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Philippine Labor Movement in Transition

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confirmatory of older intuitions, and may have something to contribute to the emerging ecclesiology of post-Vatican II thinking. The ecclesial thrust toward basic Christian communities has for some time been in the process of being incarnated in marginated groups of simple and poor Christian peoples. The process is one of trial and error. A negative view of this trial-and-error process would be to concentrate only on the errors and to ignore the underlying phenomenon that people *have been trying*. The contributors of this book, especially the editor, have reversed this negative tendency of earlier decades. By and large, their observations and recommendations are vibrant with positive thinking but with one minor exception:

Father Mercado seems pleased with the latter Bulatao, as distinct from the earlier Bulatao, because his keynote speech on ASC suggests a theological conversion. But this is precisely where negativity sneaks in. For example, who exactly were those "theologians" who supposedly raised an outcry against the 1628 science of blood-circulation for endangering the devotion to the Sacred Heart? Is Bulatao referring to the discussions of the 1675 revelations to St. Margaret Mary? Or does he know of some theological "outcry" after 1628 or perhaps "much later"? In the absence of evidence, this would look more like a bit of mythologizing. As a rhetorical device, this is harmless enough, but any unconscious tendency to "reify" such a myth would not promote, and can even damage Bulatao's credibility as a scientist. This would be unfortunate, because ASC is an important and fascinating theme, and because Father Bulatao is eminently capable of *constructive* theological reflection. He has discovered for us at least two important areas: the parapsychic underpinnings of Filipino rituals, and the Filipino facility for ASC in religious experiences.

This brings us to the title of the book: *Filipino Religious Psychology*. Contrary to first impression, this book is mainly about religion, not psychology, although psychology plays an important part. The editor's own concluding retrospect clearly places religion above psychology as his area of interest. But for an alternative title that would express this nuance more neatly, this reviewer, is at a loss.

This is a good book.

Vicente Marasigan, S.J.

PHILIPPINE LABOR MOVEMENT IN TRANSITION. By Elias T. Ramos. Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1976. 118 pages.

The study under consideration constitutes part of the M.A. thesis presented by its author to the Industrial Relations Research Institute, University of Wisconsin in 1972. In it, he proposes to test against Philippine experience the theory of Adolf Sturmthal that collective bargaining will be ineffective under conditions of widespread unemployment for a labor movement which includes many

marginal and economically weak groups, and that unions under adverse labor-market conditions will either choose political action as their basic strategy or concentrate their energies on groups of skilled workers who possess some economic leverage. The problem here posed is of considerable interest to the present reviewer, who attempted in the early 1960s to test against Philippine experience a somewhat similar theory proposed by John T. Dunlop, namely that a "free" labor movement — free, that is, from control by either the government or a political party — is unlikely in a developing country [John J. Carroll, "Philippine Labor Unions," *Philippine Studies* 9 (April 1961): 220–54]. Dunlop had argued that such a movement's efforts to force wages up would be seen by the "industrializing elite" as a threat to economic development, and would accordingly be brought under control.

Since they address themselves to similar problems, it is not surprising that Ramos's study and my own employ similar approaches: a historical account of the development of the Philippine labor movement, followed by a more detailed analysis of its structure and functioning at the time of writing, and a look at possible future trends. Ramos's historical material is derived almost entirely from earlier published accounts; his treatment is brief and schematic, lacking the color which greater attention to such interesting personalities as Tan Malaca, Crisanto Evangelista, Pedro Abad Santos, Guillermo Capadocia, and Mariano Balgos might have provided. However, his self-discipline in this matter may have helped him to focus on certain aspects of the story which had not been sufficiently noted by others: in particular he suggests that the transition from a highly politicized labor movement to one which was relatively non-political, after 1950, was related to a change in its mass base from one composed predominantly of agricultural workers to one which was mainly urban-industrial and commercial; and that this change in turn followed upon the vigorous action taken against the Hukbalahap and its suspected allies among the peasants. Thus, Ramos's presentation tends to support Sturmhthal's thesis in the sense that "rice and fish" unionism and collective bargaining took root most effectively in those sectors of the economy where the labor force possessed some skills and could hope to swing some economic weight. Similarly, he points to the pressures toward political action which were manifesting themselves in a second generation of peasant organizations during the late 1960s — pressures which he feels were diffused somewhat by the personalism of Philippine social structure and the bargaining skills of local politicians.

Ramos's most original contributions lie in his analysis of the structure and functioning of the Philippine labor movement during the 1960s and early 1970s — when he himself was an active union leader and later a member of the staff of the University of the Philippines Asian Labor Education Center. To some it may seem unfortunate that this account, which terminates in the early months of 1972, was published only in 1976 — and without an Appendix

which might have related the author's earlier views to subsequent events. For in fact, much of our theorizing has been overtaken by events and many of the structures which Ramos describes no longer function as they did ten years ago. Nor has his reading of a trend toward a dual type of unionism — one segment relying on collective bargaining in behalf of the economically more powerful groups, and the other on political action in favor of the weaker groups — been verified, unless by the latter we understand the clandestine, ideologically-oriented training sessions being organized for factory workers and peasants.

What *does* seem to be verified, unfortunately, is the observation of Professor Dunlop [John T. Dunlop, "The Role of the Free Trade Union in a Less Developed Nation," in *American Labor's Role in Less Developed Countries*, A Report on a Conference held at Cornell University, 12–17 October 1958, p. 19.] years ago and which I at the time was reluctant to accept:

I do not want to get into an argument about this word "free," but I will go so far as to say that I doubt there is a free trade union in any under-developed country, and I will go so far as to say that we are unlikely to have a free trade union in such a country. Any elite which is managing industrialization is not going to allow a free trade union.

I say that this is unfortunate for two reasons. It perpetuates a pattern, now questioned by leading specialists in economic development, whereby the costs of development have been paid by the poor and the weak, while its fruits were enjoyed by the wealthy and powerful. And it favors the growth of a clandestine, radicalized labor movement excluded from genuine participation in "the system" and bent on its total overthrow.

John J. Carroll, S.J.

BAYANIKASAN — THE EFFECTIVE DEMOCRACY FOR ALL. By Salvador Araneta. Malabon, Rizal: Bayanikasan Research Foundation, 1976. svii, 349 pages.

This is a well-thought-out discussion on the subject of democracy or *bayanikasan* (the author's rendition of the word in the national language). The word refers to that form of government which is based on the principle of popular sovereignty. Such a government is, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, "a government of the people, by the people, for the people." Democracy has been hailed as the best system of government ever devised by the mind of man.

The author has impressive credentials for the task he has chosen to undertake. A lawyer by profession, he has an established reputation as a political scientist and economist. He was at one time president of a large university in Manila. He comes from an illustrious family; his father was a member of the Philippine Commission during the early decades of American rule in the Philippines. He was a member of the 1935 and 1971 Constitutional Conventions.