

THE CHINESE NEWSPAPER IN THE PHILIPPINES: TOWARD THE DEFINITION OF A TOOL

JAMES ROLAND BLAKER

THE OVERSEAS CHINESE COMMUNITIES THROUGHOUT SOUTHEAST Asia continue, despite recent research, to remain as enigmatic and interesting as they are important to understanding the political changes in most of the developing nations in this area of the world. The scholar is faced by a number of barriers to understanding the activity of this group, and as some of these barriers, such as the differences in language, crumble beneath the onslaught of better prepared analysts, others appear more distinct and formidable. There remains the perplexing question of what indices are available which may be used to gauge the political activity of the community. The identification of internal decision making machinery—the evidence of changes in power and processes—still remain cloaked beneath the difficulties of dealing with a group functioning in what is often a basically hostile environment; and the analyst approaching these basic questions equipped with the latest or best survey techniques if faced with situations in which his tools are often rendered superfluous, if not completely useless, by problems as basic as a definition of the universe on which he may work his quantitative magic.¹

One result of this situation is a great reliance on what has been termed epi-phenomena², or a concern with indications of power and process which are recognized as secondary. Unfortunately, a great deal of historical chronology and description of

¹ Estimates of the number of Chinese in the Philippines vary from the figure of 219,686 offered by the 1960 census with the recognition that it is probably too low, to a figure of 626,000 offered by Jacques Amyot on the basis of extrapolations from clan memberships. The problem is complicated by distinctions between those who are "legally" Chinese and those who are "culturally" Chinese. See Jacques Amyot, *The Chinese Community of Manila: A Study of Adaptation of Chinese Familism to a Philippine Environment* (Chicago: Dept. of Anthropology Research Series #2, University of Chicago Press, 1960) for an extended discussion of the difficulties facing survey analysis.

² See the discussion in Lawrence Herson, "In the Footsteps of Community Power," *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 55 (December, 1961) pp. 817-30.

only the surface-most activities of the community is sometimes presented as the "politics" of the community. It is generally recognized that these efforts have little explanatory value distinct from that which is descriptive, and the historical analyses usually concede that in a period of phenomenal change brought about by the process of nation-building and the re-emergence of China as a world power, their predictive power is quite limited. These efforts are necessary for, without exploratory searches for better and more conclusive indices and continued attempts to provide more historical depth, the basis on which better analytic and theoretic work may be constructed will never be built. With this in mind and conscious of the limitations which may be placed on the hypothetical nature of this paper, the following is offered as a possible assistance to continued scholarly efforts in the field.

It is suggested that reflections of power shifts and changes in functions both in the community and in terms of the role the community plays in regard to the surrounding political system may be found on the pages of the Chinese press in the country of residence; a suggestion often noted by writers dealing with the Chinese communities. These publications, conforming to similar attempts by most news media to mold the opinion of their various publics, upon careful reading also reflect many of the controversies, divisions, and political alignments of the community. An analysis of the editorial stands and the way in which communications are managed by these dailies is, therefore, one method of tracing the present power structures and estimating the stance the community will take relative to outside forces. But beyond this, it may be possible to classify the newspapers into various types; a classification which may provide part of the basis for a comparative analysis of overseas communities and one which, when the shifts of newspapers between classifications are traced by means of historical perspective, yields information on any given overseas Chinese community.

Such a classification is useful in analyzing the role of the community in the Philippines. Here the backbone of the Chinese press presently consists of four daily newspapers and various weekly, monthly and quarterly publications.³ All four dailies have existed for more than two decades and now rest upon a series of journalistic

³ See appendix for chronology of Chinese daily newspapers published in the Philippines. The discussion, for purposes of brevity, deals only with the daily press.

precedents which extend back into the nineteenth century. In a very real sense the present Chinese press, by no means identical in outlook, is the survivor and heir of a long and at times violent history of Chinese journalism in the Philippines; a history which has seen the rise and demise of newspapers devoted to political agitation, solicitations and propaganda; the growth of commercial organs which have expanded from vehicles of limited purpose to modern communications media with circulations enabling them to rank not only as large Chinese newspapers, but as major Philippine publications as well; and the development and demise of esoteric publications of surface interest to only a minority within the community. A survey of this varied and sometimes fragmented line of historical evolution indicates that the Chinese publications may be classified into at least four categories or types.⁴ These types, for the purpose of discussion, may be termed Type I, or "external-political", Type II, or "internal-political", Type III, or "external apolitical", and Type IV, or "internal-dissention outlet."

Type I refers to newspapers which appear to have arisen primarily in response to political events on the mainland of China and are characterized by an editorial view⁵ which sees the overseas Chinese community as a potential force with the ability to affect political change on the mainland. The paper's activities center around the attempt to solicit aid — usually financial — for political organizations whose main concern is with political events in China.

⁴ Many of the Chinese newspapers which have been published in the Philippines exist only as names in Philippine Post Office records or in men's memories. This condition is a result of a combination of factors in which the physical destruction of World War II and later fire damage have figured prominently. One Chinese publisher, in discussing this problem, related that prior to the war his editorial staff had built an extensive file of all Chinese newspapers which had ever been published in the Philippines. His offices were partially destroyed during the Japanese occupation of Manila, and upon his return following the liberation he discovered that most of what had not been destroyed of his file during the fighting had been used as wrapping papers by the retreating Japanese. During the post-war period the *Fookien Times*, *Great China Press*, and *Kong Li Po* have been ravaged by different fires, partially destroying the files which had survived the war. Therefore, the classification used in this paper is based not on a full content analysis of every Chinese newspaper, but on those papers which have been found by enlisting the support of numerous individuals and organizations.

⁵ The editorial view of any newspaper is not found only on the editorial page, but may be discerned by noting how certain news stories are emphasized. Chinese papers use many of the same techniques found in western papers to indicate an "important" story. Thus, an "important" story is indicated by its placement, size and color of type and headline. Generally speaking the upper right quadrant of the first page is the most important position; red ink is used to designate significant stories; sub-headlines indicate importance as does large type.

Type II refers to daily newspapers which seem to have been created in reaction to political events which have occurred or are occurring, not on the mainland of China, but within the country of residence. Papers of this type view the community as disjointed, but with the potential of modifying, vetoing or preventing specific policies of the country of residence if unified. Their activity is devoted to the unification of the community in respect to specific issues and the soliciting of aid—again, usually financial—to modify, veto, or prevent a specific policy. They may be distinguished from Type I on the basis of the geographical placement of their concern with political events.

Type III refers to newspapers which rise in response to what are generally taken as apolitical events on the mainland—such as natural calamities—and are characterized by attempts to utilize kin relationships and personal identifications which transcend international boundaries to solicit aid for non-political organizations whose main concern lies with the mainland. Sharing the same geographical concern as Type I, they are distinguished from this type and Type II by their primary concern with events of an apolitical nature.

Type IV is exemplified by those newspapers which arise in response to a sense of lack of representation on the part of a grouping within the community. They are characterized by the view that although the overseas community is not fully unified, power within the community is dominated by groups or alliances not necessarily beneficial to the interests of the grouping they seek to represent. The paper grows initially as an outlet for a dissident group seeking a new channel of influence on the power structure within the community. This demand is usually characterized by attempts to mobilize the members of the dissident group and is often expressed as criticism of the existing power structure and the groups which dominate it.

The first example of a newspaper which may be classified as Type I can be dated from 1899 when the *I Yu Hsing Pao* or *Bon Ami Daily News*⁶ began irregular publication. The newspaper was the official organ of the Philippine branch of the Imperial Cons-

⁶ The romanization of the Chinese characters follows the Wade-Giles system except where a different type of system has generally been used either by the newspapers, as in the case of the *Kong Li Po* or in the "official designation" of the paper (i.e.: as registered with the Post Office, etc.). To avoid confusion the characters have been included in the appendix.

titutionalism Society, a political reform organization connected with the propaganda activities of Liang Ch'i-chao following his retreat to Japan.⁷ The paper was relatively short lived, but its inspiration and development clarifies what is meant by Type I.

Prior to the collapse of the reform movement of 1898 led by K'ang Yu-wei on the mainland, both K'ang and his chief disciple, Liang, found a base of support for their activities among segments of the gentry and imperial officials. Little if any, attempt had been made to seek support from among either the overseas Chinese or secret society members, a factor which at that time distinguished the reform movement from the revolutionary activities of Sun Yat-sen. However, with the collapse of the reform movement in the abortive coup d'état of mid-September, 1898, and the retreat by K'ang and Liang to Japan, efforts were begun to seek support from the overseas Chinese. Branches of the Emperor Protection Society were established in Yokohama and later, following Liang's trip to Hawaii, in Honolulu, in the effort to cultivate new momentum for the movement. Liang, as chief propagandist, established the *Ch'ing-i Pao* or *Pure Criticism Journal* in November, 1898, and in 1902, following a change in the paper's name,⁸ defined the journalistic policy which had led to publication:

"A newspaper writer must serve the needs of the time and must propagate a single idea... If you want to conduct the people toward reform, you must startle them by democracy. If you want to lead them to democracy you must intimidate them by revolution... If our newspapers are to be the guides of the people we must understand this technique..."⁹

The *I Yu Hsing Pao*, which followed this doctrine in the Philippines, appears to have had the overall purpose of mobilizing the community primarily in order to solicit funds for Liang's main center of activity in Japan. Although Liang's movement was soon to be submerged by Sun's revolution, his activity always centered around a concern with political events on the mainland and this orientation appears to have permeated his journalistic followers in the Philippines. Many copies of the paper have been lost, probably forever, and secondary materials dealing with it are at the best extremely sketchy, but from what is available the paper appears to have had little, if any, concern with issues unrelated to

⁷ The discussion of Liang's activities follows Joseph R. Levenson, *Liang Ch'i-Chao and the Mind of Modern China*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1953.)

⁸ To *Hsin-min Ts'ung Pao*

⁹ Liang Ch'i-Chao, "Allow Me Respectfully to Tell My Fellow Journalists", *Hsin-min Ts'ung Pao*, March 15, 1902.

political events and changes on the mainland. Issues which grew out of Philippine affairs (i.e.: controversies and issues between the community in the Philippines and Filipinos or colonial officials unrelated to political events on the mainland of China) seem to have been continually ignored or treated secondarily, a factor which may account in small part for the relatively uncommitted stance taken—with the exception of some individual members—by the community during the Philippine revolution and American war.¹⁰ In any event the paper is significant in that it predates by nearly a decade the later similar efforts of Sun Yat-sen's followers to mobilize the overseas Chinese in the Philippines during the early stages of the Chinese revolution. It is part of the first documentation available of the growing awareness on the part of participants in the political struggles on the mainland of the potential power of the overseas community in this country to influence the outcome of their struggles. The impact of the newspaper on the community itself is, of course, beyond scholarly analysis as neither circulation figures nor descriptions of the type of reader found by the paper are available. It may be said, however, that a precedent was set by the paper—a precedent which was later followed by a number of newspapers which seem to fall into what has been termed Type I.

The papers most clearly associated with Sun Yat-sen, in this case the *Kong Li Po* and the *Voice of the People* (Min Hao Pao) are two such vehicles. The *Kong Li Po*, officially established by Sun's organizer in the Philippines, Wu Ching-ming, in August, 1912, actually began irregular publication as early as 1909 and was printing regular editions by 1911. Originally the official organ of the Chung Kuo Tung Meng Hue, or China Brotherhood Society, it became the main exponent of the party line following the establishment of the Kuomintang in 1914. The *Voice of the People* began publication in this year and published under this name until 1932.¹¹

Both papers were dominated during their early development by the KMT party interest, and as such, appear to have shared many of the same characteristics found in the earlier *Bon Ami Daily*

¹⁰ See Gregorio F. Zaide, "Chinese General in the Philippine Revolution, *Fookien Times Yearbook*. 1955, pp. 155-60.

¹¹ The *Voice of the People* may be viewed as the "Cantonese" supporter of Sun and his revolution. As the *Kong Li Po* began to gain predominance as the recognized mouthpiece of the KMT, the *Voice* seemed to shift more toward what has been termed a Type IV paper, and with the reorganization of 1932 it is probably better interpreted in terms of this type rather than Type I.

News. The substance of their political orientation was, of course, quite different from their predecessor, but a survey of the editorial stands of these papers indicates a similar concern with mobilizing the resources of the Chinese community in the Philippines to affect political events centered on the mainland. Thus, under the early KMT history funds were sought from the community to support the Northern Expedition; during the Sino-Japanese war efforts were made to solicit financial support for the military defense of the mainland against the Japanese. Following World War II, the *Kong Li Po* has become the most obvious propaganda vehicle found in the Philippines in support for Chiang Kai-shek's government.¹²

Although radically different in political orientation from either the Kuomintang organs or the early reform newspaper, the Communist Chinese press in the Philippines may also be included within this first type. Similar to the earlier papers mentioned above, the papers which have been defined as communist organs appear to have shared the view that the community was a potential power in the political struggles centered in China. The first daily newspaper which has been identified as communist was the *Chinese Daily Guide* (Hua-ch'iao Tao Pao).¹³ It began regular publication shortly following the war in 1945 and lasted until 1948, when, following a series of editorial battles with the *Great China Press*—a postwar Kuomintang-dominated daily—it was raided and closed by the Military Police. The other paper which has been called communist was also founded in 1945 under the name of the *Commercial Bulletin* (Ch'iao-shang Kung Pao). It lasted under this logotype for two years, when it was reorganized and renamed the *Daily Advertiser* (Min-shang jih Pao). The paper finally ceased publication in 1949 following the deportation of its editor, Co Pak.¹⁴

Perhaps due to the relatively early curtailment of the overt Chinese communist press in the Philippines through the interven-

¹² In September, 1964, Ui Ching, the editor of the *Kong Li Po* denied that his paper was subsidized by Nationalist China, but in response to the question, "Is it being used as an organ of propaganda by the government of President Chiang Kai-shek?", he replied yes while under oath. See Philippine Senate: *Hearings, Committee on Labor and Immigration, Re: "Nationalization Cases, etc."*, September 2, 1964.

¹³ Victor Purcell, in his classic work on the Chinese in Southeast Asia, names the pre-war bimonthly *Kim Kuo Press* as the first mouthpiece of the "Chinese left wing in the Philippines." Its circulation appears to have been quite limited, and although listed as a bi-monthly publication its actual publication was more irregular than this classification indicates. See *The Chinese in Southeast Asia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1951) pp. 642.

¹⁴ See *Manila Times*, February 27, 1951, for details.

tion of Philippine governmental agencies, the ideological commitment to worldwide revolution was never emphasized to any great extent in these papers. Chinese communism, as presented in the press serving as vehicle for it in the Philippines, appears to have been continually framed in nationalistic terms. The papers were obviously concerned with diverting the flow of financial support sent from the community to the Nationalist government toward the People's Republic, and their journalistic activity was probably connected to a series of non-journalistic efforts to this end which included coercion and terror both in the Philippines and among relatives of members of the community on the mainland. But although the overall activity of the Chinese communists in the Philippines relative to the overseas community was one of diversity and ran from stick to carrot, the newspapers restricted their journalistic contributions in these efforts to the carrot end of the spectrum. There were few, if any, explicit threats in their pages, although there appears to have been a concentrated emphasis on lauding the humanitarian and industrial advances made by the communists on the mainland. There also appears to have been efforts to play on the traditional attachment of members of the community for the mainland by the publication of poetry and short stories revolving around well known historical themes. This de-emphasis of proletarian-revolutionary themes, which may have been strictly a Philippine phenomena due to the early curtailment of the communist press, may also have been a result of the character of the community in the Philippines. In contrast to some other southeast Asian areas early restrictions based on American emigration laws limited the number and "type" of Chinese qualifying for entrance.¹⁵ Thus the Chinese coolie, which played such an important part in the type of community found in Malaya, for example, never had the same sort of impact on the community in the Philippines.¹⁶

¹⁵ See Thomás S. Fonacier, "The Chinese Exclusion Policy in the Philippines," *Philippine Social Science and Humanities Review*, Vol. XIV, no 1, March, 1949 pp. 3-28, and *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President*, January 31, 1900 (The Schurman Commission).

¹⁶ See Ch'en Ta, *Chinese Migration, with Special Reference to Labor Conditions*, (Washington: International Secretariat, 1923); S. P. Davis, "Chinese Immigration through the Ages," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Vol. XVIII, no. 23, 1955; J. Norman Palmer, *Colonial Labor Policy and Administration: A History of Labor in the Rubber Plantation Industry in Malaya*, (New York: J. J. Austin, 1960); P. C. Campbell, *Chinese Coolie Emigration to Countries within the British Empire*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), and W. C. Blythe, "Historical Sketch of Chinese Labor in Malaya," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society—Malaya Branch*, Vol. XX, (June, 1947) p. 64-82.

The community never developed the kind of Chinese laboring class to which arguments for worldwide proletarian revolution would appeal.¹⁷

Thus, all these papers, from the early organ of the reformers to the KMT dominated dailies and the abortive Chinese Communist press shared the characteristics, although differing in specific political orientation, which have been described as Type I. Their concern with political problems of the overseas community of an "internal" nature (i.e.: growing from the relationship of the community and the Philippine political system), when expressed, was always subordinated to their concern with mobilizing the community in terms of events on the mainland. None of the newspapers questioned the efficacy of the community to influence these developments and all saw the community in the Philippines as a means, in terms of a source of money and power, for the attainment of specific political goals in China.

Type II, or what has been designated "internal-political", is exemplified by the formation and early development of the *Chinese Commercial News Hua-ch'iao Shang Pao*). This newspaper was originally designed as the official organ of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in the Philippines under the editorial leadership of Yu Yi-tung. Yu came to the Philippines as a teacher but soon associated himself with the Chinese Chamber of Commerce; he rose to an influential position in that organization and, acting in this capacity, was placed in charge of all publications of the Chamber. Prior to 1919 these publications consisted primarily of a number of trade association newsletters, but in that year, Yu instituted the *Journal of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce* and began to devote most of his energy to this publication. The Chamber, ostensibly to minimize expenses, ordered the discontinuation of the *Journal's* publication in 1921. Yu resigned his position, and with the financial backing of the Chinese lumber magnate, Dee C. Chuan, organized the nominally independent corporation which published the first edition of the *Chinese Commercial News*.

The *Chinese Commercial News* was formed under the impetus of the Bookkeeping Law, recently passed by the Philippine Legislature. The law, overtly designed to facilitate tax collection by

¹⁷ The best sociological description of the Chinese community in the Philippines is found in Amyot, *The Chinese Community of Manila*. See also C. L. Hunt, "Ethnic Stratification and Integration in Cotabato," *Philippines Sociological Review*, Vol. V, no. 1, (January, 1957) pp. 13-38.

demanding that all business records be kept only in English, Spanish, or a local dialect, actually threatened the economic livelihood of the majority of Chinese merchants in the Philippines.¹⁸ It was used by the editorial staff of the paper as the catalyst with which to mobilize the Chinese community in the Philippines—specifically to enlist its full support for the denial of the law's implementation through legal procedures, but also in order to break down the divisions within the community which existed along the lines of clan and "class" membership. It was hoped that by using the issue of the Bookkeeping Act the community could be mobilized into a more unified entity, and thus into a greater potential force in Philippine politics, or at least in regard to those issues in the Philippine political system which affected the Chinese community. In retrospect it appears that the early *Chinese Commercial News* was one of several factors in the success of this overall endeavor; financial support for the court battle which finally culminated in the unconstitutional declaration by the United States Supreme Court appears to have been solicited from nearly all groups in the community.

The early *Chinese Commercial News*, then, shared the same desire as earlier papers to break down the divisions within the community in order to enlist its full potential power. However, in contrast to earlier journalistic endeavors, the issue which was used to coalesce the community originated not from the swirl of political events on the mainland, but from the Philippine political system, and the individuals attempting to initiate this mobilization became less concerned with "external" political phenomena and more with events originating much closer to the community in geographical terms. The *Chinese Commercial News* arose not in response to phenomena affecting the interests of the community which occurred on the mainland, but to a threat which was posed by the Philippine government. As a purely money making endeavor, which does not appear to have been the primary concern of the early editorial staff of the newspaper, this approach resulted in financial success, and although the paper later expanded into other

¹⁸ Act no. 2972, approved February 21, 1921 (Bookkeeping Act). For the impact of this act on the Chinese community see Remigio E. Agpalo, *The Political Process and the Nationalization of the Retail Trade in the Philippines*, University of the Philippines, Office of Coordination of Research (NEC-AID UP Development Project), Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines, 1962; pp. 24-25. See also Sheldon Appleton, "Overseas Chinese and Economic Nationalization in the Philippines," *Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 14, no. 2, (February, 1960) pp. 151.

areas of concern its success as a business enterprise seems to have been partially a result of the new orientation toward primary concern with events in the Philippines rather than without. There had been, of course, previous efforts to mobilize the community in response to social, political, and economic steps taken by the political system geographically nearest it, but the response to the Bookkeeping Act was the first time it had been attempted with the use of modern mass media, and may have been the first time in the twentieth century that the attempt was successful.¹⁹

The *Fookien Times* (Hsin-ming Jih Pao), first published in February, 1926, may be said to exemplify what has been termed a Type III newspaper. The name of Dee C. Chuan, who was closely tied to the early development of the *Chinese Commercial News*, also figures prominently in the early establishment of the *Times*; however, within a short time following its foundation the paper became dominated by its present publisher, Go Puan-seng. The paper's name indicates it was, at its inception, concerned with the affairs of a specific group within the community—those Chinese who had immigrated from Fukien Province in China—but a careful analysis of the early editions of the paper implies a much wider orientation. It is significant to note, as in the case of all Chinese overseas newspapers, what was occurring on the mainland at the approximate date of the newspaper's formation.

The period 1925-1926 saw some of the worst floods in the history of Fukien Province devastate land holdings, homes, and the lives of hundreds in that province. Because of the internal political disruption which gripped China at the time, the Chinese government could not respond to the demands for aid to the full satisfaction of those hit by the natural calamities, and as a result, the demands were transferred to the relatively more affluent former residents of

¹⁹ The agitation by the Chinese resulted in a request by the then Governor-General Wood to the Philippine Legislature which sought postponement of the statute's execution. The legislature complied with the request but refused to repeal the act. The Philippine Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the act in *Yu Cong Eng v. Trinidad* (47 Phil. 385), but because of the provisions Jones Law of 1916, the decision was appealed to the United States Supreme Court, where the act was declared unconstitutional in *Yu Cong Eng v. Trinidad* (274 US 392). For more detailed description see Joseph R. Hayden, *The Philippines: A Study in National Development*, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1942) pp. 106-7.

the province now residing in overseas communities.²⁰ Patterns in the flow of finances from the overseas communities to kinship groups on the mainland had been established previously, but for the first time perhaps in the history of the community in the Philippines, these demands were publicized via mass media. Further, an analysis of the way in which these demands were handled by the *Fookien Times* would indicate that the paper did not view those members of the community with kinship ties to families in Fukien Province as the only potential sources of disaster aid. Rather, the entire community appears to have been viewed as a possible source of financial assistance for the victims of the floods and, as in the case of the previous newspapers which were devoted to more political concerns, the *Fookien Times* recognized that the enlistment of the full potential of the community depended upon the destruction of previous divisions along vertical clan lines, etc., and the identification of all members of the community with the plight of "Chinese" regardless of place of residence. Thus, the early *Fookien Times* concerned itself with much the same objects as its predecessors, but may be distinguished from them on the basis of substance and geographical origin of the forces which motivated its formation. In contrast to the type of paper exemplified by the early *Chinese Commercial News*, the *Fookien Times* appears to have been instigated by forces and phenomena which arose not from the surrounding Philippine political system, but which were generated from the mainland; and in contrast with the type exemplified by the *Bon Ami Daily News* or the early *Kong Li Po*, the substance of the motivation is more clearly apolitical rather than political.

The *Common People's Daily* (P'ing-min Jih Pao), *Overseas Chinese Bulletin* (Hua-chiao kung Pao), *New China Daily* (Hsin-Chong Kao Pao), and the postwar *Chinese National News* (Min-tzu jih Pao) may be classified as "Type IV" newspapers. They are similar in the sense that they all "spoke" for some of those segments of the community seeking greater representation in the community's power structure. As such, they were actually critics of the existing structures and the groups which dominated them, a factor which, as in the case of the *Chinese National News*, sometimes resulted in counter-attacks by the groups which dominated power.

²⁰ See Ch'en Ta, *Emigrant Communities in South China: A Study of Overseas Migration and Its Influence on Standards of Living and Social Change* (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940) for an early attempt to compare standards of living between the overseas communities and kin groups on the mainland.

This can be indicated by a brief description of the kind of groups which the papers sought to support.

The *Common People's Daily* and *Overseas Chinese Bulletin* have been identified, in the course of the author's interviews, as "labor" newspapers. This should be qualified somewhat; as noted above the Chinese community in the Philippines never developed what is usually thought of as a laboring class, and these papers are more closely identified with the small shop owner or Chinese employee. But in any event, until quite recently the power structure in the community as expressed through such institutions as the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce or Kuomintang Party was such that these groupings had very little, if any, say about the exercise of power within the community or regarding the community's stance relative to the surrounding Philippine political system. These two papers were designed to serve as vehicles for the expression of the interests of this group. They seem to have continually approached news stories in terms of their impact on these groupings and editorially expressed the view that the interests of most of their readers were not being recognized. Both were relatively short lived newspapers, the *Common People's Daily* began in 1919 and ended in 1922 while the *Overseas Chinese Bulletin* lasted for almost a year in 1922.

The *New China Daily*, which in 1932 grew out of the 1914 *Voice of the People*, and the postwar *Chinese National News* also spoke for dissident groups within the community, although in distinction to the two previous papers, these tried to advance the interests of a grouping which cut across "class" divisions. They spoke for and were dominated by Cantonese speaking members of the community, a factor which made them "minority" mouthpieces.²¹ The *New China Daily* existed from 1932 until 1941. Its predecessor, the *Voice of the People*, was also connected with Cantonese elements in the community, but it seems to have been the Cantonese equivalent of the *Kong Li Po* and for this reason has been classified under Type I. Reorganized and renamed in 1932, it appears to have become more of a vehicle for criticism directed against the community's internal alinement of power at that time being expressed by the Cantonese elements. Following the failure of the *Daily Advertiser* in 1949 and the purchase of the physical plant of this paper by

²¹ Historically and at present the community in the Philippines has been predominantly Fukienese. Amyot estimates the Fukienese outnumber the Cantonese by about 3 to 1. The Fukienese-Cantonese split is enforced primarily by the mutually unintelligible dialects spoken by the two groups.

another Cantonese group, the *Chinese National News* picked up the theme of criticism initiated by the *New China Daily*.²² However, in contrast to the earlier paper it directed most of its attack toward the KMT, which at that time probably was dominated by Fukienese and had a great deal to say about what the community would do. It lasted only a short time and ceased publication following editorial attacks by the *Great China Press*.

Both the "labor" and Cantonese newspapers, although differing in the sense that the former represented groupings caused by horizontal divisions in the community while the latter sought to express the demands of groupings created by vertical cleavages, shared characteristics which distinguish them from the other newspapers which have been discussed. They did seem to recognize that the community was not a unified entity, but did not seek to end this disunity by breaking down divisions in the sense that the other types did. Their main complaint appears to have been that the differences within the community were not recognized by the existing power structure, and thus they sought to change either the power structure or the groups that dominated it in such a way that the different interests of groupings previously excluded would be recognized. While the other types of newspapers sought to unify the community in pursuit of certain goals, the Type IV papers sought to make the community recognize the differences which existed in it.

Classifications are useful only to the extent that they lead to a better understanding of phenomena. The scheme suggested here has been useful in the description of specific newspapers and in comparing one newspaper with another, but its real advantage comes from the sort of hypotheses it leads to regarding the systems of interaction — the Chinese community in the Philippines — from which the papers have emerged. It is not enough, therefore, to fit a given newspaper into one or the other type, even if it could easily be done. A more general view must be adopted and efforts should be made to trace patterns between and among the types

²² Until quite recently there has been little social mixing between the two groups. Institutions such as the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce had representatives from the Cantonese segment, but they were usually excluded from the full privileges afforded the Fukienese and probably had little impact on decisions made by the Chamber. Although the author's study of the recruitment patterns and decision-making processes of the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce and the KMT is not completed, it does appear that at no time did the Cantonese representation in these bodies reflect one-fourth of the Chinese population in the Philippines.

which lead to a better appreciation of changes and continuities within the community. In this way the scheme described may be used to impose greater rigor on phenomena previously hidden beneath that mantle of suspicion which faces the student. The following paragraphs attempt to give some indication, without exhausting the possibilities, of the way in which the scheme may be used to divulge information.

One of the most obvious developments of the Chinese press in the Philippines has been the movement of successful newspapers from concern with relatively narrowly defined interests into what are more justifiably seen as multi-interest vehicles. That is, the successful Chinese newspapers—success here defined as continued publication and financial return — have been those which have demonstrated an ability to move from one type to a position encompassing more than one. This may be indicated by comparing the early editions of the four present papers with their more recent journalistic efforts. Thus, the *Chinese Commercial News*, instituted in the beginning as a reaction to issues arising from the Philippine political system, now publishes news items of a much more diversified nature; the paper has clearly a much greater emphasis than earlier or in comparison with the other present Chinese dailies to news from the mainland,²³ as well as a continued concern with issues emerging from Philippine politics affecting the community. The *Kong Li Po* faced decreasing circulation and

²³ The fact that the *Chinese Commercial News* publishes more news coming from events on the mainland has led to accusations that the paper is communist or sympathetic to the Chinese People's Republic. The newspaper has been denounced by the KMT in the Philippines both at the party dominated Anti-Communist League Convention in 1956 and editorially by the *Great China Press* in a series of editorials dating from September 4, 1949. In 1962 the publisher and eleven members of his staff were arrested on the grounds of possible subversive activities by Philippine authorities, an action apparently approved by the Nationalist Chinese Embassy in the Philippines (i.e.: *The Manila Times*, March 9, 1962, reported that the interpreters who accompanied the raid were provided by the embassy.). Yuyitung was later released following pressure by Philippine news media (see, for example, Teodoro F. Valencia, "Over a Cup of Coffee," *The Manila Times*, March 14, 1962 and Napoleon G. Rama, *Philippines Free Press*, March 24, 1962), although his case is still officially open. In the author's opinion the political orientation of the present *Chinese Commercial News* is better interpreted as anti-KMT rather than communist, two things which are not identical, and a factor which sometimes results in what seems to be more "objective" news reporting. For example, the news of Communist China's atomic explosion, clearly an important event and viewed as such by most world news media, was handled as a major news story by the *Commercial News*, but was obviously slighted or ignored entirely by the other Chinese newspapers. Yet, since the New China News Agency is outlawed in the Philippines, the paper uses only the same news services which are available to all Chinese newspapers in the Philippines.

ultimate failure because of its limited concern with Chinese politics until it was reoriented in 1954 to less of an overt propaganda vehicle for the KMT and more of a newspaper which published news items dealing with the relationship of the community in the Philippines to Philippine social, economic, and political life. The *Great China Press* has moved from an anti-Japanese propaganda tabloid²⁴ during the war to a more diversified paper. Although still closely tied to the KMT it now concerns itself not only with attacks on the mainland government and those entities in the Philippines which it considers to be communist or sympathetic to communism, but also with the interpretation of the Philippine political events—a practice which can be very dangerous.²⁵ The same pattern may also be found in the development of *The Fookien Times*, although in addition to moving from Type III to a multi-type vehicle, this paper has also expanded into other publications. It now publishes the *Financial Journal*, an English language weekly oriented toward business interests, *The Fookien Times Yearbook*, and *The Sunday Morning Journal* in addition to having the largest “overseas” circulation. (i.e.: *Fookien Times Hong Kong Edition* and *Sing Tao Jih Pao, Philippine Edition*.) It recently instituted a “Southeast Asian Chinese community news page” incorporating news dealing with communities in other Southeast Asian nations. This has been well received and may mark a significant trend in the interests of certain segments of the community.

The necessity of expanding from limited purpose vehicles is also indicated by the demise of those papers described as Type IV. It appears that the newspapers attempting to advance the interests of either labor groups or the Cantonese speaking segments of the community were mostly a pre-war phenomena; with the exception of the *Chinese National News* there have been no attempts in the postwar period by these groups to advance their interests via mass media in the form of daily newspapers.

These factors indicate something of the nature of the community in the Philippines. First, the community would appear to

²⁴ *Sons of the Great Hans* (Ta-han hun).

²⁵ On February 22, 1954, in the midst of legislative concern over the Retail Nationalization Act, the *Great China Press* editorially blasted the nationalization movement, something which later resulted in denunciation by Representative Roseller T. Lim and a report by a special Congressional investigation committee which censured the editor for “improper language.” See Agpalo, *The Political Process and the Nationalization of the Retail Trade in the Philippines*, pp. 99-101. A copy of the editorial may be found in “Nationalization as We See it,” Reprinted Editorial from the *Great China Press*,” *Pacific Review*, March-April, 1954, pp. 44.

remain fractionated in terms of interest. Attempts are often made to view the Chinese community in any Southeast Asian nation as a unified, homogeneous entity, but the efforts of the newspapers to expand into the coverage of diverse interest spheres would indicate that this view, at least as it applies to the community in the Philippines, must be qualified. Another view seems to be implied: that the community actually consists of a number of groupings which may be distinguished on the basis of their primary interests. There are those groups which are oriented primarily toward political events on the mainland, others which orient themselves primarily to issues arising from the Philippine political system. By implication their behavior would parallel, to a certain extent, their primary interest orientation and for the purposes of the future of such important questions as assimilation, or the lack of it, into Philippine political and social life, it makes a great deal of difference which groups move into power positions within the community. However, at present the behavior of the newspapers in their efforts to appeal to diverse interests indicate that the community is in a period of transition. It is not yet clear whether the community will opt for assimilation or not, but it is indicated that the community is now undergoing what must be a serious debate as to which political system has the most tempting claim for their participation and support. This question will be determined to a great extent by the groups which gain control of the power structure within the community.²⁶ While the newspapers indicate continued differences of opinion between segments in the community, it remains for further research to discover the institutions around which these groupings coalesce.

The demise of Type IV newspapers may be accounted for in two ways. First, as the larger newspapers began to diversify their interests, they moved into a greater concern with the more purely personal monetary rewards incumbent upon larger circulations. They therefore saw the publication of the demands of the groups seeking access to community decision-making as a means of achieving larger circulations, and in the process of expanding into the publication of what was once the virtual monopoly of newspapers such as the *Common People's Daily*, they undercut much of the

²⁶ It will, of course, also be determined by the posture taken by the Philippines toward the community. However, until the community appears willing to accept the Philippines as the proper locus of its allegiance, institutional changes which will result in the facilitation of assimilation will probably not be undertaken.

support and rationale for such vehicles. But the publication of minority demands within the community has certain limitations to it; if it is pushed to too great an extent the larger newspaper is in danger of eliminating that part of its audience which has something to lose by granting the minority demands. If the demands of Chinese "labor" groups are stressed in an effort to enlarge circulation into these groups, the paper may lose the reading interests of the Chinese managerial groups. If the newspaper becomes re-oriented toward the reading desires of the Cantonese segments of the community, it may antagonize those members who are non-Cantonese speakers. Therefore, part of the explanation for the demise of Type IV newspapers lies in the changes in power relationships within the community. It appears that in terms of the recruitment of personnel into the existing power structures and the institutional changes of the structures themselves, the demands once expressed by these newspapers are now beginning to be recognized.²⁷ As a result, the newspapers were undercut and ultimately failed, in this case not as a result of competition with more diversified dailies, but simply because the motivation for their existence was no longer present.

The use of the scheme outlined above has not resulted in any fundamental disagreement with what some other students have indicated, although it does emphasize some aspects which are ignored by other studies. The point is, however, that the scheme is a tool which can supplement other studies, and interpretations which were previously based on what amounts to intuition now may be cross checked with a conceptual scheme that utilizes publications of the community rather than descriptions of what outsiders say the community is doing.

²⁷ The author's preliminary investigation into this problem using different techniques of analysis appears to support this suggestion. See the author's forthcoming Ph.D. dissertation, *Chinese in the Philippines: An Analysis of Power and Change* (The Ohio State University, Department of Political Science).

Chronology of the Chinese Daily Press in the Philippines

華報	Chinese News	1888-1890
岷報	Manila News	1890-1892
益友新報	Bon Ami Daily News	1899-1900
岷益報	Manila Beneficence News	1900-1900
警鐸新聞	New Time of Arousal	1908-1909
公理報	Kong Li Po	1912-
中華日報	China Daily	1914-1915
民號報	Voice of the People	1914-1932
新福建報	New Fukien News	1915-1915
平民日報	Common People's Daily	1919-1922
華僑商報	Chinese Commercial News	1922-
華僑公報	Overseas Chinese Bulletin	1922-1922
救國日報	National Salvation Daily	1923-1924
南星晚報	South Star Daily	1923-1924
新閩日報	Fookien Times	1923-
中西日報	Sino-Western Daily	1923-1930
僑聲日報	Chinatown Daily	1930-1930
民情日報	People's News	1930-1932
新中國報	New China Herald	1932-1941
前驅日報	The Herald	1933-1935
華僑日報	Overseas Daily	1934-1938
國民日報	National People's Daily	1938-1939
中山日報	Sun Yat-sen Daily	1941-1941
華僑導報	Chinese Guide Daily	1945-1948
前鋒日報	The Herald	1945-1946
大華日報	Great China Press	1945-1948
中正日報	Chiang Kai-shek Daily	1945-1948
僑商公報	Chinese Commercial Bulletin	1945-1947
重慶日報	Chungking Daily	1945-1948
民聲日報	Daily Advertiser	1947-1949
大中華日報	Great China Press	1948-
民族日報	Chinese National News	1949-1950
青年日報	Youth's Evening News	1953-1953