action, Symbolism, and Order* (Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1968), p. 104.

11. Radicalism and the Organization of Radical Movements," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 28, No. 6 (December, 1963), p. 929.

12. By the historical record, radicalism has the following elements: (1) opposition to some socio-political status quo — the elements in the status quo opposed which comprise objectives; (2) entities in the body politic who manifest such opposition; and (3) the various means they employ to advance their opposition. In attempting to define radicalism, therefore, our fundamental task is to identify, isolate, and state its constants. But what are these?

Its *objectives* have ranged from enfranchisement to disenfranchisement; from monarchism to republicanism; from more civil liberties to less civil liberties. The *entities* in the body politic who have expressed radicalism have range from the peasantry to the aristocracy; from literates

to illiterates; from civilians to soldiers; from the "haves" to the "have nots." The *means* employed in the service of radicalism have been verbal and physical, with physical violence upon persons or property, or without any physical violence upon any person or property. Clearly, then, if we are to identify the constants of political radicalism, we cannot find these in the specific physical historical evidence on objectives, entities, and means. Only the element of opposition remains.

13. Thus to Eric Hoffer: "The differences between the conservative and the radical seem to spring mainly from their attitude toward the future. Fear of the future causes us to lean against and cling to the present, while faith in the future renders us receptive to change. Both the rich and the poor, the strong and the weak, they who have achieved much or little can be afraid of the future. When the present seems so perfect that the most we can expect is its even continuation in the future, change can only mean deterioration. . . . There can thus be revolutions by the privileged as well as by the underprivileged." See *The True Believer: Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movements*, Perennial Library ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), p. 19.

14. Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution*, Viking Compass ed. (New York: The Viking Press, 1965), p. 28.

15. Cesar Adib Majul, *Mabini and the Philippine Revolution* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1960), p. 4.

16. "The crime of rebellion is complete the very moment a group of rebels rise publicly and take arms against the Government, for the purpose of overthrowing the same by force. It is not necessary, to consummate rebellion, that the rebels succeed in overthrowing the Government. *Rising publicly and taking arms* against the Government is the *normative* element of the offense, while the *intent or purpose* to overthrow the Government is the *subjective* element." Luis B. Reyes, *The Revised Penal Code*, 9th edition (Quezon City: Emmanuel V. Reyes, 1971), Book II, pp. 72-73.

Hence, the radical who fails is shot as a rebel, while the radical who succeeds shoots as a revolutionary. In the first case, the wheel of power did not turn around; while in the second case, the wheel turned fully around, breaking restraining hands instead. For this reason, our criminal code quite prudently punishes rebellion but not revolution; when revolutionists win what is legal or illegal, constitutional or unconstitutional is defined by their moral terms.

17. *A Study of Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 29.

18. Camus makes the following distinction: "Rebellion is, by nature, limited in scope. It is no more than incoherent pronouncement. Revolution, on the contrary, originates in the realm of ideas. Specifically, it is the injection of ideas into historic experience while rebellion is only the movement which leads from individual experience into the realm of ideas. While even the collective history of a movement of rebellion is always that of a fruitless struggle with facts, of an obscure protest which involves neither methods

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nor reasons, a revolution is an attempt to shape actions to ideas, to fit the world into a theoretical frame. That is why rebellion kills men while revolution destroys both men and principles. *The Rebel*, p. 77.

19. Outside of the political power structure, the radical needs partners, and then a party captures power, as when the Bolsheviks overthrew the Czar government. But inside the power structure, "one man with courage" can become the effective majority.

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