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# PANORAMA

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## QUALITIES FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT

It is said, with truth, that knowledge and experience as well as intelligence are needed to fit a people for free self-government. But a still graver defect than the want of experience is the want of the desire for self-government in the mass of the nation. When a people allow an old-established government like that of the Tsars or the Manchus to be overthrown, it is because they resent its oppressions or despise its incompetence. But this does not mean that they wish to govern themselves. As a rule, *that which the mass of any people desires is not to govern itself but to be well governed.* So when free institutions are forced on a people who have not spontaneously called for them, they come as something not only unfamiliar but artificial. They do not naturally and promptly engage popular interest and sympathy but are regarded with an indifference which lets them fall into the hands of those who seek to use the machinery of government for their own purposes. It is as if one should set a child to drive a motor car. Wherever self-government has worked well, it is because men have fought for it and valued it as a thing they had won for themselves, feeling it to be the true remedy for misgovernment...

A population of a bold and self-reliant character is more fitted to work free institutions than is one long accustomed to passive and unreasoning obedience...

— James Bryce in *Modern Democracies*.

## VIEWS IN ANTICIPATION OF OUR CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION IN 1970-1971

The other day, two of our friends happened to drop in at my place in Foundation College for a visit. In the course of an interesting conversation they mentioned their expectations about the election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention to be held in 1970. I remarked that the subject deserves the serious consideration of all the citizens of our country. For one thing, it should be taken as primarily a civic problem and a transcendent national undertaking in its nature and significance. It should never therefore be treated as a mere partisan political matter and should not be disposed of as an issue between our political parties and factions. For instance, in the case of the 1934 Convention, all parties and their leaders agreed to set aside partisan considerations in the selection of the delegates and in the way the

election campaign was to be waged. That agreement, although not completely observed, was a wise and patriotic gesture. For partisan political campaigns, observed the famed and perceptive scholar and author James Harvey Robinson, are "emotional orgies which endeavor to distract attention from the real issues involved." Proceeding in this line, he remarked that political party struggles, "paralyze what slight powers of cerebration man can normally muster."

The Constitutional Convention is not an institution comparable or similar to Congress or the office of the President or of the provincial Governor, or of the City Mayor or of other kinds of political offices. It is essentially different. Unlike Congressmen and Senators, the delegates have no power or influence to secure favors and privileges for themselves

and their friends. They have no power to vote huge allowances for themselves or for others. They have no power to threaten businessmen or personal enemies with troublesome investigations. They have no means within their official function to perpetuate themselves in their posts. They hold office for only a few months. They are intrusted to perform only one thing: to draft a proposed constitution which will not be effective at all unless the national electorate approve it.

The provisions of a Constitution are not intended to benefit a particular region, class, interest, or group. They are meant to protect and advance the interests of all the elements of the population of our country. They are intended to correct practices performed by our Government which have been shown to be detrimental to the general welfare. They may introduce new features which have proved beneficial in other countries similar in some ways to our own. *Therefore*, the voters have to choose delegates who have no particular interests to

serve, who are not bound to serve and advance the special needs and conditions of a particular political party, sectarian group, social class, or economic clique.

Of course, it is not easy to achieve this goal; but it is obvious that it can be approximated only when delegates are not under the direct control of particular parties or special interests or are not elected at the behest of political chieftains who are not motivated by truly high, impartial, and enlightened interests. President Quezon, Osmeña, and Sumulong, and others were political leaders of this type and persuasion. They positively refused to inject partisan and narrow personal considerations in the selection of the delegates in 1934. In this particular matter, they acted as real disinterested national leaders; and they continually showed that lofty spirit of statesmanship in the organization of the Constitutional Convention in 1934-1935.

The voters should be made aware about these things. They should therefore ask and vote for candi-

dates who are known to have the best of these qualifications. If a person runs merely to enjoy the honor of being a signer of the Constitution or to be remembered as some sort of rebuilder of the Nation but does not know exactly how and why its provisions have been introduced, considered, interpreted, and approved, such person does not deserve to be elected delegate to the Convention. He could easily be misled into approving mischievous ideas and practices. If one becomes a delegate just because he has the support of selfish political bosses, he may not be expected to exercise intelligently the freedom and responsibility of a delegate who should work only for the highest interests of the country today and in the years to come.

We need to inform every Filipino citizen, particularly the voters, that the Constitution is not like a law of Congress or a municipal ordinance that can be easily changed any time of the year when found defective or inadequate by perceptive observers. Once a Constitu-

tion is approved it acquires a degree of permanence for one or more generations. It becomes very difficult to change its provisions including those parts that are found inadequate and unsatisfactory.

Hence, delegates to the Constitutional Convention should be men of tested ability and ripe knowledge concerning basic questions affecting the social, economic, and educational life of the country. Among them there should be persons who have made a careful and critical study of the workings of our basic laws and the record of our government institutions. They should be mature and responsible individuals who have a broad understanding of our past and of the present social, economic, and political conditions. They are better prepared to revise and improve our present Constitution than those who have not had this special experience and observation. Those who are acquainted with the constitutional charters of progressive nations today are undoubtedly well qualified to draft a desirable

and workable constitution for our country.

But in addition to having exceptional competence and broad knowledge of social and economic institutions, our delegates should be persons of unquestioned honesty and integrity who are ready to forget and set aside personal and selfish motives in the adoption of this basic document. Their objective should be to produce a document that could promote the welfare of all the elements of the nation.

No individual who does not have these special qualifications of mind and character should be considered worthy of holding a seat in the Constitutional Convention. No responsible political, civic, economic, or social leader should try to persuade voters to vote for such a candidate. One who does not have the necessary qualifications for a Convention seat should not have the presumption and temerity to present his candidacy for it. But we should not forget that there are men in our country today with very limited competence, dubious morality, and insufficient

preparation who often take risks to be elected to any post of power or honor especially when they have the money, political influence, and power to attract to their camp the innocent, the incompetent, and the needy voters. It is therefore, essential that responsible and intelligent citizens, such as the members of the Lions Club and similar associations of high purpose, should form themselves into militant groups to support candidates who are educationally and morally fit to serve as delegates. When the Constitutional Convention comes under the direction of delegates of special ability, intellectual maturity, educational preparation, and moral temper, we will have reason to hope for a Constitution more suitable to the needs and conditions of our people and country.

But there is more than the act of electing knowledgeable men and women to the Constitutional Convention, more than just bringing together persons of high ideals, tested integrity, and practical experience. We should remember that a constitu-

tional convention does not and cannot exist in a vacuum. There is also the need for the people of the country to maintain active awareness of the measures proposed during its meetings and deliberations. This is an attitude and a stance that must be of urgent compelling necessity specially to the educated citizenry and the press and other agencies of public communication. For proposals within the convention may not always turn out to be effective solutions of our national problems. Moreover, in an assembly of two or three hundred individuals, there may be a few who may represent interests unfriendly to our national ideals and there may even be a few who may work to promote distorted purposes. This is not a mere possibility but a probability in view of the fact that in our society today money exerts a great influence and an unusual attraction that not a few of our men in public office could resist.

As modern constitutional conventions are seldom inclined to hold their sessions

behind closed doors, it is no longer difficult therefore for public opinion or outside personal views to be expressed favorably or unfavorably to constitutional proposals as they are discussed within the convention hall. When intelligent public opinion is expressed in support of provisions proposed by delegates with vision and unselfishness, the chances of including wise and essential rules in our basic law are greatly enhanced. For instance, in the convention of 1934-1935, the provision organizing a unicameral legislature to take the place of the former bicameral legislature was at first supported by less than a mere handful of delegates. It was not understood and was therefore attacked by most of the delegates. Most people outside the hall were almost completely ignorant about the system. But newspapers saw the advantages of the proposal and thus supported it with vigorous editorials and articles so that in the end that novel feature of our legislative system was finally adopted by the Convention and approved by the



people. President Quezon who was against it in the beginning had to come out in praise of the system. Again the idea of the 6-year term of the President of the Philippines without re-election was passed under the same or similar circumstances. The article of the Constitution nationalizing to a great extent the operation of public utilities and the ownership of land and natural resources were not popular among certain vested interests. But the delegates had the force of public opinion behind them, and so they were able to give it a definite place in our Constitution.

But let us remind ourselves that the written or formal parts of the Constitution cannot give absolute protection to whatever the people want or to what we think the country should have. One of our Filipino scholars of the former generation once stated in an address at the University of the Philippines, when I was a student there, that a constitution is only a piece of paper. It is lifeless as such. It derives its life from the faithful and firm adherence to it by those en-

trusted by the people to enforce and to carry it out as much as possible in order that we could see from its workings at least two things: first, that its purposes are being fulfilled; and second, that its defects may be seen and when seen they may be properly corrected through necessary amendments provided in the constitution itself.

We need to know that no constitution is perfect in its substance and no constitution could work out exactly as expected. Moreover, in these days of sudden and revolutionary changes brought about by new discoveries of science and technology, and even by the penetrating cogitation or intuition of the cognoscente, certain parts and provisions of the existing Constitution would seem to be no longer necessary. In fact, certain parts may no longer be desirable.

In mentioning this state of things arising from changes in today's life and condition, I have reference to all of the existing constitutions. But referring to our own Constitution in particu-

lar I might say that more basic changes are necessary because besides the consequences resulting from the revolution of scientific ideas and social attitudes that have taken place during the last 25 years affecting the world at large, our own Constitution had taken as a model a constitutional plan sociologically and historically foreign to us — the Constitution of the United States. The American Constitution was based on conditions and needs of the thirteen British Colonies in North America. It was originally framed as an answer to the problems that their leaders of about 200 years ago conceived and decided in response to those problems. With slight modifications we adopted that Constitution. Theoretically and as a formal document, it is structurally a good model. The strangest part of it all, however, was that we did not even care to adopt those features of our previous organic laws and governmental institutions which we had tried during our brief autonomous political life. We did not even give much thought to certain ideas of

our outstanding leaders in respect to the formal organization of our national government.

For all these and other reasons, the need for amending the present Constitution to make it fit and suitable to our conditions and our social and economic needs and to adjust it to our experience in our political life is very clearly urgent in the minds of most thoughtful and enlightened Filipinos. This coming Constitutional Convention will be the first instance in our history, outside of the Malolos Congress of 1889, when we will have the chance of drafting and approving a Constitution at a time when we are independent of foreign rule. A convention under an independent Philippines is in fact long overdue.

So many problems have pestered our people over the years after the last world war. They need new solutions, solutions that could be within our power to provide. A number of these solutions are extremely difficult if not impossible to devise by merely legal methods. Problems of peace and order, problems

of abuse of governmental authority, problems of education, problems of social and economic improvement, problems arising from the power of taxation and public finance, problems of the administration of justice, and others that need not be mentioned at present and discussed. The time and the

occasion are neither sufficient nor appropriate. It is enough that we mention them in order that we may realize the importance of selecting our best available men who should act as our delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1970-1971. — *By V. G. Sinco.*

### THE MAKE-UP OF PEOPLE

The People! Like our huge earth itself, which, to ordinary scansion, is full of vulgar contradiction and offense, man, viewed in the lump, displeases, and is a constant puzzle and affront to the merely educated classes. The rare, cosmical artist-mind, lit with the Infinite, alone confronts his manifold and ocean qualities — but taste, intelligence and culture (so-called) have been against the masses, and remain so. There is plenty of glamor about the most damnable crimes and hoggish meannesses, special and general of the feudal and dynastic world over there, with its personnel of lords and queens and courts, so well dressed and so handsome. But the People are ungrammatical, untidy, and their sins gaunt and ill-bred. — *Walt Whitman.*

## THE VALUE OF FEDERALISM

When the Federal Convention of the United States, charged "to render the constitution of the federal government more adequate to the exigencies of the Union," met at Philadelphia in May, 1787, the leaders of the federalist movement found themselves confronted by two problems. While everybody agreed that the powers of the [former] Confederation were insufficient and must be strengthened, the main concern was still to limit the powers of government as such, and not the least motive in seeking reform was to curb the arrogation of powers by the state legislatures. The experience of the first decade of independence had merely somewhat shifted the emphasis from protection against arbitrary government to the creation of one effective common government. But it had also provided new grounds for suspecting the use of power by the state legislatures.

It was scarcely foreseen that the solution of the first problem would also provide the answer to the second and that the transference of some essential powers to a central government, while leaving the rest to the separate states, would also set an effective limit on all government. Apparently it was from Madison that "came the idea that the problem of producing adequate safeguards for private rights and adequate powers for national government was in the end the same problem, inasmuch as a strengthened national government could be a make-weight against the swollen prerogatives of state legislatures." Thus the great discovery was made of which Lord Acton later said: "Of all checks on democracy, federalism has been the most efficacious and the most congenial . . . The Federal system limits and restrains sovereign power by dividing it, and by assigning to Govern-

ment only certain defined rights. It is the only method of curbing not only the majority but the power of the whole people, and it affords the strongest basis for a second chamber, which has been found essential security for freedom in every genuine democracy."

The reason why a division of powers between different authorities always reduces the power that anybody can exercise is not always understood. It is not merely that the separate authorities will, through mutual jealousy, prevent one another from exceeding their authority. More important is the fact that certain kinds of coercion require the joint and coordinated use of different powers or the employment of several means, and, if these means are in separate hands, nobody can exercise those kinds of coercion. The most

familiar illustration is provided by many kinds of economic control which can be effective only if the authority exercising them can also control the movement of men and goods across the frontiers of its territory. If it lacks that power, though it has the power to control internal events, it cannot pursue policies which require the joint use of both. Federal government is thus in a very definite sense limited government.

The other chief feature of the Constitution relevant here is its provision guaranteeing individual rights. The reasons why it was at first decided not to include a Bill of Rights in the Constitution and the considerations which later persuaded even those who had at first opposed the decision are equally significant. — *F. A. Hayek in The Constitution of Liberty.*

## VALUE SYSTEM:

... as avowed

... as practiced

"Conventions are customs which are more practiced than preached; morals are customs which are more preached than practiced," wrote Will Durant in *The Mansions of Philosophy*. Judging from the proliferation of problems — unemployment, relief, high taxes, spending, graft, inflation, poverty, delinquency, neglect of children, broken homes, crime, anarchy, decline of morality, war — among a people generally considered to be citizens of a religious nation, we might conclude that the value system in this country include principles that are more PREACHED than PRACTICED.

Not alone in the twentieth century, however, has mankind shown a propensity for professing one thing and doing another. Some explanation seems in order for the wide disparity between what

mankind professes to value and what his practiced values produce.

In order to make a comparison between our avowed personal value systems and our practiced value patterns, some evidence must at least be reviewed which would indicate that they are not in harmony. This evidence is both general and specific.

We subscribe to the adage that "Honesty is the best policy." At the same time, we have created a national disgrace with cheating in classrooms, getting by with undercover deals in business, and causing insurance rates to sky-rocket because of our dishonest practices in reporting losses. We have complicated and distorted that balance of trust by which men and civilizations have been pleased to advance themselves economically, socially, politically, and morally; we

have aggravated the task of the shopkeeper with our shoplifting; we have denied the private businessman his right to legitimate profit by taking, in addition to the wages he pays us, whatever we can conceal in our pockets or our vehicles, or embezzle through clever book-keeping system. We have abdicated responsibility for indebtedness through the widespread subterfuge of bankruptcy. As if that were not enough, we have "nicted" (looked the other way) while bribery, graft, wholesale thievery, grand larceny even, have become accepted behavior by appointed and elected officials.

We profess to value human life, but even the most obvious instinct in mankind, self-preservation, becomes a mockery in practice. On the one hand, we spend millions of dollars, quantities of energy, and talent in pursuit of cures for everything from the common cold to cancer. On the other hand, with what would be comedy if it were not such tragic irony, we abuse, debase, even destroy ourselves physically. The records of highway slaughter

are commonplace; they no longer shock us. The gluttony and excessive indulgences to which we subject our bodies are not so dramatic, but equally destructive.

A most individual matter serves as a striking example of the ridiculous manner in which we irrationally practice what we do *not* rationally preach. Almost no one, regardless, of his habits, will deny that cigarette smoking is a dirty, time-consuming, expensive, senseless habit. Within the last ten years, a mountain of evidence, universally disseminated, has attested to its injurious, if not fatal, consequences to physical well-being. But cigarette smoking is on the increase, not decrease.

The sinister forces that threaten and take our lives prematurely have their roots in our self-deception, professing to value one thing while practicing an opposing value pattern.

Probably no area of our lives, save one, is more fraught with meaning in this matter than is the political arena. Moral standards are preached; political **expe-**

diency is practiced. The science or art of politics, that by which we govern ourselves, ought to be the least suspect because of its tremendous influence upon the lives and fortunes of so many; yet from the local alderman or councilman to the men who aspire to the Presidency, we need a Diogenes to search out "an honest man." Political expediency has become a way of life; the effects are monumental and worldwide in scope.

The candidate presents himself as a man of intelligence and honesty, assured that he has something of value to contribute to the effectiveness and orderliness of our democratic process. Then, so often, he begins the devious journey which will preclude his contribution, telling himself that in order to be elected, he must sacrifice some of his honor, some of his principles, in the interest of the greater good, that of service. He really thinks he will reinstate those compromised principles of morals and ethics once in office. What a sorry plight our communities, cities, the nation, and the entire world

are in through this kind of gap between professed values and practiced behaviors.

We criticize those elements in our society whose demands for higher wages, shorter working hours, more fringe benefits are wrecking such havoc on the value of the dollar. Under a slightly different guise, however, we add our own irresponsibility to the spiraling inflation that threatens our very existence as a free nation. We express regret, even indignation, over the plight of starving millions in far-off places and find a hundred excuses for not contributing to the United Fund in our own communities.

We pass laws and immediately begin the skillful evasion, or downright violation, of them. We say that we honor virtue, but we do not practice it; we avow our love of freedom and for more than thirty years have bartered it piecemeal for a false security.

We extol the value of stable family life as the most basic foundation upon which to regenerate a free society, composed of individuals committed to honor, decency, courage, and respect for fel-



low-beings. All the while we participate in practices that are diametrically opposed to the preservation of family life. With childlike simplicity we expect to have it both ways. Now we are reaping a whirlwind of violence, bloodshed, and anarchy through our violation of the most primal law of life, that of love for our neighbor as for ourselves.

In attempts to secure greater freedom, we enslave ourselves through personal habits or strictures imposed in the guise of security and the delusion that prosperity is synonymous with deflated dollars in wide circulation and civilization with the products of technology. We manifest our universal folly in selecting the commodity we desire but refuse to pay the price to obtain it. We are no more willing to harmonize our ways and means than we are to harmonize our professed values with our practiced values. While it may be a dubious alibi to suggest that we are foolish rather than hypocritical, the fact remains that not all of the discrepancies between professed values and prac-

ticed value patterns can be accounted for by planned hypocrisy.

The school of philosophy generally attributed to Freud views man essentially as an animal, as a pawn, as a mere victim of his surroundings. The Judaic-Christian Ethic, upon which our value system has been traditionally based, however, sees man as having not only the capacity but also the responsibility for directing himself along constructive, positive ways rather than merely following the path of least resistance. While we may give lip service to this principle that man must bear responsibility for his behavior, we often deliberately and with efficiency remove the individual from the consequences of his misbehavior.

Hoodlums roam the streets wantonly destroying property and human life, but they are not considered responsible. Society, whatever that animal is, has failed them. Gangs of idle malingerers vandalize schools, churches, and private homes. Who can blame them? The community does not provide wholesome recreation. If students do not

learn in school, the cause is not their indolence, inattention, or disinterest, but the failure of the teacher to motivate them. We have carried this mythical scapegoat business to such proportions that the effect is disastrous to the general well-being of the national character.

Man is an agent unto himself; he cannot escape the inevitable consequences of his personal value systems in profession and practice. Yet, we have made guilty of our *own* behavior society, our parents, the government, teachers, preachers, friends, as well as the "divine thrusting on" and "planetary influence." Meanwhile, the net result does not go away; it sits and stares at us, growing more and more formidable. While it is easy to blame society, or something else, it is difficult to admit "I was wrong" or "I was in error."

Man is not born with a value system. He must learn it. Plato, in *Laws*, said that the little human animal will not at first have the right responses. It must be trained to feel pleasure, liking, disgust, and hatred at those

things which really are pleasant, likable, disgusting, and hateful.

In the *Republic*, the well-nurtured youth is one

. . . who would see most clearly whatever was amiss in ill-made works of man or ill-grown works of nature, and with a just distate would blame and hate the ugly even from his earliest years and would give delighted praise to beauty, receiving it into his soul and being nourished by it, so that he becomes a man of gentle heart. All this before he is of an age to Reason; so that when Reason at length comes to him, then, bred as he has been he will hold out his hands in welcome and recognize her because of the affinity he bears to her.

Aristotle had something similar to say on the subject. He thought that unless a child had been trained in "ordinate affections or just sentiments," it would be useless to appeal to his ethical sense when he became an adult because he would have no basis for such an approach. Though too obvious

to require saying, the home, the church, and the school, in that order perhaps, have abdicated some responsibility in inculcating moral and ethical principles, underlying

a value system, early in the child's development. — *By Mabel M. Mitchell in The Delta Kappa Gamma Bulletin, Spring 1968.*

## **COSTLY PRINTING ERRORS**

**HELP-WANTED** ad in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*: "Drivers, school bus. Add to income or supplement retirement tension."

**FROM** a Kiwanis Club bulletin: "Sorry to hear about Edith feeling poorly. We hope you're feeling your usual porky self soon, Edith."

**FROM** a restaurant's business card: "Indian, Pakistani, Chinese foods . . . Die in an authentic Eastern atmosphere."

**FROM** an article on a drum and bugle corps in the Marion, Ohio, *Star*: "Mr. Seaton, who retires from the corps this year, will join the staff as bulging instructor."

**FROM** the Charlottesville, Va., *Progress*: "Appointments may be made beforehand by calling the hospital and asking for the blood bank. This will avoid needles waiting."

**NOTICE** in the Belton, S.C., *News*: "I want to say thank you to all the friends who have continued to remember me with prayers, cards, letters and gifts. I am still under the doctor's care. Please continue to pray for me."

**FROM** the Memphis *Press-Scimitar*: "A total of \$40 million in tax revenge was collected by the state."

- Prudence is the virtue that restrains wisely the excesses of modern economic and political forces and tendencies.

## THE DANGERS OF RISING EXPECTATIONS

Politics has always been a mechanism for choice. But in the old exigent, directionless societies the range of possible choice was narrow and popular expectations exerted little pressure upon government. One could choose between — or compromise — the conflicting tariff interests of southern planters and northern manufacturers, and that settlement might represent most of a year's political decision making at the federal level. The choices now are thousands of times more numerous and the expectations are now suffused with an unprecedented emotional intensity.

We have not made smoothly the transition from the old situation of political choice to the new situation. We need a new rhetoric of political discussion. We need a problem-solving approach, not an extension of the old politics of rivalrous interest

groups. We need systems analysis, which cannot make our decisions for us but can at least get into focus the relative costs and benefits of given choices.

Among the broad categories of choice is that between jam today and jam tomorrow. The Soviet Union over the decades has rigorously opted for jam tomorrow by maintaining a high rate of capital investment and a high rate of educational expenditure relative to consumer goods; this policy the U.S.S.R., under pressure of expectations, may be forced to modify. In the U.S., which has had a more balanced situation, very sharp tax increases at local, state, and federal levels could immediately alleviate much present distress in the disadvantaged 20 percent of our population — although, as has been indicated, this would not necessarily reduce ex-

pectations. And very sharp tax increases might so impair the economic dynamo that tomorrow's total product would be seriously diminished. More than half of all U.S. Negroes are active, progressing participants in "whitey's" vigorous economy — which is also their economy and the economy on which the children of poorer Negroes and poorer whites must depend for tomorrow's opportunity.

Chile's situation may illustrate another broad category of choice: between rising levels of economic growth and political freedom. Eduardo Frei's democratic regime may be succeeded by an authoritarian government that trades freedom for increased production. Similarly, more advanced countries could be panicked by high-pressure demands into accepting "efficient" government management of the economy that would exchange a promise of high growth rates for ever widening controls. Expectations, out of hand, could undo centuries of political progress toward democratic government.

Since modern expectations everywhere have an emotional component, born of Christianity's sense of moral history, they cannot be quelled by purely practical arguments about the limits of technology and economics. One needs to search within the Christian tradition for a concept that will tame expectations while respecting them.

The name of the concept is prudence — a word that does not occur much these days except as a name for girls in Quaker families. When it does appear in political debate it is taken to mean a crabbed conservatism, a cautious disengagement from the impulses of the more generous virtues.

This is not what prudence, in the Western tradition, signifies. It is the link that joins the virtues of the mind and heart, especially charity, to action. Like a good lawyer, prudence tells you how to do it right. To Aristotle, who was a political adviser as well as a philosopher, prudence was the channel between universal truths and practical affairs; it was, in

action, the fusion of intelligence and appetite.

A lot is heard these days, especially on campuses, about "commitment" and "involvement" in the great social crusades, the great expectations of our time. The impulse that leads this way does not deserve rebuke. Yet without prudence, without attention to the actual contingencies and feasibilities of life, "involvement" is doomed to be sterile — or worse.

Courage, of which we have lately heard much, is a virtue our time needs. Prudence does not diminish the courage of the good soldier; it makes his courage effective in action. Nor does prudence

diminish the courage, the compassion, the love of justice in the political administrator or the citizen; in the modern situation it leads him toward a habit of intelligent choice among the thousands of desirable steps that might be taken, but cannot be taken "all at once."

That the whole world is freeing itself from the wheel of repetition is good news derived essentially from what Christians consider the Good News. Without prudence, the expectations that have been set in motion may turn into the worst news ever. — *By Wax Ways, Excerpts from Fortune, May, 1968.*

## AGAINST DOUBT

To be busy with material affairs is the best preservative against reflection, fears, doubts — all these things which stand in the way of achievement. I suppose a fellow proposing to cut his throat would experience a sort of relief while occupied in stropping his razor carefully. — *Joseph Conrad.*

## STUDENT POLITICS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

There is no doubt that students have played a major role as agents of social change in many developing nations. Recent events in South Vietnam, where the students have been a key factor in anti-government demonstrations, in Indonesia, where it seems that students pressured the military to assume power from President Sukarno, in Ecuador, where students precipitated a military coup, and in other areas have shown the importance of students in political developments. There has hardly been a political upheaval in these nations in which students have not taken an active and often crucial part.

What are the conditions which permit students to play so active a political role? In the developing areas, university and sometimes even secondary school students are among the few "modern" and politically conscious ele-

ments in their societies. As such, they are indispensable elements which any government must consider, and whose confidence must in the last analysis be gained if the nation is to achieve the goals of economic development plans and obtain the accoutrements of modernity. University students are, in a real sense, a "presumptive elite." Their education prepares them to take a vital role in a modernizing society, and both they and the authorities realize their crucial position. Often students constitute an important element of "public opinion," since the articulate part of the general population is often quite small, with literacy limited to a relative handful.

Students in many nations are among the easier groups in the society to organize for any purpose. The student population is often relatively

small and homogeneous Class and ethnic backgrounds tend to be rather similar, although trends toward broadening the base of higher education are evident in many areas. Furthermore, the student population is usually highly concentrated. In many nations, one major university centre may contain up to half of the student population. An organizational nexus often exists, usually centred around a strong national union of students. These factors enable student leaders to mobilize demonstrations quickly and efficiently. Complicated newspapers and radio stations are unnecessary; all that is needed is a mimeograph machine, and a few posters strategically placed, to mobilize massive student demonstrations.

In addition to a tradition of political participation and an effective organizational base, students often have a strong ideological commitment. Usually expressed in leftist terms with strong nationalist overtones, this ideological basis permits student movements to function, although at a reduced level of activity, during periods of

political quiescence. This fact insures some degree of organizational continuity — student movements do not have to start anew at every crisis. Furthermore, the students are often considered among the “purest” elements of the society. Unencumbered by outside responsibilities to family, party, etc. — and in a sense alienated from traditional social patterns — students are uniquely able to speak for other emergent modern elements in the society such as the organized working class or peasant movements. As a result, the student organizations often speak for no more than a few thousand students in the university, but give voice to the demands of an increasingly important segment of the society.

Even in the developing nations, students have been unable to retain political initiative once they have acted as a catalyst for political change. Almost invariably, students act as an instrumental element in social struggles which are taken over by some other element, often the military. Indeed, this rather unexpected tacit



cooperation between radical student movements and the military in a growing number of developing nations may be highly significant for future political developments. The fact remains, however, that even where students have unquestioned political impact, they can do little more than precipitate changes which others must implement.

Japan offers a particularly interesting example of student political involvement. In a nation which has entered the industrial age with a vengeance, but still retains many aspects of its traditional past, the student movement has indicated something of the ambivalence which exists in the society. Considered ideologically and morally uncorrupted by many, the students have tried to speak for the working class and other "voiceless" elements in the society, sometimes with notable success. Yet, because of its alienation from many traditional aspects of the culture, the students have been unable to build ongoing support from other elements in the society; and when speci-

fic agitational campaigns ended, they found themselves virtually alone. Japan offers an interesting contrast to the Western industrialized nations, since students in Japan still retain some of their traditional importance, at least in the high prestige universities, and have a crucial political role as a "link" between still inarticulate masses and the mainstream of political life.

In the United States, and in most of Europe, students do not constitute a crucial element in the political equation. In technological societies, the fate of a group of students, or even an entire student generation, is not of vital importance. Individual students, while potential members of the elite, are not necessarily destined for elite status. In America, and for that matter in most nations with a growing system of higher education open to larger numbers of students, the political activities of individual groups of students will have less overall significance, and it will be more difficult to successfully organize mass student demonstrations. In general, strongly

career oriented students are not often attracted to student politics, and this segment of the student population is increasing numerically, particularly as greater stress is placed on the natural sciences.

Students in the developing countries have both a unique responsibility and a unique power. They, perhaps more than any other element in their societies, have the social vision and the modern education to see beyond present, often difficult, reality. This ideological sophistication and political consciousness has led students to take an active political role in their societies.

In a very real sense, students are responsible for the

futures of their countries, for they constitute an incipient elite. The ambivalence between political activism and competent professionalism is felt in many of the developing countries. Politically responsible and ideologically sophisticated student movements can constitute a valuable addition to the modernization process. Governments have too often looked upon students as a threat rather than an ally in social and political progress. With able student leadership and support from government and educational officials, student movements can make a real contribution. — *By Philip G. Altbach in the Dialogue, Vol. I, No. 1.*

## MUSIC BEFORE RELIGION

Music comes before religion, as emotion comes before thought, and sound before sense. What is the first thing you hear when you go into a church? The organ playing. — *Alfred North Whitehead.*

■ A self-made scholar, Churchill is a distinguished political and military leader and the greatest British historian.

## WINSTON CHURCHILL: STATESMAN AND HISTORIAN

Winston Churchill is, beyond all doubt, that statesman who became the greatest historian, and that historian who became the greatest statesman in the long annals of England. We do not say of him, had he not chosen to be a leading public figure he would have been a leading historian, for he was that, by every test. It is only because our gaze is fastened so continuously and so intensely on that career which has some claim to be the most splendid in two centuries of English history that we do not concentrate more on that career which has some claim to be regarded as the most affluent in modern historical literature.

It is the quality of Churchill's histories that assures them a permanent place in our literature, but the sheer bulk is no less impressive. What other major historian has written so much so well:

thirty two volumes (no less) of history and biography, and another twenty volumes of speeches which add a not negligible dimension to historical literature. If this prodigious output had been achieved at the expense of scholarly accuracy, critical acumen, or literary polish, we might dismiss it as interesting chiefly for what it told us about Churchill himself; but the books do not shine in a borrowed light, but with their own.

As with most great historians, Churchill was self-taught and self-trained. Certainly he had no formal education for a career as historian — indeed, it is accurate to say that he had no formal education for anything except soldiering — but his informal education was probably as good as that which any young man enjoyed in the whole of Victorian England. Born in Blenheim Pa-

lace, connected with all the first families of politics and society, he was familiar in all the best drawing rooms, even those of royalty. As a boy he had not only read history, but seen it in the making. "I can see myself . . . sitting a little boy," he said to the students of Harrow, "always feeling the glory of England and its history surrounding me and about me." Perhaps he did feel something of that at Harrow, but doubtless he felt even more of it in the spacious rooms and gardens of Blenheim, at the Vice Regal Lodge in Dublin, at the house on St. James's Place in London.

But even that was only the beginning. On distant Indian frontiers he immersed himself in history and philosophy. "All through the long, glittering, middle hours of the Indian day," he remembered, "from when we quitted stables till when the evening shadows proclaimed the hour of Polo, I devoured Gibbon." And not Gibbon alone, but Macaulay and Lecky and Hallam and, for good measure, Plato and Aristotle, too. "I approached it with an empty, hungry mind," he

added, "and with fairly strong jaws, and what I got, I bit."

Fame was the spur to this writing, as was necessity. Churchill had to make his way, he had to make his mark. The Army, for all its fascination, offered nothing permanent. Torn between journalism, history, and politics, Churchill therefore embraced all three, and made them one. For he was never content to sail but one sea at a time.

Most nearly autobiographical, and prophetic, too, was the first book that Churchill wrote: the novel *Savrola*. The central figure, *Savrola*, was a soldier who aspired to be a statesman, or a statesman who found that he had to be a soldier. He is in all likelihood, the greatest of military historians who wrote in English. Consider Churchill's claim to pre-eminence in this field. His first books were about wars-frontier skirmishes, to be sure, but that can be said of Parkman's histories, too; his *Marlborough* can bear comparison with Freeman's seven volumes on Lee and his lieutenants; his magisterial histo-

ries of two world wars are still the most comprehensive and scholarly in our literature.

He read history as a stupendous moral scripture, and for him the writing was, if not divinely inspired, at least authoritative. More, it was straightforward and simple. History was a struggle between the forces of right and wrong, freedom and tyranny, the future and the past. By great good fortune Churchill's own people — "this island race," as he called them — were on the side of right, progress, and enlightenment.

For all his familiarity with the peoples of every continent, Churchill was the most parochial of historians. He looked out upon the whole world, but he looked through British spectacles. All his life Churchill's eyes were dazzled by the glory of England, and all his writing was suffused by a sense of that

glory. He never forgot that it was the English tongue that was heard in Chicago and Vancouver, Johannesburg and Sydney, or that it was English law that was pronounced in Washington and Ottawa, Canberra and New Delhi, and English parliamentary governments that flourished in scores of nations on every continent.

Finally, Churchill's reading of history reinforced his early education to exalt the heroic virtues. He was Roman rather than Greek, and, as he admired the Roman accomplishments in law, government, and empire he rejoiced in the Roman virtues of order, justice, resoluteness, and magnanimity. Churchill cherished as a law of history the principle that a people who respect them will prosper and survive. — *By Henry Steele Commager, Excerpts from Saturday Review, May 18, 1968.*

## PILIPINO AS SCHOOL IDIOM

Only a few days ago, the policy-making body of the Department of Education, after years of experimenting with the use of the local vernaculars in the first two or three grades of the primary schools, switching to English in the third or fourth grade, came out with the following categorical conclusion:

"It is very clear that the policy of changing mediums of instruction is not a sound educational policy and that the higher the grade where this change takes place the greater the damage."

Subsequent reports on the further studies of the policy-makers on the subject of which medium or media of instruction to use state that they are apparently inclined to recommend the use of Pilipino in place of the local languages. It appears that we want to continue our very old game of hastily adopting educational reforms only to discard them. As shown in this column recently, every "major educational

reform" we have adopted since the establishment of the Commonwealth has boomeranged. Each has been found wanting and discarded at the sacrifice of our educational standards.

Now, if the reports are true, the policy-makers are about to contradict their own finding that changing media of instruction "is not a sound educational policy." For it does not take more than plain common sense to know that the use of Pilipino, like the use of the other dialects, will entail a switch to English in the third or fourth grade.

Unless, of course, the present plan is intended to open a wedge for Pilipino so that, instead of changing to English in the third or fourth grade, Pilipino will then be used throughout the educational system up to the university. This would not be surprising, given the fact that there are those who believe that their sense of nationalism and patriotism will never

be satisfied until they can kick out English from our schools.

If there is an intent to do this, let us say so openly and give the educators, students and their parents the opportunity to have their say. The intent involves a basic educational reform and, instead of Pilipino being sneaked or smuggled in, should be thoroughly discussed and debated. If we still live in a democracy, let us act openly instead of surreptitiously.

For there are many reasons to believe that the premature use of Pilipino instead of English in the schools will be completely disastrous to an already wobbling educational system. In spite of the attempt to expand its vocabulary, Pilipino is far from being a complete language. Its literature is very limited. Our only way of keeping up with world progress, once we have intellectually isolated ourselves from the rest of the world, particularly with its most progressive sector, will be to wait for translations of articles and books written in English which, as now, includes translations of the major works in French,

German, Spanish, Russian and other languages. The translation and waiting will in no time place us about a century behind the leader nations, whereas today we learn everything almost instantly through publications in English.

Language is for communicating thoughts and ideas orally or in writing. Because he found Spanish more adequate for communication, Rizal used Spanish in virtually all his writings. There is no such thing as being more fluent, more eloquent, or better understood in one's native tongue. There is no reason to assume that one instinctively becomes a master of his native language. The Americans, the British, the French, the Spaniards and all others have to devote years studying their own languages before they can master them. And Pilipino being a conglomeration of words unknown to most Filipinos including Tagalogs, cannot be as native to the Filipinos as Chinese is to the Chinese, Japanese to the Japanese, etc.

Arbitrary decisions on languages are dangerous.

Such decisions have resulted in language wars and death in India, Belgium, Canada and other countries. Unless we make our decisions openly and with the support of public opinion, we are planting the seeds of future resentments, dissensions and perhaps riots and killings.

If it is desirable to act fast on most matters, the question of Pilipino is one that counsels caution, deliberation and reflexion. Let us make haste slowly. — *By Vicente Albano Pacis in Manila Chronicle, June 20, 1968*

## EXAGGERATION

Many a young man starts in life with a natural gift for exaggeration, which if nurtured in congenial and sympathetic surroundings, or by the imitation of the best models, might grow into something really great and wonderful. But, as a rule, he comes to nothing. He either falls into careless habits of accuracy, or takes to frequenting the society of the aged and the well-informed. Both things are equally fatal to his imagination, and in a short time he develops a morbid and unhealthy faculty of truth-telling, begins to verify all statements, made in his presence, has no hesitation in contradicting people who are much younger than himself, and often ends by writing novels that are so like life no one can possibly believe in their probability. — *Oscar Wilde.*



- Intelligent conversation can be a source of good information and mental improvement if its rules are observed.

## THE ADVENTURE OF CONVERSATION

Words are deeds. Whenever we send syllables into the world their effect is as infallible on the people who hear them as it is on the ethereal waves. A few words can destroy happiness, and all that the Ancients have said about the bonds with which words chain our souls is true. Therefore words ought to be used with care and with a proper sense of responsibility. Our choice is between saying insignificant things, saying nothing, or reading and thinking before saying anything. The brevity of a pointed answer to a question worth our while gives us an artistic pleasure.

But how rare it is! To most people talking is what reading has become: something apart from its object, a bodily, rather than a mental, exercise. Men accuse women of talking for talk's sake. But many men are incorrigible babblers. Who sits through the long day in the smoking-

room of the train, talking, talking? Who says nothing, but says it through the hideous night in hotel-rooms or at the club? I have been the victim of extraordinary performances. Men fight for the floor and keep it without compunction or even misgivings.

Then, there are men and women whose eager faces inform you, before you have said a word, that the moment they open their mouths it will be to treat you to insufferable details about their uninteresting lives. This, I am sorry to say, happens especially in America, where there is hardly a vestige of conversation left. Worse than that, the word has ceased to have any meaning. The question so familiar in Europe: "What was the subject of conversation at dinner last night?" is never heard in the United States. A "general conversation" means one in which, no mat-

ter how many people are assembled, only one voice is heard at a time. Americans who always credit the "Latins" with vehemence and exuberance, would be surprised indeed to see how a dozen people in Rome or Madrid, or Buenos Aires, can keep their native effervescence in check to enjoy a conversation. They have a sense of absolute freedom, yet they obey two rules which were impressed upon me in childhood till they became law: *pas d'apartes et pas de monologues; no asides and no floor-holding!*

I have a vivid memory of the capacity which American women show in club deliberations, for knowing their minds and for expressing themselves tersely and courteously. Yet the same women a moment after their deliberation was over, would take their part in a brain-racking chorus of multilogues which did not seem to inconvenience them in the least. American voices are accused of being shrill, but how can anyone avoid shrillness in a bird market? When there are six people in a room in the United States there are

three conversations inevitably carried on in a high key, and dozens of times I have found that, even at a lunch party of four, it was impossible to suppress the rivalry of two voices. Reciprocal volleys are poured out as they used to be in the naval battles of yore when the guns answered one another nose to nose. Nothing is so laughable as a dinner-party of that kind given in honor of Mr. or Mrs. So-and-So. The poor lion has the look of having been caught in a trap. Sometimes a lady next to him, straining her neck to hear what he says in the confusion, signals to the other guests that this distinguished person is saying something that it is unforgivable to miss, but they look at her frankly and resume their piping or shouting.

What are the causes of this state of affairs which certainly did not exist in America 60 years ago? Why should Americans, who prove such excellent listeners at a lecture and love a serious discussion, show themselves such squanderers of words? Perhaps women, regarding a general topic as a rival, have

compelled the man next to them to act as if they should be the center of attention. Almost certainly the chief cause is the habit of giving large parties. A general conversation is not possible when 20 people sit at table but it is when only a few guests are added to the family dinner and find the father leading the conversation, as he still does in intelligent Jewish homes.

Many traveled American women resent the unjust inferiority which the hubbub habit gives to otherwise distinguished parties. One experience of real conversation is enough to make even the inveterate teller of stale stories realize that stories are the stupid man's wit. People who, even once have felt how much the magnetism of a small but select audience can add to their powers, or who simply have had the revelation that conversation is an adventure the outcome of which never can be foreseen, crave the return of the experience. I often hear regrets and, once or twice, I have seen rebellion. If I had not witnessed the scene myself I could hardly believe that

a State governor after vainly trying to put in a word which four ladies mercilessly drowned every time, lost his temper and struck the table with his fist, thundering that he "did not want to talk all the time, but wanted to talk some."

Some hostesses are bold enough to start a reaction. "Do please, listen to this" is heard sometimes in a querulous tone. A friend of mine who is a rare appraiser of good things does all she can. When the dessert comes, she institutes a sort of forum which it takes a few minutes to realize is only a conversation. It is a success every time. One feels then how many excellent things must have perished in the storm of voices still raging a minute before, and how much a campaign for conversation-dinners would do for a country which to-day has no conversation but which, however, possesses all that could make first-class conversation.

What happens is that the effusiveness and the lack of self-control created in such an atmosphere finally, bring a sensation of barrenness. It is too evident that there can

be no action through words when words are crazily let loose, for action must be premeditated, guided, and sustained. If we want our life not to be aimless, if we hate to think of our words as still-born seeds, we must never approach company without being on our guard against its sterilizing influence. Not everybody would endorse what Keats said about a room full of people distressing and exhausting his soul, but practically everybody has a vague consciousness that company expects from them not their best but their most trivial, and are tempted accordingly.

Simple remedies will be found to work. Perhaps you can remember one of the few conversations really worth

while you once had with some fellow-being. Ten minutes in the twilight with a person whom you felt really possessed of an idea, and of a passionate longing to make you believe in it, may still be alive in your memory as it is in mine. This you will not recall without a consciousness of personal dignity and an accompanying resolve not to give in and not to give up.

Indeed words can be actions, and, when they are not, they are a waste for him who says them and more or less of an insult for him who has to hear them. As Disraeli said, life is too short for us not to try to make it great. —*Abbe Ernest Dimnet, condensed from "What We Live By."*

## RELIGION UNESSENTIAL

To have a positive religion is not necessary. To be in harmony with yourself and the universe is what counts, and this is possible without positive and specific formulation in words. — *Goethe.*

- Good nature does not proceed from arduous work but from sound leisure.

## IN PRAISE OF IDLENESS

I was brought up on the saying "Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do." Being a highly virtuous child, I acquitted a conscience which has kept me working hard. But although my conscience has controlled my *actions*, my *opinions* have undergone a revolution. I think that there is far too much work done in the world, and that immense harm is caused by the belief that work is virtuous.

First of all: what is work? Work is of two kinds: first, altering the position of matter; second, telling other people to do so. The first kind is unpleasant and ill paid; the second is pleasant and highly paid. The second kind is capable of infinite extension: there are not only those who give orders but those who give advice as to what orders should be given. Usually two opposite kinds of advice are given simultaneously by two different bo-

dies of men; this is called politics.

From the beginning of civilization until the industrial revolution a man could, as a rule, produce by hard work little more than was required for subsistence. Modern technique, however, has made it possible to diminish enormous the amount of labor necessary to produce the necessity of life for every one. This was made obvious during the War. At that time all the men in the armed forces, all the men and women engaged in the production of munitions, or working in offices connected with the War, were withdrawn from productive occupations. In spite of this, the general level of well-being among wage-earners on the side of the Allies was higher than before or since. The significance of this fact was concealed by finance: borrowing made it appear as if the future was nourishing the

present. But that, of course, would have been impossible; a man cannot eat a loaf of bread that does not yet exist. The War showed conclusively that by the scientific organization of production it is possible to keep modern populations in fair comfort on a small part of the working capacity of the modern world. If at the end of the War the scientific organization has been preserved, and the hours of work cut down to four, all would have been well. Instead, the old chaos was restored, those whose work was demanded were made to work long hours, and the rest were left to starve as unemployed. Why? Because work is looked upon as a duty.

Let us, for a moment, consider the ethics of work frankly. Every human being, of necessity, consumes in the course of his life a certain amount of produce of human labor. Assuming, as we may, that labor is on the whole disagreeable, it is unjust that a man should consume more than he produces. Of course he may provide services rather than commodities, like a medical man;

but he should provide something in return for his board and lodging. To this extent, the duty of work must be admitted, but to this extent only.

If the ordinary wage-earner worked four hours a day there would be enough for everybody, and no unemployment — assuming sensible organization. This idea shocks the well-to-do, because they are convinced that the poor would not know how to use so much leisure. In America men often work long hours even when they are already well-off; such men, naturally, are indignant at the idea of leisure for wage-earners; in fact they dislike leisure even for their sons. Oddly enough, they do not mind their wives and daughters having no work at all.

In the West we have various ways of dealing with the problem of doing too much work. We have no attempt at economic justice, so that a large proportion of the total produce goes to a small minority, many of whom do no work at all. Owing to the absence of any central control over production, we pro-

duce hosts of things that are not wanted. We keep a large percentage of the working population idle and make others overwork. When all these methods prove inadequate we have a war; we cause a number of people to manufacture high explosives, and others to explode them. By a combination of all these devices we manage, though with difficulty, to keep alive the notion that a great deal of manual work must be the lot of the average man.

The fact is that moving matter about, while a certain amount of it is necessary, is emphatically not one of the ends of human life. If it were, we should have to consider every navy superior to Shakespeare. We have been misled in this matter by the hereditary rich who, in order to keep the poor contented, have preached the *dignity of labor*, while taking care to remain undignified in this respect.

It will be said that while a little leisure is pleasant, men would not know what to do with too much of it. In so far as this is true in the modern world it is a condemnation of our civilization; it

would not have been true at any earlier period. There was formerly a capacity for light-heartedness and play which has been inhibited by the cult of efficiency. I do not mean that the world's leisure should necessarily be spent in pure frivolity. I mean that four hours' work a day should entitle a man to the necessities and elementary comforts of life, and that the rest of his time should be his to use as he might see fit. It is an essential part of any such social system that education should be carried farther and should aim, in part, at providing tastes which would enable a man to use leisure intelligently. I am not thinking of "high-brow" things. Peasant dances have died out, but the impulse which caused them must still exist in human nature. The pleasures of urban populations have become mainly passive: cinemas, football matches, the radio and so on. With more leisure people would again enjoy pleasures in which they took an active part.

In the past there was a small leisure class and a large

working class. The leisure class enjoyed advantages for which there was no basis in social justice. This necessarily made it oppressive, and limited its sympathies, but in spite of this drawback it contributed nearly the whole of what we call civilization. It cultivated the arts and discovered the sciences; it wrote the books, invented the philosophies, and refined social relations. Without the leisure class mankind would never have emerged from barbarism.

In a world where no one is compelled to work more than four hours a day every person possessed of scientific curiosity will be able to indulge it, and every painter will be able to paint without starving, however excellent his pictures may be. Above all, there will be happiness and joy of life, instead of frayed nerves, weariness, and

dyspepsia. The work exacted will be enough to make leisure delightful, but not enough to produce exhaustion. Ordinary men and women, having the opportunity of a happy life, will become more kindly and less inclined to view others with suspicion. Good nature is, of all moral qualities, the one that the world needs most, and good nature is the result of ease and security, not of a life of arduous struggle.

Modern methods of production have given us the possibility of ease and security for all; we have chosen instead to overwork some and starve others. Hitherto we have continued to be as energetic as we were before there were machines. In this we have been foolish, but there is no reason to go on being foolish forever. — *Bertrand Russell, condensed from Harpers, October, '32.*



## WORLD POPULATION WILL BE 3,500 MILLION IN 1969

In 1953 the world population reached 2,500 million.

By January 1, 1969 — 16 years later — the population will be bigger by 1,000 million.

Another 1,000 population gain is expected by 1983.

Another 7,000 million people will be crowded into the world by the year 2000.

The passing of each year means millions of more mouths to feed, and millions of more bodies to bury.

In 1968 approximately 118 million babies will be born — 324,000 a day or 225 every minute.

In 1968 almost 49 million people will die — 133,000 each day or 93 per minute.

About one-third of the people now living are under 15 years of age. In the developing countries, the figure approaches one-half.

The world's highest population growth rates are in El Salvador (3.7 per cent),

and Venezuela (3.6 per cent). About 85 per cent of all births today are occurring in the less-developed countries, where food is not sufficient, illiteracy widespread and personal incomes extremely low.

Less than one-fifth of the global population in the year 2000 is expected to be living in the developed countries.

These startling statistics graphically summarize a situation in virtually every country, especially in nations — India and Pakistan, for example — where the birth rate is very high and food production lags dangerously behind.

Some experts concerned with the global population "explosion" are understandably gloomy about the future. They foresee millions of people in overcrowded urban centers suffering from the effects of malnutrition or hunger, other millions dying

from famine. They anticipate hunger riots as well as political and economic upheavals in some countries.

Other experts, however, express varying degrees of optimism when they voice their views on what the situation is apt to be like in the next two or three decades. Formerly alarmed by forecasts, they are now heartened by the progress being made in birth control and in food production.

Pessimists and optimists alike concede that time is the crucial factor — how rapidly nations can bring populations and food supplies into closer balance. Dozens of countries already have large-scale family planning programs under way, and agriculture is being intensified. The United States is helping them in both respects. Pessimism is yielding to optimism.

Among the optimists in the United States is Dr. Donald J. Bogue, a demographer who directs the University of Chicago's Community and Family Center. He believes the population explosion is turning out to be a myth. The rising global birth rate, he is confident, will be brought

under control by the year 2000.

There are signs the birth rate is falling in South Korea, India, Pakistan and mainland China, and in some Latin American countries as well," Dr. Bogue said. "I think it will soon start to fall, if it has not already done so, in Indonesia and the Philippines."

He cited evidence showing an almost worldwide trend toward smaller families. The major nations of Europe as well as Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States are countries where families are controlling fertility, Dr. Bogue added. The availability of educational materials about contraception and greater public acceptance of improved contraceptive methods are enabling married couples of all economic levels to avoid unwanted births.

The fact that escapes the attention of most persons is that the rapidly increasing population is due not so much to a rising birth rate as to a great decrease in death rates in the past 20 years. Fewer people are dying because modern medicine

and public health practices are prolonging their lives. Nations are realizing that birth control must simultaneously accompany death control if populations are to be stabilized at levels conducive to better social conditions, greater economic stability and higher standards of living for all people.

As long as there are few reins on population and as food — the most nutritious kind — is not adequately available, malnutrition will make its victims liabilities rather than assets to their countries. About 10,000 people die every day of malnutrition, either starving to death or dying because their diet failed to protect them from disease. Malnutrition accounts for about one of every 13 deaths — a ratio that is much higher in the hungry countries.

One regrettable tragedy is that the burden of overpopulation falls most heavily on the shoulders of the poor — the poorer nations, poorer families, and poorer children. These are the ones who suffer the greatest from the effects of uncontrolled population increases.

In the years ahead, population gains will cause many complications for some nations. Experts believe that agricultural output will increase but not enough, that more children will grow up illiterate and in ill health, and that it will be very hard to find jobs for youth 18-24 years old.

Officials in some poor countries, where people for differing reasons are disinterested in family planning, have even suggested the use of punitive measures to enforce birth control practices. Such measures, because they are extreme, are not likely to be acceptable.

"If people are fully informed about the pros and cons of contraception, and if they can inexpensively and readily obtain contraceptives and use them advantageously and confidently, they will become confirmed supporters of limited family sizes," one prominent U.S. demographer said.

Robert C. Cook, president of the Population Reference Bureau, Inc., in Washington, D.C. says of the population dilemma:

"The current phenomenal increase in world population has no precedent in history. . . Today the world is confronted with the greatest and most complicated problem in adjustment mankind has ever had to face. The matter is extremely urgent.

"Until the number of births in the world declines by at least 20 million per year, it cannot be said that

even an adequate beginning toward stabilization has been made."

Only the passage of years will reveal whether mankind will act to drastically cut the number of births, or suffer the many dangers of an overpopulated, underfed world. (IPS) — *By Sam W. Morris in the Manila Chronicle June 19, 1968.*

## CONTRADICTORY CONDITIONS

It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way — in short, the period was so far alike the present period that some of its noisiest authorities insisted on its being received, for good or for evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only. — *Charles Dickens*

- There are certain conditions which may enable man to continue living on this earth. Ignoring them may mean his annihilation.

## SHALL MAN SURVIVE?

Ever since the dawn of the first day we have been surrounded by hordes of creatures infinitely better prepared for the struggle of existence. Some of them were a hundred feet long and weighed as much as a small locomotive while others had teeth as sharp as the blade of a circular saw. Many varieties went about clad in armor. Others were invisible to the human eye but multiplied at a terrific rate. And whereas man could exist only under the most favorable circumstances, on a few pieces of dry land between the high mountains and the deep sea, these fellow-passengers of ours considered no summit too high and no sea too deep.

When we learn on eminent authority that certain insects are able to disport themselves in petroleum and that others manage to live through such changes in temperature as would kill all of us with-

in a very few minutes, then we begin to realize against what sort of competitors we have been forced to hold our own, ever since we made our first appearance upon this whirling bit of rock, lost somewhere in the darkest outskirts of an indifferent universe.

What a joke we must have been to our pachydermous contemporaries who stood by and watched this pinkish sport of nature indulge in its first clumsy efforts to walk on its hind legs! But what has become of those rulers by brute force over almost 200,000,000 square miles of land and water? They have disappeared except where, as "Exhibit A" or "B," we have kindly given them parking place in one of our museums.

In short, during only a couple of thousands of centuries (a mere second from the point of view of eternity), the human race has made itself the undisputed

ruler of every bit of land and at present it bids fair to add both air and sea as part of its domains. And all that has been accomplished by a few hundred million creatures who enjoyed not one single advantage over their enemies except the divine gift of Reason.

Even there I am exaggerating. The gift of Reason in its more sublime form is restricted to a mere handful of men and women. They become the masters who lead. The others can only follow. The result is a strange and halting procession — 10,000 stragglers for every true pioneer.

Whether the route of march will eventually lead us, that we do not know. But in the light of what has been achieved during the last 4000 years, there is no limit to the sum total of our potential achievements — unless we are tempted away from the path of normal development by our strange inherent cruelty which makes us treat other members of our own species as we would never treat a cow or a dog or even a tree.

This earth of ours is a good home. It produces benefits in so abundant measure that every man, woman and child could have his or her share with a little extra supply thrown in for the inevitable days of rest. But Nature has her own code of laws. They are inexorable and there is no court of appeal. Nature will give unto us without stint, but in return she demands that we study her precepts and abide by her dictates. A hundred cows in a meadow meant for only 50 spells disaster — a bit of wisdom with which every farmer is thoroughly familiar. A million people gathered in one spot where there should be only 100,000 causes congestion, poverty and unnecessary suffering — a fact which apparently has been overlooked by those who are supposed to guide our destinies.

But there is a more serious way in which we offend our generous foster-mother. Man is the only living organism that is hostile to its own kind. Even loathsome hyena lives at peace with the members of his species. But Man hates Man, Man kills Man,

and in the world of today the prime concern of every nation is to prepare for the slaughter of some more of its neighbors.

This open violation of Article I of the great Code of Creation which insists upon peace and good will among the members of the same species has carried us to a point where the human race may be faced with complete annihilation. For our enemies are ever on the alert. If Homo Sapiens is unable to assert himself as the master of all he surveys, there are thousands of other candidates for the job and it oftentimes seems as if a world dominated by some of the more highly organized insects (and how they watch their opportunity!) might offer very decided advantages over a planet top-heavy with battle ships and siege-guns.

What is the way out of this hideous state of affairs? It is in the consciousness that we are all of us fellow-passengers on one and the same planet. Once we have got hold of this absolute verity

— once we have realized the fact that for better or for worse this is our common home — that it therefore behooves us to behave as we would if we found ourselves on board a steamer bound for an unknown destination — we shall have taken the most important step towards the solution of that problem which is at the root of all our difficulties.

We are all of us fellow-passengers on the same planet and the weal and woe of everybody else means the weal and woe of ourselves! Mark my words and remember them on that fatal day when the human race shall be requested to pack up its little toys and surrender to a more worthy successor.

The only hope for survival lies in one sentence: *We are all of us fellow-passengers on the same planet and we are all of us equally responsible for the happiness and well-being of the world in which we live.* — Hendrik Willem van Loon, condensed from "Van Loon's Geography."

## LESSONS FROM PRIMITIVE NEGRITO

In Clark Field, Mount Pinatubo Negritos are teaching Vietnam-bound American pilots the art of staying alive in the jungle. In his book *The Art of Survival*, Cord Christian Troebst wrote: "It might almost seem as if, with the aid of modern equipment and science, man had overcome natural hazards. But this is an illusion, the very illusion by which most amateur adventure-seekers are deceived . . . When mentally and physically unprepared people are forced into desperate situations, they very often die because of their own inexperience and helplessness, plus the fear and despair to which these give rise . . . Leave your ordinary city dweller on an island and it is most improbable that he would still be alive after a few weeks . . . But the art of survival can be learned."

What can we learn from the Negritos? Way back in 1953, Dr. Robert B. Fox wrote on the useful plants and material culture of the

Pinatubo Negritos. Fox said: ". . . a characteristic which strikingly demarcates them from the surrounding Christian lowlanders is their inexhaustible knowledge of the plant and animal kingdoms. This lore includes not only a specific recognition of a phenomenal number of plants, birds, animals, and insects, but also includes a knowledge of the habits and behavior of each. This inclusive knowledge of nature is, of course, a product of their way of life; continual hunting, mobility, dependency upon vegetation, as well as a survival of their historical associations. The Negrito is an intrinsic part of his environment, and what is still more important, continually studies his surroundings. Many times I have seen a Negrito, who, when not being certain of the identification of a particular plant, will taste the fruit, smell the leaves, break and examine the stems, comment on its habitat, and only after all of this, pronounce whe-



ther he did or did not know the plant.

"In addition, the intimate familiarity of the Negrito with nature is the result of a thorough and sensitive ecological awareness. Many plants have no direct use or value in themselves, but are important to the Negrito because of the relationship of the plant with the animal and insect world. The fruits of some trees are eaten only by birds, but are still important to the pygmies, for it is in or near these that bird blinds are built.

"The acute observation of the pygmies and their awareness of the interrelationships between the plant and animal life giving them an ecological picture of their environment, is strikingly pointed out by their discussions of the living habits of bats. The *tididin* lives on the dry leaves of palms, the *dikidik* on the underside of the leaves of the wild banana, the *litlit* in bamboo clumps, the *kolum-*

*boy* in holes of trees, the *konanaba* in dark thickets, and so forth. In this summer, the Pinatubo Negrito can distinguish the habits of more than 15 species of bats.

"Most Negrito men can with ease enumerate the specific or descriptive names of at least 450 plants, 75 birds, most of the snakes, fish, insects, and animals, and of even 20 species of ants. Moreover, each Negrito man can give a description of the colors, habits, food, calls, etc., of all the animal, insect and bird life known to him. An unusually intelligent and observant individual can give even more natural history information, and the botanical knowledge of their herb doctors who use plants constantly in their practice is truly outstanding."

There is a lot to learn — even from the primitive Negrito. — *By Alejandro R. Roces in The Manila Chronicle, July 1, 1968.*

## THE SUPERIOR MAN OF CONFUCIUS

All goodness, truth, beauty are combined in the ideal of the superior man (Chun-tzu). Noble both in birth and endowment, he has the manners of a gentleman and the wisdom of a sage.

The superior man is no saint. The saint is born; he is what he is; the superior man becomes what he is through self-discipline. "To have the truth is the path of heaven, to seek the truth is the path of men. He who has the truth finds the right action without pains, achieves success without reflection." But he who *seeks* the truth chooses the good and holds it fast. He investigates, he questions critically, he ponders the truth and resolutely acts on it. "Perhaps others can do it the first time; I must do it a thousand times.

But he who really has the perseverance to go this way — be he foolish, he will become clearheaded; be he weak, he will become strong."

The character, cast of thought, gestures of the superior man are described. He is contrasted with the inferior man. The superior man is concerned with justice, the inferior man with profit. The superior man is quiet and serene, the inferior man is always full of anxiety. The superior man is congenial though never stooping to vulgarity; the inferior man is vulgar without being congenial. The superior man is dignified without arrogance; the inferior man is arrogant without dignity. — *Karl Jaspers in The Great Philosophers.*

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**OUR COVER** — Fil-American friendship is often depicted in casual dramatizations of acts of gift-giving, rather than in the more concrete aspects of building up a strong ally in an atmosphere of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and national dignity.