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Not One But Ten: Southeast Asia Today and Tomorrow

Review Author: Michael McPhelin

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writers in both English and Tagalog. As for a certain exponent of free verse in Tagalog, Professor Agoncillo says this poet "considers himself an inch above Walt Whitman", since, in an introduction to an anthology, he "laid down, in the manner of a man about to give up his ghost, his so-called literary testament." Passages such as this, which abound in the book, prevent it from becoming dull.

CARLOS QUIRINO

NOT ONE BUT TEN

SOUTHEAST ASIA TODAY AND TOMORROW: A Political Analysis. By Richard Butwell. New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1961. 176 p.

One may as well accept the fact that books will continue to be written about Southeast Asia just as they will be written about other regions, like Latin America and Tropical Africa. What this book makes plain is that such work is in danger of being an exercise in superficiality and is liable to have as little internal coherence as the region itself. Southeast Asia is not one place but ten different places—different, it seems, in all possible ways: racially and ethnically, in climate and endowment of resources, in religion and language, in literacy, in entrepreneurial vigor, in the relative importance of minorities, in internal problems of law and order, in external threats to independence, in historical background and in present world allegiance.

Professor Butwell first visited Southeast Asia in 1953; during 1959-60 he was a Fulbright Professor at the University of Rangoon. He is a member of the Department of Political Science of the University of Illinois. He has set out first of all to assess the record of the lands of Southeast Asia in governing themselves after a decade of independence. His secondary purposes are to offer suggestions about the nature of government in this part of the world and to chart the probable course of future development. Perhaps he judged that a man ought not be too modest in reporting to his sponsors. Imagine a traveller in 1939 charting "the probable course of future development".

It struck me how often the Philippines, to its credit, must be cited as an exception to general statements: for example, the region's decline in enthusiasm for democratic government, the growth in political importance of armies, and the despair which replaced the excitement of early independence years. "We expected so much

from independence!" How little time is lost in the Philippines doubting about the wisdom of independence and pining over disappointed expectations. A people learns little by little that self-rule has its own difficulties and that many a mistake is made in attempts at solving domestic problems. But mistakes are not the experience only of young governments nor are they fatal. The Republic manages to survive and to keep trying. In the Philippines in 1962 there is general agreement that things are looking up. Optimism has by no means been blotted out.

Because this is a book about ten different regimes in Southeast Asia, it is easier to comment upon it than to review it. The author is informed in a well-read gentleman's way and is aware that his generalizations are often a bad fit. He himself sometimes points this out. To give several examples, first, he finds that all the lands of the region share the characteristic of having underdeveloped economies but instantly modifies their degrees of backwardness. Malaya and the Philippines have the most advanced economies and Laos the least. Second, the countries are inexperienced in self-government, though this is much less true of the Thai and of the Filipinos. Third, political instability characterizes most of these lands, and they all have internal communist problems as well as unsolved minority difficulties. This is true enough, is it not? But, to the degree that it is true of Southeast Asia, it is true of the entire world. It is not a specifying trait. Indeed, differences are much more significant than apparent similarities and on all scores the Philippine condition is hopeful. There is a problem here concerning the Chinese, certainly, but nothing like that of Singapore, Malaya, Indonesia or Thailand.

What one misses in the book is the fruit of that deeper reflection which a competent political analyst might have produced had he lived long in one country and consistently pondered its problems and its efforts toward solving them. It has little to teach an educated resident of any single country of Southeast Asia. It may prove a helpful introduction to undergraduates at Illinois.

MICHAEL MCPHELIN

THE MEASURE OF ALL THINGS

THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL JUSTICE. By Jean-Yves Calvez, S.J., and Jacques Perrin, S.J. London: Burns & Oates, 1961 (English translation), 466 pp.

Praised as the "most authoritative study to date of the social encyclicals; indispensable as a background to *Mater et Magistra*", this volume is a very successful attempt to set forth the social doctrine