U.P. In Search of Academic Excellence

Lectures in honor of
President Jose V. Abueva
UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES

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Pacifico A. Agabin
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FOREWORD

This book compiles the lectures delivered by eminent mentors and colleagues in honor of Jose V. Abueva, Professor of Political Science and Public Administration, and the fifteenth President of the University of the Philippines. The JVA Lecture Series, held from July to September 1993, was organized jointly by the College of Public Administration, the UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies, the Department of Political Science, and the Bahay Kalinaw International House at the initiative of Professor Ajit Singh Rye. Providing a venue for intellectual discourse was deemed a fitting tribute to the man who steered the University through the democratic space opened up by the EDSA uprising.

While the organizers gave the lecturers the freedom to develop the topic of their choice, the papers presented reflect the University's gains and the obstacles it has struggled to surmount in the search for academic excellence.

The lectures are grouped into three clusters. The first shares the reflections of some of UP's academic leaders on the achievements, problems and prospects of the University as an institution. Francisco Nemenzo's lecture challenges the UP community to recapture its intellectual life in the face of many critical problems. Cognizant of the differences in the thrust of the programs in the UP campuses, Gelia Castillo discusses the imperatives for the future development of the social sciences in the University. Edgardo Gomez demonstrates how the Marine Science Institute was built from two sheets of paper to being one of the top notch institutions in the country while Flor Lacanilao stresses the need to achieve academic excellence in UP Visayas through vigorous research and publication activities.

The second group of lectures reflect on substantive concerns within the disciplines of the lecturers.Onofre Corpuz shared his findings on government corporations of 1916 to 1940, and from these lessons can be drawn for understanding today's economy. By making a footnote in the classical work of John Maynard Keynes problematic, Jose Encarnacion's lecture exemplified the passion with which academics pursue the life of the mind. The lecture of Pacifico Agabin critiques the case method in Law and argues for the view of Law as a social science discipline. That it is possible to create a space for the Filipino mind within the English language is a point eloquently developed in Gemino Abad's lecture.

The third set of lectures demonstrate the concrete contributions of academic work to society. In the spirit of nationalism, Jaime Veneracion outlines the celebration of the Centennial of the Philippine Revolution, detailing the cultural activities within and outside the University. Ernesto Domingo's lecture is an exciting account of policy formulation based on continuing medical research. Just as the studies of medical specialists led to health intervention measures, Ruben Villareal's paper reveals how UP's agricultural scientists have helped Filipino farmers.

The last lecture in the Series was delivered by Ajit Singh Rye. The organizers put his lecture at the end for a reason. By discussing the relevance of Mahatma Gandhi's ideas to the current concern for peace, conflict resolution and social transformation Ajit Rye touches on a theme close to the heart and mind of the honoree.

The final lecture by Jose Abueva on his reflections as UP president from 1987 to 1993 was his response during the closing ceremonies of the Series.

The UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies is indebted to a number of people and institutions, without whom this publication would not have been possible. Our eminent lecturers gave life to the Series. Ana Jhorie Perez and Vicente Antonio Garcia painstakingly transcribed all the tapes. Ellen Cometa and Mike Arciga encoded the manuscripts, while Joy Aparis and Josephine Padolina helped Mabel de Guzman coordinate the pre-publication activities. Laura Samson, Jocelyn de Jesus, Arnold Azurin and Mabel de Guzman provided invaluable editoral assistance. With Laura Samson in command, the staff and friends of the College of Social Sciences and Philosophy (CSSP) Publications Office — Xerxes Nitafan, Zenaida Ebalan, Apolo Cortes, Arnold Azurin, Victoria Tinio and Ma. Corazon Ledesma spent sleepless nights preparing the camera-ready version of the manuscript. Finally, the indefatigable Joy Aparis of CIDS and the 'miracle workers'of CSSP Publications — Xerxes, Zeny, Apol, Bibi and Rosa — moved heaven and earth to see this publication through.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES TODAY: AN ASSESSMENT

FRANCISCO NEMENZO
Professor of Political Science
University of the Philippines
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I welcome this chance to pay tribute to my former boss, mentor and friend. My association with President Jose V. Abueva dates back to my students days. It was he who advised me to take up public administration. It was he who gave me my first job as his research assistant. It was also he who recruited me to the faculty. I recall this to allay the fears of Professor Ajit Singh Rye.

Ajit disliked the title "What's Wrong with the University of the Philippines (U.P.)?" I proposed for my lecture in this series because he thought it might cause embarrassment to the honoree. Although it was far from my intention to embarrass a dear and respected friend at the end of his presidency, I accepted Ajit's alternative title, no matter how bland: "The University of the Philippines Today: An Assessment," consoling myself with Shakespeare's dictum that "a rose by any other name would smell as sweet."

THE DRIFT TO MEDIOCRITY

What I have to say may not be sweet at all. This is no time for self-flattery and self-congratulation, but a time for honest soul-searching and decisive action. Fooling ourselves that ours is a world-class university, the best in the region, encourages complacency. What we need is something to jolt us.

While the premier universities of Singapore, Thailand and Malaysia surged ahead, the U.P. stagnated. The universities of Indonesia, Brunei and Vietnam may also leave us behind if we

allow the current trend to continue. The other governments in the region understood better than ours that no nation can progress while neglecting its scholars.

Even in the local scene the U.P. is losing its leadership in higher education. Some well-endowed private institutions have already surpassed it in certain fields. the U.P. no longer enjoys a monopoly of academic excellence. Consider, for instance, that 45 percent of the successful University of the Philippines College Admission Test (UPCAT) examinees do not show up for registration, among them the highest scorers. Presumably these bright kids enrolled in other schools to which they were also admitted. This indicates that parents no longer consider the U.P. the best for their children.

Our reputation as the harbinger of change is also in doubt. Recent articles in the *Manila Chronicle* and the *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, both written by alumni, allege that the U.P. of today is no longer the U.P. of yesterday. From a bastion of dedicated activists, it has become a *tambayan* of spoiled brats who clutter the campus with cars. The authors depict the U.P. as a university that has lost its soul. This, of course, is a caricature, but like a good caricature, it contains a grain of truth.

THE ECONOMICS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Quality higher education is expensive but necessary to attain "global competitiveness." In most countries, including the bastions of *laissez-faire* capitalism, the universities are all financed by the state because maintaining a tertiary school of creditable standards is never profitable. The Philippines is one of the few places on earth where higher education is good business because we are satisfied with mediocrity.

A Third World country must choose between concentrating its limited resources on one or two centers of excellence, or spreading them thinly among several mediocre institutions. The other ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) countries opted for the first, ours preferred the second. Instead of sustaining the only state institution worthy of being called a university, our government established many new ones, all of doubtful quality.

For a university to maintain a reputation for academic excellence, it must attract to its faculty the finest brains in the country. The U.P. today is finding it increasingly difficult to recruit the best and the brightest of its own graduates, and even more difficult to keep them. The turnover rate of young faculty members has reached alarming proportions. According to the study of Dr. Maria Luisa Canieso-Doronila and associates, they leave before reaching the age of 25. On the other hand, 20 percent of the senior professors are already 50 years old or over. The devastating effect of this trend will become apparent in the next decade, when the retirees shall be replaced by neophytes who, no matter how knowledgeable in their respective disciplines, do not stay long enough to master the art of teaching.

At the root of this rapid turnover rate is a salary scale that puts the U.P. at a great disadvantage. The starting pay of instructors is way below that of private companies, international organizations and government agencies that have the good fortune of being exempted from the Salary Standardization Law (SLL). The U.P. rates also suffer by comparison to the Ateneo de Manila University and the De La Salle University (see table). Some nongovernment organizations (NGOs) even pay higher salaries to their field workers.

The technocrats at the Department of Budget and Management (DBM) do not seem to grasp the implications of this on the U.P.'s future; or perhaps they do not care. They treat the state universities as if they form part of the regular bureaucracy. In fleshing out the SSL, they deviated slightly from its avowed principle of *equal pay for equal work* in order to grant the U.P. faculty members two steps higher than the other state universities. This looks fair and logical, if indeed the U.P. is comparable to the latter. In weighing their career options, however, the young U.P. instructors compare their salaries to what their classmates are earning outside academia.

In this context, how can the U.P. hope to achieve world-class status? I think it makes more sense to aspire for a modest goal like remaining the best in the Philippines. To arrest the drift to mediocrity, we must restore faculty morale and the dignity of the academic profession. This is impossible unless the academic salaries are made comparable to those of other institutions that compete for our best graduates.

COMPARATIVE SALARY SCALES
(monthly in pesos)

POSITION	U.P.	ATENEO	DE LA SALLE
INSTRUCTOR 1	4,091	8,138	8,115
INSTRUCTOR 2	4,418	—	9,262
INSTRUCTOR 3	4,507	—	9,790
INSTRUCTOR 4	4,786	—	10,350
INSTRUCTOR 5	4,883	—	10,943
INSTRUCTOR 6	5,201	—	11,572
INSTRUCTOR 7	5,306	—	12,238
ASST. PROF. 1	5,670	8,853	12,239
ASST. PROF. 2	6,199	9,638	12,944
ASST. PROF. 3	6,923	—	13,943
ASSOC. PROF. 1	8,908	10,503	16,186
PROFESSOR 1	12,650	12,214	21,460

When I started teaching with the rank of assistant instructor, my salary was a glorious P200 a month. That was insufficient to support a family even during those days when the exchange rate was P2 to $1, but my classmates who entered the government service or joined the private sector were not getting much more. And I also knew that upon earning a Ph.D., I would leap to the rank of Assistant Professor and receive a salary sufficient to support my family at a modest level. I realized all along that being an academic would never make me rich, but neither did I have to take a vow of poverty. Since the wage differential between academia and the other institutions was not as wide as it is today, the "psychic reward" of being a U.P. faculty member could offset the material drawback.

This is no longer so. It requires a bit of madness to stay in the U.P. at SSL rates, while lucrative jobs outside beckon the bright U.P. graduates. Some suffer the SSL rates in expectation of better

opportunities for advanced studies abroad. But once they earn their advanced degrees, they become "reneging fellows". This phenomenon of "reneging fellows" is another consequence of the financial problem.

Demoralization also affects the senior professors. Too old to shift careers, they are forced to peddle *chorizos*, panties and cemetery plots to augment their income. When such demeaning sideline activities were brought to my attention as Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences in Diliman, I did not have the heart to take disciplinary action, nor even to give a polite reprimand. I merely urged them to be more discriminating in the choice of goods they were selling and to be more discreet in their marketing style. The university has no moral right to stop petty entrepreneurship as long as it cannot pay decent wages.

More disquieting are the other methods of income-augmentation. In theory, consultancy work is commendable, but it becomes dysfunctional when it leads to the neglect of teaching. Since their external clients pay much more than the university, they often forget their academic values. They lend their credibility as U.P. professors to endorse environmentally-damaging projects and anti-people policies. In so doing, they betray the university's role as social critic and public conscience.

Scrounging for Funds

While funding is doubtless a major task, the role of a university executive cannot be reduced to fund-raising. There was a time in the United States when universities chose presidents, chancellors and deans for their attractiveness to potential donors. This practice proved disastrous. The money they raised could not pay for the harm inflicted by their lack of appreciation for academic values and their misguided priorities. No matter how competent they were as finance managers, they could not provide academic leadership.

Three funding sources open to state universities in the Philippines are the annual government appropriation, grants from external entities, and income from commercialization of assets. Let me comment on them in reverse order.

Some student leaders rail at the "commercialization of the U.P. education," but what they really mean is commercialization of assets. They confuse the two concepts with each other. No academic worth his salt would support commercialization of education like lowering academic standards for fear of losing student fees. But the use of idle and under-utilized real estate and equipment and the marketing of technologies developed through research do not prostitute the intellect. If the income derived are used to improve facilities and support research projects which do not normally attract external funding, commercialization of assets is morally defensible. As a matter of fact, all the great universities in the world resort to this method, yet Harvard, Yale, Oxford, Chulalongkorn and the Australian National University are not accused of commercializing education. They have been able to retain the best people in the faculty because they can augment salaries with income from business ventures.

External grants alone bring no relief to our woes. Such grants go only to colleges, departments and individual professors whose expertise fits the needs of the funding agencies. This results in maldistribution of rewards and uneven development of disciplines. While they gladden some, they demoralize the rest. Furthermore, they undermine institutional autonomy by redirecting university activities to the funding agencies' interests.

True, they provide honoraria for selected beneficiaries, but the rules of the Commission on Audit (COA) limit the honoraria to 50 percent of basic pay. Hence, the lowly-paid instructors also get small honoraria. Most units have eluded these rules by coursing external grants through attached foundations. But COA is also getting smarter. It is trying to gain control of foundation funds.

Those who have had little exposure to the bureaucratic realities in the Philippines presume that external grants and income from assets can be used to upgrade basic salaries. This is allowed in other countries, but under our laws, the money a state university can use to hire and promote faculty members must come from the national budget. There is, therefore, no alternative to lobbying in the corridors of power, not only for a significant increase in our budget, but also for exemption from the SSL and freedom from DBM and COA. This is a political venture which cannot be left to the technocrats in Quezon Hall.

Some of our administrators consider this unbecoming of an academic institution. Despite consistent failure, they insist that presenting charts and dishing out statistics at budget hearings will suffice. Thus, they ignore the reality of politics. Politics is defending what you have and striving for what you deserve. Unless we speak to them in the language of power — the only language politicians understand — they will pay no attention to our pleas for financial relief.

I spurn the defeatist attitude underpinning the Diliman Strategic Plan which takes as a given that the U.P.'s share in the national budget will not rise in the next fifteen years. I believe the U.P. has a latent political clout. If we play our cards well, the congressmen and senators will realize that being generous to the U.P. is good politics and starving it is bad.

To become an effective pressure group, however, all sectors of the U.P. community — faculty, students, research and administrative personnel — must stand together. The politicians will consider us dispensable unless we erase the public perception that we are exhausting our energies in intramural squabbles. *For this reason, I appeal to my ardent supporters to leave the selection process for the U.P. president behind.* Our righteous indignation at Malacañang interference should never overwhelm our responsibility for the long-term interest of the university.

Specialization and the Liberal Arts

Parents, alumni and employers have complained that the U.P. inadequately prepares students for technical jobs because we cram our curricula with liberal arts subjects. The tacit assumption here is that the liberal arts are a luxury we cannot afford. It is, therefore, suggested that we pare down the liberal arts component to create more space for specialized subjects.

I concede that specialized training is inadequate, not only in the U.P., but in all Philippine universities. Because our students are required so many General Education (GE), cognate and elective courses, they have only one-and-a-half to two years for courses in their chosen fields. By contrast, the baccalaureate programs in Britain, Australia, Japan, etc. devote three to four years for specialization.

But we cannot use them as models because our situation is different. Whereas the British, Australian and Japanese freshmen have had twelve years of high-quality basic education in which the liberal arts are accentuated, ours have only had ten years of poor quality basic education. Thus, in designing a baccalaureate curriculum, we assume that our students have a flimsy liberal arts background and deficient communication and mathematical skills. We require them to take courses which in other countries are consigned to the high school level because, unless they make up for the inadequacy of their secondary schooling, they cannot cope with the specialized courses at acceptable standards. It is better to produce inadequately trained specialists than uneducated ones.

Contrary to the assumption of critics, in this day and age, the liberal arts have greater practical value because the computer and computer-based technologies are constantly revolutionizing the ways of doing things. Our students will face mounting pressures to learn new skills and unlearn old ones. If our undergraduate curricula stress narrow specialization, given the quality of basic education in our country, we shall be condemning them to premature redundancy.

University education is not meant to teach everything there is to learn. Its primary purpose is to teach how to keep on learning. Much of the knowledge and skills required in particular occupations have to be learned on the job. The liberal arts component of the U.P. curricula, compressed in a series of required courses known as the General Education Program, equips the students with the intellectual faculties to adapt to a rapidly changing environment. Properly taught, these courses hone their critical mind, stimulate their creativity, nurture their imagination, and enhance their awareness of the complexity and volatility of the contemporary situation. Premature specialization breeds half-baked technicians who cannot readily understand, much less cope with, the revolutionary times in which we live.

SOCIAL RELEVANCE

Health Secretary Juan Flavier reopened the perennial issue of expertise versus social relevance. Should the College of Medicine

be reduced into a training ground of paramedics so that there will be enough technical people in the rural areas to implement *Operasyon Alis Disis*? Or should it remain a medical school that can compare with the best in the world?

The U.P. College of Medicine — Flavier's *alma mater* — has been sensitive to the problem he posed. The late Dean Florentino Herrera and his staff conceptualized the health sciences program, precisely to respond to the crying needs of the barrio people. We have reason to be proud of the U.P. School of Health Sciences in Leyte. It is one of the few educational innovations in the U.P. that has earned international acclaim. With Secretary Flavier's support, we should replicate this pilot project in the other regions.

But leave the College of Medicine as it is. Our legitimate ire at medical graduates who emigrate to America or enrich themselves through exclusive urban practice should not blind us to the need for a first-rate institution that can do excellent medical research and produce top specialists to serve the poor and rich alike.

The same principle applies to the College of Education. The U.P. College of Education in Diliman is by no means a paragon of academic excellence, but instead of abolishing it, we should think of how to raise its effectiveness. The U.P. cannot be indifferent to the decay of basic education in the country. It is true that we have a great number of colleges of education, but the quality of teacher training leaves much to be desired.

Besides training new teachers, the U.P. should also retrain those already in the service, especially in the public schools. This is being done by the College of Education and the Institute for Science and Mathematics Development (ISMED) in U.P. Diliman and the Division of Professional Education in U.P. Visayas. U.P. Los Baños also offers certificates in science-teaching via the distance mode. But it might be useful to involve the liberal arts departments in the evaluation and development of instructional materials for teacher training.

As integral parts of the U.P., our high schools in Diliman, Los Baños, Iloilo and Cebu should take advantage of their autonomy from Secretary Fabella's bureaucracy to experiment with curricular reforms and new approaches to elementary and secondary instruction. Once tested and found effective, we can share them

with the public schools whose capacity for innovation has been stifled by bureaucratic controls.

At U.P. Visayas, both in Iloilo and Cebu, we made our high schools exclusive for students from low-income families, mostly from the public elementary schools. This made me rather unpopular with the alumni and the local elite. They warned that the experiment would discredit the U.P. high schools because, they assume, the economically disadvantaged kids are intellectually inferior as well.

Last year, the U.P. high schools in Cebu and Iloilo graduated the first batch under this experiment. To my delight and utmost relief, they performed better in the National College Entrance Examination (NCEE) and the UPCAT than the previous batches who came from affluent families. If this performance record is sustained, it will uphold my conviction that young people from poor families can prove themselves to be as intelligent as the rich, if accorded basic education of high quality.

The U.P.'s clientele includes the whole nation, especially our least fortunate compatriots. We must find ways of delivering educational services to those who cannot be accommodated in our campuses. Recent advances in communication technology make it possible to turn the entire country into a classroom. Instead of bewailing the "idiotizing" effect of television, we should produce educational films that are both instructive and entertaining. The proliferation of videocassette recorders or betamax machines, thanks to the overseas contract workers, has opened up vast opportunities for realizing Robert M. Hutchins' ideal of a "learning society".

THE QUESTION OF VALUES

To describe the U.P. as an ivory tower is to misuse an overused metaphor. The U.P. does not and never did resemble the medieval universities where scholars pursued outlandish concerns unmindful of the real world. The problem of the U.P. has been the opposite: It has always been too immersed in the affairs of the world to function as a credible social critic. Its reputation as a hive of iconoclasts and radicals is largely undeserved. The few heroic episodes like the Diliman Commune often obscured the more conservative stream.

This conservative stream stands out today because the radical stream has retreated to the margins of university life. This is what the *Manila Chronicle* and the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* mean by the U.P.'s having lost its soul. The truth, however, is that conservatism has always been part of the U.P.'s soul. For every Jesus Lava, Jose Maria 'Joma' Sison and Nur Misuari, we can cite dozens of Ferdinand Marcoses, Salvador 'Doy' Laurels and Santanina Rasuls among its eminent alumni. While the communist and secessionist movements have many U.P. graduates in their central committees, Makati corporations and government agencies are also full of U.P. graduates at the top.

An authentic university, unlike a seminary or an indoctrination camp, does not mold people into a particular shape. Higher education merely brings out the best in what they are. How they use what they learned is for them to decide. It is preposterous for a university to assume the burden of inculcating values on the basis of which they make the choice.

They enter the U.P. as young adults whose values are more or less fully developed. There is little we can do to transform their values in a fundamental sense. What they learn in the classroom and through interaction with peers in fraternities and sororities, academic and political organizations, bible study groups, informal *barkada*, etc. — their total university experience — merely reinforces the moral impulses they had received earlier in life. We should not make extravagant claims for higher education, otherwise we get blamed — as we are already blamed — for a function we cannot realistically discharge.

Media's responsibility is greater because their reach is much wider and their impact more enduring. The sublime ideas and ideals we teach in school are often nullified by the tabloids, the cinema, radio and television. An outstanding characteristic of the modern world is the ascendancy of media in society's ideological apparatus. Media have dislodged the schools as the primary socializing force. More effectively than the schools, they shape the people's values, attitudes and forms of consciousness.

While I deem it necessary to downplay the extravagant expectations fostered by our own extravagant claims, I am not saying that we have absolutely no role in the moral upbringing of our

students. I am merely arguing that we can only reinforce what is already there: the values acquired in the earlier stages of the socialization process. We are not dealing with a *tabula rasa*. We cannot turn scoundrels into saints through formal instruction.

But we can demonstrate to them that cheating, plagiarism, vandalism, violent initiations, fraternity rumbles, etc. will elicit sure and severe punishment. The breakdown of moral values in the larger society which Senator Leticia Ramos-Shahani loudly deplores is not due to our failure to teach good manners and right conduct. Most often the law breakers know they are doing wrong, but they are confident that, if caught, they can get away by making *pakiusap*, hiring crafty lawyers, using political influence, etc. Unless the university enforces its own rules relentlessly, unmoved by the usual tactics of *palusot*, formal courses on ethics will only nurture cynicism.

For inculcating positive values like patriotism and concern for the poor, we should learn from the student movement. The Nationalist Corps was a project of the U.P. Student Council. It arranged exposure tours to the rural areas and urban slums with the aim of giving the upper-class and middle-class students a taste of poverty. In exchange, the students shared what they learned in the university and helped them appreciate the power of collective action. The impact of this experience on the social consciousness of participants was a hundred times greater than those tedious value formation seminars.

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Financial difficulties make the U.P. vulnerable to pressures from without. As the senior professors get more involved in consultancy work, they also develop loyalties to the corporations and agencies they serve. The academic values they once upheld are now subordinated to the values of these corporations and agencies.

Colleges, departments and research institutes design their programs to suit the agenda of potential funding sources. Thus, the university has grown, not in accordance with the academic community's independent perception of what the country needs, but in response to possibilities for external endowments.

Some think that academic freedom is no longer an issue because democracy has been fully restored. To demand special rights for the university is decried as "elitist". These colleagues, including militants in their younger days, are more avid than senators and congressmen in defending the institution's subservience to higher authorities. They raise the same arguments Marcos' minions used in support of the Education Act of 1980. For example, the argument that, being a state university, the U.P. must submit to government supervision and control through an all-powerful Board of Regents because we can only be autonomous when we have attained financial self-sufficiency. Since no university, especially in a Third World nation, can conceivably meet such a condition, in effect they are saying that institutional autonomy is impossible.

We have gradually and quietly surrendered the autonomy President Rafael Palma and President Bienvenido Gonzalez had obtained for the university. We are even abdicating the rights to democratic participation we won in the course of our struggle against the dictatorship. With the supposed restoration of democracy and the supposed institutionalization of people's power, the U.P. has reverted back to the system of bureaucratic rule.

The threat to academic freedom is more serious now that complacency is the prevalent mood. When Marcos was around, brazenly intruding into university affairs (e.g., the imposition of the Presidential Center for Advance Studies) or attempting to tighten government controls (e.g., the Education Act of 1980), the academic community was alert, ready to mobilize for protest actions.

However, as they rose up the academic totem pole, the faculty activists of yesteryears also learned to think and reason like the bureaucrats they once despised. The younger faculty members, half-hearted in their commitment to an academic career, are not filling the vacuum. Even the students seem to have lost steam, except for a dwindling breed who isolate themselves by ranting obsolete slogans and reenacting the First Quarter Storm.

Worsening the status of academic freedom in the U.P. today are a few who have no ideas to profess but invoke it to justify negligence, incompetence and classroom terrorism. Democratic participation, a vital aspect of academic freedom, has also been discredited by those glittering mediocrities who invoke it to advance

protect patently selfish interests. They equate democracy with ret balloting rather than the open articulation of ideas, or heckling ıer than professional debates.

No system is impervious to abuse, but the enemies of nocracy in academe cite the few instances of abuse to malign nocratization itself. They seem to be succeeding, and, in the ›cess, reinforce the drift to mediocrity.

Notwithstanding the decay and demoralization, the U.P. is still finest collection of brainpower in the country. It may not be for .g, but there is still time to reverse the dismal trend. The U.P. has hin itself — among its faculty and students — the force that can ng about a renewal. What it needs most urgently is a critical self- ımination and a revival of its libertarian-activist tradition. The ancial problems I discussed at length at the start of this lecture se a challenge to this tradition rather than set inflexible limits to .at the academic community can do.

Despite the harshness of my critique, I have faith that the U.P. l surmount the cumulative effects of government neglect. As in past, this reputedly quarrelsome community will stand together ıen challenged by an aspiring despot or inspired by a noble cause. s always in struggle and never in tranquillity that the U.P. spirit nes to life. That spirit may be dormant ... but not dead.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN THE U.P. SYSTEM: A COMMENTARY ON ITS MISSION, VISION GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

GELIA T. CASTILLO
University Professor
University of the Philippines

Although it is a truism, this statement is an apt point of departure: "If we know where we want to go, we may be able to figure out how to get there." But there is no rationale in life which stipulates that we have to continue taking the same paths to reach the same goals. Both may change. Nevertheless, persistence of purpose carries its own virtues. It is with this persistence that we have examined the articulated mission, vision, goals and objectives of the different social science units in the University of the Philippines (U.P.) System in order to identify trends and emerging issues. Some of these issues are discussed in the following sections of this paper.

FROM BROAD VISION TO SPECIFIC-TASK ORIENTATION

The directions in which the social science units want to go range from the lofty, complex, broad societal vision — characterized by "transformed economic, political and cultural structures through the sustained collective participation of all sectors toward a humane, democratic sovereign Filipino society where people are empowered and free to realize their potential" — to the single and more specific task of "improving statistical services both in the public and private sectors." There is nothing inherently wrong with either a broad or a narrow vision, but every concept in the broad vision requires

creative and intensive operationalization if it is to be translated into meaningful instruction, research and extension activities. A specific-task-oriented goal, on the other hand, must anticipate the ramifications and implications of a single objective. There is hardly anything so simple and self-sufficient, or, for that matter, so complex that it cannot be examined in its simpler form.

The translation process from concept to realizable objectives can be very stimulating for both faculty and students. If pursued systematically, it can be an inspiration for curricular and course development and for the formulation of a research and public service agenda. To the extent that the approach leads the students to crystallize and internalize what they believe in for themselves and for society, the vision finds fulfillment. In the process, however, the University must remain a university and not allow itself to be transformed into another development agency. Otherwise, there may come a time when U.P. no longer has any comparative advantage in even thinking about development.

In the case of the Statistical Center, although statistics conjures up an image of number-generating-and-sanctifying operations, such numbers have a meaning which assumes tremendous significance in many aspects of our lives. For example, estimates of income, expenditures, poverty and inequity are very dependent on the numbers generated by the statistical system. Precision, validity, reliability and integrity, therefore, are values which should permeate every statistical activity and should be imbibed by every student. In this sense, numbers have a broad societal significance which requires the utmost in intellectual honesty.

CAN WE RECAPTURE THE GREAT LIBERAL ARTS SPIRIT?

The College of Social Sciences and Philosophy (CSSP) has a distinct and indispensable role in the University. By the very nature of its subjects, it must lead the University in the analytical description of our society and our people (what we were, what we are and what we hope to be). It must identify and define our problems and potentials. It must lead in the search for solutions and alternatives and explanations for our social problems; and in the shaping of our

relationship with the external community. But most of all, the College of Social Sciences and Philosophy must provide substantive ingredients for the University's vision of its role in society.

Perhaps it is nostalgia, but somehow U.P. seems to have lost some of its intellectual cohesion and wholeness when the College of Liberal Arts was split into four separate units. The old College of Liberal Arts had an established tradition of liberal education, rich in the spirit of thinking beyond one's major field of specialization. The graduates regarded themselves more as liberal arts graduates and less as sociology, psychology, etc. majors. Prevalent was the spirit of liberal arts, not of social science, physics or mathematics. While it is impossible to return to the past, no matter how glorious, some mechanisms must be devised to recapture at least some of the essence of a liberal arts education. Interdisciplinarity within the social sciences is a poor substitute for it.

Beyond this nostalgia, we must now ask ourselves the following questions by way of taking stock:

(1) In espousing social equity, did we lose the pursuit of excellence, the search for and nurturance of talent even of the intellectual elite; and the pride of standing taller than anybody else in academe?

(2) In promoting social relevance, have we abandoned love of learning, the thrill of discovering the unknown, and rigorous thinking, the products of which may not even be "marketable" in the short-run?

(3) Is our social science teaching the best in the country? Our research and publications world-class? Our policy advice intellectually impeccable? Our public service sought after for its substance, as well as its ethical quality?

(4) Have we generated social science products (concepts, frameworks, analytical tools, methodologies, research results, etc.) which are distinctively U.P. social science products?

(5) Are our graduates in the forefront of their respective fields, exercising leadership with competence and integrity? What "brand" besides "expensive" do they carry as they walk out of our classrooms?

(6) Is there a recognizable U.P. social science culture that stands out in a crowd of many social science offerings in the country?

(7) Have we allowed the marketplace to be the dominant force in shaping our teaching and research agenda?

(8) To what extent is the CSSP looked up to by the other social science units as the "mother unit" for foundations in theory, methodology and the building and interpretation of the rapidly-growing empirical body of social science knowledge in the Philippines?

(9) Can the Department of Social Sciences and Humanities, the College of Arts and Sciences (CAS) of U.P.Los Baños develop as the humanizing and liberal arts consciousness of the science and technology-oriented U.P.Los Baños campus, even as human ecology exists as a separate entity? A purposeful and vigorous effort in this direction should lead us to the promised land, particularly if a consensus within the CAS could be reached that this is indeed a desirable goal to pursue. So far, the disciplines which have been dismantled in the Diliman College of Liberal Arts have been put together in the College of Arts and Sciences U.P. Los Baños. Can they continue to grow and mature under one "umbrella", or will they also find it necessary "to go it alone?" Records show that the CAS has attracted students brighter than those in other colleges on the U.P.Los Baños campus.

Perhaps, at this point, it may not be impertinent to cite the former Dean of the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, Joseph H. Willits, who said (with respect to the global talent search in Rockefeller Foundation's social science program): "I would break any rule in the book for a chance to gamble on talent . . . . May we never invest in the reproduction of mediocrity." One indicator of the effectiveness of this strategy is that "all but one of the seventeen Nobel laureates awarded in economic science since the program commenced in 1969 — coming from five different countries — have been former foundation fellows or grantees" (L.D. Stifel, R.K. Davidson, and J.S. Coleman, "Agencies of Diffusion: A Case Study of the Rockefeller Foundation," in *Social Science and Public Policy in the Developing World*, Lexington Books, 1982, p. 58).

THE UNIQUE AND OVERLAPPING ACADEMIC PROGRAMS

Since there are many social science units in the U.P., are all curricular offerings meant to reinforce, complement, duplicate, overlap? Or are they meant to be unique, "location-specific", and responsive to the particular needs of each campus? To illustrate, should there be a difference among sociology programs in Diliman, Los Baños, Manila, Iloilo, Baguio, San Fernando, and Olongapo? Should we develop what is unique, or what is common, in these programs? Consider these statements from the following units:

(1) *From the Department of Sociology, Diliman*: The Department sees the need to evaluate its curriculum offerings and extra-curricular programs in order to make them more relevant to the solution of the concrete problems of the nation. This can be done "*through generating theoretical perspectives and methodologies appropriate to Filipino conditions and, eventually, a sociology in Filipino.*" The plan is to expand its graduate program in order to produce the sociologists who would serve the different regions of the nation and to relegate the undergraduate training of sociologists to other public and private universities.

(2) *From the Department of Social Sciences, Los Baños*: The sociology undergraduate and graduate programs were designed to underscore the relevance of sociology as a professional field and to complement the science-and-technology oriented curricula of the other academic units of U.P. Los Baños. The main thrust of these programs is "*to enhance understanding of the basic processes of social change, especially those which are meant to bring about improvement in the quality of human life.*" The programs seek to combine: (a) the *breadth of the liberal arts* tradition, (b) the *depth of specialization* in the field of sociology, and (c) the *flexibility* of a wide range of electives in the Social Sciences."

(3) *From the Department of Social Sciences, Manila*: The Department offers four Bachelor of Arts degrees: in Social Science (major in Behavioral Studies), in Political Science,

in Development Studies and in Social Sciences (major in Area Studies). The orientations of Behavioral Studies, Development Studies and Area Studies are "multidisciplinal, ... more akin to the *European method of social science education.* This approach is *holistic,* providing the students with an *integrated view of man and society, unlike the emphasis on specialization in American Universities....* The degree program in Political Science is a *modified version* of the *one being offered in U.P. Diliman....* Immersion in the problems and conditions of Philippine society, such as living in a peasant community, participating in the workers' struggle, observing organizational life in government and non-government offices, etc., has been made part and parcel of relevant subjects in the social science programs...."

(4) *From the Department of Agricultural Education and Rural Studies, Los Baños*: The underlying direction of the Rural Studies Program (currently Rural Sociology) is to search for and develop explanations for phenomena relevant to rural social systems. Students are exposed to theories, concepts, and methodologies in understanding rural societies as they respond to dynamic forces of change at the macro and micro levels.

(5) *From the Division of Social Sciences, Baguio*: The division expects to assist in producing critical graduates who are *actual agents of change.* On the professional level, the division expects to produce flexible, analytical practitioners of social science whose capacities are directly oriented toward the life of their disciplines. Since social problems are multidimensional in nature, the division believes that the interdisciplinary approach is the most effective manner in which these problems can be confronted. The division looks forward to making the education process one in which socially-conscious and socially-active persons apply science to the amelioration and expansion of human social life and general humanistic concerns.

The division regards *sociology* as a discipline which touches all other social sciences and therefore assumes a *dual*

role: first, as a *base discipline* which provides concepts on social structure and processes to be utilized in coordination with the needs of other social science disciplines; and second, as a *research discipline* from which empirical information on the regional and national levels may be collated and assessed for application to social planning and development.

From the statements of these five social science units we make these observations:

(1) The U.P. Diliman Department of Sociology, which is the *foundation unit* for the *discipline*, plans to relegate basic undergraduate training to other universities. We hope the Department seriously considers the implications if such a plan were to materialize. Who will serve as the model for undergraduate training in the discipline of sociology?

(2) It is evident that the non-Diliman sociology units all attempt to be different; to fashion their uniqueness in orientation, function and area of focus (regional, rural, impact of industrialization, etc.). The substance and quality of these attempts to be different is impossible to judge in this review.

(3) How sociology defines its role in a science- and technology-oriented campus is still very vague, but this has tremendous potential if developed in collaboration with the rest of the science and technology units.

(4) U.P. Manila's Department of Social Sciences sits in the midst of a strong health sciences complex. Its particular setting seems to be a "natural environment" for it to specialize in health-oriented social sciences.

(5) The regional orientation of U.P. Baguio and U.P.Los Baños (Southern Tagalog), as far as their research and extension activities are concerned, is both pragmatic and responsive.

(6) A cursory look at the research thrusts of these five units shows a strong micro-level orientation. In this regard, the Department of Sociology in Diliman should be expected to address societal, macro-level phenomena in a manner analogous to the role played by the School of Economics. Is this asking too much of a "mother unit" in sociology?

(7) If these other units are meant to be different, we should endeavor to work on their differences, so that they will in fact "make a difference" beyond the academic "cosmetics"

INSTITUTIONAL CULTURE AND INDIVIDUAL PRODUCTIVITY

Except in four or five units, academic excellence seems to be less of an "institutional culture" and more of an individual achievement, despite a relatively low-performing institutional setting. Many of the social science units mention that they have no departmental research program, as such, but individual faculty members have their own research and/or very visible extension/outreach activities. Needless to say, there are well-known personalities even in lesser-known departments. Internal conflicts also seem to be more common in some units than in others. A very pedestrian impression is that "where faculty are equally high-achievers, even the conflicts are professional and high-level in character."

ESTABLISHED DISCIPLINES AND EMERGING FIELDS OF STUDY

It is interesting to note that strong and established disciplines, such as economics, political science, psychology, public administration and business administration are straightforward and linguistically unadorned in their statements of vision and mission. Their fields of study are well-defined, developed and recognized; hence, there is no compulsion to elaborate with eloquent adjectives. They also tend to attract good students.

Applied fields of study, such as extension education, community development, social work, social development, community organization, agricultural education, human settlements, rural development management, agrarian studies, and urban and regional planning are relatively young and their identities need continuing validation. As a consequence, issues of turf and boundaries between fields occur quite often. Again, the distinguishing features of each field must be defined to justify separate and independent academic programs.

Furthermore, development-agenda-driven programs urgently need research and field activities in order to build up the academic content of their curricular offerings. A cursory examination of "publications" shows that there are many pieces of "research" being reported by the faculty in miscellaneous papers. Whether or not these represent efforts at building the needed body of knowledge for their courses is not clear. This issue is crucial in the light of everybody's desire to promote Filipinization. Where will this come from or how will this come about? How much of the reading list, for example, is made up of Philippine materials? Ideally, our social science professors should be the major producers of Philippine books and articles. Filipinization of social science is not necessarily synonymous with the use of Filipino. Translating Western literature into Filipino is not the same as developing social science within the context of Philippine realities.

Moreover, to stay relevant and useful to practitioners and policy-makers, development-driven academic programs must keep ahead of their stated mission. To illustrate, Dean Rene Ofreneo of the School of Labor and Industrial Relations (SOLAIR) says that only ten percent of our workforce belongs to organized labor. This has major implications for its goal of promoting "labor empowerment, enlightened industrial relations systems and social justice." Perhaps, issues of unemployment, employability, work culture, dynamics of the informal sector and the impact of sub-contracting on industrial relations will assume greater significance in these academic programs.

In the case of extension, the evolution has been from agricultural extension, to extension education, to extension science, accompanied by a new framework called "agricultural knowledge information system", based on the assumption that the conventional experiment station-extension-farmer technology transfer model is not supportive of sustainable agriculture. Therefore, a different agricultural knowledge system is being explored.

What these trends suggest is that early obsolescence is a danger faced by development-driven academic programs. Staying ahead of the problems and the alternative solutions is the continuing challenge. But more than this is the need to comprehend the underlying social processes. Otherwise, there is no difference between the development ministries and U.P.'s applied social science units.

COMMUNICATION IN THREE VERSIONS

In U.P.Los Baños there are two communication programs: Communication Arts, offered by the Department of Humanities, College of Arts and Sciences, and Development Communication, offered by the Institute of Development Communication, College of Agriculture. The first one is not within the purview of this review because it belongs to the humanities. The program is probably available to a wide range of students because of its home in the College of Arts and Sciences. The Institute of Development Communication takes pride in having developed its own field from its beginnings in agricultural information. Its stated bailiwick is rural and agricultural, with a focus on the use of mass media along with traditional communication systems.

The third communication program is offered by the College of Mass Communication in U.P. Diliman. Incidentally, its faculty is contemplating a change in name to "College of Communication" to reflect "comprehensive programs in the various forms of communication, not just mass communication." The College illustrates how it is attempting to translate its mission into operational concepts. This mission, which is directed towards the creation of a framework for the *democratization of communication*, has three dimensions:

(1) The belief that communication as a human science focused on people discards "the linear sender-to-receiver model (which implies privileged control over information and channels and uses feedback to maintain the status quo) in favor of the egalitarian universe of discourse model (which places a premium on the interactive contribution of information from all relevant sectors of society).

(2) The use of communication as a means of *enablement* which is rooted in the value that Filipinos place on education in order to become *marunong* or *magaling*.

Some faculty members prefer the concept of *enablement* over *empowerment* because: (a) they believe that an educational institution's goal is more appropriately addressed to honing and enhancing the students' capabilities (*marunong*) rather than to making them powerful (*makapangyarihan*); (b) they perceive that

power lends itself to inequality and hierarchy, and runs its course from the few and powerful to the many and weak, from the creative and competent communicators to the passive audiences; and (c) they submit that *power is transitory; ability is enduring.*

(3) The development of the College as an outstanding communication education institution, providing intellectual leadership in journalism, broadcast communication and communication research and film and audio-visual communication.

The College envisions a "multiplier effect, whereby what is learned in the academic programs, which are grounded on the (democratization of communication) framework effectively extends to the people through enabled students-turned-communication practitioners."

Persistence of Mission

Unlike Colleges of Home Economics elsewhere, which have been transformed into the Colleges of Human Ecology or something else, the U.P. College of Home Economics has kept its label and mission through decades of its existence. It has persisted in its focus on the "continuous enhancement of the quality of life of Filipino families, particularly in the fields of food and nutrition, clothing and shelter, and family life and child development." After all, regardless of changing lifestyles, there will always be home, food, clothing, children and family life.

We have also noted the following in its mission statement: "While the College is pushing toward new frontiers of knowledge and advancement in technology, it is but appropriate and necessary for it to dig into its own and the nation's history, and to seriously consider our people's culture and tradition." What this means in terms of its academic programs is not clear, but it has an attractive "ring" to it at this time when even environmentalists want to revisit the indigenous and the traditional.

It would indeed be an exciting new frontier if home economics, psychology, sociology, women's studies, demography and education

got together for an integrated research program on family life and child development. As it is, issues of gender, children and household economics seem to have overshadowed problems of the *Filipino family* as *family*. For example, UNICEF reports on the situation of women and children as if men and husbands did not matter.

As social scientists we have the responsibility to provide the empirical basis for understanding the family as the so-called "backbone" of our society. What has happened to our family, given structural adjustment policies, modernization in values and technology, overseas employment, increasing poverty, growing feminism and a deteriorating natural-resources base?

DEFINING THE U.P. SOCIAL SCIENCE 'CULTURE' AND ITS PRODUCTS

The U.P. President exhorts U.P. graduates to become "leaders for social change as proof of their training characterized by academic excellence with a social commitment." Turning inward, one may ask, to what extent are U.P. units and their constituents responsive to change? One sees, for example, the relics of turf battles (lost or won) in the halls of academe. There is evidence of similar academic programs differently labelled; of compromise programs which have attempted to evolve and even change, but were "disfigured" because of internal and external resistance. Some programs have been skillfully crafted so as to protect one's territory.

How susceptible to change are the social scientists in the University? How amenable are they to sharing, exchanging, collaborating, integrating and pooling resources across units for the sake of academic excellence and efficiency? If the social scientists themselves cannot do this, we should not expect it of other disciplines, let alone the communities for which we so proudly espouse community organizing and empowerment. Interdisciplinarity is more professed than practiced. Whatever is attempted occurs more within the social sciences rather than between social and natural scientists. Hopefully, interdisciplinary thinking is taking place within the same skull without fostering degenerative in-breeding.

Although the University says that instruction is our primary function, it is difficult to imagine dynamism and excellence in instruction without research, without updated familiarity with extant literature, and without analytic and creative works which help build the body of knowledge and provide the substance of instruction. Neither is social commitment likely to spontaneously spring forth within the four walls of a classroom, no matter how great the teacher. Systematic exposure to and participation in real-life social phenomena inspired by role-models within and outside the University is probably required for the internalization of commitment and the crystallization of one's purpose in life as a U.P. graduate.

Considering the social science offerings in other universities, U.P.'s place at the top of the ladder cannot be maintained without scholarly publications, intellectually challenging courses, meaningful social exposure and experience, and a greater desire to achieve on the part of both students and faculty. Finally, after all these years, social scientists must be able to define their role in the University and in society. The social critic as a "bearer of bad news" is a role which has probably outrun itself. As social scientists, we must earn the credibility required to play the role of a true social critic. We can lead in development thinking only if we have the capacity to think in this manner. Some faculty members must be allowed the time and resources to reflect; to analyze objectively, deeply, and intensely; and to philosophize, without having to justify their work in the name of relevance and even of development.

In assessing the performance of a particular social science program, such "market indicators" as enrollment, graduation rates, publications, number of degree programs are important, but the social science units might find it useful to examine the "state of their art" with respect to the following:

(1) What body of knowledge (theories, concepts, research, schools of thought, etc.) is unique to a particular field which is being offered as a separate academic program? This question may be very apropos to emerging applied fields of study and sub-specialties. But even in greater need of self-analysis is the issue of how much Filipinization is feasible and desirable for each defined social science field.

(2) What methodological tools and techniques for analysis and skills for practice must students learn in order to be equipped to go out into the world as a U.P. graduate of a specific field of study?

(3) What values, attitudes and perspectives must be internalized by the student during the "socialization" process at the U.P., so that he or she carries a particular name-brand of social science? For example, do we expect our students to understand poverty and inequity and to believe that income and wealth redistribution is important for national welfare?

(4) By what inclination should our graduates be differentially recognized:

- Rural or urban?
- Liberal arts or development orientation?
- Basic or applied?
- Highly specialized disciplines or broad, holistic, integrated studies?
- Sub-regional or national clientele?
- Agricultural/industrial or agro-industrial?
- Populist or elitist?
- Sectoral or multi-sectoral?
- Gender studies or women in development?

These are not dichotomies but degrees of emphasis within an academic program.

(5) What role does each social science unit define for itself vis-a-vis the lofty societal vision most of them have articulated?

(6) How does the vision translate into course content, curricular programs and research and extension activities which will enable the unit to actualize Filipinization simultaneously with regional and international orientation? Science, including social science, has a universality which transcends national and linguistic boundaries. How does one maintain universality in the process of Filipinization?

(7) Finally, what should the distinguishing feature of U.P. Social Science be? We propose a number of features as basis for

reflection and discussion. We propose that U.P. Social Science should be:

(a) *Empirical*; tending toward cumulative and systematic, rather than ad-hoc research findings;

(b) *Grounded in Philippine realities*, both at the macro and micro levels;

(c) *Articulated in both English and Filipino*;

(d) *Conceptually, theoretically and methodologically innovative* in order to contribute to the growth of disciplines;

(e) *Attuned to regional and international developments* as linkage and content for Filipinization, taking into account the Western traditions of social science;

(f) Situated in an environment that *attracts and nurtures world-class social scientists*;

(g) Open to opportunities for *problem-focused inter-disciplinarity* with the natural sciences, particularly in the light of environment and sustainability issues;

(h) *Characterized by a high volume and high quality of adequately-critiqued* contributions to the totality of scholarly products, without which it is impossible to claim a position of leadership in the social sciences;

(i) *Nationally recognized for the indispensability* of its inputs in understanding the present and credibly defining our future.

These are high ideals indeed, but we should not ask less of ourselves!

THE MARINE SCIENCE INSTITUTE: CENTER OF EXCELLENCE

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BACKGROUND

The establishment of the Marine Sciences Center

The Marine Science Institute started from very humble beginnings. I came back from my doctoral studies at the University of California in San Diego in 1974. The University of the Philippines, with which I had not been connected in the past, was just in the process of establishing a research center that was to be called the Marine Sciences Center. This was the result of what I would call a typical "feud" in the university, which I relate below.

The former College of Arts and Sciences had a marine laboratory or field station in Puerto Galera, Mindoro, which it had been using since about the 1920s for summer courses in zoology and botany. As far as I can remember, a number of faculty members in the then-Departments of Botany and Zoology were doing some marine-related research, but marine science was regarded more as sort of a hobby, a side activity of what were then the two Departments of Botany and Zoology in the College of Arts and Sciences.

Around 1973-1974, a professor of pharmacology in U.P. Manila, which then was not yet a separate campus, was very much interested in research on drugs from the sea. This was the late Prof. Leticia Angeles, who, on her own initiative, tried to establish a research institution to focus on drug research. She proposed the establishment of such as research, and one of the sites considered was Puerto

Galera. The question of whether the proposed center should be a UP Diliman (C.A.S.) or a UP Manila center was raised. Traditionally, Puerto Galera was an Arts and Sciences facility. This big debate was finally resolved when the late Vice President Nathaniel Tablante put together a committee to draft a charter for a Marine Sciences Center (MSC) that would serve the whole university, not just the College of Arts and Sciences or the College of Medicine, but also the Colleges of Fisheries and Engineering.

By March of 1974, the Board of Regents had approved the charter of that center. But there was not very much thought given as to how exactly that center was to be set up, organized, established and funded, and what facilities were to be provided.Only one thing was clear: that there was this old building in Puerto Galera that perhaps could be used.

In search of a job in late January 1974, one of the places I visited was the National Research Council of the Philippines. The late Dr. Amando Dalisay, then Executive Director, mentioned the fact that U.P. was going to establish a research center and suggested that I see Vice President Tablante. I did just that and submitted my bio-data.

I joined the U.P in June of 1974 as an assistant professor in what was then the Department of Botany. I was also given a concurrent appointment as Acting Director of the Marine Sciences Center. But the Marine Sciences Center at that time was two sheets of paper. I was given the task of trying to do something with those two sheets of paper. One of the first things I did was to find space where I could set up an office. I was fortunate enough to get an office space in what was then the Natural Science Research Center, now the Natural Sciences Research Institute. But this institute was being used by many departments, and so we were given such limited space that I had to look around for more. Fortunately, Dr. Carmen Velasquez, then with the Department of Zoology, informed me that there was this abandoned plant physiology building somewhere in the woods that nobody was using. In 1975 this became our first laboratory, which we used for about ten years. In the early 1980's, construction of the Bolinao Marine Laboratory (BML) began. Initial funds were allocated by President Angara for a modest building. Subsequently, funds were provided by the FAPS section of the

Department of Budget and Management as the Philippine government counterpart to a UNDP project of the MSI.

Like what was then the NSRC, the MSC was attached to the College of Science, so it had a semi-autonomous status as a research center (See Figure 1.). In its first ten years of existence, the MSC was purely a base of marine research at the University. Its manpower consisted of research and administrative personnel. There were faculty members from the Departments of Botany, Zoology and Chemistry, as well as from the College of Medicine, that were doing research with the center. The newly-established Bolinao Marine Laboratory served as the site for various research groups. Puerto Galera was also used to a limited extent.

The transformation into the Marine Science Institute

The Marine Science Center was transformed into the Marine Science Institute in 1985 while the Departments of Botany and Zoology ceased to exist as separate departments and were fused into the Institute of Biology (See Figure 2.). A number of faculty members of Botany and Zoology joined the new Marine Science Institute. The institute adopted the master's degree program in Marine Biology which used to be administered by the Department of Zoology. Recently, a PhD program was established.

At about this time, the first young PhD's who had just finished their studies abroad started to return to augment the faculty ranks. These were former research assistants of the MSC who had done well.

THE MARINE SCIENCE INSTITUTE TODAY

Mandates

The transformation of the MSI from a mere center is a recognition of its capacity for functional expansion. At present, the main thrusts of the Institute are research and instruction, with extension services being developed. It operates to meet three specific objectives:

(1) To generate basic information necessary for optimal and sustained utilization, management and conservation of the marine environment and its resources.

(2) To provide graduate-level training and extension services to develop manpower requirements in the marine sciences.

(3) To develop appropriate and environmentally-sound technologies for industrial and economic development related to marine resources.

The MSI is headed by a Director, who is assisted by three deputy Directors, one each for research, instruction and the BML. The Marine Science Institute is a small department although as of today, it has fourteen faculty members (See Table 1). There are no bachelor's or master's degree holders on our faculty because our recruitment procedure is different from that of other departments, many of which draw their faculty from among their graduates who have just completed their bachelor's degrees. In the case of the Marine Science Institute, those with bachelor's degrees are placed on the research and extension personnel (REPS) track. They make up the research staff. After they have earned their PhDs, they are taken back as researchers or as faculty members. In this manner, we are able to build an all-PhD faculty.

The courses offered at the MSI are the MSc degree in Marine Science, with majors in Marine Biology and Marine Physical Science, and the PhD in Marine Science. The graduate students are given the chance to undertake their thesis or dissertation research within the context of existing projects of the Institute. Through occasional grants, the MSI is able to provide a limited number of scholarships to highly-qualified students.

While we try to emphasize research, we do not sacrifice teaching. We are doing our part in terms of developing a graduate program. We are the only institution in the country that is offering a PhD program in the field of Marine Science at the present time. We have some 15 to 16 PhD students in a program which is now on its fourth year. We have three dozen Master's degree students, and we graduate anywhere from four to about eight students every year.

And I would like to say that I believe we have produced some of the best graduate students in the College of Science, if not in the

whole University. The Dean's medal for the outstanding graduate student started about eight years ago, and, in a span of eight years, four of these outstanding graduates were from the Marine Science Institute. The very first was Dr. Marie Antonette R. Juinio-Meñez ,who is now on our faculty. The other three are all PhD students now: Mr. Wilfredo Licuanan, who is doing his dissertation research with us, but is enrolled at the University of Southern California; Ms. Carmen Belda, who is a PhD candidate at the James Cook University in Australia; and Mr. Arturo Lluisma, who is a PhD student at Dalhousie University in Canada. So, these are the types of graduates that we have produced. I am confident we will be producing more of the same caliber, as we are determined to maintain that sort of spirit of excellence in teaching and training young people to be scientists.

The MSI has expanded its capabilities for conducting scientific research by training its technical personnel and by enhancing the research facilities through grants and cooperative research. Our research concerns include the biology of red-tide-causing organisms, plankton ecology, coral reef and seagrass ecosystems, invertebrate biology and mariculture, nearshore and offshore oceanographic processes, biochemical studies on conotoxins, and natural products chemistry of seaweeds and invertebrates. All members of the faculty are engaged in research work. From less than ten researchers when the MSC was first established, we have increased the number of our research staff to over a hundred at present. Our selection procedure assures us that we hire the cream of the crop, and the various trainings and challenges that become available to them make these research personnel better crafted.

The MSI also organizes and conducts training courses for both local and international participants. Both the MSI faculty and staff serve as trainors or resource speakers for these courses.

The MSI has established linkages with a number of national organizations, among which are the Philippine Council for Aquatic and Marine Research and Development (PCAMRD), the National Research Council of the Philippines (NRCP) and the Philippine Association of Marine Science (PAMS). The Institute is also represented in, among others, the following international organizations: the Asian Fisheries Society, the Association of Southeast

Asian Marine Scientists, the Joint Group of Experts on the Scientific Aspects of Marine Pollution (GESAMP), the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), the International Association of Biological Oceanographers (IABO), the Pacific Science Association (Scientific Committee on Coral Reef), the Scientific Committee on Oceanic Research (SCOR) and the Scientific Steering Committee of the Land-Ocean Interaction on the Coastal Zone (LOICZ) of the International Geosphere-Biosphere Programme (IGBP).

The facilities of the Marine Science Institute meet the instruction and research requirements of the faculty and the staff. The main building is located in the science complex of the Diliman campus of the University and measures 10,000 sq.m. It is provided with research laboratories, classrooms, audio-visual facilities, library, museum and herbarium.

Even before the MSI building was constructed, and that was the time when we were at the Natural Science Research Center, the Institute was able to get two sizable grants from what was then the Department of Natural Resources. One was the Seaweed Processing Project which allowed us to set up the Seaweed Chemistry Building and Pilot Plant. What is now the Department of Environment and Natural Resources entrusted us with developing a technology for processing our seaweeds which were being exported raw. Thus, the pilot plant was set up and the Institute was indeed able to develop a process and to patent that process for carrageenan. The other big project was the investigation of coral resources in the Philippines, through which we were able to put up a second building, what is referred to as the Coral Laboratory.

Both of these projects cost only something in the order of P200,000 to P300,000. But with that amount of money, we were able to put up two buildings. So, while we did not have our own buildings, we were able to put up these two small laboratories which became the powerhouse that allowed us to gain some credibility in the field of marine science.

Since then we have progressed to the present stage. Although some of the groundwork had been laid down before, much of this development took place under the administration of President Abueva.

The Marine Science Institute has other facilities. One of these is the Bolinao Marine Laboratory (BML), which sits on a five-hectare piece of land on the shores of Lingayen Gulf in Pangasinan. Our facilities include the main laboratory, the administration building, the diving locker, dormitories and housing units for senior staff. It also has culture tanks in which are raised giant clams, lobsters and sea urchins, as well as seaweeds. Out in the field is what is called the ocean nursery for giant clams. These are enclosures with plastic cages where juvenile clams are kept until they are large enough to escape predation, at which point they are set on the bottom of the sea.

The BML also houses a number of small skiffs and boats, basic field instruments and scuba gear, computers, and other specialized laboratories for trace elements, biochemistry and toxinology, organic chemistry and natural products. Other laboratories focus on seaweeds, seagrass, energy dynamics of coral reefs, and plankton ecology.

Besides doing work in the laboratory, the Institute also does some work out at sea.

Last May a cruise to the Kalayaan Islands right in the middle of the Spratlys was conducted with the RPS Explorer using a special water sampler, water samples were collected at different depths and then titrated in the laboratory on board the ship for chemical analysis. Other oceanographic studies were done together with the marine biological surveys.

Having had a series of projects funded externally has allowed us to slowly acquire equipment. Right now, we have about two to three computers per project leader. And if we were to count the research personnel, we could have perhaps one computer for every two people in the Institute.

Now why this sort of emphasis or focus on computers? When we were starting a little over ten years ago, I had the opportunity to visit my alma mater, and I was surprised to see that the secretaries each had a work station or a computer in place. I told myself, if we were to keep up with the rest of the world in science, we have got to go electronic; otherwise, we would never be able to do our work at the rate that the developed world was advancing. So we made a very strong attempt in the early 80's to get some of our original

PCs. We were also able to buy a Radio Shack TRS-80. We were able to get a donation of a Kaypro. Then the IBMs and the IBM compatibles started to come in. And now, everybody wants a personal computer, not just for word processing, but also for data analysis. I feel that unless we catch up equipment-wise with the rest of the world, it is going to be difficult to stay up there and keep up with them.

Another feature of the MSI is our special library with holdings consisting of 120 serial titles, 1400 book titles, visual aids (maps, slides, photographs), and reprints (numbering more than 15,000) on various topics. Library materials are acquired largely on an exchange basis. The Seaweed and Invertebrate Information Center, which has cataloged practically all known data and information about seaweeds in the Philippines, has been integrated with our library. We are also now trying to catalog some of the commercially-important invertebrates.

Additionally, we have established an herbarium which houses a rich collection of seaweeds and seagrasses from all over the country. A reference museum collection of marine fishes and corals is being improved.

FACTORS FOR GROWTH AND ADVANCEMENT

First and foremost, there should be a vision or clear goals which are understood and generally accepted. For the MSI, we decided early on to be the best marine science institution in the country, initially, and in Southeast Asia within the 20th century. Within this time frame we want to be on equal footing with the better institutions in developed countries.

Good leadership is highly essential in steering any organization towards the right direction. Having harbored highly dynamic and smart people at the MSI, staying even-tempered during potentially explosive situations carries a great number of benefits.

I try to be accessible to everybody; even the janitor or driver has access to my office. I have to be open to everybody, so I can hear, sense, and if necessary, defuse any potential problem in the organization.

But leadership is just one thing — a good staff is another. We are lucky to have talented people who are dedicated to their work, determined to achieve high goals and hungry for fulfillment in their chosen fields. Most of them had been our research assistants and students. My free-and-easy association with them then has proven handy now that they are equal partners in scientific ventures. Jealousy has no room at the Institute, for it cripples growth. Instead, we try to share and provide opportunities with and for everybody. It probably has become an unwritten understanding that our individual actions determine our collective destiny; thus, everybody responsibly gives his or her best.

In addition to the research and teaching that we do here on campus or in other parts of the Philippines, we analyze our research data and publish papers to show the world what we have been up to (See Figure 3). We have been fortunate in having some big conferences that allowed us to send many of our research assistants abroad. It is usually the senior staff that are off somewhere. The majority of activities they attend are scientific symposia (See Figure 4). Some are straightforward meetings, others are workshops, some of which are training workshops. Still others do research in collaboration with other institutions abroad (See Figure 5).

Well, I think I should wind down and say something about what I call limits to growth. I think we are all suffering from constraints in budgeting. We started in 1975 with a budget of about P200,000, and after we developed and organized, this went up to about P500,000. From 1976 to 1982, our UP budget remained relatively stable at about half a million. Apparently the MSC was being treated with benign neglect even as the UPV was being given priority. However, in contrast to the College of Fisheries, we were doing so well in our research that in 1983, the Philippine Council for Agriculture and Resources Research and Development went to the Department of Budget and Management and asked them to raise our budget by about 1.3 million. In other words, they more than doubled our budget. It took some help from the outside to make that jump.

In 1986 we started to get the Philippine government counterpart to our UNDP project. We received the increment because we had the Bolinao facility to develop and expand. After that, the increases

were more in terms of general salary adjustments. The government budget more or less stabilized from 1988 to the present time, with slight increases because of the personnel component.

We should focus now on the other steeper bars. These represent the external funds generated by the institute, but notice there has been a bit of fluctuation. But this is where the big funds, including the UNDP project and the regional ASEAN projects, came in. From about 1985 to the present time, we have been able to generate substantial external support. I think that if we are to average these funds and compare them with government support, with the possible exception of the infrastructure that has been given to us, we will see that for every P1.00 that we get from the University, we bring in P2.00. I think that would be a good model to try to follow. I am not sure how long we can sustain this, but we will keep on trying.

Maybe what I am saying here is that there are some limitations to what we can do because of our budgetary constraints. I wish there were a way to increase UP support, particularly for operations. I have alluded to the fact that about half of the government funds we receive are for personnel services alone. Of course, without this, we cannot get anywhere. Still, it would be good if the MOE part could be substantially increased. We realize, however, that the University has its funding limitations.

Another item that I would like to point out is the need for some facilities. For example, there is a need for better communications linkages. We still do not have direct telephone lines that will allow us to communicate with the provinces, much less with the rest of the world. We also need to be hooked up with the electronic mail system, but this has not been possible, partly because of the lack of telephone lines.

I suppose I do not have to elaborate on some of the constraints in terms of administrative support. We are perennially struggling through some of these problems, including even the support, or the lack thereof, from the Campus Planning and Development Office for some of our infrastructure development. And I suppose, invariably, there is a little bit of what you might call politics and jealousy that comes along, which sometimes slows down our development.

THE FUTURE AT A GLANCE

Finally, let me wrap up with just a few words on how I would see ourselves in the future. I think it is important to emphasize the trend towards globalization. Today, we are faced with many programs that are of global significance. Unfortunately, the Philippines is not very much prepared to meet the needs of these global programs. I am hoping that in the Marine Science Institute we can make our contribution to the training of people, including some of our staff, in terms of the proper response to these global needs. There are many areas of science that call for international cooperation, and unless we have the right kind of people who are properly trained and have the credibility, it will be difficult to link up and to make the proper contributions for the Philippines to hold its own in the world community.

This essentially brings to an end the points I thought I would share with you. It should be remembered that we got where we are, working under the same conditions as everybody else. We have been fortunate in having been able to recruit people who have measured up to our expectations. What is important is that a kind of spirit of cooperation, together with a spirit of competitiveness, is maintained. It is important that people are supportive rather than destructive of one another. And my hope is that, from among these 14 faculty members of the MSI, at least half will become real racers who would then have the multiplier effect and contribute to bringing in the resources while doing science that is very relevant and training the young people that need to be trained. This way, the Marine Science Institute can stand in a world community as a highly-respected institution of higher learning, not as a second-rate, developing-country institution.

I think we are now at the vantage point where, if everybody does his part, nobody will question our position in the field of marine science. The next goal is for the MSI to be the best tropical marine science institution in the world.

Table 1

Distribution of highest degree of the College of Science regular faculty members with plantilla items as of June 1993

INSTITUTE/ DEPARTMENT	NO. OF PH.D. (%)	NO. OF M.S. (%)	NO. OF B.S. (%)	TOTAL
BIOLOGY	24 (65.0%)	10 (27.0%)	3 (8.0%)	37
CHEMISTRY	16 (36.0%)	10 (22.0%)	19 (42.0%)	45
GEOLOGY	6 (43.0%)	8 (57.0%)	–	14
MARINE SCIENCE	14 (100%)	–	–	14
MATHEMATICS	17 (25.8%)	28 (42.4%)	21 (31.8%)	66
METEOROLOGY	4 (80.0%)	1 (20.0%)	–	5
PHYSICS	18 (60.0%)	4 (13.3%)	8 (26.7%)	30
TOTAL	98 (46.7%)	61 (29.0%)	51 (24.3%)	211

Source: Dean's Office, College of Science

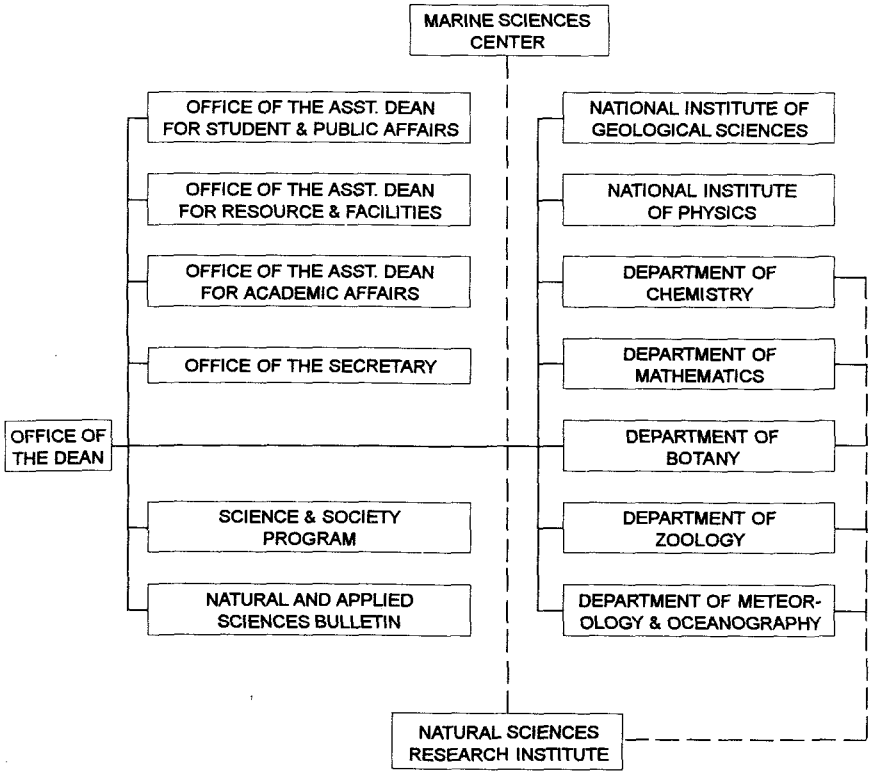


Figure 1
Organizational chart of the College of Science in January 1984

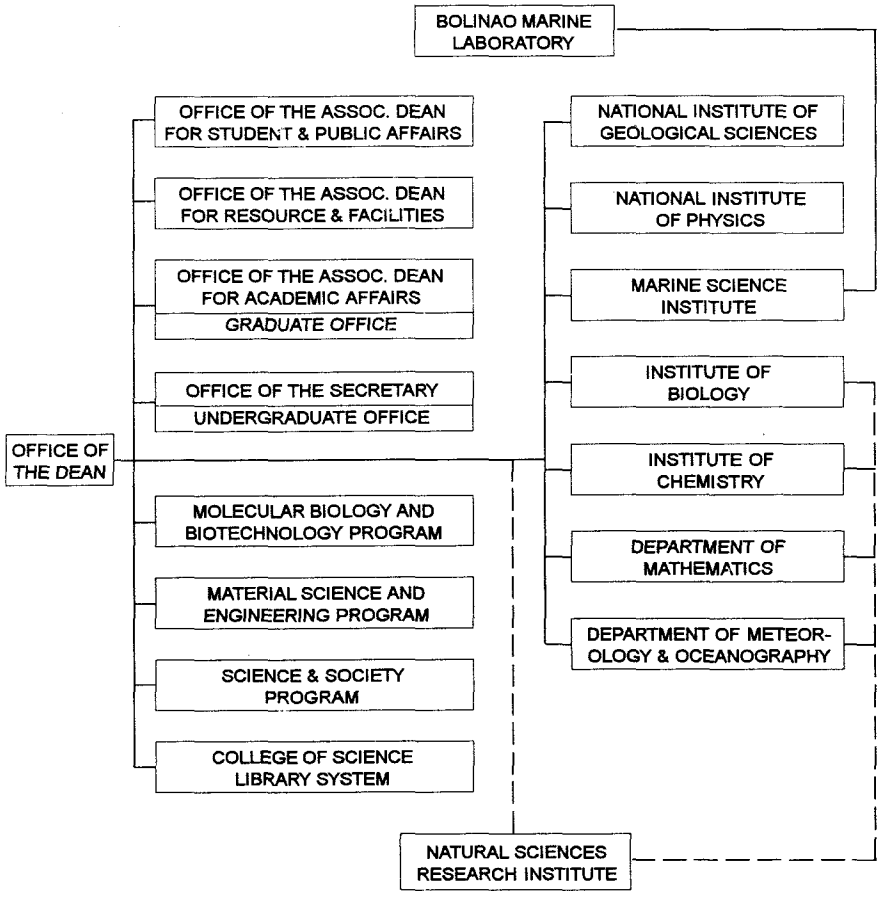


Figure 2
Organizational chart of the College of Science as of January 1993

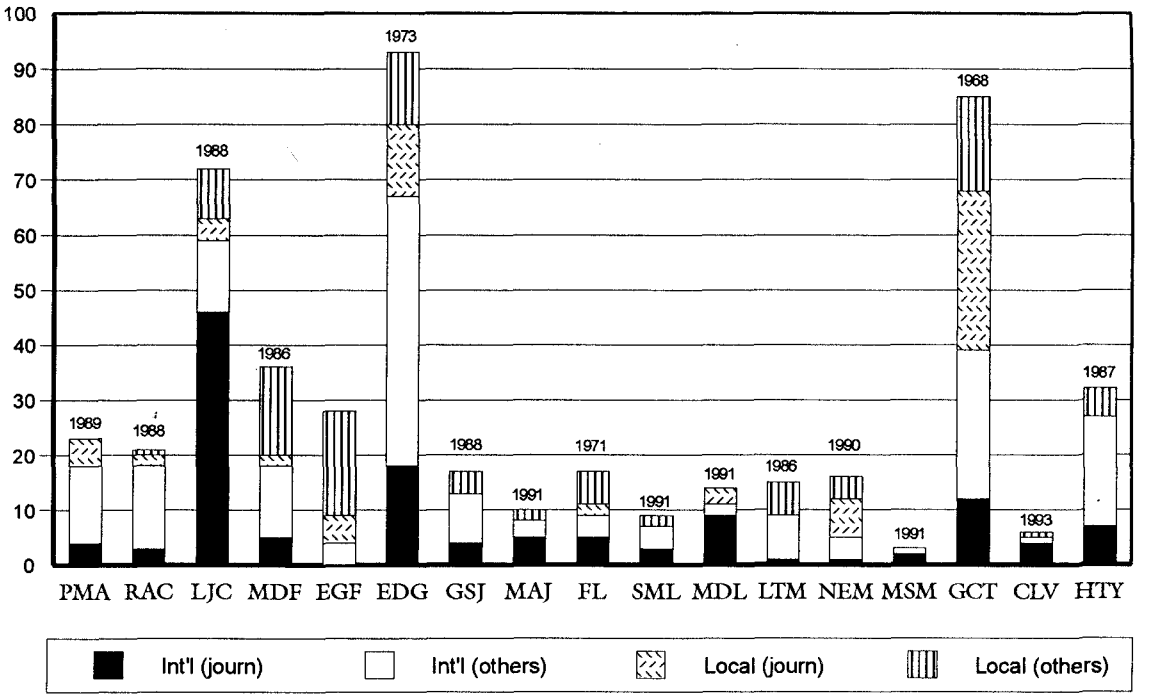


Figure 3. Publication profile of the faculty and senior staff of the Marine Science Institute. Year indicated when PhD degree was obtained.

Figure 4
UPMSI attendance in international symposia, meetings, etc. for the year 1992

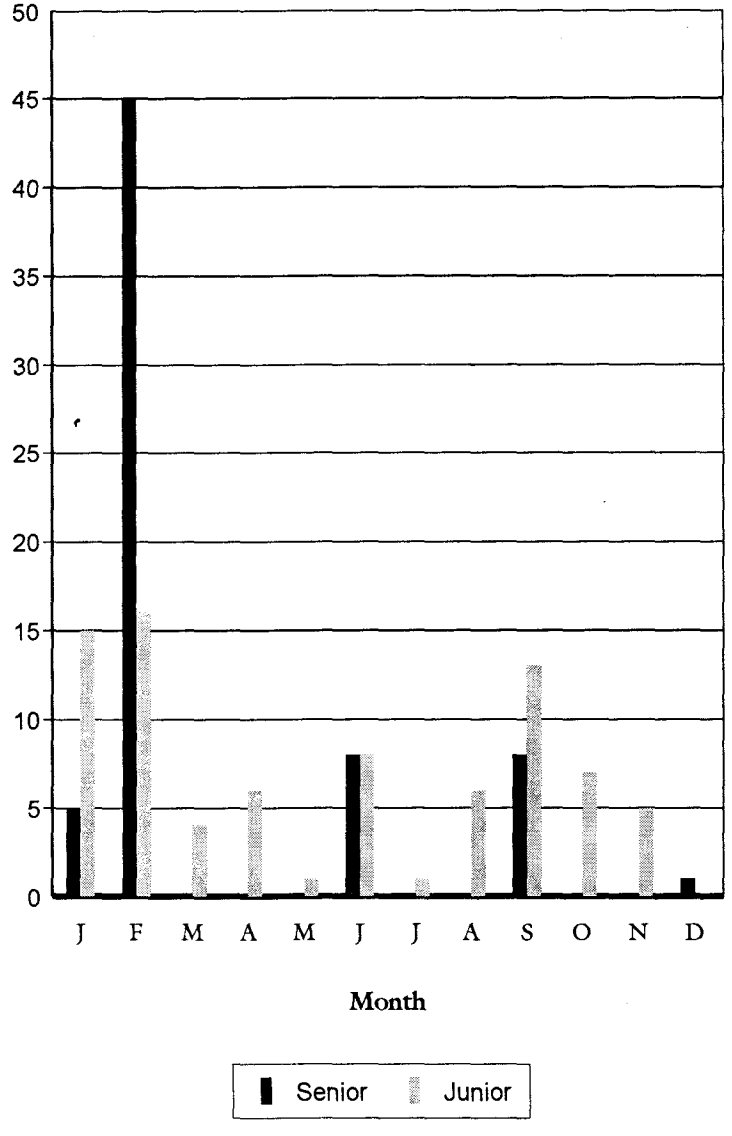
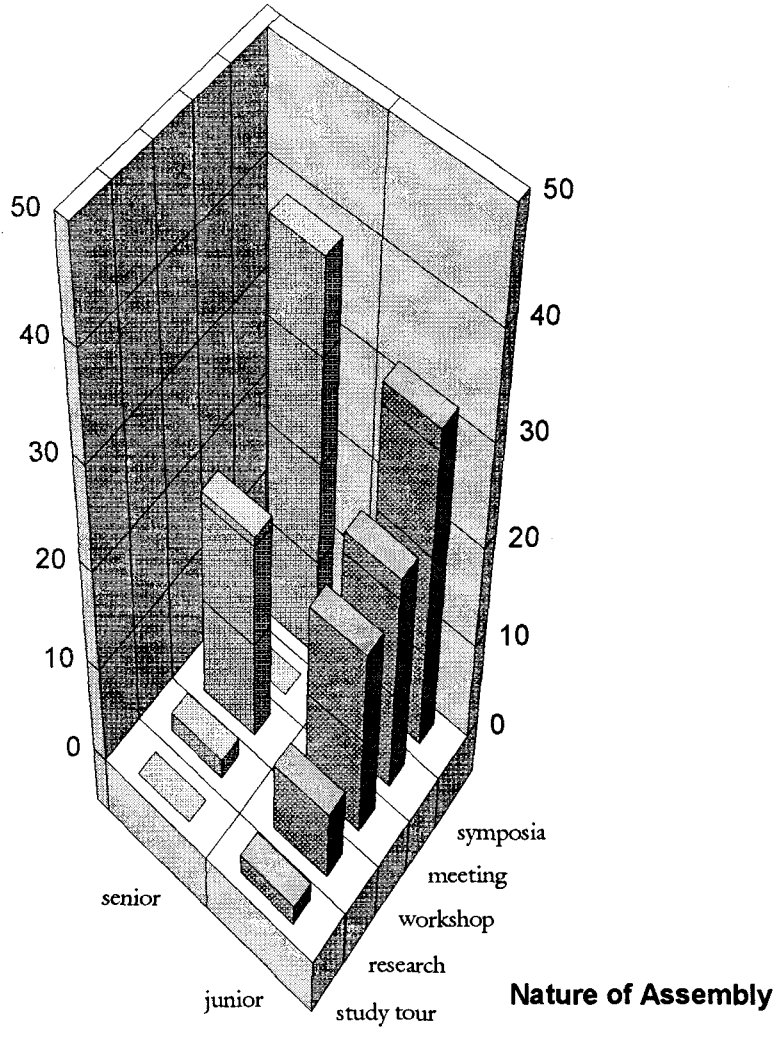


Figure 5
Nature of assembly attended by
UPSMI senior and junior staff.



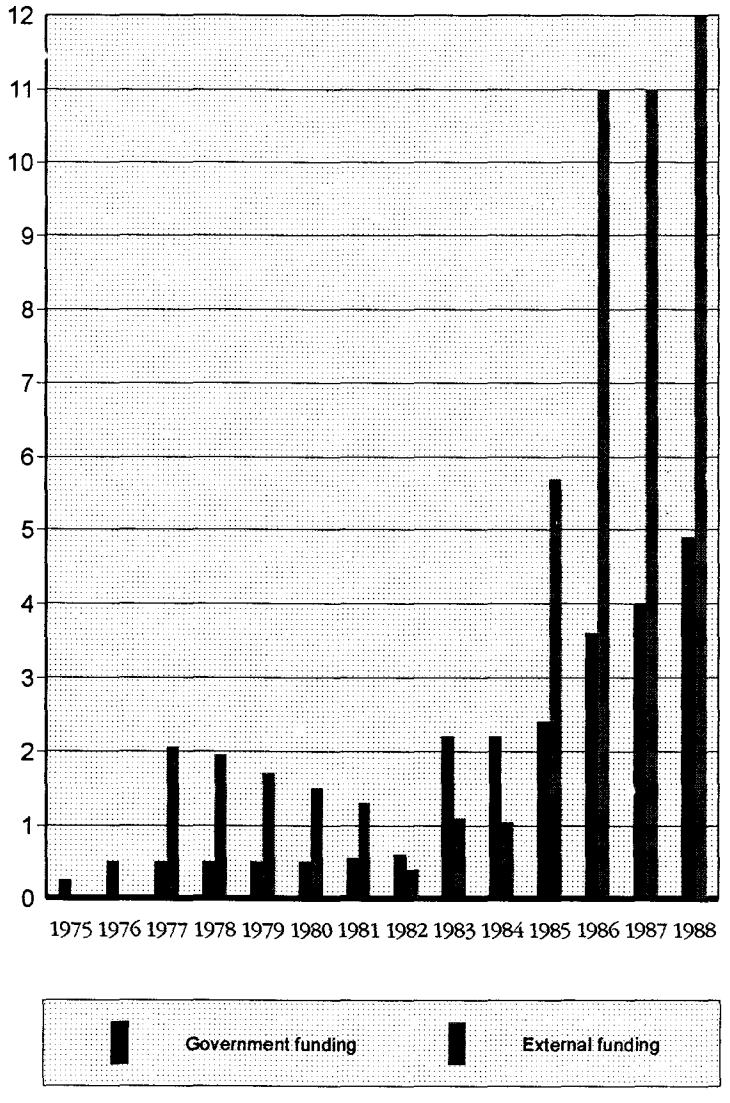


Figure 6
Budget of the Marine Science Institute for the period 1975-1988. (in millions)

IMPROVING TEACHING AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IN U.P. VISAYAS

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U.P. Visayas (UPV) was established as an autonomous unit of the University of the Philippines in 1979 and became operational in 1980. It has four campuses: the main campus is in Miag-ao, Iloilo, and the others in Iloilo City, Cebu City and Tacloban City. It has six academic units, with 4200 undergraduate and graduate students, and some 300 full-time faculty members. UPV was mandated to be the national center of excellence for fisheries and marine sciences, its main mission being to help promote and accelerate the development of the Visayas.

The UPV Chancellor's Report for 1987-1993 covering the term of U.P. President Jose V. Abueva shows that in the last six years, U.P. Visayas has contributed to regional development.

First, UP education was made available to many students from the Visayas and Mindanao through the Socialized Tuition and Financial Assistance Program (STFAP) and the Affirmative Action Program for Mindanao. In UP Tacloban College alone, brackets 1-4 students who received financial support made up 74 percent of the 764 undergraduates enrolled in 1992-1993. In the whole UPV, there were 1,530 students in brackets 1-4, or 46 percent of undergraduates, compared to 16 percent in UP Diliman, 34 percent in UP Los Baños and 8 percent in UP Manila (See Figure 1).

Second, more than 200 studies were completed, with nearly 150 publications, a good 69 percent rate of publication (See Table 1). The studies covered fisheries and aquaculture, food processing, nutrition, health, education, socioeconomics, management, and culture and arts.

Third, UPV's extension services were the most visible contribution to the region. They included training and continuing education programs (259,000 man-hours of clients served), advisory services (238,000 man-hours), information dissemination (*e.g.*, the newsletter *Datalinks*) and community outreach services (livelihood projects, such as the Food Systems Development Project and the Barangay Integrated Development and Nutrition Intervention).

University functions during the period 1987-1993 were supported by programs, such as infrastructure development worth P177 million; faculty development that produced 24 PhDs, 50 MScs and MAs; 107 professorial chairs and 63 faculty grants; and research and development projects amounting to P73 million (See Tables 2 and 3).

PROBLEMS IN TEACHING AND RESEARCH

The University's strides in instruction and research, faculty performance and institutional growth are best measured by several indicators. To be sure, there are some problem areas, but nothing that cannot be turned around to develop UPV as the national center of excellence in fisheries and marine sciences.

Teaching

Improved teaching performance is indicated in the increasing number of university and college scholars and the decreasing number of delinquent students in the last six years (See Figure 2). However, the government licensure examinations reveal a different trend: The two colleges with an accountancy program (College of Management in Iloilo City and UP Tacloban College) had decreasing percentages of passers (See Figure 3).

The quality of instruction is affected by the faculty-student ratio, the quality of enrollees and that of the faculty. Between 1987 and 1992, undergraduate enrollment increased by 34 percent while the number of full-time faculty members increased by only 4 percent (See Table 4). While the faculty-student ratio fared dismally, the quality of students apparently improved since about the same number

of freshmen were accepted from an increasing number of applicants (See Figure 4). The quality of the faculty may have also improved, with 11 more active PhDs, but the members with master's degrees decreased by 40 during the period (See Figure 5).

The lower faculty-student ratio had several implications. The higher enrollment necessarily led to a heavier teaching load and increased instruction cost. In the first semester of 1992-1993, the faculty of the four largest of UPV's six academic units (253 full-time faculty members) had an average teaching load of 13 units. This meant less time for research and the higher instruction cost adversely affected the funds for other operations, such as the upkeep of facilities and faculty promotions, because the real value of government subsidy was decreasing (See Figure 6).

The student's financial problems quite naturally affected their studies. Undergraduates who were STFAP beneficiaries (46 percent) had to contend with the release of stipends and other cash benefits, which sometimes took as long as 60 days. The reason for this was the failure to promptly remit UPV's lawful share of student fees from UP Diliman and UP Manila, which had higher percentages of paying students, especially in bracket 9 (See Figure 1). The STFAP's centralized management also got in the way of the development of bracketing procedures.

The value of administrative the staff's full support cannot be overemphasized. Yet the staff has suffered from an unjust system of promotions. Whereas faculty promotions were constrained by the availabilty of funds, those of the administrative staff were limited by Civil Service rules to available position items. Between 1987 and 1992, the yearly promotion rate for the faculty was 27 percent, but those for REPS and the administrative staff were only 4 percent and 3 percent respectively (See Table 5). This inequity has resulted in low morale and poor performance among support personnel, which have necessarily affected classroom instruction, especially in laboratory classes that depend much on support staff.

Research

Although UPV's 69 percent publication rate (See Table 1.) is higher than the UP-wide rate in 1991-1992, some funds still went to waste

in unpublished research. Moreover, of the 148 publications, only 17 were published in prestigious or refereed journals. All had come from the College of Fisheries, whose faculty had the lowest teaching load.

A good indicator of quality in scientific research is publication in refereed or peer-reviewed journals. The peer review certifies the correctness of procedures and the validity of results. Refereed publications are the standard means of disseminating scientific results. Without this verification by competent referees, a research publication lacks credibility.

By using publications in refereed journals accredited by citation and indexing services, research performance of institutions can be compared. For example, compared to UP Diliman's Marine Science Institute (MSI) and the Scripps Institution of Oceanography of the University of California at San Diego — two recognized academic units in aquatic sciences with comparable faculty teaching loads — and to the Southeast Asian Fisheries Development Center (SEAFDEC) in the Philippines, the College of Fisheries, the college with the best research output in UPV, lags far behind in terms of quality publications (See Table 6). The number of publications per researcher per year is 0.12 for UPV/CF, compared to 0.58, 0.78 and 1.10 for MSI, SEAFDEC and Scripps. A survey of 13 fisheries laboratories in developing countries reported the average number of refereed publications per researcher per year as 0.49. Table 6 also shows that scholarly publications can be produced even by a predominantly non-PhD staff, as shown by SEAFDEC. It has 50 researchers, only nine of whom are PhDs, but has a high rate of 0.78 publications per researcher per year. SEAFDEC and the MSI are the two centers of excellence for aquatic sciences in the Philippines today.

There have been enough research incentives, funding and capability at UPV during the last six years (See Tables 2 and 3, Figure 5). These should have produced more quality publications than the 17 published in the same period. This underproduction can be attributed to two problems. First, there was the grant of research incentives *during* the conduct of the research rather than *after* publication, or giving the prize on the basis of promise rather than performance. This caused some research projects to end unpublished. It should be emphasized at this point that research is not complete until the results are published. Second, there was the

requirement of "scholarly work" for research awards, without setting an objective and standard measure for "scholarly". Quite naturally, this encouraged rewards for poor research output.

Service

The data show a large number of clients served in extension work and increases in consultancy and advisory services. But there was no periodic assessment of service impact on the community. Without this, UPV's contribution to community and national development is difficult to determine, and therefore cannot be improved.

Improving Teaching and Scientific Research

Teaching and Graduate Training

As noted earlier, the increase in enrollment without any real increase in government subsidy has affected instruction, research and faculty promotions.Allowing the unchecked enrollment of undergraduates (See Table 4) ignored the decreasing value of budgetary subsidy (See Figure 6). Too, the higher cost of education per undergraduate student (P20,200) compared to the cost per graduate student (P15,200) had been overlooked.

Obviously, maintaining undergraduate enrollment at levels within the government subsidy will signal the start of improved instruction. Pleading an increased enrollment to justify bigger budgetary requests is to risk the quality of education.

In the first semester of 1993-1994, there was a reversal in undergraduate and graduate enrollment (See Figure 7). Freshman enrollment decreased from 1,094 (first semester 1992-1993) to 884, while the total graduate enrollment increased from 447 to 571. The significance of this reversal in enrollment trends should be studied, given the higher cost per student of undergraduate education.

Graduate training will have a greater impact on improving education in the country than increasing the undergraduate enrollment. Graduate training of public school teachers and the faculty of other colleges and universities can have a multiplier effect.

External funds are a source of support for graduate students, and these funds will surely grow once the university and its faculty become visible in the international literature (See Research below). Moreover, support for graduate studies is available from public schools and universities through their own faculties and from other government agencies.

Funds are also needed for incentives and the promotion of faculty and support staff. For 1987 to 1992, 72 faculty members with advanced degrees (23 PhDs and 49 MScs/MAs) joined the faculty (See Figure 5), but 101 eventually left or went on leave (12 PhDs and 89 MScs/MAs). Additional incentives for faculty members may slow down the turnover. Potential sources of substantial income are the unused land properties of UPV, consisting of over 2000 hectares distributed throughout 11 provinces, from Cagayan to Sulu. Their survey and titling should be completed, so that they can generate income.

The continuing review of STFAP should look into the problem of sharing student fees among autonomous universities while waiting for full government subsidy. Paying the students their stipends and allowances on time will be a load off their minds and help improve their academic performance.

Requirements for instituting and carrying out graduate programs should be reviewed. Since the thesis is a venue for training in research and publication, instituting a graduate program with scientific research must require faculty publications in refereed or accredited journals. Refereed publications must also be required of thesis advisers, and the practice of granting graduate degrees for unpublished or unpublishable theses should be stopped.

Ultimately, quality publications from graduate students should dominate the University's research output. These would be an indicator of academic excellence. In Japan and Sweden, four to five published papers now commonly satisfy requirements for doctoral thesis. In Berkeley and Wisconsin, reprints of published articles alone may be submitted for the PhD degree.

Extension service can be an important part of the graduate program. Many community, industry, and government concerns are suited for graduate theses. For instance, industrial research and development can provide research problems for graduate students,

with research funds from the companies. This arrangement will help the industry and lead to the graduates' employment in the same company. Environmental restoration projects of the government need scientific studies, which graduate students can very well undertake. Documented information will help steer the government toward, say, more effective restoration efforts. Graduate student research should also include impact assessment of extension services. This will tell us how to improve the University's service function.

Research

Research is fast becoming the University's most important function. Improving faculty research has also been shown to improve teaching, extension service and even administration. Nobel Prize winner Joshua Lederberg said: "Research is no longer an ancillary function of the university; it is the principal criterion of recruitment to our major universities." It is also the most objective and reliable criterion for promotion.

As mentioned earlier , a measure of research performance is publication in refereed journals (See Table 6). Another measure is publication citation. Citation analysis can indicate the publication's contribution to knowledge or the discipline's literature. Citation data of each faculty member can easily be obtained from citation indexes, such as the *Arts and Humanities Citation Index, Social Science Citation Index and Science Citation Index.* A publication is assured of citations if it is accessible to interested readers. Thus, research results should be published in refereed or accredited journals covered in respected abstract and index services, such as those mentioned above.

Another index is *Current Contents.* In the four campus libraries of UPV, access to nearly 5000 such journals in all disciplines, except medicine, has been made available through this weekly index since March 1993. This has enabled researchers to scan the contents of all important journals around the world issued during the week. Copies of articles can be obtained without having to subscribe to these. The accredited journals include 1,100 in arts and the humanities; 1,300 in social and behavioral sciences; and 2,500 in the natural and applied sciences. Faculty and REPS had been advised to use only these journals for their research papers.

Only one journal from the Philippines (*Journal of Contemporary Asia)* is included in *Current Contents* because of its strict selection criteria, such as citation record of editorial board members, journal standards and the objective judgment of experts. The journal standards are set by international associations of publishers and editors. Despite requests for inclusion, not a single science journal published in the Philippines has managed to meet the selection criteria of *Current Contents.*

Accredited journal publications and analyzed citation data should supplement human judgment in evaluating faculty performance and giving incentives and rewards for research. Adopting these output-oriented measures will reward only the deserving and limit the production of gray literature (research papers produced without adequate peer review, such as conference proceedings and institutional reports). The obsolete reward system used in giving incentives (professorial chairs, faculty grants, research honoraria and promotions) must be changed. It is clear that after many years and millions of pesos (See Tables 2 and 3), these incentives have failed to improve faculty performance in research. They have also failed to retain the faculty's younger and more progressive members. Improving the reward system for research will ensure the productive use of research funds.

At UPV, a Research Manuscript Grant of P10,000 has been made available as publication incentive to faculty and REPS beginning 1993. The requirement is the acceptance of a manuscript in a primary research journal covered in *Current Contents.* Half of the amount is released if the Research Evaluation Committee certifies that the manuscript is publishable and has complied with the instructions to authors of the chosen journal. The grant ensures that for every P10,000 awarded, a scholarly publication is produced. The published papers are recommended for the UP President's Award for Outstanding Publication worth P30,000.

At SEAFDEC, research output improved notably after the reward system for research (promotions and cash incentives) was instituted in 1986 and 1989. The average number of scholarly publications per researcher per year, which had stood at 0.08-0.11 for 10 years (1976-1985), increased sevenfold in 1991-1992 to 0.77 (See Figure 8).

Poor research output is the cause, not the effect, of poor financial support. Improving the quality of research output to penetrate the international literature is vital in promoting academic excellence and attracting foreign support. International funding agencies have consultants from the academe as project evaluators. These consultants know the literature and the scholars in their respective fields, and they make sure that the money poured in contributes to development. To be sure, external funds have significant advantages over government funds in enhancing research. If administered by the UPV Foundation, these provide added incentives, such as more honorariums and greater freedom from bureaucratic delay and rigid Commission on Audit rules.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Note that the following recommendations to improve instruction and scientific research do not involve added costs to the government.

(1) Undergraduate Instruction

(a) Maintain undergraduate enrollment at levels within the government subsidy and ensure optimum faculty-student ratio to guarantee quality education.

(b) Give STFAP stipends and allowances on time. Recipients of cash benefits (Brackets 1-4) constitute nearly 50 percent of UPV undergraduates.

(c) Establish and monitor indicators of teaching performance (See examples in Figures 2 and 3).

(2) Graduate Training

(a) Require faculty publications (refereed and international) for instituting graduate programs with scientific research.

(b) Require thesis advisers to have published articles in international refereed publications.

(c) Require published or publishable theses for a graduate degree. Quality publications from graduate students

will increase the University's research output of the University and promote academic excellence.

(3) Research

(a) Provide access to all important and accredited international journals by subscribing to the weekly index *Current Contents* or its electronic alternatives. Subscription to some primary journals may be given up since copies of articles in the accessed journals can be obtained by writing directly to the authors or through the index publisher at a reasonable cost.

(b) Publish the results of scientific research in refereed and accredited journals and not as gray literature in symposium proceedings and institutional reports.

(c) Change the reward system for incentives (professorial chairs, faculty grants, research honorariums and promotions) to include output-oriented criteria such as quality publications in refereed journals.

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Table 1
Number of completed studies and publications by UPV faculty from 1987 to 1992

Calendar year	Completed studies	Publication			Percent of studies
		Journal	Others[a]	Total	
1987 & 1988	90	13	27	40	44
1989 & 1990	59	27	26	53	90
1991 & 1992	65	20	35	55	85
Total	214	60[b]	88	148	69

[a] Proceedings, manuals, books, etc.
[b] Only 17 are in refereed or accredited journals.

Table 2
Support programs for UPV faculty

Calendar year	Local fellowship (P million)	New PhDs	New MScs/MAs	Prof'l Chair holders	Faculty Grant holders
1987 & 1988	2.1	7	17	14	11
1989 & 1990	1.2	8	22	23	16
1991 & 1992	2.4	8	10	40	27
1993	1.1	1	1	30	9
Total	6.8	24	50	107	63

Table 3
UPV R&D expenditures from various sources, in million pesos

Calendar year	UPV budget	UPV Foundation-administered	UPV-administered	Total
1987 & 1988	16.9	2.5	1.8	21.2
1989 & 1990	8.3	8.8	2.2	19.3
1991 & 1992	4.7	17.9	2.7	25.3
1993	–	5.5	1.7	7.2
Total	29.9	34.7	8.4	73.0

Table 4
Number of faculty members and enrollment at UPV in 1987-1993, semestral mean

Academic year	Number of active faculty	Enrollment	
		Undergraduate	Graduate
1987-89	286	2,453	540
1989-91	282	2,934	491
1991-93	302	3,112	414
% increase (decrease)			
Yearly mean	0.9	6.7	(3.3)
Total	4.3	33.5	(16.5)

Table 5
Promotion of faculty and support staff at UPV in 1987-1992, yearly mean

Calendar year	Percent of personnel promoted		
	Faculty	REPS	Administration
1987 & 1988	34	1.5	2.3
1989 & 1990	9.5	1.8	2.4
1991 & 1992	36	8.7	4.2
6-year mean	27	4.0	3.0

Table 6
Number of researchers and publications from UPV College of Fisheries compared with those of other institutions in the aquatic sciences, yearly mean

	UPV/CF 1991-1992	UPD/MSI[a] 1991-1992	SEAFDEC[b] 1991-1992	Scripps[c] 1988
Researches (PhDs)	34 (17)	12 (12)	50 (9)	66 (66)
Publications				
Total	14	20	52.5	80
Refereed journals[d]	4	7	38.5	62
% of total	29	35	73	78
Per researcher	0.12	0.58	0.77	0.94

[a] UP Diliman Marine Science Institute.
[b] SEAFDEC (Southeast Asian Fisheries Development Center) Aquaculture Department. Data from *Annual Reports.*
[c] Scripps Institution of Oceanography, University of California, San Diego. Data from *Annual Report* 1989.
[d] Covered in Science *Citation Index* and *Current Contents.*

Figure 1
Comparative number of students who received cash benefits (brackets 1-4) and paid full fees (bracket 9) in the four autonomous units of UP in academic year 1992-93.

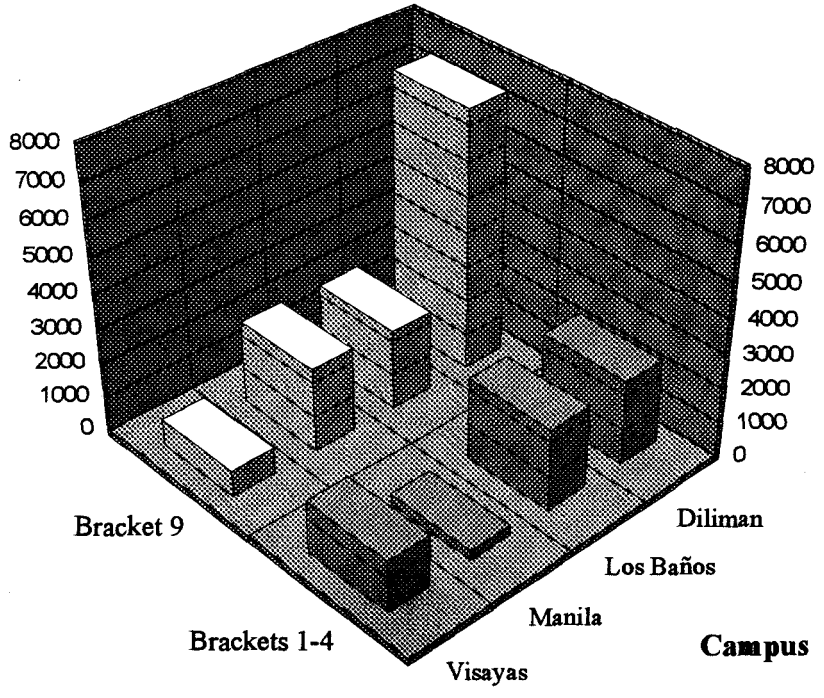
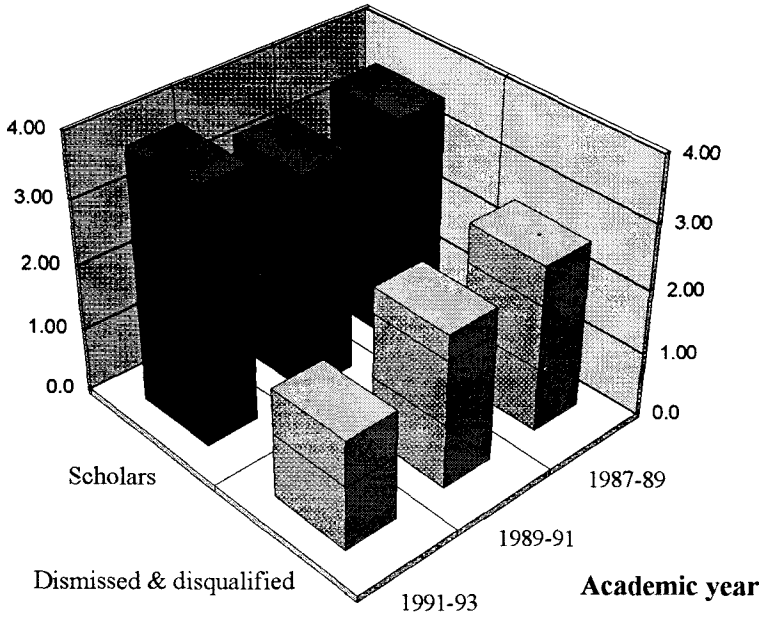


Figure 2
Performance of undergraduate students of UPV in 1987-93. (in percent of enrollment)



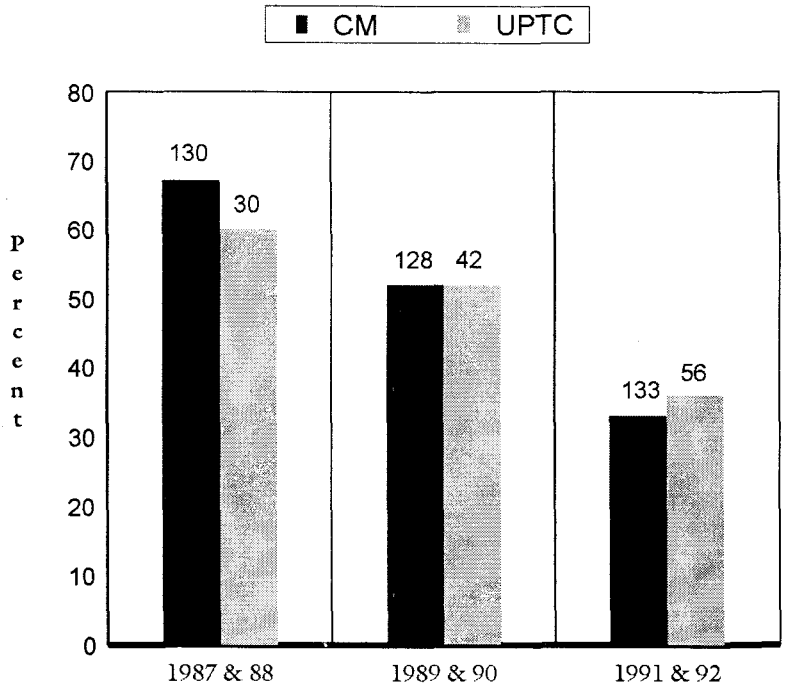


Figure 3
CPA board passers from College of Management (CM) and UP Tacloban College (UPTC) of UPV in 1987-92. Indicated are the number of graduates.

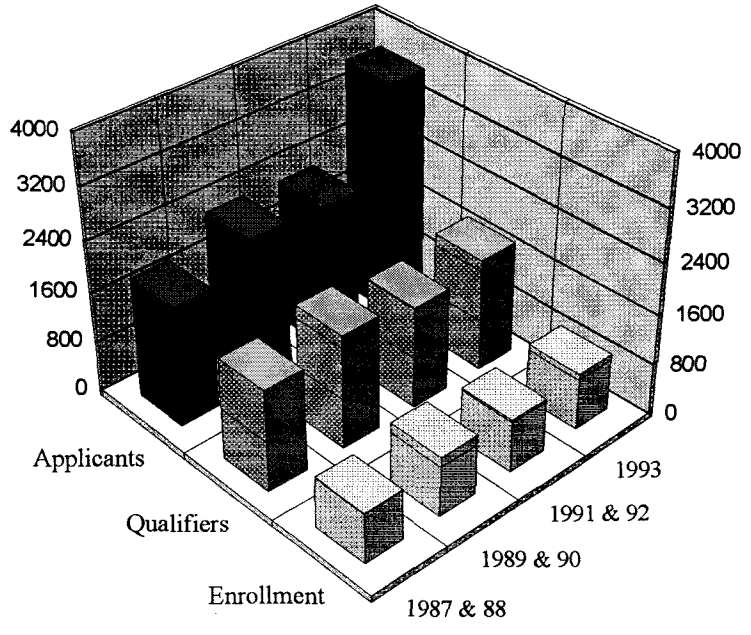


Figure 4
Number of freshman applicants, qualifiers and enrollees at UPV in 1987-93.

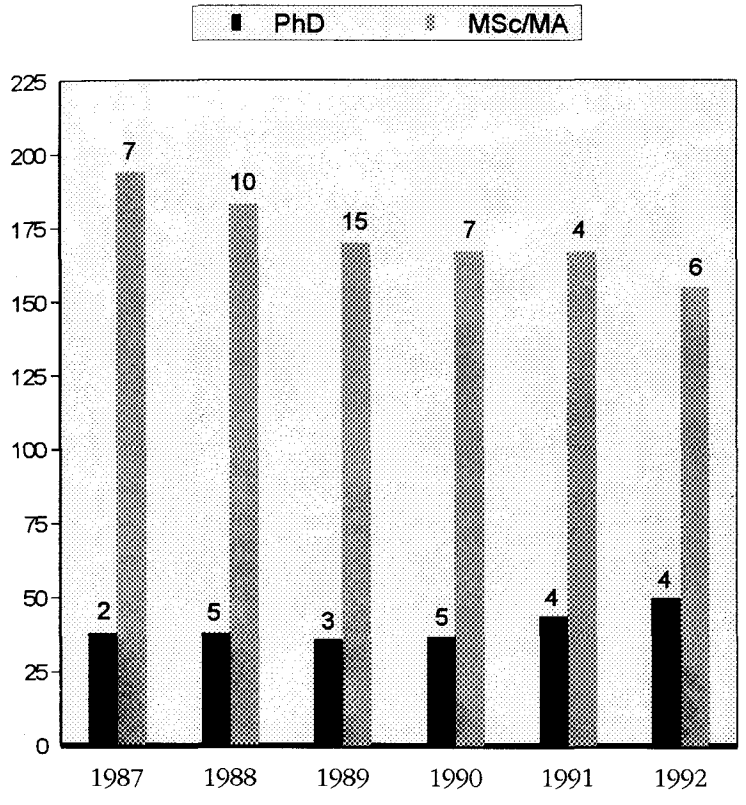


Figure 5
Number of PhDs and MSc/MAs at UPV in 1987-92.
Indicated are the number of new ones for the year.

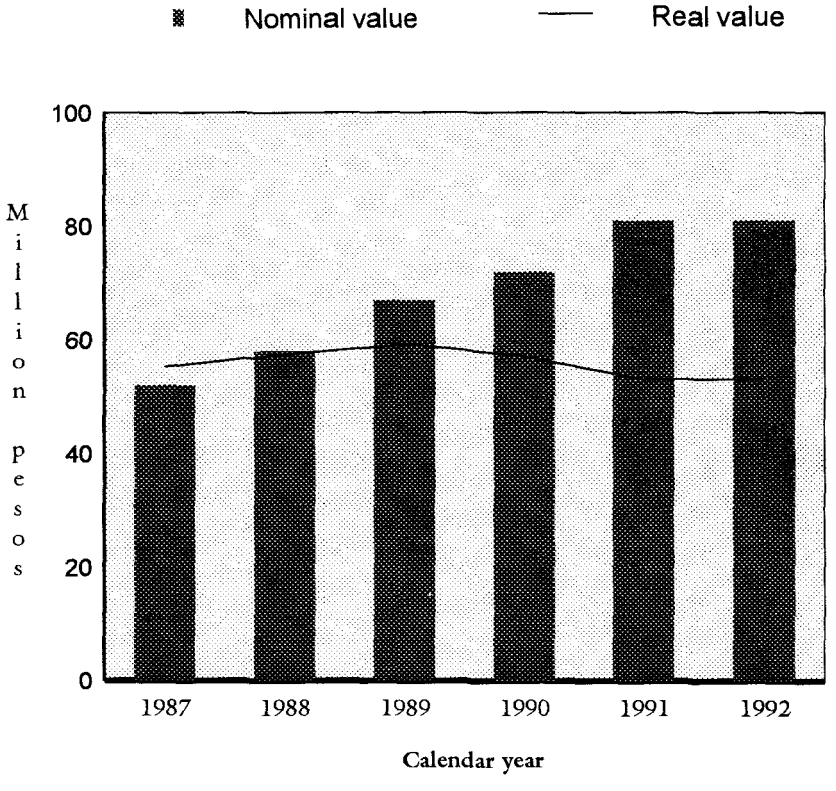


Figure 6
Government subsidy to UPV in 1987-92.

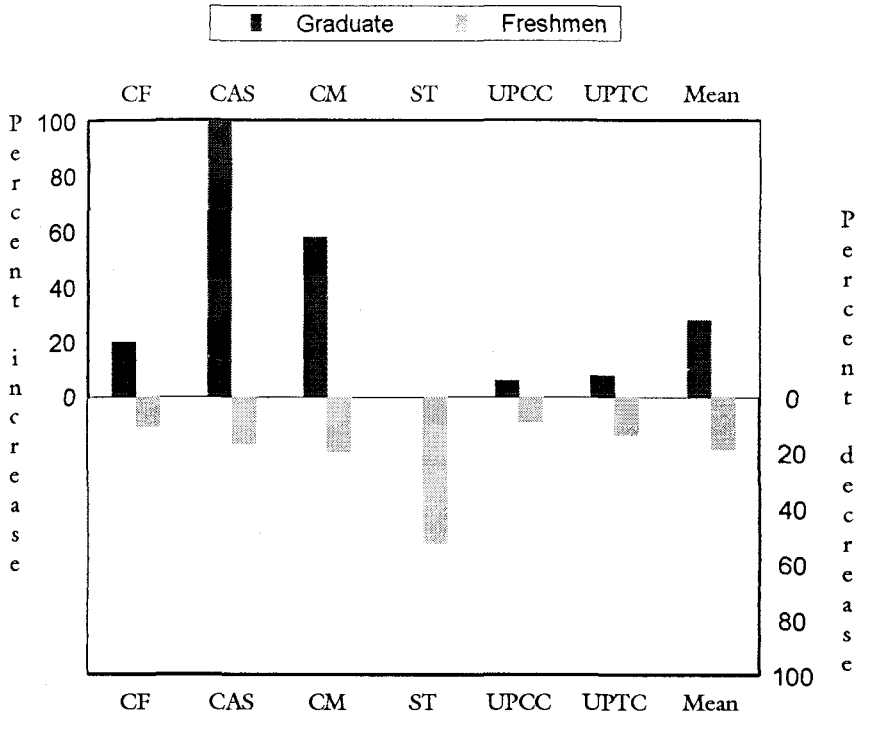


Figure 7
Reversal of enrollment trends in the six academic units of UPV during the first semesters of 1992-93 and 1993-94.

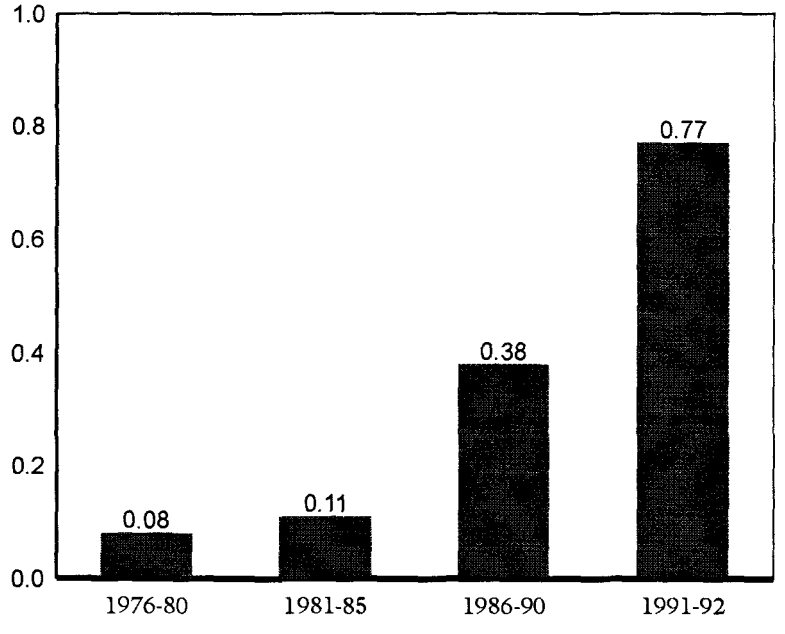


Figure 8
Research publications per year in refereed journals
by Filipino researchers at SEAFDEC in 1976-92.

THE GOVERNMENT CORPORATIONS OF 1916-1940

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University Professor
University of the Philippines

BACKGROUND

Let us first note that, during the American occupation, the Manila government was semi-officially called the "insular government," and, from the beginning to the end, the latter reported to Washington through the Bureau of Insular affairs of the US war department, with the department serving as the US government's colonial office.

The insular government created government corporations in two waves: 1916-1919 and 1936-1940. The first period was characterized by close collaboration between the governor general, a Democrat, and the new all-Filipino legislature. During the second period, the government was the autonomous Commonwealth, with the Democratic party likewise in power in Washington.

I bring up the party factor since, during the first Republican era (1900-1913), the ruling view on the issue of government and economy was, as the war secretary put it:

> The great agency to bring industrial activity and awakened enterprise and prosperity and contentment to the country of the Philippines must be the same kind of individual enterprise which has built our country....

This dictum was stated more strongly during the second Republican era (1921-1933); in 1921, the governor-general cited a letter from the war secretary on the poor record of governments in business:

They cannot manage railways;
They cannot manage shipping;
They cannot manage harbors;
They cannot manage international commerce;
They cannot manage the commerce in bills;
They cannot regulate the prices of commodities; and
They cannot conserve and distribute commodities after requisition.

The outbreak of World War I led to unprecedented expansion in Philippine foreign trade. Total trade grew from P195 million in 1914 to P601 million in 1920. Exports to the United States rose from P48 million to P210.4 million over the same period. The cumulative negative trade balance of P37.6 million over 1899-1915 disappeared in 1916, and in 1918 alone a favorable trade balance of P73.2 million was registered. Similar increases were posted in commercial banking resources: from P66.6 million in 1914 to P432 million in 1920; in the volume of business subject to the one percent tax: from P653 million in 1914 to P1,344 million in 1919; in the currency in circulation: from P51 million in 1915 to P146.6 million in 1919.

Midway during this period, the US Congress passed US Public Law No. 240 in August 1916, granting self-government to the Filipinos through the establishment of an all-Filipino legislature. Before this, the Filipino leadership was, at most, relegated to the role of confirming American decisions; now, for the first time, they had the initiative in policy. As elected political leaders, their basic goal was political: greater Filipino control and direction of the national economy.

Within this political goal the economic objective was, first, to sustain the war-time expansion and prosperity beyond the war years. But expansion and prosperity had not spread to the entire economy. The modernized foreign trade sector, export agriculture, and the corporate financial and business sectors, the part of the economy that we may call the "economy of special relations" with the United States, prospered. There was virtually another economy apart from the economy of special relations.

The rice sector — the source of livelihood of the masses of the people and the largest industry in terms of value and output, labor force, and hectarage involved — the corn sector, and the

"invisible" sectors of fisheries and other food crops, did not benefit. (From 1916 to 1918 alone, rice imports amounted to more than P49,000,000.) There was, therefore, a second part to the economic objective: to bring about modernization and development beyond the economy of special relations to the neglected sectors of the economy.

The implementing strategy toward the two objectives was simple, a reaction to the capital situation, which I will now summarize. Private Filipino capital was limited and concentrated, since the Spanish era, in land and export agriculture. There was no Chinese capital outside of commerce. The British branch banks, the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China, and the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, established in Manila in the 1870s, were commercial banks engaged in export and import financing and exchange operations, with almost no capital investments outside of trade. The other major bank in Manila, the Banco Español-Filipino, operating in Manila since 1852, was also a bank of issue, but with limited resources.

As for American capital, the majority of American investors were residents, either ex-military or retired civilian employees with small savings. In 1900, the insular government had not only viewed the Philippines as a market for massive American exports, but also envisioned a flood of US corporate capital invested in Philippine agriculture, mining, timber, railroad and communications. For instance, when the insular government sought authority in 1900 to enact a public land law, it stated: "Large amounts of American capital are only awaiting the opportunity to invest in the rich agricultural field which may here be developed." It thought it reasonable to make available to US corporations extensive land tracts that would justify investment outlays for expensive machinery and equipment.

But US corporations did not invest in Philippine agriculture. In 1902, the US Congress passed US PL 235, Section 15 of which limited the agricultural land that any corporation could acquire from the public domain to 1,024 hectares (2,500 acres). The limitation was due to the successful lobby of American beet sugar interests that did not want any corporations in the Philippines to have enough land to support a modern sugar central.

By 1906, the insular government was deploring the difficulty of attracting American capital due to the "teeming enterprises and

industries" that were absorbing domestic capital in the course of the development of the American economy. In fact, the development of the American economy required, in addition, significant loans and investments from Europe. In short, what American capital was invested in the Philippines was funnelled into trading, some processing of export produce, and utilities.

In 1916, the Philippine legislature passed Act No. 2586, a law that offered a government guarantee of five percent returns on new investments in certain key industries during the first five years of operations. One suspects that this was just a pro forma. Since 1900, the American business community in Manila had been staunchly Republican, conditioned to the view that Filipinos were incapable of self-government, except after a long period of American tutelage; they distrusted Harrison, the governor-general (1913-1921), a Democrat; they opposed his administration and criticized its policies. The guarantee in Act No. 2586 did not attract a single enterprise. Harrison noted in 1919: "American capital has always balked at entrance into the Philippine arena ... and still is hesitant."

It must be noted, finally, that external capital had stopped coming since the outbreak of World War I.

The government banks up to 1915 were a postal savings bank and an agricultural bank. The former was organized in 1906 and ran at a loss until it made its first surplus in 1918. The Agricultural Bank was organized in 1908 with P1,000,000 from the general fund; it was too small, and unable even to help the small farmers, who had no titles to their lands. All this time, the depositories of government funds were the two British banks, paying interest of one percent while making average profits of seven percent on the funds.

1916-1919

It was at this juncture that Act No. 2612, the charter of the Philippine National Bank, was passed by the legislature. The tiny Agricultural Bank was abolished and its current assets and liabilities were transferred to the PNB. The government, being the majority stockholder, transferred the bulk of its treasury deposits from the British banks to the PNB. The new bank was to be both a commercial

bank and a bank of issue; it was authorized to invest up to 50 percent of its funds in agricultural loans.

The founding of the PNB signified the implementing strategy: the government was to take the lead in development through direct capital investment, and, to ensure Filipino control — that is, *political* control — development was to be achieved through the creation of government corporations.

The PNB was soon joined by a brood of sibling firms, beginning with the Manila Railroad Company, acquired by purchase from its English owners. This acquisition is a story in itself. One of the special concerns of the insular government was railroads. In 1901, it sought authority from the Congress to guarantee a four percent return on investments in the construction and operation of railroads. The Congress granted the authority in 1905, but limited availment of the guarantee to companies franchised by the Philippine Commission, the early form of the insular government. This excluded the Manila Railroad Company, the operators of the Manila-Dagupan line since 1892. Instead, a syndicate of New York and Detroit railway and financial interests successfully bidded for railway concessions in Panay and Cebu, with the bidding and negotiations held in the United States and the US war secretary representing the insular government. The syndicate transferred the concession to the Philippine Railway Company, a corporation organized under the laws of the state of Connecticut. The company's bonds were covered by the four percent guarantee.

Next, Speyer and Company, an American group that was obviously fronting for the Manila Railroad Company, held similar negotiations with the US war secretary, ending in an agreement in 1908. The railroad would extend its southern Manila-Lucena line to Albay; it would also, among other moves, extend its northern route to within 35.5 kilometers of Baguio. The southern and Baguio extensions were covered by the four percent guarantee, on the first-line bonds issued by the company secured by mortgage. The legislature ratified the agreement in 1909.

The purchase of the MRR began with negotiations in 1915. The English principals had stopped sending funds since the war began; the management of the railroad was deteriorating, operating

costs soared with the spiralling rise in world coal prices from P11 to P60 per ton, and the system lost more than P800,000 in 1915. The purchase was agreed upon in 1916; the price was P8 million, financed by government bonds maturing in 1946. The purchase was a prestige acquisition of the country's premier transportation system.

In 1917, the National Coal Company was created by Act No. 2705, with the insular government subscribing to 99.36 percent of the company's shares (authorized capital stock, P3,000,000).

Prosperity continued to hold in 1918, and the legislature pushed ahead to create the National Petroleum Company (Act No. 2833); National Development Company (Act No. 2849); National Iron Company (Act No. 2862); and National Cement Company (Act No. 2865). The Coconut Products Company was also founded at this time. The purchase of the other railroad system, the Philippine-Railway Company lines in Iloilo and Cebu, was authorized in 1919.

At this time, the government was considering the construction of a government-owned and -managed free trade zone in Manila. (There was an interesting firm, the Manila Hotel Company, inherited from the Republican era. The private businessmen behind the hotel project failed to raise the needed funds, and in 1911, the insular government funded two-thirds of the construction cost [P600,000]; the hotel opened in 1912.)

Railroads, coal, petroleum, iron and cement enterprises, with a government development bank and a development company, are all either wholly- or almost wholly-owned by the government. The Filipino leaders were already thinking of industrialization, with their government taking the lead.

The insular government was convinced that its founding of the PNB was right. The latter began with resources of P11,800,000 in May 1916, then had P138.3 million in 1917. At the close of 1918, its resources reached P248.8 million, and the bank had branches in New York and Shanghai, with nine others in Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao. In the economy, exports increased from P139.9 million in 1916 to P226.2 million in 1919. The value of the six leading crops (rice, abaca, sugar cane, coconuts, corn, and tobacco) rose from P181 million during the crop year 1915-1916 to P458 million in 1919.

The more direct effects of PNB operations were on export crop processing, the ranking of the leading exports, and the role of Filipinos in enterprise beyond agriculture. Eighteen modern sugar centrals were operating in 1919, with others under construction, mostly financed by PNB loans amounting to P26 million. The operation of the centrals increased sugar production without added hectarage because of their superior recovery rate compared to the primitive mills. Furthermore, the centrals brought about a shift from the production of near-raw or muscovado sugar, exported to China or consumed in the domestic market, to centrifugal-refined sugar for the American market.

In 1919, 68 percent of the hectarage planted to sugar cane was served by the centrals. In the wake of the centrals followed imports of sugar machinery and tractors and other farm equipment. The "new" sugar industry pushed sugar, in fourth rank (P30.4 million) behind coconut oil, abaca, and tobacco exports in 1919, to first rank (P89.2 million) among the country's exports in 1920.

Another field of PNB loan operations was in the construction and equipping of coconut oil mills. There were 41 of these mills by 1919. Coconut oil had not been exported as late as 1917, but in 1919 it dislodged abaca, the leading export in 1917 and 1918, from first place. Coconut oil also supplanted copra as the leading coconut export product when the government banned copra exports for a time in 1918 in order to ensure raw material for the mills. The ban came about as a result of the higher value of the processed oil over copra, as well as lower freight costs and less shipping space required, which were important factors owing to the prevailing shortage of bottoms. The by-products of coconut oil milling — copra meal and cake — were also exported.

Finally, the PNB loans to corporations founded by Filipinos enabled the latter for the first time to venture into processing and manufacturing, fields that had heretofore been monopolized by foreign capital. The 1,024 hectare limit in US PL 235 was a disincentive that kept Americans away from Philippine agriculture. However, after the passage of the Payne-Aldrich law in 1909, some US corporations organized and financed sugar central or milling corporations in Occidental Negros. These corporations did not own land or plant any cane, but entered into profitable long-term agreements with the Filipino planters in the area to mill and refine

the latter's produce into finished sugar. With the PNB loans, Filipinos became both planters and millers. Some rich Filipinos who had invested in commercial ventures in France, Hongkong and Spain brought in capital and ventured into sugar centrals and coconut oil mills with the aid of the PNB loans.

INTERREGNUM

In 1920, the prosperity generated since the outbreak of World War I ended, and a recession gripped the economy into 1924. The second Republican era began in 1921. There would be no more new corporations until 1936. The new Republican administration came to Manila believing that the Filipinos still had a "long way to travel before the bulk of the business done in the islands is in their hands, as most of the retail stores, the import and export business, financial institutions and corporations are in the hands of Americans and foreigners, especially Chinese."

The new governor-general, Wood (1921-1927), devoted most of his term trying to "get the government out of business." The Wood era was marked by early ideas of "privatization", the turnover of government corporations to the private sector, but selling them was not feasible during the recession; some underwent reorganization, but they survived Wood.

The recession uncovered defects in the lending operations of the Philippine National Bank that wrought serious damage to government finances and difficulties in the currency. The PNB had used, not only government deposits (including local government funds) and the government's equity in the bank, but also special funds transferred from the United States that constituted the silver currency reserve and gold parity funds, in extending agricultural loans, and loans for coconut oil mills and sugar centrals during the boom years. The collaterals were illiquid, and the borrowers defaulted on payments due in 1921. The PNB could not honor its obligations to foreign banks in Shanghai. Its use of the gold dollar reserves pledged to secure the currency forced the government to stop selling exchange. In 1921, the bank's losses were estimated at $22,500,000; in 1922, two independent audits established the losses at

P75,000,000. As for the government, it lost its entire capital stock in the PNB (92 percent of total), in addition to about two-thirds of its deposits amounting to P47.5 million. Drastic liquidation enabled the government to recover some P30,000,000 by mid-1922. The reform and rehabilitation of the PNB lasted into the 1930s.

Meantime, Philippine sugar exports to the United States during the 1920s until 1930 grew by 450 percent, abaca cordage by more than 500 percent, and coconut products by over 220 percent. But the American farm sector was in distress. It had not recovered from the post-World War I recession when the Depression came in 1929. Two rounds of protective tariff increases, in 1922 and 1929, did not raise shrunken US farm incomes. These tariff walls had ironic results: they did not solve the plight of US farmers; on the other hand, since Philippine exports were exempt, Philippine export agriculture flourished.

We must note that the organized farm bloc in the United States was then a potent force in US federal legislation, with control and influence over congressional votes from the farm and dairy states. The bloc (led by the beet sugar, cottonseed oil, and tobacco groups) and its allies (including US labor, the Cuban sugar lobby, and pro-Philippine independence groups) rallied to solve the plight of US farmers by pressing for Philippine independence. There were no less than fifty Philippine independence bills filed in the Congress from 1925 to 1932, and the US sugar group was a leading factor in almost every case. Some of us might be mildly shocked to realize that we obtained our independence from the United States mainly as a result of the efforts of the US farm bloc to do away with their "Philippine problem", rather than as the fruit of the Filipino nationalist campaign or as a manifestation of US altruism.

The Hare-Hawes-Cutting law of 1933 was vetoed; the farm bloc prevailed by getting the Congress to override the veto. The law was rejected by the Philippine legislature, but its economic provisions stayed unchanged in the Tydings-McDuffie law of 1934. Then, in 1934 and 1935, the US sugar, fats and oils, and cordage manufacturing groups won amendments to the Tydings-McDuffie law that further reduced the preferential treatment in the United States of Philippine exports.

1936-1940

The Commonwealth government faced challenging economic problems: to adjust to the new trade terms in the US market; to seek out new markets; to make Philippine exports competitive; and to diversify, modernize, and industrialize the economy.

In December, 1935, the legislature created the National Economic Council (Commonwealth Act No. 2) as the formal advisory body in the formulation of "economic plans" (Commonwealth Act No. 2). But there could be no economic master plan or formal development program then. As Quezon, the Commonwealth president, put it:

> The formulation of a comprehensive program of economic development cannot be realized for the present, because of the absence of adequate data and sufficient information about the different phases of Philippine economic life .... With the limited data and information at hand, only the main outlines of such a plan can be indicated.

But the lack of a comprehensive economic development program was not crucial. The goals and tasks of the Commonwealth were not ambiguous. The need was for an implementing strategy to guide the government's actions. Quezon had been Senate president and Sergio Osmeña House speaker when they collaborated with Harrison in the creation of government corporations that they viewed as necessary to the attainment of economic goals. When Quezon was president of the Commonwealth with Osmeña as vice-president they revived in 1935 the approach of 1916-1919: government initiative and direct intervention in the economy. The companion strategy was the attainment of goals through government corporations.

Accordingly, the role of the national economic council evolved into the making of studies for government projects, many of the latter already identified by the political leadership. Quezon's opinions on goals and strategy were decisive: in 1937, he declared that the National Development Company was to be the instrument for "launching the industrialization program of the Philippines on a major scale." Two accompanying goals were added: social justice,

to mitigate agrarian problems that had arisen from neglect of the small farmers; and the promotion of agriculture for social development beyond merely servicing the export sector. There was no argument about the goals and, in the virtually one-party Commonwealth government, no dissent on the strategy.

In 1936, the legislature converted the National Development Company from an independent to a government-owned and controlled corporation. The same year saw the founding of the National Rice and Corn Corporation, the National Produce Exchange, and the National Power Corporation. The NARIC was an NDC subsidiary, capitalized at P4,000,000, with the mission of ensuring rice self-sufficiency and stabilizing the supply and prices of rice and corn. The National Produce Exchange was to improve the marketing of agricultural products and serve as a mechanism for the grading of commodities and dissemination of market information. The NAPOCOR was to undertake the development of hydro-electric power and the production of energy from other sources.

The National Development Company became the parent firm of a number of subsidiaries. The NDC board created the National Food Products Company in 1937, with the task of establishing canning plants for fish, meat, vegetables, fruits, and other foodstuff. In 1938, the NDC had three new subsidiaries: the People's Homesite Corporation, charged with providing low-cost housing for workers in Manila; the National Warehousing Corporation, to extend marketing assistance to minor producers and farmers; and the third, by purchase, the Insular Refining Corporation and Malabon Sugar Company. The NDC merged the last two and planned to operate them to provide high quality refined sugar at low prices. The NDC also planned subsequent ventures in diverse areas such as cotton and rayon textile manufacturing; abaca fiber and pulp and paper production; and coal exploration and development (the old coal firm became an NDC division, and the cement company of 1918 became the Cebu Portland Cement Company, another NDC subsidiary).

The National Abaca and Other Fibers Corporation was created in 1938 by the legislature. The National Footwear Corporation was organized in 1940; it extended financial assistance to the shoemakers

of Rizal province in order to end Chinese control of the prices of their raw materials and finished shoes.

The corporations involved in the new socio-economic concerns were the Agricultural and Industrial Bank, the National Land Settlement Administration, and the Rural Progress Administration. The AIB was created by the legislature in 1939 with an authorized capital of P150,000,000; its principal role was to extend capital loans to industry and long-term loans to agriculture, preparatory to a planned conversion of the PNB into a purely commercial bank. The NLSA was also a legislative creation, to undertake the establishment of agricultural settlements in Mindanao and other sparsely populated areas. The RPA was founded partly to acquire large landed estates, many owned by the Catholic Church or church-related groups, to prevent their falling into the hands of large landowners. Finally, in 1940, the National Coconut Corporation and the National Tobacco Corporation were created by the legislature.

The Commonwealth was unlike any other government under United States sovereignty. In 1935, its holdings of the capital stock of the government firms exceeded P45,000,000; only P191,500 was held by private subscribers. In 1940, the government holdings in the government firms grew to more than P128,000,000 , exceeding those of private stockholder pegged at P152,000 (See Table 1 for a list of the capital stock of corporations in operation in 1940).

As a corporate family, the corporations pre-dated the business conglomerates of the 1960s, except that there was no experience or model to serve as a guide in their collective management. The art of conglomerate organization, management and auditing had not yet been developed. Many of the companies performed or began poorly, and gave little promise of real contributions to economic growth and development.

Of the first generation of corporations, the oldest, the hotel company, had modest but steady profits. The cement company also did well because it had a well-defined market and kept expanding production to service the public works program.

The railroad company was a loser more often than not. It had the benefit of English financing and professional management. But its southern line concession since 1908 ran, after the rich province of Laguna, through sparsely-populated Tayabas and Camarines Norte.

Table 1
Government Corporations and Outstanding Capital Stock, 1940

Corporation	Total	Outstanding Capital Stock		
		Held by the Insular Gov.'t	Held by Gov't Corp.	Held by Private Parties
Philippine Nat'l Bank	P10,000,000	P 9,874,700	. . . . .	P125,300
Manila Railroad Co.	31,427,000	31,427,000	. . . . .	. . . . .
Manila Hotel Co.*	900,000	. . . . .	P 874,000	25,900
Nat'l Dev't Co.*	26,410,300	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Cebu Portland Cement Co.**	5,501,000	. . . . .	5,500,800	800
Nat'l Rice & Corn Corp.**	4,000,000	. . . . .	4,000,000	. . . . .
Nat'l Food Products Corp.**	1,935,000	. . . . .	1,935,000	. . . . .
Nat'l Warehousing Corp.**	510,000	. . . . .	510,000	. . . . .
People's Homesite Corp.**	2,000,000	. . . . .	2,000,000	. . . . .
Insular Sugar Refining Corp.**	1,903,864	. . . . .	1,903,864	. . . . .
Nat'l Footwear Corp.**	250,500	. . . . .	250,500	. . . . .
Textile Mills**	3,987,156	2,000,000	1,987,156	. . . . .
Nat'l Power Corp.	4,000,000+	4,000,000	. . . . .	. . . . .
Rural Progress Admin.	1,500,000	1,500,000	. . . . .	. . . . .
Agricultural & Industrial Bank	25,000,000	25,000,000	. . . . .	. . . . .
Nat'l Trading Corp.	5,000,000	5,000,000	. . . . .	. . . . .
Nat'l Land Settlement Admin.	2,000,000	2,000,000	. . . . .	. . . . .
Nat'l Abaca & Other Fibers Corp.	2,550,000	2,550,000	. . . . .	. . . . .

Source: Annual Report of the President of the Philippines, 1940, p. 36
* Denotes subsidiary of the Manila Railroad Company
** Denotes subsidiary of the National Development Company
\+ Denotes estimate

These provinces had low land tax and *cedula* collections — the provincial governments' revenue sources for road construction and general government expenses — so that their economies were retarded. The company spent years building the southern line to reach Camarines Sur. When World War I broke out, the company was short of funds and was servicing a long-losing route.

The NDC was active in projects that it would convert into subsidiaries, but instead of adding to productive capacity, it tended to buy out existing private companies, and instead of maximizing capital resources, it bought out the minority shares of private stockholders in its firms. Its occasional profits came from loans it extended to new subsidiaries, or dividends from those of the latter that were solvent.

The PNB was, in the 1930s, recovering under rehabilitation and regularly liquidating its obligations to the government.

Many of the corporations created since 1936 were good projects with ill-prepared operational plans, and almost all were staffed by inexperienced bureaucrats. The National Produce Exchange, for instance, ran a central market in Manila. In 1938, sugar, tobacco, rice, copra, peanuts, corn, rubber, cassava starch, and other produce from twenty-four provinces were brought to the facility, but gross sales amounted to only P87,777. The vital National Rice and Corn Corporation was to bring about self-sufficiency in rice, but it had no programs in direct aid of domestic rice production and was active in importing and reselling Saigon and Bangkok rice. As for the National Food Products Company, it began fish-canning operations only to discover midway that it had not arranged for enough fish to can.

Finally, the functions assigned to the Rural Progress Administration and the National Land Settlement Administration ought to have been projects of the regular line agencies. The resources invested in them would have promoted social justice and agricultural development more effectively had they been allocated to the Bureau of Lands, thereby hastening its land surveys and issuance of homestead patents. The courts of first instance could have sped up the adjudication of land title cases; and the Land Registration Office could have facilitated registration of land titles. Apparently, the government's cumbersome procedures and regulations on the

disposition of agricultural land from the public domain had been a major factor in the lack of progress in non-export agriculture, biased as they were against small farmers.

In retrospect, only the Philippine National Bank, because of or despite its flawed loans that enabled Filipinos to venture into sugar central and coconut oil mill enterprises, made clear contributions to manufacturing and economic expansion. The strategy of restructuring the economy and attaining economic growth and development through government corporations did not succeed. The basic character of the economy did not change; dependence on the US market was undiminished. By 1940, the US share of Philippine exports was 81 per cent, and of imports 71.3 percent while the rest of the economy remained backward. There was not enough time for a turnaround; World War II broke out, followed by the Japanese invasion. I suspect that, since most of the companies were conceptualized, sponsored, and created by political leaders, the strategy in time became more important than the objectives. The government corporations became a permanent feature of the Philippine government.

ON KEYNES' AGGREGATE SUPPLY FUNCTION

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The question is this: what would be a correct interpretation or reading of Keynes' aggregate supply function (AS function for short)? This has been the subject of an extensive literature [see e.g. the bibliographies in De Jong (1954) and Wells (1960)]. The following excerpts from Keynes (1936) give the background:

> ... [C]all the aggregate income (i.e., factor cost plus profit) resulting from a given amount of employment the proceeds of that employment. On the other hand, the aggregate supply price of the output of a given amount of employment is the expectation of proceeds which will just make it worth the while of the entrepreneurs to give that employment (p. 24).
>
> Let Z be the aggregate supply price of the output from employing N men, the relationship between Z and N being written $Z = \Phi(N)$, which can be called the *Aggregate Supply Function.* Similarly, let D be the proceeds which entrepreneurs expect to receive from the employment of N men, the relationship between D and N being written $D = f(N)$, which can be called the *Aggregate Demand Function.*
>
> Now if for a given value of N the expected proceeds are greater than the aggregate supply price, i.e., if D is greater than Z, there will be an incentive to enterpreneurs to increase employment beyond N ... up to the value of N

[+] The author is indebted to Ruperto Alonzo, Arsenio Balisacan, Emmanuel de Dios, Raul Fabella, Felipe Medalla and Rafael Rodriguez for helpful discussions.

> for which Z has become equal to D. Thus the volume of employment is given by the point of intersection between the aggregate demand function and the aggregate supply function; for it is at this point that the entrepreneurs' expectation of profits will be maximised (p. 25).
>
> ... [W]e can equate the marginal proceeds (or income) to the marginal factor cost; and thus arrive at the same sort of propositions relating marginal proceeds thus defined to marginal factor costs as have been stated by those economists who ... have equated supply price to marginal factor cost.[2]

[2] For example, let us take $Z_w = \Phi(N)$, or alternatively $Z = W.\Phi(N)$ as the aggregate supply function (where W is the wage-unit and $W.Z_w = Z$). Then, since the proceeds of the marginal product is equal to the marginal factor-cost at every point on the aggregate supply curve, we have

$$\Delta N = \Delta Z_w = \Delta\Phi(N);$$

that is to say, $\Phi'(N) = 1$; provided that factor cost bears a constant ratio to wage cost ... (p. 55).

There are three minority views as to the correct reading of the AS function: (1) to Hawtrey (1956), Z = D, which makes him a "classical" in Keynes' use of this term; (2) to Patinkin (1976), Z is total variable cost, which interpretation has the difficulty that the expectation of profit is not maximized at Z = D; (3) to Dillard (1948), Z is total cost. We postpone comment on this until later.

The majority view [see e.g. Casarosa (1981), Chick (1983), Davidson and Smolensky (1964), De Jong (1954), Harcourt (1977), Marty (1961), Miller (1972), Nevile (1992), Roberts (1978), Robertson (1955), Tarshis (1979), Vandenborre (1958), Weintraub (1957), and Wells (1960)] is based on the standard supply function of purely competitive firms, where the unit price p is equated to marginal cost, which we will call the p = mc reading. Let real aggregate $Y = g(N)$ so $N = g^{-1}(Y) = h(Y)$ and therefore $h'(Y)$ is marginal cost in wage units. Then the majority view is that $h'(Y)\,g(N)$ is the AS price corresponding to N.

The main problem is that if N is the only variable factor, which in effect is the case with the footnote on page 55 cited above where $\Phi'(N) = 1$, one has $\Phi'(N) > 1$ with the p = mc reading, for

$$\Phi' (N) = h' (Y) g' (N) + g (N) h' '(Y) g' (N) > 1$$

since h' (Y) g' (N) = 1 [because h' (Y) and g' (N) are reciprocals] and h' '(Y) > 0 (increasing marginal cost). Thus there is a conflict between the majority view and the footnote.

Nevile (1992, p. 256) says, however, that "the footnote is simply an error by Keynes". Nevile claims that the footnote can be correct only if p = const, which is clearly not the case. It is easy to see that if p = const, then

$$\Phi' (N) = \frac{d (pY)}{dN} = p \frac{dY}{dN} + Y \frac{dp}{dN}$$

reduces to

$$\Phi' (N) = p \frac{dY}{dN} = h' (Y) g' (N) = 1$$

with p = mc. But this does not prove Nevile's claim.

There are other problems with the p = mc reading, even though Keynes (p. 44) did say that the AS function is basically the "ordinary supply function" in the aggregate:

(1) Why should Keynes (p. 283) have to say, "Provided we can assume that the price is equal to the marginal prime cost, we then have ... " if, indeed, p = mc? He would have said "Since we can assume that ... " instead. Notice also the distancing tenor of his remark about "those economists who ... have equated supply price to marginal factor cost";

(2) The independent variable in the usual supply function where p = mc is p, while in the AS function the independent variable is N or, equivalently, Y.

The puzzle is solved by a few lines from Marshall:

> • The price required to call forth the exertion necessary for producing any given amount of commodity may be called the *supply price* for that amount.

- The normal supply price 'is that the expectation of which is sufficient and only just sufficient to make it worthwhile for people to set themselves to produce that ... amount'.
- Profits are a constituent element of normal supply price.
- When ... the amount produced ... is such that the demand price is greater than the supply price, then sellers receive more than is sufficient to make it worth their while to bring goods to the market to that amount; and there is at work an active force tending to increase the amount brought forward for sale.

These four statements are from pages 142, 373, 618, and 345, respectively, of Marshall (1920). Notice the similarity with the excerpts from Keynes quoted above. To Keynes, the "ordinary" supply function is clearly that of Marshall, not the currently standard one based on p = mc, and for good reason. Since production takes time, the production decision must depend on the entrepreneur's expectation of the price when the output does get to market (not on the "given" current price), and the supply function tells the price which, if expected, barely induces him to produce any given amount. The price expectation that will turn out to be correct is, of course, the demand price, i.e., the price at which the given amount can be sold. Entrepreneurs will therefore employ that number of men whose output has a supply price equal to their expectation of the demand price, and if expectations turn out to be correct, one has an equilibrium.

It also seems quite clear that in Marshall, the normal supply price is the average cost plus normal profits, or simply average cost if the latter is interpreted to include normal profits.

Going back to the footnote example where the ratio of factor cost to wage cost is assumed to be a constant α (say), factor cost can be calculated from wage cost merely by multiplying the latter by α. Suppose then that N is the only variable factor. Letting π^* denote the minimum profit required by entrepreneurs, the AS price is

$$\Phi (N) = \text{fixed costs} + \pi^* + h (Y)$$

and therefore

$$\Phi' (N) = h' (Y)\, dY / dN = 1$$

as stated in the footnote. Taking all factors into account, $\Phi'(N) = \alpha$ but, as Keynes might have said, this is obvious. [After Robertson sent Keynes his comments on a galley proof of the *General Theory*, Keynes wrote back regarding one item: "Perhaps I should have said ... But isn't this obvious?" See Moggridge (1973, p. 516).]

Entrepreneurship and management are factors that can vary, and it is reasonable to expect required profits to be higher with higher N. Thus, indeed, the expectation of profit is maximized at the point where $Z = D$.

Finally, there is one false issue to dispose of. Since Keynes accepted the classical postulate that labor gets paid its marginal product, it might seem that he was committed to the $p = mc$ view. For if N is the only variable factor, then the condition $p = mc$ is equivalent to this postulate [because p^{-1} is the real wage in wage units and $p^{-1} = dY / dN$ can be written $p = h'(Y)$]. However, there are other variable factors of course, and the Marshallian supply price is average cost (including normal profits). One can therefore accept the postulate which is a necessary condition for profit maximization no matter how p is determined, and reject $p = mc$.

We draw the following conclusions:

(1) The Marshallian supply function makes more sense than the $p = mc$ supply function. In Marshall and in Keynes, quantity adjustments are made towards equilibrium when price expectations happen to be wrong. In the usual treatment, prices are "given" to firms, so there is no guesswork, entrepreneurs mechanically maximize profit by choosing that amount of output whose marginal cost equals the given price, production is in effect instantaneous, and a fictitious auctioneer is needed to cry out tentative prices until equilibrium is reached.

(2) Most, if not all, of Keynes' commentators have misread him on the AS function. This is somewhat surprising since Keynes is often reported to be Marshallian and not Walrasian. In all the literature on the AS function, only Dillard (1948) took Keynes' definition of the AS price to mean total cost. However, Dillard did not refer to Marshall and did not state that total cost included normal profits.

In any event, Dillard's reading was either ignored in the subsequent literature or judged [see De Jong (1954)] to be incorrect.

(3) Since the Marshallian supply price is lower than p = mc, price is lower and output higher than in the standard model.

(4) Lastly, normal profits generally obtain, not only in long period equilibrium, but also in the short period. That is, when entrepreneurs' expectations about demand are correct, they make no more than normal profits. (The setting is one of purely competitive firms.) This implication seems to be particularly interesting.

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TEACHING LAW AS A SOCIAL SCIENCE

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INTRODUCTION

Before I was appointed dean of the College of Law, Pres. Jose V. Abueva gave me the unusual opportunity to write my philosophy of legal education into the guiding principles of the College. He was kind enough to appoint me chairman of the Reorganization Committee of the University of the Philippines Law Complex. After several committee hearings and meetings, the committee, composed of about nine members from the law faculty, the law alumni, the administrative staff, and the students, came up with the following statement of guiding principles, which was later approved by the Board of Regents:

(1) The study and teaching of law must be integrated with the social sciences. It is only thus that law can be viewed as part of the social process, that is, as a system for the making of important decisions by society.

(2) Training in the Law Complex must be training in the public interest: it must be a continuous, conscious and systematic effort at policy decision-making, where important values of a democratic society are distributed and shared.

(3) The College of Law should aim to train lawyers who are not only superior craftsmen but also socially-conscious leaders who would be more interested in promoting the public interest than in protecting the private property rights of individual clients.

(4) To develop the professional skills of students and lawyers, the College of Law should not only impart substantive knowledge but it should also develop the basic working skills necessary for successful law practice, like analytical skills, communication skills, negotiating skills, as well as awareness of their institutional and non-legal environment.

(5) In order to enhance training for professional competence, legal education offered by the College of Law should be woven around a sense of purpose, as it is an accepted pedagogical truth that a sense of purpose eases the path of learning. Thus, students of law will more easily master legal doctrines and principles if they see these in relation to a given purpose and as tools for problem-solving, instead of just viewing them as diverse and disoriented rules and doctrines existing in a vacuum.

There was little or no politics in the framing of our statement of guiding principles. There could not have been much opportunity anyway, since the law creating the Law Complex mandates it "to be dedicated to teaching research, training, information and legal extension services to ensure a just society. It shall be responsive to the challenges of social change, and shall be relevant to the growing legal and other law related needs of the Filipino people."

IS THE CASE METHOD IN LAW STUDY A SCIENCE?

But while there was no opposition in theory to the teaching of law as part of the social sciences, the statement flies in the face of reality. It also prescribes a method of teaching that departs radically from the method being used at present in the College of Law, which is the case method.

In fact, the structure and content of the law curriculum is hardly different from that when the College was founded in 1911. And the teaching method harks back to 1870 when Christopher Langdell of the Harvard Law School introduced the case method of law study.

The philosophy behind the case method is stated by Langdell himself:

> Law considered as a science, consists of certain principles or doctrines . . . the growth of which is to be traced in the main through a series of cases; and much the shortest and the best, if not the only, way of mastering the doctrine effectively is by studying the cases in which it is embodied. But the cases which are useful and necessary for this purpose at the present day bear an exceedingly small proportion to any that have been reported. The vast majority are useless, or worse than useless, for any purpose of systematic study . . . It seems to me, therefore, to be possible to take such a branch of law as Contracts, for example, and without exceeding comparatively moderate limits, to select, classify and arrange all the cases which had contributed in any important degree to the growth, development or establishment of any of its essential doctrines.[1]

The Langdellians, eager to jump into the bandwagon of science that was then starting to become intellectually fashionable, advanced the theory that law study was science, arrived at through the inductive method. "Under this system," wrote one of his disciples, "the student must look upon the law as science consisting of a body of principles to be found in adjudged cases, the cases being to him what the specimen is to the geologist."[2]

It was thus, that in the US from 1870 to about 1920s, the science of the law meant the doctrinal analysis of cases on a given subject. Papers on law were treatises analyzing and even critiquing legal principles laid down in leading cases. But at least by 1870, the study of law had latched on to the scientific method, and the law professors shifted their allegiance from mysticism to science.

Before this, the study of law was undertaken by a priestly class of scholars who derived this tradition from the Continental universities in Europe and who, in turn, inherited this from the medieval monks. Thus, law study was a ritualistic and mystical exercise which consisted of memorizing codal provisions and laws taught ex cathedra by monkish professors. Here, the relationship between law and religion was emphasized by the law teachers to compel obedience to law through the use of hellfire and brimstone. No wonder one realist professor branded this approach to law as "transcendental nonsense".

The case method is coupled with the so-called "Socratic" dialogue between teacher and student. Here the professor leads the student to elicit the principle from each case assigned to him by asking the latter about the facts of the case, the position taken by the litigants, the issues before the court, the ruling and the reasoning employed by the judge. A famous professor, George Stigler, had observed that, originally, the Socratic method involved a teacher sitting on one end of a log and talking with a student at the other end. But sometimes it is more productive, according to Stigler, to sit on the student and talk to the log.

Langdell thought very strongly that a law school should become part of a university and not remain a separate institution.

> If printed books are the ultimate sources of all legal knowledge — if every student who would obtain any mastery of the law as a science must resort to these ultimate sources, and if the only assistance which it is possible for the learner to receive is such as can be afforded by teachers who have travelled the same road before him, — then a university, and a university alone, can afford every possible facility for teaching and learning law.[3]

Note that Langdell's reason for integrating law study into the university has very little to do with the role of law in the social sciences. While his inductive method placed law at par with the other sciences then emerging in the sense that the study of law became part of the grand experiment in education and learning, it has not located law in the company of the more empirical social sciences. For the fact is that Langdell did not for a moment look at law as part of the social sciences. He looked at law as a self-contained and independent discipline, saying that "Unless law was a package capable of rational analysis within its own confines it has no business being in the university." It is surprising how an accomplished master of logic like Langdell could have committed this *non sequitur*.

That is why there were skeptics who questioned Langdell's assumptions. Thorstein Veblen, for one, remarked that "law schools belong in the modern university no more than a school of fencing or dancing".[4]

But the objections to the case method in law have nothing to do with the pragmatism of fencing or dancing schools. On the contrary, the method is thought to be too abstract and intellectual, too preoccupied with the search for fundamental principles that would bring stability and certainty to the law, with little or no regard for its actual application in real life. And, of course, it has not departed from the Victorian worldview of the positivists that law, finding its basis in reason, is an independent and self-contained discipline unrelated to the other sciences.

Why Approach Law as a Social Science?

It was the realist movement in law which delivered a significant blow to the case method in the arena of legal education. By the 1930s, the realists had come to realize that reason was not such a reliable guide to moral understanding, nor was it a powerful guide to law. According to realists John Chipman Gray and Justice Holmes, the method isolated cases from their social and historical context and failed to take into account the factors that caused the evolution of legal principles. The realists considered law as a process of legal observation, comparison, and criticism instead of an exact science of value-free principles. "The life of the law has not been logic; it has been experience," said Justice Holmes.

The thrust of the realist movement, insisting on scientific prediction of how the judges would decide, moved law study closer to the social sciences. As Justice Holmes himself said:

> No one will ever have a philosophic mastery over the law who does not habitually consider the forces outside of it which have made it what it is. More than that, he must remember that as it embodies the story of the nation's development through many centuries, the law finds its philosophy not in self-consistency, which it must always fail in so long as it continues to grow, but in history and the nature of human needs. As a branch of anthropology law is an object of science; the theory of legislation is a scientific study.[5]

Further, in civil law countries like the Philippines, the case method of study had a very tenuous hold, except possibly in the University of the Philippines, not only because of the incompatibility of the approach with the system based primarily on legislation, but also for lack of materials. And the expansion of the law as a result of the progressive movement dealt another blow to the case method, with the trend towards codification and the development of administrative law copied from Continental Europe. As A.V. Dicey, Vinerian Professor of Law at Oxford and Langdell's bulldog in England, observed, the social justice movement which emerged at the turn of the century demanded legislation to change the common law so as to solve pressing social problems of society, and each law, in turn, gave rise to a new public opinion giving rise to stronger demands for more radical legislation.[6]

In the universities of the First World, the social sciences may be going out of fashion, i.e., they have lost their interest and evangelical fervor, as Allan Bloom has put it. Where before the social sciences, like economics, sociology, anthropology, psychology, and political science, were august and imperial names in the realm of scientific knowledge, they are now pale shadows in the intellectual landscape, eclipsed by the second coming of the physical and natural sciences.

The situation may be slightly different with law, for it was only recently that it has been discovered to be a social science. The stab of enlightenment suddenly hit jurists and law professors so hard that they have been goaded to call law "the Queen of Social Sciences"[7] in a spirit of partisan hyperbole characteristic of lawyers.

Of course we are in the Third World, and we are supposed to be at least a century behind the First World, and in the realm of science, perhaps even more.

But I am not advocating the teaching of law as a social science just because it is the fad among the law schools in the First World. It is time, I think, that the College of Law should break tradition and deviate from its hidden curriculum of producing an elite professional class catering to the needs of the establishment. But the fact remains that in the Third World, especially in countries that have been colonized by Western powers, laws have been imported wholesale by the colonial powers on the subject people. Sometimes, the result

is a gaping disparity between life and the law, between reality and rules. The laws that have been imposed by colonial authorities on the native peoples did not fit the latter. This is what happened to the Philippines and in some other countries.

In the Philippines, there is an urgent need to approach law as a social science in view of our colonial past. Law in our country is of course a product of our history. Since we were colonized for over 400 years, the colonial powers imposed their laws upon us without regard to our customs and traditions as a people. Furthermore, our law is written in a foreign language which the majority of our people do not understand. Since we lived for 350 years under the Pope and 50 years under Hollywood, as one American wag put it, we have to re-examine the roots of our legal culture and see if it accords with the spirit of the people. The laws of any country are the product of its culture and its history; if these are merely imported wholesale into the country, they will not be an effective instrument for social control.

Now, the problem in social reform is proving the basic premises. It is here, I think, where the tools of the social sciences serve us in good stead, for they give us a good grasp of reality. It is only the methodology of social science which can validate our social and political premises on which to base the conclusion that the law always lags behind social and economic developments; if utilized properly, its methodology cuts through the fig leaf of legal fictions to reveal the revolting realities in the operation of laws. It is through empirical research that we pierce the veil of traditional legal rules to see if the implementation of laws lead to substantial justice, or injustice. It is only social science expertise which can strip our jurisprudence of its cherished myths adopted from foreign sources and bring it down to earth, in touch with the mores of the people whose behavior it seeks to regulate or control.

Once we know how laws stand in the way of social reform, or how far it has lagged behind economic and political developments, we can propose adjustments to effect social change. If we see that people empowerment is just an empty shibboleth, we can propose legal reform aimed at greater distribution of political power. If we see the effectiveness of groups against warlords and vested interests, then knowledge of the law can be harnessed by non-governmental

groups to access governmental power or to influence the private business sector.

USING THE TOOLS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE IN LAW

This approach to the law views it as a multi-disciplinary phenomenon — historical, social, economic, political, religious, psychological and anthropological. This will not, of course, merge the study of law with that of the social sciences, for law does not have that precision of methodology that characterizes the other social sciences. But it will broaden the study of law, so that it will not be presented as an independent branch of study. Law will cease to exist in a vacuum, and it will be studied with the best insights that the related behavioral sciences can offer.

This method will also emphasize to the law student the role of law in the social order, its functions of defining interpersonal relationships and of redefining such relationship in the light of social changes, the legal institutions created for such changes, and how society adapts to social change. This will also give the study of the law a double-focus, so that the students will study not only the tools of the law but also its ends. This will underline the study of the values underpinning the legal system and the relationship of the means to the ends. While the study of values will reveal the lack of precision of the legal method, it will shed light on the ends sought to be attained by the law in the "constant tension between stability and change, freedom and security, history and logic, ideal justice and justice in practice."[8] A professor advocating this approach lists seven central problems which circumscribe the main subject matter of the study of law in relation to the social sciences:

(1) The relation between law and social type;
(2) The functions of law in society;
(3) The modes of operation of law;
(4) The creation, development, and evolution of law;
(5) Law, culture, and the main social institutions;
(6) Law and social change; and
(7) Law and law personnel.[9]

This list of problems is comprehensive enough to show to us how law would relate to the social sciences of anthropology, sociology, political science, psychology and economics.

But these general prescriptions for the marriage of law and the social sciences, while easy to make, are difficult to achieve. First, the members of the law faculty will have to acquaint themselves with the tools of the related social sciences, which will take at least a generation of teachers. Second, the law school must expand beyond mere teaching and research and go into outreach and extension services. Its faculty must be endowed with the necessary empirical outlook and experience which they will transmit to their students.

While the social sciences are concerned with the behavior of individuals and groups in society, law is concerned with the control and regulation of human conduct and promulgation of rules to guide behavior in socially beneficial ways. The approach of the social sciences is thus different from that of law.

For example, the clinical method or even the case method of teaching law focuses on the particulars of a case at hand. On the other hand, the social sciences focus on the statistics of a class of cases which are in some important ways similar to a particular case at hand. The law teacher looks at the trees; the social scientist looks at the forest. It is easy to guess who will mistake the trees for the forest. Even someone who does not profess to be a social scientist, Vice-President Erap Estrada, proved to be more adept in following the advise of Felix Cohen, who suggested that legal scholars should use statistical methods in analyzing and predicting judicial behavior.[10] Thus, Erap beat the Supreme Court in uncovering the activities of the "magnificent seven" trial judges in Makati Regional Trial Courts by studying the pattern of judicial decisions in prohibited drug cases and observing the consistency of exonerations of the accused. He saw the big picture because he did not concentrate on the minute details of each case.

The most popular example of the use of social science data is the case of *Brown* v. *Board of Education*.[11] The issue was complex: Does segregation of public school children solely on the basis of race deprive them of equal educational opportunities? The U.S. Supreme Court resorted to psychological data and found that (1) there is psychological harm to black schoolchildren in a segregated

environment; (2) there are certain intangible factors which produce a superior learning environment in integrated schools, and (3) public schools play a critical role in contemporary society.[12]

The use of field experiments in law could demolish assumptions in law which do not hold water, or could establish new factual bases for rule-making. For example, we can question the efficacy of the adversarial system as a means of resolving disputes in the Philippines. The field experiment was used in a project on court referral for mediation conducted last year by the College of Law under Prof. Alfredo Tadiar. This project was undertaken to assist the judiciary in relieving it of its caseload backlog, which was 153,002 as of 1991. Two research sites, one urban and one rural, were selected to represent two social settings for the project. Participating courts were selected, mediators were appointed, and litigants were apprised of the experiment. The experiment was conducted for about one year by the project staff to determine the feasibility of mediation as a mode of alternative dispute resolution. Actual mediation proceedings were conducted regularly by the trained mediators. Of the 236 cases referred for mediation in the provincial project site, 71 were settled, 157 were returned, and eight were dismissed, showing a success rate of 31.14 percent. In the urban project site, however, of the 17 cases referred, only two cases were settled and 15 returned. The following conclusions were arrived at:

(1) Mediation is more feasible in the provincial areas than in the urban areas.
(2) Litigants usually defer to the mediator's age, rank, or status in the community.
(3) Retired officials make ideal mediators.
(4) Elderly women make good mediators.
(5) Money claims and those arising from contracts are most susceptible to mediation.
(6) Concensus-building is an important part of the mediation process.

After the experiment, the College proposed to the Supreme Court an amendment to the Rules of Court to provide for mediation of disputes in provincial areas and for the creation of special courts for disposition of money claims and actions based on contracts.

It is always better to test the underlying assumptions of the laws with the standards of the empirical sciences. As two psychologists have noted:

> Traditionally, the behavioral technology of the law is laid down in legislation in civil law countries and in precedents in common law countries . . . Underlying these rules are assumptions of how individuals behave and how their behavior can be regulated. Since these assumptions are about the behavior of individuals, they are available for empirical research and testing . . . Altogether, however, only scattered and isolated assumptions of the law are tested, usually aiming at direct application in the courtroom.[13]

Empiricism and Social Values in Law

I would not, however, be so brash as to advocate the teaching of law completely by social science methods. In the first place, it cannot be done for two reasons: one, the style and form of the current national bar examinations would not permit this, such examinations being a test of the student's knowledge of legal doctrines; and two, it would be inconsistent with the nature of the law itself, which cannot be studied totally free from values and morals. Law is essentially normative, and a study of law delves into policy considerations behind the law. It cannot be limited by the methodology of value-free empiricism in the social sciences if we define empiricism in the context of morals and politics. Law must go beyond knowledge gathered by the senses; it must both be descriptive and prescriptive. And there are strong pressures that impinge on law schools for law reform, especially on state-supported institutions.

One example is the clinical legal education program. As pointed out by the president of Rutgers University, Prof. Edward Bloustein, it was the moral unease of the Sixties searching for political and social relevance that caused the revival of the clinical legal program.[14] The palpable objective of the program was to extend the law school's responsibilities to society and to decrease the traditional emphasis on preparing students for corporate practice. With respect to the

legal aid clinic of the UP College of Law, its objectives are just as sublime: (1) to provide free legal services to those who cannot afford them; (2) to provide law interns practical experience and learning opportunities from actual handling of problems, albeit confined to those faced by the poor; (3) to conscienticize them to the plight of the poor and oppressed sectors of society; (4) to help improve the administration of justice by filing test cases; and (5) to assist in law reform activities.

The clinical method of legal education compels law students to focus on the judicial and administrative process and to apply scientific methods to the making and prediction of decisions. Here the students realize the necessity for objective and external observation of law, that empirical data could be used to assist in solving legal controversies, and that scientific techniques could be useful decisional methods. Ultimately, the conscienticized student who is exposed to reality will soon realize that the law can be a vehicle for social transformation. This method gives the student a proper understanding of the law in the light of social realities and in the context of the social environment. If he sees the law as laudable in theory but oppressive in practice, he will soon agitate for social change.

The interface of the instruments of social science with values is most revealing in law because such instruments may demonstrate the inequity behind seemingly neutral legal constructs. For example, the constitutional ideal of equality is certainly more than a cruel legal fiction in the light of economic realities in our society; as Anatole France once observed, the law, in all its majesty, prohibits the rich and the poor alike to beg on the streets and to sleep under the bridges. We do not even have to use the tools of social science to realize the irony of this delusion. In fact, the studies of social scientists show that in a society based on the principle of legal equality, the bulk of the people actually live under a regime of practical inequality. This is due to four factors working in favor of those who hold economic resources: (1) the different strategic position of the parties; (2) the role of lawyers; (3) the institutional facilities, and (4) characteristics of the legal rules favoring the 'haves'.[15]

There are also intellectual traditions in the social sciences that can operate to stimulate social changes. Since legal training is steeped

in the tradition of conservatism, dislike for differing views, and adherence to the status quo, it will hardly initiate social change. "The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house," said Audrey Lorde. The atmosphere of testing as well as experimentation in the social sciences can be an inspiration for questioning in law that will lead to legal reform. "Lawyers have much to learn from social change activists, who often work outside the formal legal and political systems to create institutions to address what they think the law ignores," writes a law professor, Martha Minow.[16]

It is not only the methodology of the social sciences that is useful in law, but even the concepts developed therein. For instance, if law is viewed in terms of power, then the students will get to know how law is linked to those who hold the levers of power in our society. This "economic interpretation of law," as Dean Pound calls it, sees law in terms of a system of rules imposed on men by the dominant class in a given society for the furtherance of their interests.[17] "So when it comes to the development of a corpus juris, the ultimate question is what do the dominant forces of the community want and do they want it hard enough to disregard whatever inhibitions stand in the way," Justice Holmes once wrote to Dr. Wu.[18] Seen in this light, law becomes a legalizing principle for the imposition of the wants of the dominant groups over the subject classes or the rest of society. For the ruling groups possess what Charles Merriam calls "the monopoly of legality" which enables them to utilize governmental systems of power for their own ends. In a mass democracy, the more numerous groups can also utilize law as an instrument to pass laws and codes for their own benefit. But first they must get to see law as an instrument of policy, not as an independent body of rules handed down by divine decrees or by the colonial powers.

Social Science Opportunities in the Curriculum

The main obstacle to the introduction of social science courses in the law curriculum in the Philippines is the qualifying bar examinations, which is given by the Supreme Court every year. The bar examinations are a test of the student's knowledge of the law in almost all areas, divided into subjects - civil law, political law,

international law, criminal law, commercial law, procedural law, land titles and deeds, taxation, labor law, and legal ethics.

From this doctrinal classification, one can readily see that law is seen as a set of enduring principles and rules existing independently of any social environment. It is seen as a determinate collection of rules divided as to subject, and which the student is expected to memorize and apply offhand if he is confronted with a legal problem.

In view of this requirement of the Supreme Court, all law schools find it irrelevant or unnecessary to include the social study of law in their curricula. The emphasis of the law schools is on the 'pure' study of law, underscoring the analysis and application of the internal structure of the hierarchy of rules classified according to subject. This is a serious obstacle to the development of the social study of law.

Nonetheless, in the UP College of Law, we have a number of courses that focus on the relationship between law and society and that utilize the tools of the social sciences.

REQUIRED COURSES

Incoming freshmen, during the first semester, are required to take Law 115, Legal History, which traces the development of the world's legal systems, including Philippine indigenous law, and emphasizes their relation to the basic legal institutions of the Philippines. Depending on the professor's familiarity, the usual approach here is legal-historical is illustrated by Von Savigny, Maine, and Allen in the evolution of the law as a creation of cultural norms in a given society. It is also in this subject that the student comes to realize the relationship between law and social change.

Then we have Law 116, *Legal Method*, which deals with legal analysis, research techniques, rules of legal interpretation, and other aspects of the legal process. This subject starts with deductive and inductive science as tools of legal analysis, then takes up the various research techniques, including those from the other social sciences, such as the use of empirical data, experiments, measurements, and behavioral analysis.

In their second semester, freshmen students also take Law 117, *Legal Theory*. This course discusses the main schools of jurisprudential thought, with emphasis on the philosophical influences on the varying conceptions of ideal law and natural law and their impact on law as an instrument of procedural and substantive justice. This subject touches on the social sciences as it discusses the various schools of jurisprudence and the different currents of thought that have given rise to them, such as sociology, anthropology, psychology, history, and political science. The study of jurisprudence cannot be isolated from the social sciences, for these provide the basic ideological framework of the different legal theories.

Law 120, the *Legal Profession*, is a study of the history, sociology, and development of the legal profession and its role in Philippine society. Here emphasis is placed on the education and orientation of lawyers, their social prestige, their monopoly over judicial and legislative positions, their clientele, their political and other extralegal functions, and the subculture that they have developed.

In the third year, Law 118, *Medical Jurisprudence*, deals with the intersection between law and medicine and as it acquaints law students with the discipline of medical science.

It is in the fourth year that Practicum 1 in the first semester and Practicum 2 in the second semester introduce the students to clinical legal education, as earlier described. The students, under the direction of a supervisor, run the legal aid clinic and handle actual cases in the courts and in administrative tribunals and agencies. These courses emphasize not only the different kinds of legal services (interviewing clients, drafting pleadings, trying cases, negotiating, counselling, field observing) but also alternative means of dispute resolutions (arbitration, mediation, and conciliation). The two clinical education courses count for 8 units.

Elective Courses

What has been discussed above are core or mandatory subjects for all students. In their second, third, and fourth years, however, students are allowed to take twenty units of electives, some of which approach the study of law from a social science viewpoint.

There is Law 132, *Philippine Indigenous Law,* which is an introduction to legal anthropology, with an emphasis on indigenous Philippine custom laws and their relevance to the national legal order. The course also examines how the existing laws of the country affect ethnic and cultural minorities in the Philippines. The student becomes aware of the relationship between law and culture and how far law is integrated into or dissociated from the native culture. The student also comes to realize different types of systems of law according to the different main types of societies.

The elective course on *Law and Poverty* which focuses on the political economy of development and traces continuities in the way power, and thus, law and legal institutions, have been used by dominant groups to maintain and legitimize economic relations and the allocation of resources. It inquires into how the legal system contributes to conditions which misallocate resources, cause poverty, and marginalize people. The central problems of social justice, differential access to resources, and legal development are studied. The focus of the course is on the question: What legal resources might be provided to help the poor create self-reliant, participatory structures for their own development? A corollary problem is how structural barriers (such as language, illiteracy, ignorance of legal procedure and one's basic rights under the Constitution, ignorance of labor and social legislation) can be minimized in order to reduce differential access to resource allocation.

The course on *Human Rights* deals with the concept of human rights in different polities and delves into three categories: (1) personal security, (2) civil and political rights, and (3) basic human needs. The course treats human rights as a legal and social reality, and the constitutional guarantees protecting these rights are examined, not only in theory, but also in practice with the use of data on human rights violations gathered by non-governmental groups.

NOTES

1. Langdell, "Introduction," *Cases on the Law of Contracts,* 1870.

2. Keener, "Preface," *Cases on the Law of Quasi-Contracts,* 1888.

3. Langdell, "Address to students," *Law Quarterly Review 3* (1887) :124-125.

4. Veblen, *Higher Learning in America,* 1918.

5. Holmes, "Book review on Langdell, *Cases on Contracts,*" *American Law Review* 14 (1880): 233,234.

6. Dicey, *Law and Opinion in England,* 1905.

7. See e.g., Bloustein, "Social responsibility, public policy, and the law school," *New York University Law Review* 55 (1980): 385, 416.

8. "Carrington Report," *Model Law Curriculum,* (1971): 59.

9. Dror, "Proglegomemon to a social study of law," *Journal of Legal Education* (1960): 131.

10. Cohen, "Transcendental nonsense and the functional approach," *College Law Review* 35, (1935): 809, 833.

11. 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

12. Siegel, "Race, education, and the equal protection clause in the 1990s," *Marquette Law Review* 74 (1991): 501.

13. Van Koppen, et. al., *Lawyers on Psychology and Psychologists on Law* (1988): 8.

14. Bloustein, "Social responsibility, public policy, and the law school." *New York University Law Review* 55 (1980): 385, 412.

15. Galanter, *Why the 'Haves' Come Out Ahead,* (1974): 124-125.

16. Minow, "Breaking the law: lawyers and clients in struggles for social change," *University of Pittsburgh Law Review* (1991): 723, 750.

17. Pound, *An Introduction to Philosophy of Law.* 1959: 187-188.

18. Shriver, ed. *Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes: His Book Notices and Uncollected Letters and Papers.* 1936: 187-188.

TOWARDS A 'POETIC' HISTORY OF FILIPINAS: THE THEME OF THE LOST COUNTRY

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Since 1984 when I began my research on Filipino poetry in English, my principal interest has been our people's internal or 'poetic' history. I look in our poetry for those images that we have of ourselves by which we recognize our nativity. We know our external history, and various readings of it, but the deeper significance must lie in how every generation remembers our past and dreams of our future, what images we create from our own scene and circumstances, what symbols and metaphors we find within ourselves to signify the way we think and feel, and justify the way we live.

Our poets have most to do in shaping in language that spiritual landscape. If then a country is essentially that act of imagination, it can fairly be said that our poets create our country. In fact, even to think of country is first to imagine it, for, in that way, the abstraction comes alive because connected with our day-to-day experience.

Obviously, language is all-important to the poet and yet, it isn't language that rules the work of imagination. Poetry is rather a power of the imagination in language by which language transcends itself. Our words, whether indigenous or adopted (from Malay, Chinese, Arabic, Spanish, English), have already become our eyes — our way of looking. Often, we see only what our words permit us to see; often because we are hardly aware of it, and only stand under the shade of our words' meaning when we think to understand. In our nationalistic eagerness, too, we tend to forget that our native languages have also been colonized; that is to say,

they are informed by other eyes. But the images, symbols, and metaphors that our words are made to serve may bear more than the words always mean beforehand. This is why I say that poetry is a use of language that transcends it; it ferries our soul across the essential void of words. *Hoc opus; his labor est.* The Latin word *versus* means a "furrow', suggesting that by cultivating a language, one creates a new clearing within it. We may also say "literary work", implying a working of the language under the pressure of one's sensibility and circumstances, as though language were a soil that may bear new crop.

Let me put it another way. If poetry innocently takes language as its means of representation, it would only reproduce the representation of reality that already inheres in language. So, language matters to poetry, not as mere medium, but as threshold to reality. That reality is our human reality of which any language is always and only a partial representation. Poetry passes beyond that representation by its power of evocation which transcends the words of the poem. The poem's words are the spoor of that transcendence.

We speak of a national language called Filipino, but forget its spiritual dimension — that is, its origin in our consciousness long before Quezon and its legislation. It is that consciousness as Filipinos, as a country, which enables us to see beyond our words (from whatever language), and to criticize their way of looking from the vantage point of a critical consciousness of present experience. The present is a gift, but only the imagination opens it. From the time we became aware that we were Filipinos — when in Barcelona and Madrid, our Propagandists wrestled with Spanish and our first colonizers — what we spoke and wrote carried our own sound, our own voice. It did not matter whether we spoke in, or wrought from, Spanish or Cebuano or Tagalog or Ilocano or Hiligaynon, because the medium did not divide our consciousness; what we spoke or wrote was, and always, Filipino, because we spoke and wrought from ourselves as Filipinos. We cannot but be ourselves, what we have become and will be.

The most important thing then is that spiritual dimension. It is our critical consciousness which enables us to see from within language, interrogating those spaces between word and thought, between image and feeling. It is by the creative imagination that

any language, Tagalog or English, is reinvented, or found again within, in our consciousness, today.

II

This century is English in our history — as the three centuries before were Spanish; English, I say, by which we saw things in another light, by which also we began to criticize that way of looking, and so created our own clearing within it — exactly as we did also with Spanish, in our various languages and in our literature from it.

If we remain colonials, it would now be chiefly our fault. We must free ourselves from language by passing beyond it to our native languages secreted from colonial eyes. We must learn to criticize the way of looking that inheres in a language. It is that way of looking that rules our thinking and our conduct. Let me illustrate how, if we cannot find ourselves, if we cannot grasp the world we daily create, it would now be chiefly our fault.

It is ironic that Prof. Edna Manlapaz and I should have come upon our first published verses in English at the American Embassy in Manila. This was sometime in 1985 during the course of our research for *Man of Earth* (Ateneo University Press, 1989). Before then, there was, as far as I know, no mention anywhere of Ponciano Reyes, "The Flood", nor any clue to its existence except Prof. Yabes' bibliographical notice on *The Filipino Student Magazine* (1905) as our first literary magazine.

For a long while, students of literature who were at all curious took it from Claudio C. Evangelio that "the earliest known poem written in English was Justo Juliano's 'Sursum Corda', which appeared in the *Philippine Free Press* in 1907" (Evangelio, "Filipino Pioneer Poets in English", *Sunday Times Magazine*, 21 June 1959, p. 27). We have not found that issue of the *Free Press*, but Evangelio thought in 1959 that the poem "is no longer available in its entirety" and that only "[one] complete stanza" of it had survived, which he quotes:

> A thousand better in the fields to die
> Fighting to the last, bravely and nobly,
> Than kiss the yoke of soulless Tyranny,
> Than live, thy land, thy home, trampled to see.

As a matter of fact, these are only four verses (11-90-93) of a much longer stanza! We found the poem whole in Jesus C. Olega's *Filipino Masterpieces: Collection of Prize Orations and Poems...* (Sta. Cruz, [Manila]: Juan Fajardo, [undated], pp. 96-99). The poem is a long rhetorical diatribe on America's betrayal of the Philippine Revolution of 1896; to quote a bit from 115 verses —

> That mighty Eagle from across the sea
> Came shedding patriots' blood, forced Liberty
> To give her key, and banished from this Isle
> Who will not yield, who will not reconcile.
> What could a handful do against a host? –
> Leonidas e'en perished, tho not lost!

"Tho not lost!" sounds, in that early poem, the Filipino's troubled quest for his country. "Sursum Corda!" is our first instance in English of a poet persecuted, not for his verses, but for his politics. The Poem was considered "seditious", and since the poet would not retract his slingshot against the mighty Eagle, he was "forced [says Olega] to resign as a government teacher." Julianus (the poet's pseudonym) then "attended university at Chicago," says Olega, and "[supported] himself by teaching Spanish" in that university. A double irony! Julianus escapes into the Eagle's roost and supports himself by teaching the language of his overthrown master.

Even as late as 1975 in Richard Croghan's *The Development of Philippine Literature (Since 1900)*, Julianus was still regarded as our "pioneer poet" in English. It is a small point but indicative: we were more knowledgeable about Anglo-American literature than of our own. Such was our foregetfulness that in 1940, SP Lopez and Arturo Rotor could dismiss almost a half-century of writing in English as mainly Romantic suspiration. We have little sense of our literary tradition, and sometimes, in the frenzy of nationalism, we dismiss those images of ourselves that we have forged in the colonial languages (as though our own were never colonized). The very subtlety of the colonial ravage must suggest to us that we would have to read very carefully our own works, to see just where the traps are, or have been; and we would have to be quite wary also of borrowed theories, Marxist, feminist or other intellectual imports, lest by their entrancing light we are disabled from seeing ourselves. Indeed, the whole thrust of *Man of Earth* and *A Native Clearing*

(ed. G. H. Abad; U.P. Press, 1993) is to restore our own texts to ourselves, not so much from the foreign scholar as from our own forgetfulness. It is only we who can interpret us truly to ourselves.

On the face of it, the "freshman compositions" (so to speak) in *Filipino Students' Magazine* didn't augur well for the spirit of independence: first, it was bilingual, English mainly, but also Spanish; next, the paper makes it clear that it would shun politics because it didn't feel itself competent; but third, at once contradicting itself, the first issue is dedicated to Theodore Roosevelt, "President of Our United States", as the paper says, with his full-page photo! and finally, the paper was short-lived because, as usual, other Filipino groups wanted their own paper.

And yet, for all that, the verses there are also another counter-diction, especially if we recognize that those Filipino students in Berkeley were pensionados, favored with scholarship grants from the American colonial government because they were the heirs of well-to-do families who had made their peace with the mighty Eagle. The subjects of those early verses are really what we might expect: love of country in Maria Romero's "Our Reasons in Study" and love for a sweetheart left in one's hometown in Rafael Dimayuga's "Forget Me Not", both lyric poems published in June 1905. But Ponciano Reyes' "The Flood", a long narrative poem of 42 verses which appeared in the first issue of the *Magazine* (April 1905), is most remarkable for its subject — the plight of our working people who live along the Pasig River when, during a storm, it overflows its banks. By that subject, the poem at once disproves the popular opinion on the "romantic" and escapist character of our early verses in English, and thematically begins an unbroken tradition of "committed" or "socially relevant" verse through Julianus and Procopio Solidum to Carlos Bulosan and Rafael Zulueta da Costa to Gelacio Guillermo and Alfrredo Navarro Salanga.

"The Flood" gives us our first image of the Filipino in our second colonial language: boat people, our common tao, fishers, farmers, traders, toiling on the Pasig under the threat of a coming storm. It is truly remarkable that in our first poem in English, in a foreign language whose idiom and syntax are still unfamiliar — for the year is 1905 — the poet's quest for the Filipino began with those among us who, without the writer, have no voice else.

III

My thesis is that we have only adopted Spanish or English for our use, and, sooner than later, hold the language to our purposes upon our native ground; in our use of the adopted language, our own way of thinking and feeling begins to inhabit it — and our own sense of our world then breaks the syntax of its way of looking.

We might see this again in our first important poet in English, Fernando Maramag. Maramag educated himself in his father's library. In 1912, when he was 19 years old, he wrote a sonnet called "Moonlight on Manila Bay". It should perhaps have been sunset because foreigners often rave over its deep splendor, but the poet chose moonlight, not because it would be more romantic, but because, as the poem itself suggests, it is under cover of darkness or, more precisely, under a deceitful light, that foreigners wrest our land from us.

For the Filipino poet, the sonnet is of course an alien form, as exotic as the haiku or ghazal; and the poem's language, as we have it, is strictly imitation of English Romantic and Victorian diction; yet, remarkably — in 1912 — both the sonnet form and the foreign poetic diction have become a vehicle for a native sensibility. The first part of the sonnet depicts a native scene as paradisal — a leap to a mythical time that prepares for the historical consciousness which informs the sonnet's concluding part:

> Not always such the scene: the din of fight
> Has swelled the murmur of the peaceful air;
> Here East and West have oft displayed their might;
> Dark battle clouds have dimmed this scene so fair;
> Here bold Olympia, one historic night,
> Presaging freedom, claimed a people's care.

East and West, Islam and Christianity, Spain, Chinese pirates, the Dutch and the English, and finally, America have all waged battles here to claim our soul. Although the poem's ruling sentiment is overtly pro-American, since we seem finally to belong to "bold Olympia", Dewey's flagship, still the poem insists upon our own "scene so fair" which our troubled history has only "dimmed". The opening verses, the dream of Eden, have in fact cleared the path to that insistence, and there remains an ambiguity to "a people's

care" which hangs upon a doubt the claim to "Benevolent Assimilation". Similarly, in a ballad by Procopio Solidum called "The Battle of Manila Bay", c1940, the celebration of Dewey's triumph is determined by the poem's opening verses where the narrator in the poem, on the eve of that mock battle, hears "the sea gulls saying: 'O happiest are the free.'" In both poems, the subverting irony may not have been apparent to the poet, but to us, reading them today, the quest for the lost country becomes quite poignant.

It is highly significant that Fernando Ma. Guerrero, the Poet of the Revolution of 1896, should have written verses in English. He was known as "El Maestro" to a generation of writers in Spanish whom he taught at the Liceo de Manila and at home — among them, Teodoro M. Kalaw, Claro M. Recto, Jesus Balmori, and Manuel Bernabe. But when he wrote in English, it was his lost country that found expression in the English words — as in an early poem, "Where Is My May?" (1914)

> My happy days have passed away,
> The hills and woods have lost their flowers
> Where is my May?
>
> ...
>
> I am alone, I eat my bread
> Away from you, so far away.

Or, in a poem five years before his death, "Come to Me!" (1924)

> Come to me, beloved Mother,
>
> ...
>
> Dead the things I deem the best,
>
> ...
>
> Come, and tell me why, when dreaming
> Found my heart a thorny way,
> Why my stars of yore a-gleaming
> Are extinguished all to-day

But in another poem, "Dedicated to the Veterans of the Philippine Revolution", which the poet calls "Freedom's Sword", 1925, he affirms *Inang Bayan*, which appears as the far-off star in the earlier poems —

The steel your hands have wielded,
Bathed in your country's tears,
Shall wound no more
Our foes of yore;

...

But peace ends not in its story,
Nor dulls with rust its blade,

...

That heritage, or bulwark
In all the days to be,

...

The heirloom of the free!

Thus, over the first half-century to the present, our verses show that the Filipino poet is looking for his country and forging a new language (from English or Spanish or our regional languages) to shape the new spiritual geography. In our literary history, Tagalog, say, or Spanish, or English, *Inang Bayan* has always been the poet's first Muse. Although America had vanquished us through her superior arms, we knew we had become responsible to a country we had lost.

IV

It is almost idle to ask why our writers should have written at all in Spanish, and later, in English. It isn't the case at all that they found our native languages inadequate. I think rather that in forging too our consciousness in the colonial languages, we were taming them — forcing, as it were, the spaces between those languages and ours, to yield us ourselves. We would face and recognize ourselves in those spaces between: ourselves, Indios, who having once found our country, would shape it to our will and desire. Writing in Spanish or English was also, I think, at bottom a deep unconscious form of protest against those subtle forces in those languages which sought to form our mind and sensibility; as such protest, the writing opens the language to its inherent limitations as only one way of looking.

In one of our earliest poets, Juan F. Salazar, we find this writer's ambition: "I cannot write with Shakespeare's pen," he says, "But I can love with Shakespeare's heart." The poem is called "Air Castles" (1910), as though to mock that ambition. Yet it is not self-mockery that motivates the poem, for the poet says, "I wear Achievement's coronet. For blest are they who see things done!" — but rather, a Filipino sense of modesty lest the poet's readers take offense at his "high resolve". Shakespeare is the genius, the presiding spirit of the English language; no writer in English can pretend to be equal with Shakespeare's pen. Yet what is it to "love with Shakespeare's heart"? It must simply be, as the poem suggests, a power to see those "moving passions come and go"; it must be that "skill and craft of men", the ability to see them as they are in life and action. And so, Salazar says most significantly, "I do not care for fame," such as Shakespeare has: "The depths he passed are dark to me, / But I will grope the ways he trod." The depths were dark indeed because the words were still purely English, and their subscript the English mind and the English sensibility which had informed those words from Latin and Greek, from Norman French and from other languages in the world which had been inhabited before by other minds and other sensibilities.

And so, at first, our writers groped in that dark where their colonial selves were formed to the English image — or more precisely, what America had made of English, so that its syntax and vocabulary carried the American grain. We became the happy subject of our English sentences, though from the beginning, they were constantly broken by our own native syntax — our way of thinking and feeling, our sense of our own reality; we were fascinated by English and American writers, they were our models and tutors in literature; but through English (as before, with Spanish, though to a more limited extent), we also became acquainted with the other writers and literatures of the world, West and East. It only remained for our critical consciousness to grow in the world's vineyard, for our creative imagination to nourish our sense of our own reality, by which to find our way in the dark (even the dark of our own native languages) and so establish our own native clearing. It isn't in any nation's destiny to be forever groping in the dark if the writers and poets, by the power of imagination, overcome their exile from language.

V

But our colonization, by the languages we have assimilated, cannot be gainsaid. When, twenty-years after Salazar, Toribia Mano in a poem "On Shelley", 1933, aspires to the English Romantic's pathway —

> If I could speak with Shelley's breath
> The skylark's song, the haunts of death,
> The maples redd'ning in the fall,
>
> ...
>
> I would not curse a storm or squall,
> For Shelley would have loved them all!

— it is clear that the poet has become a happy subject in the English clearing. One cannot doubt the same happy subjection of mind and sensibility in Virgilio Floresca's "I Take My Palgrave", 1943 —

> I take my Palgrave from the bamboo shelf,
> My lone companion in this solitude
>
> ...
>
> In its enchanted world my freed self
> Finds fair Love in love-sequestered bower;
> With young Lochinvar I defy the Netherby tower;
> Bold knights I glimpse, lords, ladies, goblin, elf.
> I listen: in moonlit glen the nightingale
> Pours forth the ancient woe in Thracian vale;
> Now while the holy Christmas-tide draws near,
> I stand in Milton's happy morn, and hymn
> My lyric joy with the quiring Seraphim.
> The pages turn, — drown'd Lycidas claims a tear.

The poem is a celebration of English poetry, but that Palgrave's anthology is "my lone companion" only doubles the native's "solitude" because there is no awareness of its cause. That cause is the isolation from one's nativity, so complete that the source of alienation is in fact celebrated. The "enchanted world" becomes a place rather of enchainment, and secretes the irony in the poet's illusion of a "freed self". Here, truly, in the very realm of imagination, if we recall Maramag, "Olympia claimed a people's care." Yet it is

also fair to ask whether, when Keats read Chapman, Homer had not claimed England? Or to ask how an Englishman should have felt "like stout Cortez ... Silent, upon a peak in Darien." So, then, the claim is perhaps, above all other considerations, only the soul's upon all the world's spiritual riches by which no one, certainly, is diminished. In this light, Floresca's bamboo shelf becomes, rather than a pathetic site of alienation, much more than a place of enchantment; and so, when he speaks of "my freed self", we can still see beyond this temporal irony to the possibilities of spiritual freedom upon which the creative imagination has the superior claim.

And when Tarrosa Subido laments our spiritual loss when we submitted to learning the English language —

> They took away the language of my blood,
> Giving me one "more widely understood."
> More widely understood! Now Lips can never
> Never with the Soul-of-Me commune:
> Moments there are I strain, but futile ever,
> To flute my feelings through some native Tune...
> Alas, how can I interpret my Mood?
> They took away the language of my blood.
>
> ...
>
> These words I speak are out of pitch with ME!
> That other Voice? ... Cease longing to be free!
>
> ...
>
> Forever shalt thou cry, a muted god:
> "Could I but speak the language of my blood!"

— she misconceives the deepest nature of language — and poetry. First, language is only a system of representation; it isn't the reality itself. We need not be its prisoners. Neither is there warrant for valorizing language as an insidious machine that shapes the mind beyond its power to criticize the gaps between language and experience. "The language of my blood" is that experience, the reality beyond the words, the reality of which even the poem is the mere evocation. The poetry — that which is evoked — is that which transcends the poem's text. It is "that other voice" which sets us free because the poetic moment "opens to the intuition all that language refuses" (as Yves Bonnefoy puts it). The words — whatever the

language — shall always be "out of pitch with ME" because "my feelings, my Mood" are my first language for which any natural language, whether English or Tagalog, has always to be reinvented and transfigured. Transfigured: that is to say, carried across and beyond the figures that are already given in and by the language we employ. This is to be free from language and its illusions since it can only be a partial re-presentation; and so rescued from language, poetry opens us, our consciousness, to its deepest intuitions of which our words and their meanings are shadowy abstractions.

"But learn," says Cirilo Bautista in a poem "Addressed to Himself", 1968 —

> to distrust language that we
> In constant dreams deem the only fact,
> Kill it in seduction or heraldry
> So eagle-like you may invent your act;
> Then think you walk in a world of thrall,
> Where Beauty walks too but does not look back.
>
> Crossing the foggy fjords of the skull.

A language is a people's dream of reality; there we sleep and "walk in a world of thrall." To wake up, we must first recognize the world in the language as dream. Poetry rejects the dream; by the poem's words, borrowed from the dream but recognized as its figments, it restores our soul's sense of our reality in our day-to-day world "where Beauty walks too but does not look back" because what is already past is dream. The present is nowhere — now and here. To grasp it is to "cross the foggy fjords of the skull" — to travel across the words' fleeting shadows.

VI. REPRISE

I found it strangely fateful afterwards that *A Native Clearing* should have ended with a poem by Cirilo Bautista, "Written in Stratford-upon-Avon", 1987. In the anthology, the poem's placement was simply a result of chronology; neither was it Bautista's intention to respond directly to Juan Salazar's "Air Castles" in 1910! But the poem demonstrates beyond further argument a poet's critical consciousness by which he overcomes the necessary exile (or death) from every

language. I need no longer burden my reader with the poem's analysis; let me just quote what I feel to be the most pertinent passages. Addressing the bard of Avon, Bautista says —

...

...But your text, the script
that enwraps your body's verges, inhabits
our waking hours to subvert their sanity....

...

My speech grows roots, flying from your voice,
searching for silence to slash the thickness
of my disbelief. I dislocate my ancestry
in obeisance to yours — my art is fraught
with danger at every turn. But I will not
have you burn my blood, no, I did
my dying long ago,

...

Your discourse pulls the water
from the sea and drowns the moon in Abu Dhabi,

...

...language flexing
its muscles, no doubt, locking in antique
boxes our singing thoughts.

...

...The dark
solidifies our resolve to cut a door
through your heart, crawl in the void, and dissolve
in language's disguises, until the verbal silence
propels our faces to Asia. Oh, Asia, Asia,
Asia! Asia loads my mind with grief,
tears me to pieces, here in this English
masquerade. For this serenade
thousands eat porridge on the run
in my country, fleeing from the turmoil
of nationhood....

...

...You do not make me
forget them, no, the mouths in want of rice
and voice in need of grammar, the fire

and pestilence and decline that wear
democracy's clothes, though you beguile me

with castellated paradoxes and seachests
filled with sunsets. Oh, I must die again
to deny your magic, I have no gesture to break
the fact that we must feed on your flesh
for salvation. I walk your streets

with strings pulling my bones, my sadness
floundering in the festival of your death.

MASTERPLAN SA PAGDIRIWANG NG SENTENARYO NG REBOLUSYON 1896+

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INTRODUKSYON

Dalawang taon na lamang at ipagdiriwang na natin ang unang dantaon ng ating pagkabansa. Sa alinmang bansang nagtamo ng kalayaan, ang pinakamahalagang pagtuunan ng pansin ay ang *simula* at *simulain* nito, sapagkat ang mga ito ang siyang nagbigay-bunga sa mga bagay na kasalukuyang tinatamasa. Kung kaya't kasama sa mga pahahalagahan natin sa ating pagdiriwang bilang bansa sa 1996 ang mga orihinal na konsepto ng kapatiran, tapat na kalooban at katarungang ibinandila ng Rebolusyong Pilipino noong 1896.

ANG PAGHAHANDA

Ang sentenaryo ng ating pagkabansa ay nakatuon sa 1996, ngunit ngayon pa lamang ay marami nang mga pangangailangang dapat paghandaan. Unang-una ay ang pananaliksik ng mga impormasyon tungkol sa mga martir, mga bayaning lokal at mga insidenteng istorikal. Kasama na dito ang isang kumprehensibong bibliograpiya. Dapat ding kolektahin mula sa Espanya at sa iba pang mga lugar ang iba't ibang mga dokumento ukol dito.

+ Inihanda ni Jaime B. Veneracion, Ph.D., Tagapangulo ng Departamento ng Kasaysayan, Unibersidad ng Pilipinas, mula sa ulat ng limang pangkat ng delegado sa Unang Pambansang Kumperensiya sa Pagpaplano ng Sentenaryo ng Rebolusyong 1896, sa Adamson University, Hulyo 23, 1993, sa pagtataguyod ng National Commission on Culture and the Arts (NCCA).

Pangalawa, may mga proyektong infrastruktura, tulad ng mga "museong bayan" at isang Pambansang Museo para sa Rebolusyon, mga arko sa mga lalawigan at mga *kilometric markers*, na dapat nang simulang pondohan. Dapat na makapagtayo sa bawat lalawigan ng isa man lamang museo na alay sa Rebolusyon.

Pangatlo, dapat nang maghanda ng mga gamit para sa popularisasyon ng diwa ng pagdiriwang na gaganapin, una na rito ang *logo* ng sentenaryo, ang awiting sentenaryo at ang mga kasabihan ng mga bayani na ilalagay sa mga *marker*, arko at *kilometric marker*. Sa kaso ng pagpili ng *logo*, dapat nang pag-isipan kung idadaan ito sa isang pambansang paligsahan o magbubuo na lamang ng isang maliit na komite para sa bagay na ito. Kailangan ring maghanda ng isang *primer* para sa mga manggagawang kultural.

Pang-apat, kailangang magbuo kaagad ng isang Pambansang Lupon na kinikilala ng pamahalaan upang maglikom ng isang pambansang pondo (*national fund*) na siyang tutulong sa NCCA sa larangan ng popularisasyon, pananaliksik at implementasyon ng isang *Masterplan* para sa Sentenaryo sa lahat ng sektor. Maaaring hilingin sa Kongreso na isabatas ang pagbubuo ng Lupong ito. Ang Lupon ang siyang maghahain sa Kongreso o tutulong dito sa paggawa ng panukalang batas na magpapabilis sa implementasyon ng mga paghahandang ito, laluna yaong may kinalaman sa pananaliksik at infrastruktura.

ANG NILALAMAN NG *MASTERPLAN*

Ang *Masterplan* ng Sentenaryo ay para sa buong taon ng 1996. Nasa estilo ito ng isang kalendaryo; magsisimula sa pagbubukas ng selebrasyon sa Enero at magtatapos ito sa isang malaking pagdiriwang sa buwan ng Disyembre. Ang isang taong pagdiriwang ay hindi isesentro sa isa lamang lugar. Bagkus gaganapin ito mula sa barangay hanggang sa Kamaynilaan, na siyang magiging tampulan nito. Isang taon itong tuluy-tuloy na pagdaraos ng mga paligsahan, palabas-kultural at paggunita sa lahat ng dako ng kapuluan.

Dahil sa ang layunin ng sentenaryo ang isangkot ang bawat Pilipino, buwan-buwan ay may tampok na sektor na aalayan ng pagdiriwang: mga taal na katutubo, magsasaka at manggagawa,

mananampalataya, propesyonal, tauhang gobyerno at negosyante, migrante at balikbayan, kababaihan, kabataan at mga maralitang taga-lunsod.

Kasama sa mga pag-aalay na ito ay ang mga palabas na kultural, mga kumperensiya, paglulunsad ng aklat at pagkilala sa mga natatanging kinatawan ng iba't ibang sektor sa nakaraang dantaon ng ating pagiging bayang Pilipino. Inaasahang ang mga magsisipamahala ng mga pagkilalang ito ay magbubuo ng kani-kanilang mga paraan, programa at kriteryang gagamitin sa pagpili ng kani-kanilang mga pararangalan.

Kasaysayang Batayan

Upang lalong maunawaan ang kasaysayang batayan ng pagtatakda ng mga pangalan ng bawat buwan at ng mga sektor na inaalayan, narito ang ilang halimbawa.

Sa unang buwan ng Sentenaryo, sa Enero, nais na itampok ang pinagbukalan natin bilang lahi. Saan tayo nagsimula sa ating pagiging taal na Pilipino?

Natunton natin ang mga yungib at kabundukan bilang sagradong lagakan ng ating mga ninuno, gayundin ng kanilang mga pagpapahalaga. Ang taong Tabon ay ang kauna-unahang *fossil* na Pilipino. Gayundin, hanggang ngayon, kinikilalang sagrado ang mga bundok tulad ng Banahaw (Quezon), Sinukuan (Pampanga) at Bundok ng Diwata (Agusan). Noong mga 1890, ang mga Katipunero ay nagkuta sa mga kuweba ng Montalban (Rizal), Minuyan at Biyak-na-Bato (Bulakan).

Sa pagsisimula ng pagdiriwang ng Sentenaryo, maaari nating iugnay ang pangangalaga ng mga kuweba at kabundukan — ang palasak na "*environmentalism*". Hindi naman ito hiwalay sa paninindigan ng Katipunan na nilinaw ni Andres Bonifacio sa kanyang tulang, "Pag-ibig sa Tinubuang Lupa".

Ang pagdiriwang naman sa Pebrero ay ang paggunita sa pagkalathala ng *La Solidaridad* noong Pebrero 15, 1889. Bagama't nagwakas ito noong 1895, kaagad naman itong pinalitan ng pahayagang *Kalayaan*. At upang ipakita ang pagkaugnay ng *La*

Solidaridad sa *Kalayaan*, ginawa pa ring patnugot si Marcelo H. Del Pilar ng huli, gayong ang tunay na naglathala nito ay ang batang estudyanteng si Emilio Jacinto. Kung gayon, dapat lamang na kilalanin natin silang kapwa.

Pagdating ng Marso, ang pagdiriwang ay nakatuon naman sa kababaihan. Sa pagkakataong ito, ang ginugunita ay ang pagkatatag noong Marso, 1993 ng unang sangay ng Katipunan para sa mga kababaihan. Sa buwan ding ito ikinasal sina Gregoria de Jesus at Andres Bonifacio. Sa pagkakataon ring ito nabinyagan si Gregoria ng pangalang "Lakambini".

Sa kanyang talambuhay ay inilahad ni Gregoria de Jesus kung paano mabuhay ang isang babaing Katipunero:

> Nang ako'y kasama ng mga kawal ng naghihimagsik sa parang ng digmaan ay wala akong pangiming sumuong sa anumang kahirapan at sa kamatayan man ... at palibhasa'y kasama ako at sumaksi sa maraming laban, kaya't kabilang din akong isa sa mga kawal at upang maging ganap na kawal, ako'y nagsanay ng pagsakay sa kabayo at nag-aral na mamaril at humawak ng ilang uri ng sandata na nagamit ko rin naman sa maraming pagkakataon, napagdanasan ko rin naman ang matulog sa lupa nang walang kinakain sa buong maghapon, uminom sa mga labak ng maruming tubig o kaya'y katas ng isang uri ng baging sa bundok na tutuong mapakla na nagiging masarap din dahil sa matinding uhaw.

Sa mga sumusunod pang buwan ng pagdiriwang, hindi nakalimutan ang mga ilustrado, mga balikbayan at, higit sa lahat, ang mga martir ng ating pagiging isang bayan. Sa 1996 ay pang-sandaang taon ng kamatayan nina Jose Rizal, Marcelo H. Del Pilar at Graciano Lopez Jaena.

Tungkol sa mga balikbayan, nais nating sariwain ang patriotismo ng mga marinong sina Francisco Castillo at Candido Iban, na nagbigay ng isang donasyon mula sa kanilang napanalunan sa isang loteriya sa Australya upang mailathala ang pahayagang *Kalayaan*. Pagkatapos nito, kapwa silang nagtatag ng sangay ng Katipunan sa Panay. Sa kasamaang palad, kaagad silang nadakip at ipinapatay ng mga Kastila sa pamamagitan ng *firing squad*.

Ang mga halimbawang ito ay lalo pang mapagyayaman sa tulong ng mga mananaliksik na magbibigay ng sariwang datos pangkasaysayan.

Ang *Masterplan*

Tulad ng nabanggit na, ang *Masterplan* ng Sentenaryo ay parang kalendaryong nahahati sa labindalawang buwan ng taong 1996. Ang bawat buwan ay may sariling taguri, tema, pangunahing aktibidad at mangungunang tagapamahala.

Ang buwan ng Enero ay ang "Paglulunsad ng Sentenaryo". Ang tema nito ay ang "*Pagtuklas muli sa mga taal na katutubo bilang batayan ng ating pagiging bayan.*"

Ang pangunahing aktibidad dito ay ang paglalakbay-aral sa mga kuweba ng Rebolusyon, tulad ng Montalban (Rizal), Minuyan at Biak-na-Bato sa Bulakan at Bundok Banahaw sa Quezon. Bago dumating ang 1996, ihahanda na ang mga lugar na ito para sa "paglulunsad". Sa seremonya ng paglulunsad, may gaganaping mga lokal na paraan, tulad ng pagpapaputok ng kanyon at pagpapalipad ng malalaking lobo, saranggola at kalapati. Ang paglalagay ng mga panandang-bato sa mga infrastruktura ay maaaring maging sentro ng pagdiriwang. Ang mga nasa larangan ng *forestry* at iba pang mga kaugnay na disiplina ay maaaring magtaguyod ng isang *Centennial '96 Reforestation Program*: isang pagtatanim ng mga puno sa paligid ng mga makasaysayang kuweba at iba pang mga makasaysayang lugar.

Ang Departamento ng Turismo (DOT) ang mangungunang ahensiya na aasikaso sa transportasyon ng mga kabataang sasali sa lakbay-aral. Maaaring hilingin ang tulong ng Hukbong Sandatahan para sa mga trak at ng mga *tourist* at *travel agencies* para sa mga bus. Iingganyuhin din ng DOT ang mga *mall, shopping center* at *hotel* na gawing bahagi ng kanilang mga *promo* ang paglulunsad na ito. Maaaring isali ang Girl and Boy Scouts of the Philippines sa pagka-*camping* sa mga sityong istorikal sa loob ng mga kuweba.

Ang Pebrero ay "Buwan ni Pingkian". Ang tema nito ay ang "*Paggunita kay Emilio Jacinto at sa pagkalat ng Kalayaan, ang*

peryodiko ng rebolusyon." Sa buwan ding ito natatag noong 1889 ang *La Solidaridad* (Pebrero 15, 1889). Alay ang buwang ito sa sektor ng kabataan, mamamahayag at mga iskolar.

Ang pangunahing aktibidad dito ay ang paglulunsad ng mga paligsahan sa pagsulat, pagguhit, deklamasyon, debate at iba pa. Magpapalabas sa isang "Kapistahang Akademya" ng mga napiling pinakamahusay na akda at obra sa larangan ng agham, umanidades at arte. At magkakaroon ng "Kapistahang Asyano sa U.P. Diliman". Bibigyan din ng pagkilala ang mga pangunahing mga mamamahayag ng nakaraang dantaon.

Ang mamamahala sa buwang ito ay ang iba't ibang *campus* ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas (U.P.), ang National Press Club, Office of the Press Secretary, College Editors' Guild, Philippine Information Agency at AD Foundation at iba pang mga *media organization.*

Marso ang "Buwan ni Lakambini", na may temang "*Paggunita sa kababaihan ng Rebolusyon, na kinakatawan ni Gregoria de Jesus.*" Sa buwang ito pinag-isang-dibdib sina Gregoria de Jesus at Andres Bonifacio at sumapi si Gregoria sa bagong-tatag na sangay-pangkababaihan ng Kataas-taasang, Kagalang-galangang Katipunan ng Mga Anak ng Bayan (KKK).

Ang pangunahing aktibidad sa buwang ito ay ang pagkilala sa natatanging mga kababaihan ng nakaraang dantaon. Maglulunsad ng mga seminar, kumperensiya at paligsahan tungkol sa kababaihan, laluna tungkol sa mga natamo nitong karapatan — mula noong Rebolusyon ng 1896 hanggang sa kasalukuyan — at ang epekto ng Rebolusyon sa sektor ng kababaihan.

Ang mangungunang magpapatupad dito ay ang Cultural Center of the Philippines Women's Desk, Center for Women Studies ng U.P., Miriam College, Women's Bureau ng Departmento ng Paggawa at Empleo (DOLE) at iba pang mga institusyong may Women's Desk o kalahok sa kilusang pangkababaihan.

Ang Abril naman ang buwan ng "Lakbay Aral, Lakbay Pilipinas". Ang tema nito ay "*Ang Pilipinas bilang isang bansa.*" Mula sa mga pook ng taal na katutubo, tutuklasin ang mga makasaysayang lugar sa lahat ng rehiyon, upang magkaroon ng pambansang kamalayan.

Pangunahing aktibidad nito ang lakbay-aral ng mga pamilya, kalahok ang mga atletang nakabisikleta, nagma-*marathon* at nag-

alay-lakad para sa mga kababayang nasalanta at nagdarahop. Nakatutok ito sa tinatawag na "*Heritage Trail*" ng bawat rehiyon at lalawigan.

Ang magsisipamahala rito ay ang DOT, Philippine Sports Commission, Nayong Pilipino, mga kumpanyang nagtataguyod ng mga palakasan — tulad ng *Tour* ng Pilipinas ng mga siklista at mga *marathon* — at mga samahang sibiko na tumatangkilik sa iba't ibang alay-lakad.

Mayo ang "Buwan ng Bayani, Buwan ng Manggagawa". Ang bayani rito ay nangangahulugang pinakamataas na antas ng pagiging Katipunero noong 1896. Ang tema sa buwang ito ay "*Ang manggagawa at magsasaka ang bayani ng kasaysayan.*"

Pangunahing aktibidad sa buwang ito ang martsa ng mga manggagawa sa "Araw ng Paggawa" sa Mayo 1. Isa pang martsa ang maaaring ilunsad sa Mayo 10 bilang paggunita sa kamatayan ni Andres Bonifacio. Sa Kamaynilaan, maaaring gawin ang martsa mula sa iba't ibang liwasan sa lunsod patungo sa Tundo, kung saan isinilang si Bonifacio. Sa lalawigan, ang martsa ay iuukol sa pagkilala sa mga lokal na bayani at sa mga ulirang manggagawa ng nakaraang dantaon. Dagdag na gawain ang pagtatanim ng puno sa kalsada.

Pangunahing tagapamahala rito ang Kilusang Mayo Uno, ang Trade Union Congress of the Philippines at iba pang mga organisasyon ng mga manggagawa; Departamento ng Paggawa o DOLE; at mga Departamento ng Agrikultura at Agrarian Reform.

Ang Hunyo ay tatawaging "Buwan ng Ilustrado". Ang tema nito ay ang "*Pagkilala sa mga makabayang negosyante at propesyonal.*" Ang ilustrado ay nagkaroon ng mahalagang papel sa pagbibigay ng kahulugan sa mga konsepto ng demokrasya at dignidad ng tao dahil sa kanilang pag-aaral ng karanasang Europeo at Amerikano.

Ang pangunahing aktibidad sa buwang ito ay isasabay sa "Araw ng Independensiya" sa Hunyo 12. Maglulunsad ng mga produktong may logo ng Sentenaryo na magtatampok sa pakete ng mga impormasyon at *trivia* ukol sa pagdiriwang. Itutugma rin ang Metro Manila Film Festival sa tema ng Sentenaryo.

Ang mga pangunahing tagapamahala nito ay ang iba't ibang mga Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Departamento ng

Industriya at Kalakal, Departamento ng Pananalapi, Movie and Television Review and Classification Board (MTRCB), Film Academy of the Philippines at ang Metro Manila Authority.

Hulyo ang "Buwan ng Katipunan", na may temang "*Paglalahad ng mga bagong resulta ng pananaliksik tungkol sa Rebolusyon.*" Alay ito sa mga mananaliksik ng kasaysayan at mga manggagawa sa larangan ng kultura at agham.

Ang pangunahing aktibidad dito ay ang pagdaraos ng mga kumperensiyang rehiyonal sa iba't ibang paksa bilang paghahanda sa pandaigdig na kumperensiyang gagawin sa Nobyembre, 1996. Dito rin mapag-uusapan ang pinal na paghahanda para sa sukdulang pagdiriwang ng Sentenaryo sa susunod na buwan. Kikilalanin rin ang pinakatampok na mga iskolar sa mga larangan ng Agham, Umanidades at Agham Panlipunan sa nakaraang dantaon.

Pamamahalaan ito ng National Historical Institute, mga pambansang samahan ng istoryador, mga samahang lokal ng kasaysayan, Ang Sentro Kultural ng Pilipinas (CCP) at National Museum, Samahan ng mga Siyentista, Departamento ng Siyensiya at Teknolohiya (DOST) at Departamento ng Edukasyon, Isports at Kultura (DECS). Itong huli ang siyang sumasakop sa mga Departamento ng Kasaysayan sa lahat ng mga kolehiyo at unibersidad sa Pilipinas.

Ang buwan ng Agosto ay siyang "Buwan ng Selebrasyon". Tampok rito ang temang "*Buwan ng muling pagtatanghal at pagkamulat ng lahat ng sektor sa kahalagahan ng Agosto 23 bilang `Unang Deklarasyon ng Paglaya'.*" Sinasagisag ito ng pagpunit ng `*cedula personal*' laban sa mga mananakop.

Pangunahing aktibidad dito ang muling pagtatanghal o *reenactment* ng mga paglakad, "sigaw", pagpunit ng sedula, at ng mga unang labanan. Sa mga komunidad, nakasentro ang okasyon sa pagbabasbas at inagurasyon ng mga arko ng sentenaryo, museong-bayan, mga *kilometric marker*, at sa pagtatanim ng mga puno ng kalayaan sa tabi ng mga *historical marker* na ito. Kung sakaling ulanin ang mga aktibidad na ito, ang mga ritwal, tulad ng pagpunit ng sedula at mga dula-dulaan, ay gagawin sa loob ng mga awditoryum.

Ang mamamahala rito ay ang Pambansang Lupon sa Sentenaryo na nilikha ng pamahalaan, ang NCCA Working Committee on the

Centennial at mga pamahalaang lokal at pambansa sa ilalim ng Department of Interior and Local Government. Ang pagtatanim ng mga puno ay pamamahalaan ng Department of Environment and Natural Resources.

"Buwan ng Kawal" naman ang buwan ng Setyembre. Ito ang buwan para sa mga balikbayan at migranteng manggagawa. Ang tema nito ay ang "*Pagpaparangal kina Francisco Castillo at Candido Iban ng Capiz, kapwa manggagawa sa Australya, na nag-ambag ng salapi para sa peryodikong Kalayaan.*" Pagkilala ito sa mga Overseas Contract Workers (OCW) bilang bagong bayani ng ating bansa. Ang kanilang kinikita sa pangingibang-bansa ay nagpapataas ng ating Gross National Product. Paanyaya din ito sa ating mga kababayang nasa ibang bansa na magbalikbayan at muling tuklasin ang kanilang mga ugat.

Tampok dito ang pagpaparangal sa mga kababayang balikbayan sa nakaraang dantaon. Itataon na tema sa Linggo ng Kasaysayan (Setyembre 11-21) ang karanasan ng mga migranteng Pilipino. Ang mga pangunahing tagapamahala dito ang DOLE at ang DOT.

Oktubre ang "Buwan ng Pananampalatayang Pilipino", na may temang "*Pagkilala sa papel ng mga katutubong pari at madre at ng mga sektang relihiyoso, laluna sa larangan ng pagtatanggol ng karapatang pantao.*"

Tampulan ng pagdiriwang sa buwang ito ang paghahanda ng mga angkop na *homily* sa mga simbahan, pagdaraos ng mga pagkilala sa katutubong alagad ng pananampalataya at karapatang pantao at pagbibigay-pansin sa mga *values* o pagpapahalaga ng Pilipino, mula sa mga sinauna hanggang sa ngayon.

Pamamahalaan ito ng Philippine Independent Church, Association of Major Religious Superiors of the Philippines, mga grupo para sa hustisya at kalayaan at iba pang mga samahang ekumenikal.

Sa Nobyembre ipagdiriwang ang "Buwan ng Pandaigdigang Katipunan" sa ilalim ng temang "*Pagtatanghal ng naging epekto ng Rebolusyong Pilipino sa ibang bansa at ang impluwensiya ng ibang rebolusyon sa ating kamalayan.*" Tatayahin din ang nangyari sa bayan sa unang dantaon ng kanyang pagsilang.

Magdaraos ng isang kumperensiyang pandaigdig sa Philippine Social Science Center o sa Philippine International Convention Center. Lalahukan ito ng mga delegado mula sa Pilipinas at sa ibang mga bansa. Alay ito sa nagtatag sa Katipunan, na ipinanganak noong Nobyembre 30, 1863. Ang kumperensiya ay isa ring pagbabalik-tingin ng iba't ibang mga disiplina sa nakaraang dantaon at isang pag-alay sa bayan ng tinuturing na pinaka-orihinal na pag-aaral sa akademya.

Pamamahalaan ito ng Philippine Studies Association, Philippine Historical Association, Philippine National Historical Society at Adhika ng Pilipinas, gayundin ng National Historical Institute, NCCA, U.P., Catholic Education Association of the Philippines at Departamento ng Usaping Panlabas o Foreign Affairs.

Ang huling buwan ng taon, ang Disyembre, ang "Buwan ng May Pag-asa at Pasasalamat". Ang tema nito ay ang "*Pagkilala kay Elias ng Noli Me Tangere, na nagwikang ang bukang liwayway ay nababanaagan ng mga martir na nag-alay ng buhay para sa bayan. Sa kabila ng lahat, mayroong pag-asa sa hinaharap.*"

Pararangalan sina Rizal, Del Pilar at Jaena (mga namatay noong 1896) at ang iba pang mga martir at mga naging biktima ng paglabag sa karapatang pantao ng nakaraang dantaon. Maaaring gawin ito sa pamamagitan ng isang parada ng kasaysayan.

Ang mga magiging pangunahing tagapag-ugnay at tagapamahala nito ay ang Knights of Rizal, Samahang Mason, Intramuros Administration, Kaanak '96, mga organisasyong pang-*human rights*, Pamana ng Kasaysayan, Inc., Philippine Centennial Foundation, Departamento ng Hustisya (DOJ) at Departamento ng Tanggulang Pambansa (DND).

KONKLUSYON

Mapapansin na ang buwan-buwang pagdiriwang ng Sentenaryo ng Rebolusyon ay may mga pagkakawangki. Halimbawa, sa panukalang *Masterplan*, tampok ang pagtukoy sa sektor na pag-aalayan at ang mga organisasyong inaatasang magsaayos ng palatuntunan. Bawat buwan ay tinagurian ayon sa isang konseptong Katipunero, tulad ng Kawal, Katipon, Bayani, Pingkian at May Pag-

asa. At ang mga palatuntunan ay gagamit ng mga pangkat kultural — *drama groups*, banda at iba pa. Pinagsikapan ring iayon ang kalendaryo ng Sentenaryo sa mga taunang pagdiriwang na nariyan na, tulad ng Araw ng Independensiya, Metro Manila Filmfest, at iba pa.

Sa kabilang dako, hindi pa gaanong malinaw ang magiging gastos sa bawat aktibidad. Maaaring paghiwa-hiwalayin ang gastos batay sa partikular na katangian ng proyekto. At kung ang isang infrastruktura, tulad ng museo, ay hindi kayang tapusin sa 1996, maaaring inagurahan na lamang muna ang pagbabaon ng "cornerstone" bilang panimulang aktibidad. At maaaring ituloy ang proyekto hanggang sa huling taon ng Dekada ng Nasyonalismo.

Bukod dito, ang pagtatakda ng mga organisasyon at ahensiyang mamamahala sa iba't bahagi ng pagdiriwang ay pansamantala pa lamang. Nakasalalay ang katiyakan nito sa suportang ibibigay ng mga naturang ahensiya at samahan.

Mahalagang imungkahi rito na bigyang diin ang dalawang bagay. Una, kailangang magkaroon ng mga *post-centennial activities* bilang pagpapatuloy at paghahanda na rin sa mga darating na sentenaryo — halimbawa, ang Sentenaryo ng Unang Republika sa Enero 23, 1999. Pangalawa, kailangan ding baguhin ang konsepto ng Rebolusyon bilang isang putul-putol na pangyayari. Halimbawa, ang pagkakapatapon kay Emilio Aguinaldo sa Hong Kong bilang bahagi ng kasunduan sa Biyak-na-Bato ay hindi nakapagpatigil sa Rebolusyon bilang isang kilusang mapagpalaya. Kaya't ang dapat na gunitain sa 1997 ay ang paglawak at pagkalat ng Rebolusyon noong 1897 sa lahat ng lalawigan. Nararapat lamang na ang mga aktibidad na sinimulan sa mga barangay at lalawigan ay ipagpapatuloy bilang paghahanda na rin sa Unang Dantaon (sa Enero 23, 1999) ng Pagkabuo ng Kauna-unahang Republika sa Asya sa Malolos.

FARM SIZE AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES

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INTRODUCTION

It is important to have a clear understanding of who the small-scale farmers of the Philippines are, since this group of farmers is usually the poorest and the one with least access to support services. At a recent series of seminars on Policy Support to Farming Systems, small-scale farmers were defined to include those who still practice slash-and-burn agriculture (kaingeros), upland rice and corn farmers, small-scale coconut farmers and rainfed lowland farmers (UPLB 1990). These farmers are further described as follows:

- They produce mainly for subsistence, with only a small marketable surplus, so that production and consumption are interrelated.
- They lack land or capital resources to produce more, so that they have low productivity and income.
- Their labor force is composed mainly of members of the farm household, so that farming is a family activity.
- They are poorly integrated with market forces.

Small farmers are rational individuals, but they have to be given appropriate access to resources, markets and technology before they can respond to whatever economic incentives are available.

I consider this a satisfactory description of small-scale farmers in the Philippines since it includes most of their relevant features (i.e., small landholdings, dependence on a few staple crops, low-level technology, poor economic organization, low degree of integration, low volume of output and low income).

In considering their situation today, one must also look ahead and try to predict what will happen to them by the end of this century. Will they be better off in the future than today? But above all, what can be done to improve their lot?

SCENARIO OF PHILIPPINE AGRICULTURE

Participants in a planning conference held in 1988 at the UPLB College of Agriculture characterized Philippine agriculture at the end of this century in this manner (Villareal, 1988): "The trend will be towards smaller, more diversified, and intensively-cultivated farms, and Philippine society will rely less on the agricultural sector than on industry and the services sectors for its gross national product. ... Unless better policies protect farmers, agriculture will continue its present practice of exporting a lot of raw materials instead of finished products." Two years later, on 27 January 1990, a similar group participating in another workshop added the following features: (Rasco et al., 1990) "Sustainability of production capacity and a commercial rather than a subsistence orientation." These farms are also expected to produce sufficient quantities of the basic commodities, such as staple foods for the farmers' use, and a substantial surplus of all products in which they have a comparative advantage. Exportable surplus will be shipped in a completely processed form to achieve the value-added advantage.

Thus, it is generally hoped that small-scale farmers of the future will have compact farms which will also be more productive, since they will be more diversified and more intensively cultivated than those of today. Farm products will be processed domestically to achieve the value-added advantage. This will be accompanied by a change in orientation, from subsistence farming to commercial or market-oriented agriculture.

Now let us exmaine current realities with regard to farm size, constraints in managing small farms, and what the government is doing to support small-scale farmers.

Present Situation and Trends

The latest census of Philippine Agriculture (National Census and Statistics Office, 1980) indicates that the total number of farms in the Philippines is 3.42 million. This represents an increase of 36 percent, or 1.25 million, over the number reported in 1960 (Table 1). During the same period, the population rose by 11.4 million. In other words, the demand for land by a growing population had contributed to the fragmentation of landholdings (Cornista, 1991). The increment consisted largely of an increase in the number of farms of less than three hectares, while there was a decline in the number of farms of ten hectares or more. In 1960, 62.4 percent of all farms were of less than three hectares but by 1980, 68.8 percent of farms were in this category. Conversely, the percentage of farms with ten hectares or more declined from 5.6 percent in 1960 to 3.5 percent in 1980. Together, these changes contributed to a substantial reduction in the average size of Philippine farms, from 3.59 hectares in 1960 to 2.84 hectares in 1980 (Table 2). The average size of farms under 3 hectares is 1.23 hectares while the average size of all farms under 5 hectares is only slightly larger, at 1.68 hectares. These small farms generally produce subsistence food crops while most commercial crops are grown on 26 percent of the farms with 10 hectares or more (with an average size of 21 hectares).

The implementation of the recent land reform program is further reducing average farm size in the Philippines. So far, the actual area distributed to each recipient has averaged only 1.5 hectares, far below the award ceiling of 3 hectares of irrigated land or 5 hectares of non-irrigated land (Cornista, 1990). In fact, in the 1989-1990 implementation of the current Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program, the average farm area actually received by beneficiaries was only 0.56 hectares (Cornista, 1991). Even if the award ceiling of 3 hectares had been followed in practice, the inheritance system in the Philippines divides land equally

among all children, both sons and daughters. Assuming four heirs per generation, this would reduce a land holding of 3 hectares to 64 land holdings of only 469 square meters each after four generations.

CONSTRAINTS IN MANAGING SMALL FARMS

An inherent difficulty in managing a small farm is the farmer's lack of leverage in both the input and output markets, as well as in obtaining credit. In the Philippines, this difficulty is made worse by the following structural constraints: a policy bias against agriculture, poor delivery of critical services and facilities, problems related to research and extension, and the fact that agriculture generally has a subsistence orientation.

Policy Bias Against Agriculture

The most important result of the policy bias against agriculture is the industrial protection system which depends on an overvalued peso (Agricultural Policy and Strategy Team, 1986). This artificially low exchange rate has the equivalent effect of a tax (15-20 percent in 1986) on all exports which are predominantly agricultural (Habito, 1990). Moreover, the tariff structure has raised the prices of farm inputs more than it has raised the prices of farm products, since it strongly protects the domestic manufacturing industries.

Moreover, it is widely recognized in the Philippines that the Board of Investment favors pioneer industries which generally belong to large commercial enterprises. The formal financial system is biased against lending to small farmers, and thus, loans are given instead to large-scale enterprises and farmers (Llanto, 1990). Even without this bias, banking facilities would be inadequate in rural areas. Chan reported in 1988 that 41 percent of municipalities in the Philippines had no banking facilities. The lack of access to credit among small-scale farmers inhibits the development of a more intensive farming system, which is necessarily more cash-intensive.

Poor Delivery of Critical Services and Facilities

Inadequate facilities for transportation, communication and storage pose serious obstacles to agricultural development and the industrialization of rural areas (Agricultural Policy and Strategy Team, 1986). Lessons from Taiwan, ROC and Korea clearly show that investors are not likely to invest in rural areas unless basic support systems and facilities are in place. Unfortunately, the Philippine countryside still has an inadequate road system and inadequate communication facilities, made worse by the high cost of shipping and port handling services and the lack of postharvest facilities. As far as postharvest facilities are concerned, Yorobe (1990) has reported that the number of mills, threshers, mechanical dryers and corn shellers declined significantly between 1978 and 1985. The decline was particularly pronounced for packaging units, with a fall of 50 percent, and corn shellers , with a fall of 35 percent (National Food Authority, cited by Yorobe, 1990). This situation implies that many of these facilities have become non-operational as a result of obsolescence or poor maintenance while the rate at which replacements are being bought remains very low.

Research and Extension-Related Constraints

The benefits of agricultural research on agricultural and rural development have been widely recognized. In fact, past government food programs in the Philippines, such as Masagana 99, were possible only because research developed the appropriate technologies which were successfully transferred to, and used by, farmers. Unfortunately, numerous contraints still characterize the present research and development system in the Philippines (Department of Agriculture, 1991). Some of the more important ones include: (a) underinvestment in agricultural research, (*i.e.*, 0.23 percent of GVA, one of the lowest in the world); (b) a lack of coordination among institutions engaged in research, resulting in a broad set of research priorities rather than sharply focused ones; and (c) a weak linkage between extension and research (the system is supply-driven rather than demand-driven and is too centralized).

SUBSISTENCE ORIENTATION OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

In the Philippine countryside are millions of resource-poor farmers who operate small farms. As mentioned earlier, they produce mainly for subsistence and have only a small marketable surplus. The number of poor farmers continues to increase, and until their subsistence-orientation is transformed to market-oriented agriculture, it will be difficult for them to improve their situation. These farmers had an average farm income in 1988 of US$125 per month, which is below the poverty line (National Statistics Office, 1990).

GOVERNMENT SUPPORT FOR SMALL-SCALE FARMERS

The poor of today are not in the same situation as the poor of the 1950s and 1960s. They are much more numerous, and they live in an economy that is weaker. As a result, it is more difficult for them to improve their social status: find a job, leave the slums and join the middle class (Anon, 1987). It is probably for this reason that most governments of developing countries advocate that their energies be directed to helping the poor, so they can obtain a good education, find jobs and strengthen the middle class. The administration of President Aquino has been no exception, and some of the most significant legislation to alleviate rural poverty is either operative or at an advanced stage of deliberation in the Philippine Congress. These include:

- *The Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program* (RA 6657), which aims to give a greater number of small-scale farmers access to the basic productive resource-land;
- *The Cooperative Code of the Philippines* (RA 6938) and the *Cooperative Development Authority*. These twin laws foster the creation and growth of agricultural cooperatives to promote economic development and social justice. The private sector is encouraged to undertake the actual formation and organization of cooperatives and create an atmosphere that is conducive to their growth and

development. The state is responsible for providing technical guidance, financial assistance and other services to cooperatives.

- *The Local Government Code* (RA 7160). This measure transfers some functions and responsibilities from the central government to local government units. The village (barangay) is the basic political unit for the planning and implementation of government policies.
- *The Magna Carta of Small Farmers* (RA 7607). This measure aims to help small-scale farmers economically with incentives and reward systems, agricultural technology and infrastructure (i.e, irrigation, postharvest facilities, feeder roads, bridges), and subsidized inputs (i.e., fertilizers, certified seeds, pesticides, etc.), together with improved access to markets and communication facilities.
- *The Agriculture Education Reform Law of 1994.* (HB 9082 & SB 1278). This bill establishes a network of public and private agricultural education institutions in order to unify, coordinate and improve the effective implementation of academic program thrusts to meet the requirements of agriculture and rural development of the community and the nation.
- *The Research Extension and Development Plan.* By increasing government investment in these activities from 0.23% of GVA to 0.8 percent, this plan hopes to bring about a corresponding improvement in the many aspects of delivering such services to farmers.

Successful Programs

I would like to present two examples of successful programs in the Philippines involving small farms: the Rice Industry Project under the Tarlac Integrated People's Livelihood Program (TIPLP) and the Tomato Processing Project in Sarrat, Ilocos Norte.

The Rice Industry Project

The rice industry project in Tarlac, Central Luzon, is the core project of the People's Livelihood Foundation, Inc. (Ordoñez, 1991). The project initially aimed at increasing the low yield of farmers in the Capas area (from an average of only 2 mt/ha to 4 mt/ha). To increase yield, key elements were identified and provided in the implementation of the project. Technology was the most critical factor while other requirements included credit, support services and cooperation between farmers. In terms of membership and farm-area coverage, the project's record is outstanding. The number of member farmers has risen from 506 in October 1988 (when the project began) to 4,933 by the first cropping season in 1990 while the farm area covered expanded from 1,019 hectares to 10,352 hectares.

In its three years of operation, the model has been replicated in 17 provinces in the Philippines. At the time of this year's (1991) planting, there were 41,450 farmer members tilling a combined total of 80,500 hectares, an average of 1.94 ha/farmer. A sum of US$17.4 million has been made available as production loans.

Not only did the project increase rice yield per hectare, it also added value to the product by drying, milling and packaging the rice before marketing. Whereas before the farmers were mere rice farmers, now they are processors and traders as well.

The project covers not only production and marketing, but also other components, such as a seed production center, an organic fertilizer laboratory, a farm equipment pool and repair shop, and a grain trading center with postharvest facilities.

Tomato Processing Project

The growth of the tomato processing industry in the northern Philippines has been very rapid. The number of tomato growers has risen from 2,596 in 1985 to 8,514 in the cropping season 1989-90, an increase of 228 percent over a five-year period. Similarly, the area planted to tomato expanded from 717 to 1500 ha, although the average area planted to tomato per farm fell from 2,762 m2 to 2,580 m2 over the same period (Mateo, 1990). The rise in productivity was even more dramatic. Whereas national average tomato yield in

the Philippines is nine mt/ha[1], the mean yield of all farmers participating in the project is 40 mt/ha. It was also noticeable that the area planted to processing tomatoes increased as yields rose. Consequently, the average income of growers per hectare has increased by 366 percent.

The problem of obtaining raw materials, which is always a major concern of processing factories, was solved in this project by treating small-scale tomato growers as subcontractors (Villareal, 1990). The factory provided the technology and capital and an assured market. Thus, growers were able to devote all their time and effort to making their land productive, relying on the factory for all services. The factory also added value to the product by processing it into paste before transporting it to Manila.

The project is another good example of a successful agribusiness enterprise in the countryside. This model can be modified for root crops, such as sweet potato and cassava, as a basis for other processing projects.

Reasons for the Success of the Two Programs

The success of these two projects can be attributed to good organization and financial support, an excellent irrigation system, suitable technology, and finally, the commitment of the people involved.

Good Organization

Both projects provided good organization and took care of the planning of production, marketing and other activities. They engaged the services of top consulting firms to assist company personnel in the initial implementation of the projects. They also attended to the input requirements of the projects.

Sufficient Financial Support

Sufficient investment loans were provided to growers by nongovernmental organizations for the rice project, and by rural banks and the Land Bank for the tomato project.

Excellent Irrigation System

Since tomatoes require a large amount of water for growth, it would have been impossible to raise tomatoes without irrigation water between October and March, when rainfall is sparse. Sites near reliable water sources were thus carefully selected for production under contract.

Appropriate Technology

Improved varieties and efficient production techniques were vital to the success of the rice project, which included training for farmers. In the tomato project, the problem of bacterial wilt of tomato, which had previously prevented the successful production of tomatoes in the Philippines, was overcome by a new practice by which a wilt-susceptible tomato variety was grown after paddy rice (Villareal, 1986). This allowed farmers to grow varieties from California and the Asian Vegetable Research and Development Center, which were susceptible to wilt, but suitable for processing.

The People Factor

In the tomato project, the growers were willing to take the risk of trying a new crop in spite of the uncertainty. Managers strove to get financial and moral commitment from their firms and saw to it that the projects were implemented. Consultants risked their careers and reputations for the sake of the project.

The People's Livelihood Foundation, Inc. managed to coordinate willing rice farmers, government technicians and NGO officers who possessed genuine concern for the rural poor.

CONCLUSION

It is inevitable that farm size in the Philippines will continue to decline as a result of a rising population, the implementation of the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program, and inheritance of land by multiple heirs. Thus, small-scale farmers will not be able to

improve their status unless their farming activities become more productive. To do this, they should change their subsistence orientation to market-oriented production, and organize themselves into agricultural cooperatives in order to obtain leverage in both the input and output markets. Most importantly, farmers should be active participants of change, so as to contribute their share to rural development. The government, on the other hand, should have a strong political will to implement legislation designed to abolish the remaining biases against small-scale farmers and provide them with all the needed assistance to elevate their status.

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Table 1
Distribution of farm size in the Philippines, 1960-1980
Farm size No. of farms (1000) % farms

(ha)	1960	971	1980	1960	1971	1980
<3.0 ha	1350.75	1456.95	2353.84	62.4	61.4	68.8
3.00-4.9	404.88	558.35	588.15	18.7	23.5	17.2
5.00-9.9	298.73	243.85	360.01	13.4	10.3	10.5
10 and more	120.86	115.33	118.33	5.6	4.93.5	
Total	2166.22	2374.47	3420.32	100	100	100

Source: National Census and Statistics Office (1960, 1971 and 1980)

Table 2
Average size of farms in the Philippines, 1960-1980

Farm size No. of farms (1000)				% farms		
(ha)	1960	1971	1980	1960	1971	1980
<3.0	24.7	24.1	29.7	1.42	1.40	1.23
3.00-4.9	18.4	23.7	21.2	3.52	3.61	3.51
4.00-9.9	23.7	18.3	32.1	6.37	6.37	6.23
10 and more	33.2	33.9	26.0	21.4	24.95	21.33
Average	3.59	3.57	2.84			

[1]*Includes tomato for eating fresh, as well as for processing. The nothern Philippines figures refer to processing tomatoes only.

CRAFTING HEALTH POLICY BY MEDICAL RESEARCHERS

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BACKGROUND MEDICAL SLEUTHING

In the aftermath of the EDSA Revolution in 1986, Dr. Alran Bengzon, an active faculty member of the UP College of Medicine, was appointed as the new Secretary of the Department of Health (DOH). In one of the DOH Executive Committee meetings I attended, Dr. Bengzon made what in effect was a policy pronouncement. He said that the days of policy formulation based on impressions and opinions were over. From that meeting on, the new policies which were to emanate from his Department would have to be based on solid information.

A few years later, he requested us to help the DOH develop the policy for the control of hepatitis B (HB). Although we were resolute that whatever we would propose would be backed by scientific research, we also knew that in the practical world of politics other non-scientific considerations would affect the policy outcome.

My work in primary liver cancer (PLC) began way back in the early 1960s towards the latter part of my residency training in internal medicine. It was the precursor of my later interest in hepatitis B. A fellowship gave me the opportunity to undertake an initial study on this disease. However, I had to disrupt the pursuit of my interest in liver cancer for several years only to pick it up again in the 1970s.

We who are interested in the study of PLC had always accepted that this cancer was among the top concerns in the country because of the frequency with which we encountered

it. There were, however, no reliable studies of its prevalence, so that the first thing we did was to document the frequency with which this cancer afflicted the population.

We discovered that, indeed, PLC was quite common. Of the patients who died and were autopsied in the PGH morgue, *hepatocellular carcinoma* (HCC) or primary liver cancer was the number one cancer killer among males. Looking at the cancer registry when it was still rudimentary, we found that liver cancer constituted 4.5 percent of all reported cancers. About seven out of 1000 patients admitted to the medical wards of hospitals had this disease. On the average, we saw about 87 cases per year in the medical work of the PGH.

While these figures supported our estimate of the prevalence of liver cancer, our observations in a particular community in Cebu removed whatever doubts we still harbored about the widespread occurrence of this disease in the Philippines. We monitored this community of 5,000 for at least a year and discovered four cases of HCC. For an epidemiologist, figures like this are astonishingly or inordinately high. So we made some calculations and came out with the figure that about 25 out of 100,000 susceptible males 30 years old and above would probably acquire liver cancer annually in this country. It is important to note that as far as liver cancer is concerned, the prevalence rate is the same as the incidence rate. A person who contracts the disease will die of it in the same year.

Against the backdrop of these shocking estimates, I began my investigation of the disease in the mid 1970s by looking at its composite picture. My intention for doing this was to see whether in fact the disease had changed from the time I left my research in 1964 up to the resumption of my investigation years later.

To my surprise, it had not. The disease remained a male disease. For every female who contracted liver cancer, seven males got it. Compared to other cancers which appear when patients are relatively old — 60 years and over — liver cancer afflicts a younger population. Its peak occurrence is between the ages of 40 and 60 years.

Most liver cancer patients claim that they have been sick for only a few months but their health assessment on a scale of 0 to 100 (0 = dead; 100 = completely well) shows that they must have been ill much longer. The usual presenting manifestations are pain

in the right upper abdomen and an enlarged hard liver. The most depressing observation is that most of the patients will die in three months. Very few will go on for another three to nine months. Thus far, extremely few survive beyond a year.

The severity of the disease impelled us to try to do something about it. Our first impulse as doctors was to treat. We did everything that could be done for these patients. We operated on them to remove the tumor; subjected them to chemotherapy or the injection of anti-cancer drugs through the veins or directly to their livers; blocked the hepatic artery which supplies nutrients to the liver; sensitized the liver tissue to x-ray prior to irradiation to increase the effects of x-ray; resorted to hormone therapy by giving female hormones; and tried the emerging modalities of treatment. Mind you, we tried all of these, but we could not even increase the survival time for the patients. They were dying just as fast as without treatment.

We were very frustrated then. Considering the effort and expense the patients incurred, not to mention the trauma of toxic treatment, we concluded that we were moving in a blind alley. We decided to shift gears and attack the problem differently. We thought that if we tried to find the cause of the disease, we could do something even before the patients came to us. Then as now, the exact cause(s) of many cancers are not known.

We started by considering the earlier work of Dr. Adelaida Dalmacio-Cruz, Professor Emeritus and member of our study team. For many years, her studies had repeatedly shown that almost three out of four people who developed liver cancer had an antecedent disease. We extended her study and showed that cancer would not develop in a normal liver, implying the existence of a prior disease — cirrhosis or previous hepatitis.

This was our first clue. We subsequently went on to investigate the antecedent conditions prior to the development of HCC. Without any actual leads, we tried to find out whether the victims of this disease were exposed to cancer-producing agents in the environment. The cases we scrutinized (256 of them) could not be linked with any type of environmental carcinogen.

We correlated the disease with exposure to chemicals and drugs, such as androgenic and anabolic steroids. This correlation was prompted by the observation that some women using contraceptive

pills developed liver tumor. While this was not the same as HCC, we thought it could be a precursor of liver cancer. However, we did not find any cancer case among pill users, even among those who used the pill for an extended period of time.

At that time, one of our investigators, Dr. Josefina Bulatao-Jayme, was already working on the product of a fungus that contaminated food. This was another lead because in England, turkeys and trouts fed with an imported meal containing peanuts contaminated by fungal products called aflatoxin were developing liver cancer.

Dr. Bulatao-Jayme computed the aflatoxin exposure index and correlated this with the frequency of HCC as measured by a liver cancer index. She discovered that aflatoxin intake was linearly related to the prevalence of liver cancer — the disease increased with a rise in aflatoxin levels.

We went one step further and investigated the dietary history of our cases. Using a validated reproducible interview, we attempted to find out whether our HCC cases took in much more aflatoxin than a control group of respondents of the same age, sex and residential area who did not suffer from the disease. Our findings corroborated Dr. Bulatao's study. Analyzing the food they ingested and testing their urine, we found that the cancer cases in our research had significantly higher concentrations of aflatoxin than those who did not have cancer. We had our first real lead.

At about this time, however, a concurrent development which determined our subsequent moves was taking place elsewhere in the world. Dr. Baruch Blumberg was about to get a Nobel Prize for discovering the first marker in the blood for the virus causing hepatitis B, a disease characterized by inflammation of the liver. The important thing here is that the occurrence of this marker in the blood correlated very well with the occurrence of the cancer in our part of the world. The body of evidence suggested a causal relation between previous HB infection and HCC.

Our research involving liver cancer patients and a control group matched for age and sex revealed that 97 percent of patients were infected with hepatitis B, in contrast to only 57 percent of the control group. More importantly, the presence of the viral marker discovered

by Dr. Blumberg, which was indicative of a carrier state, was identified in 70 percent of HCC cases as against 18 percent of the control group.

Mathematical computation of the odds ratio of risk shows that the chances of a male carrier contracting liver cancer are about thirty seven (37) times more than a non-carrier. In comparison, a two-pack smoker's chances of developing lung cancer are only ten (10) times more than a nonsmoker's. Among females, carriers stand to develop HCC eleven (11) times more than non-carriers.

The odds ratios, however, are underestimates. At the time we were making these computations, a more comprehensive and longitudinal study was being conducted in Taiwan. The researchers there managed to track down all the carriers and followed them through their death, thanks to the excellent insurance system in that country. They discovered that a hepatitis-B virus carrier's chances of dying from liver disease (either from cancer or cirrhosis) were two hundred twenty times (220) more than a non-carrier's.

By this time, we already knew much more about the probable cause or causes of HCC. Although aflatoxin cannot be dismissed, the main culprit is the hepatitis-B virus (HBV). Juxtaposing the frequency of the occurrence of liver cancer with the carrier rate of HBV on the world map revealed that the Philippines was a high cancer area because of its high carrier rate of about 10 to 16 percent.

Crafting Medical Policy by Medical Researchers

Let me now move to the medical researches that eventually led us to the formulation of policies in dealing with HB. Before doing that, however, allow me to say a few more things about the HBV.

Students of medicine are all aware of Koch's postulates which must be satisfied whenever an infectious cause of a disease, say tuberculosis, is suspected. The principle is simple. Having suspected an agent as infectious, the researcher tries to recover this agent and gives it to a susceptible subject (usually an animal model or a human volunteer). Once the disease is reproduced, a cause-and-effect relationship is established. The problem at hand, then, is how to control the cause.

Koch's postulates, however, are not as easily applied to HBV. The disease HB is acquired early in life, but it takes about thirty (30) or more years before the HCC develops. Unless the researcher is willing to wait that long, other means of establishing the cause-and-affect relationship is necessary.

What we used instead of Koch's postulates were the criteria developed by Professor Hill. If the following criteria are fulfilled, then a cause-and-effect relationship is established:

- strength of association: when condition X appears, condition Y also appears;
- specificity: the association holds only for the two conditions and not for something else;
- coherence: everytime the observation is made anywhere, the pattern observed is the same;
- biological plausibility: the observed association can be generalized to other biological species*
- sequence: the cause precedes the effect in time; and
- prevention: the latter condition can be prevented by preventing the antecedent condition.

The last criterion was missing in the HBV-HCC link to qualify as a cause-and-effect relationship. At this point, however, we already had a consensus that HBV is linked causally to HCC.

How is the virus transmitted? HBV is transmitted parenterally. A parenteral transmission means that the infectious material is gained through a break in the skin or the mucus membrane. It can, therefore, be transmitted sexually and from mother to child during delivery (perinatal). Perinatal transmission occurs when the mother is a very infectious carrier of HBV. The trauma of birth results in abrasions in the fetus which serve as the point of entry of the virus in the

* At this stage in our investigations, other scientists were beginning to discover that the hepatitis B virus belongs to a family that also infects animals, such as the ground squirrel. The same phenomena observed among humans occurred among animals.

mothers' blood. Sexual transmission occurs from an infectious partner through breaks in the mucus lining of the sexual organs.

Why are we so concerned about this disease? Is it deadly? What is the record of the disease in terms of acute mortality; *i.e.*, if we contracted the disease today, how many of us would die within a few weeks or a few months? The answer is — very few: 0.2 to 1 percent. Hepatitis B is no more a killer than influenza is. From the point of view of mortality, it is a non-problem.

What then is the problem? It is chronicity, meaning failure to recover from the acute attack and persistence of the virus in the body with continuing liver disease. There is a difference in the resulting carrier-state when adults get the disease, compared to infants and children. When the infection is contracted by infants and children under 7 years, the number of resulting carriers is very high. The carrier rate is 50 percent to 100 percent. Among adults, it is only from two to seven percent. The reverse is true when it comes to recovery and resistance. Recovery is the rule among adults, but not among children. The latter will tend not to get over the infection and are more predisposed to developing liver cancer in the future.

Apart from the parenteral sexual and perinatal transmissions, another way of propagating the disease is by the transfer of contaminated blood. Early on, there was a lot of concern over this type of transmission in this country. Then Undersecretary Maramba came to us to ask us to help the DOH determine whether an executive order or legislation requiring all the blood in the country to be screened for HBV was called for.

It was a very logical plan, but it costs money to screen blood. Considering that we are transfusing hundreds of thousands of units of blood, the cost of routine screening is considerable. Furthermore, the cost will ultimately have to be borne by the patient who will be transfused. Our response then was that before issuing any executive order or legislation, studies would have to be conducted first on the precise danger of transfusing unscreened blood, compared to screened blood. Cost-benefit data are also needed.

The study we conducted in this connection aimed to ascertain the number of HBV-exposed, HBV-carrier and HBV-immune among volunteers and paid blood donors. The same study was carried out among those who will receive blood. Both studies allowed us to

estimate the risk of getting HBV via blood transfusion. On the whole, 56 percent of blood donors, whether volunteer or paid, had been exposed to HBV. Of these, 13 to 14 percent were carriers while about 44 percent were immune to HBV (safe donors just like the unexposed).

The profile of those who were to receive blood showed striking similarities with the donors, indicating that the remaining number of susceptibles was small. Given this information and the fact that the blood to be transfused to them was overwhelmingly immune and non-infectious rather than infectious, the efficacy of a national blood-screening program, considering the cost, was low.

We extended out study to determine the actual results of transfusions using unscreened blood. This was carried out in a Southern Tagalog city and was participated in by nine private hospitals. Our results showed that the risks of getting infected by HB were far greater if one were to just enter a hospital than if one had actually received blood transfusion. The reason for this in our opinion was the prevailing practice then of re-using needles on more than one patient. When we followed those who received unscreened blood, the incidence of acute hepatitis B was no more than among those who were hospitalized, but did not get blood transfusion.

We did not publish the results of this study because these could have been used by unscrupulous blood banks who naturally were against routine HB screening at that time, considering that the price of the screening had come down to an affordable level and considering further that there was a tremendous demand from the public to have blood for transfusion screened. Despite the low cost-benefit of routine blood screening, we nevertheless recommended it as a policy. This was one example of a medical policy where scientific reality had to be tempered by political and social considerations.

Having put aside the blood screening issue, we then concentrated on developing a policy for disease control. By this time, we already knew a few things about HB. However, we still did not know the epidemiologic extent of the problem in the country. What followed were a series of epidemiologic studies on the procedure, incidence and patterns of transmission of this infection.

A study of all age groups showed that in the Philippines, especially among the poor, about 50 percent had already been infected for five years. The same was true of pregnant women. Owing to the favorable effects of socio-economic factors, our UP medical students were not as heavily infected. It is interesting to note, however, that when these students came to UP, the carrier rate was only two percent, but when they got out of the University, it was five percent. Somewhere along the line, the students were getting infected in the hospital.

The carrier rate based on our study ranged from 4 percent to 17 percent. It was higher among the poor (10 percent to 16 percent) than among the well-off (2 percent to 5 percent). Subsequent studies yielded similar observations. About 58 percent to 60 percent of the poor had been infected by the time they were five years old, with a high carrier rate of between 10 to 16 percent.

How the disease was transmitted continued to interest us. We did a study in Bay, Laguna. In one community, we gathered about 800 people who had not been infected with the disease and we followed them over a period of one year to find out how many would be infected. When all age groups were considered, 3.3 percent were infected over a year's time. Disaggregating the data, however, we found the incidence of the disease to be 9.2 percent among children below age 5, or almost three times the infection rate for all age groups.

The crucial insight here was that infection had an early onset. The young were infected without anyone being aware of the fact. If the carrier rate was between 10 to 12 percent and assuming a population of about 53 million people at the time of the study, then approximately 4.7 million Filipinos were walking around as carriers of hepatitis B and were candidates for liver cancer later on.

We asked ourselves what predisposed these people to infection. We first investigated the family. When both parents were infected, children stood to be infected 7.59 times more than when the parents were not infected. When only one parent was infected, the odds ratio dropped to 3. If an older sibling was infected, a younger sibling had 7.6 times risk of getting hepatitis B. Undoubtedly, there was family clustering and intrafamilial risk.

What about maternal-child transmission and the effect on communities? On the whole, 10 percent of all pregnant women were carriers of the HBV and 20 percent of these were very infectious. We found out, however, that in this country there were some areas in which there was practically no transmission in infants or children below two years old. On the other hand, there were places where infants were already infected and were carriers by the time they were three years old. This means that the transmission of hepatitis B from the mother to the child differed, depending on the region.

If the strategy of disease-control were to deal with the mother-child component, then the disease cannot be controlled, much less eradicated. While one of our studies confirms that mothers with HBeAg, a surrogate marker in the blood for the presence of the virus, had a 100 percent chance of transmitting the virus to their children, finding all mothers was close to impossible. Moreover, a policy focusing on the mother glosses over the fact that only one out of three children infected during infancy got the virus from the mother at birth. The family constellation and community environment had their own significant contribution to the propagation of the disease.

Even while we felt the strategy of hepatitis B control should shift its target away from the mothers, developments abroad gave us a new tool for disease control. From 1967, when Dr. Blumberg had just identified the marker of the virus, to 1980, an effective vaccine had been developed and tried with remarkable success. There is nothing like this development in the annals of medicine. It demonstrates dramatically that when scientists put their minds together to solve a problem, progress can occur in leaps and bounds.

The hepatitis B vaccine is so effective that when normal adults and children are vaccinated, 95 percent of them will develop protective antibodies which will ensure their immunity against future infection. Apart from its efficacy, the vaccine is also among the safest.

When the vaccine was introduced, however, the cost was somewhere between US$50 to US$70. Secretary Bengzon could not just include HB vaccine in the Expanded Program of Immunization because, considering that three injections were needed per child, the cost was prohibitive. He asked us to do more studies to see

how we could modulate or control the disease while the vaccine was not yet affordable on a universal vaccination basis.

Thus, despite the vaccine, the economic realities of the country kept us searching for solutions within the maternal-child framework. We concentrated on this modality of transmission as a target for interdiction because this type of infection produces the most carriers and HCC in later life. Likewise, pregnant mothers are easier to identify in the population.

There were 1.3 million live births in the Philippines annually. We had to access the mothers and to test them. At that time, the test used to determine infectiousness was by radio-immunoassay. Apart from its expense, very few cities other than Manila had the capability to carry out this procedure. In this procedure, the blood of the mothers had to be obtained, transported and processed in the laboratory. As mentioned earlier, testing the blood of almost 1.8 million mothers was close to impossible, not to mention the logistics of obtaining them.

We, therefore, applied for a grant from the National Institute of Health in America to take a crack at developing a simple technology for identifying infectious, carrier mothers, which could be done in the field by a barangay health worker or anyone with minimal technical training. The idea was to develop a technique by which blood obtained by pricking the mother's fingertip could be blotted on a filter paper and then sent for testing to a simple laboratory or within the area itself.

We succeeded in finding a surrogate marker for the hepatitis B virus in the technology we developed, which could identify the highly-infectious mothers. The technology was simple, sensitive, specific and can be done under field conditions. With success in developing a feasible technology, we began to cost the effort with the application of this technology.

If we wanted a 100-percent specific, 100-percent sensitive test, there would be no substitute for the radio-immunoassay test. The test we developed was less than 100-percent sensitive and specific. The implication was, using our test, we would not be able to find all the infectious mothers and would be vaccinating newborn babies who did not need to be given the vaccine. For instance, if we used

the test with a 76-percent sensitivity and 70-percent specificity for 1.5 million live births, 7500 infants should be vaccinated, yet 22,000 more would receive the vaccine even if their mothers were not infectious.

At that time, the Health Secretary was almost ready to accept this risk, but we said there were rapid developments in the cost of the vaccine. Our clinical economists began computing at what point vaccinating the children would be more cost-beneficial than screening mothers prior to deciding on the vaccination of the offspring. When the vaccine cost was less than 80 pesos, then it was more cost-beneficial to vaccinate all children rather than screen 1.8 million mothers to identify which of their children had to be vaccinated.

When we completed our calculations, we recommended that when the cost of the vaccine went down to 57 pesos, the DOH should forego the screening and launch a vaccination program. The Secretary's response then was that even 57 pesos was unacceptable; that the cost should come down to 25 pesos or less per infection. He therefore asked us to find ways and means to bring down the cost.

In response, we tried to find out whether we could economize on the number of injections. We conducted a study in Pila, Laguna almost six years ago to compare the efficacy of three standard doses of the vaccine against only one dose. Our question was, while three doses is ideal to prevent acute infection, can one dose prevent the development of carriers?

In areas where the carrier rate was below 5 percent, the rate of transmission was so low that one could not distinguish the benefit of a three- versus a one-dose vaccination. The more important finding of the study, however, given our limited financial resources and the habit of mothers to bring in their children for only the first shot, was that we could even get away with one dose.

There is a scientific basis for this statement. In this study, we gave one injection to a particular group of children. Three years later, we followed them up to test if they would have antibodies as proof of the efficacy of the vaccination. To our surprise, more than half tested positive for antibodies after three years. We rounded up our cases and gave them a booster dose. After a booster dose, 82 percent developed very high antibodies on the protective level.

This observation was a deviation from the textbook case. The world's medical literature on this topic asserts that a booster shot is necessary because the antibodies from three injections may no longer be there after three years. But our study and past observations in the Philippines reveal that in our country and in other countries in Africa, people who received vaccinations did not lose their antibodies. One possible reason is that we are constantly being infected and challenged by HBV, it being hyper-endemic in our region.

Thus, if there is no other choice, children in the Philippines can be protected with one shot, provided that the simple shot contains more antigens. Therefore, when the likelihood was that compliance to three shots could not be fulfilled, we suggested giving one shot with more than the recommended amount of antigen.

Let me reiterate the policy recommendations we made then. Since we had developed the technology, the Department of Health could target pregnant women, although we suggested that they give up screening if the cost of the vaccine dropped to 54 pesos or less. If the Department wanted to economize, we told them they could reduce the injections. In communities with a carrier rate of less than five percent, the Department could forego mass vaccinations. Should they decide on a mass immunization campaign against hepatitis B, they could make do with only one dose, albeit with a higher immunogen.

After all was said and done, developments took a quick turn to our benefit. Many supplier countries came into the picture. Korea, in particular, offered the vaccine for less than a dollar. It was close to the 25 peso ceiling Secretary Bengzon had given us earlier. Eventually, we were able to buy the vaccine for as low as 0.65 US cents.

With the significant reduction in vaccine cost, we pitched for mass vaccination. We qualified this policy proposal, however. At that time, companies like San Miguel and Purefoods were buying the vaccines in bulk and were giving these to their adult employees. We suggested that they give the vaccines instead to their employees' children.

We rallied behind a mass immunization program of the DOH, concentrating on the newborn infants as part of the EPI. The Department of Health however could only afford 70 million pesos

for the first year of the program. This was only good for 40 percent of the newborn for that year (1991). The DOH developed a plan whereby there would be an increment of 10 percent of the coverage per year, such that by the year 1996, 100 percent of all newborn babies will have been immunized.

In the meantime, 60 percent of the babies in 1991 were not immunized. The question was what to do with this missed group. The first issue was how to go after the missed group; *i.e.*, what catch-up strategy could be utilized. The second issue was political. In the choice of who should receive immunization in 1991, our position as scientists was to recommend concentrating on a few areas where we can have universal coverage of newborns. This would facilitate our assessment of the efficacy of the program. However, the final areas chosen were determined politically, in response to pressures from mayors and governors who exerted their influence.

The third issue was the capability of the Department of Health to carry out the immunization program without additional infrastructure. Process documentation done by our group in a community revealed that the delivery system of the DOH was adequate. The same process documentation led us to develop two schedule modules in response to concrete problems emanating from the peculiarities of the locale.

Let me end with the issue confronting any health planner. Even if the hepatitis B vaccine cost US$1.50 each (It is US$0.65 now.) and we added on to it the cost of delivery (resulting in an overall cost of US$3.00 per dose), it would still be cost-beneficial to vaccinate. The vaccine can prevent 30 hepatitis-related deaths per 1000 children. The cost of preventing each death, therefore, is roughly US$75. If it takes only US$75 to prevent one death from liver disease, this is far cheaper than treating one actual case of HCC. US$75 is barely the cost of one course of a chemotherapy agent, which is ineffective anyway. Against this backdrop, there is no other argument, from a public point of view, but to vaccinate.

I have tried to present a very good case for a science-based policy formulation process. Unfortunately, many of our policies are crafted without regard for solid information. As Secretary Bengzon had said, it should no longer be so.

REFLECTIONS ON PEACE AND THE GANDHIAN WAY OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

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PART I

I chose the theme "Reflections on Peace and the Gandhian Way of Social Transformation" because it converges with Dr. Abueva's keen interest in the problems of peace. He has been actively involved in the peace process that was initiated to achieve peace and security in Mindanao. Academically, he has been an ardent student of political leadership. So I feel that a lecture on the life and works of Mahatma Gandhi, a leader who devoted his life to the attainment of peace and human freedom, would be appropriate on this occasion.

My interest in Gandhi goes back to my early childhood, over half a century ago. It was my late mother who first guided me towards him when I was still too young to understand his life or his importance to India's future. I was to learn much later what really motivated my mother to sway me towards religious learning, including the thoughts of the Mahatma.

I was the only boy in the family, the youngest after four sisters. I was begotten after considerable prayers, promises of offerings and visitations by my mother to a variety of gods and goddesses in farflung areas in our province. It was a mother's gambit to ensure that nothing went wrong with her only son. She was afraid I might end up joining the police, as my father, a retired police officer, was planning for me when I grew up. The British police in Punjab, which my father joined in 1891, was infamous for its brutality and high-handedness. And my mother

wanted nothing of it for her son. The Mahatma was preaching peace, non-violence and love. Therefore, she thought that following his teachings, together with the religious teachings of my own faith, seemed a sure way of getting around the possibility of a career in the Punjab police.

There was, of course, no guarantee that being a follower of Gandhi was a safe passage in life. But my mother, like most rural folk all over the country, revered Gandhi as a Mahatma and a man of peace, and she believed that following his teachings would be wise and best for me. And, because of her prodding, I gradually did develop considerable interest in Gandhi at a very young age.

In later years, I went to Delhi where I finished my high school and college education. It was in Delhi that I had my first political education and was formally introduced to the teachings of Gandhi. In 1940 or 1941, I joined the Indian Congress Party's youth volunteers group called the *Seva Dal.* Gradually thereafter, I became a regular member of the Congress Party and began to take active part in its various activities.

Until I left for the Philippines in 1951, over forty two years ago, I was one of the secretaries of the Congress Party in Delhi, the capital city. Before I left, I had taken several vows which included, among others, wearing only *Khadi* clothes and abstaining from alcoholic drinks and meat.

These personal circumstances and experiences may reflect my interest in the Gandhian teachings, his philosophy and politics. But this does not make me an expert in Gandhism by any stretch of the imagination. With this limitation in mind, I will share with you my personal reflections on peace as I understand it in the context of Gandhian thought.

I will outline some of the key precepts of Mahatma Gandhi for social transformation through *Ahimsa* or non-violence and *Satyagraha* or holding on to truth at all time and at all cost in one's dealings with others. It is this Gandhian contribution to the realm of political and social struggle, the practical application of the principles of truth and non-violence to the politics of freedom struggle in India, that have endeared him to the people everywhere and earned him the title of Mahatma, the great soul or the living saint.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in Porbandar, Gujarat province on October 2, 1869 in a well-to-do but religiously conservative clan. His father, Mohandas Gandhi, was the prime minister to the Raja of the small princely state. His mother, according to Gandhi's own accounts, exerted tremendous influence on him. He talked about his great devotion to his parents in his autobiography and other writings. He was a shy, even timid, young boy. But he was deeply religious and took considerable interest in family rituals and rites.

Gandhi's deep respect for the faiths of others was the result of his early socialization within his rather large extended family. Mahatma Gandhi's childhood experiences, it seems, shaped his moral and spiritual character. They served as the foundation of his public life as the supreme leader of the Indian independence movement.

Gandhi was devoted to Truth. He claimed that he had not seen God but he knew the power of Truth and that it was through his being a worshipper of Truth that he felt the presence of God in him. Whenever he felt that he had erred, he would publicly own his mistake and make amends even at the risk of serious political setbacks. This demonstration of humility angered his political followers and confused his critics and the British authorities. He often resorted to prolonged fasting not only for self-purification but to impress upon others the validity of his point of view.

He followed the policy of openness and transparency in his fight against the British, as well as in his fight for India's social and political transformation.

He often laid bare his innermost thoughts and feelings for his people to know. This is demonstrated eloquently in his autobiography, *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*, which was first published in Gujarati, Gandhi's mother tongue, in 1927.

Gandhi's voluminous writings demonstrate his capacity to be honest and frank to a fault. He spoke as if always from his heart.

From his autobiography, perhaps the most significant and traumatic experience of Gandhi's early life was his marriage at

the tender age of thirteen to Kasturbai, who was of the same age!

The following passage vividly portrays his capacity to lay bare his pain and sorrow caused by this trauma. The passage is the first paragraph of Chapter III, entitled "Child Marriage".

> Much as I wish that I had not to write this chapter. I know that I shall have to swallow many such bitter draughts in the course of this narrative. And I cannot do otherwise, if I claim to be a worshipper of Truth. It is my painful duty to have to record here my marriage at the age of thirteen. As I see the youngsters of the same age about me who are under my care, and think of my own marriage, I am inclined to pity myself and to congratulate them on having escaped my lot. I can see no moral argument in support of such a preposterous early marriage.

Gandhi was always ill at ease with schooling and formal learning. But he was patient and persistent in learning from experience and from others.

After finishing his high school education in his hometown, he entered a college some distance from his place. From the way he describes this experience, it seemed that his college schooling was so boring and difficult that after some months he gave it up and returned home. His father had passed away some time after his marriage and it was left to his elder brother and his mother to persuade him to pursue higher education. In fact he wanted to be a medical doctor, but, as usual, the elders in the family had the last say. They were all opposed to a medical education because it would require him to cut somebody's body during surgery.

There was consensus on his becoming a lawyer, so that he could earn enough to look after the large clan where many members needed constant care and support. But where to study was a choice between India and England.

Gandhi decided to study in England, but hardly received any support from the family. Going to England seemed a good idea but it went against the customs and tradition of his caste. It was considered sacrilegious and a social sin to go overseas. But Gandhi showed his determination and resolve in pursuing his plan when almost everyone was against it. His elder brother and his mother gave their blessings for his journey after he took a vow in the presence

of a Buddhist monk that, while in England, he would not touch wine, women and meat. Even then, while waiting for a ship in Bombay to sail for England, his fellow caste people in the city learned about this trip and threatened to declare him an outcaste if he dared leave the country. Once in a foreign country, they believed that he would loose his faith and would live the life of sin, as Europeans do.

Gandhi was a shy and retiring young man, and always respectful of his elders in the clan. But he shocked everyone when he resolutely refused to change his mind about going to England for higher education. He sailed for England despite the last minute hitch caused by the clan's pressure on all members of the community in Bombay. The person to whom his elder brother entrusted his passage money declined to give it to him because he was scared the clan members in Bombay might castigate him for helping Gandhi to sail for England. Gandhi had to borrow from another family friend to pay for his passage. All this added to the pain of leaving behind his eighteen year old wife and his young baby.

It was a culture shock no doubt for a young boy of eighteen. He attempted to play the role of an English gentleman but in the process, gained better perspective and affirmation of his own native culture and civilization. He returned from England in 1891 with legal education and a strong faith in his native culture and religion, and, above all, with greater confidence in his own capacity to mold his life the way he wanted to. He was his own man at last.

He wanted to start his law practice in India. But for a new lawyer, there were few opportunities that would allow him to make a living and, at the same time, to take care of the big clan, as was expected of him.

He was fumbling through his law practice when he got an offer to work for an Indian business house in South Africa. He readily accepted it and sailed for the British colony in 1893. It was supposed to be a short assignment, but Gandhi got involved in the movement against racial discrimination and stayed there for 21 years. He returned to India for good in 1915.

It was his African sojourn and his herculean struggle, often a lonely and painful venture, that brought out the best in Gandhi: his indomitable spirit, his boundless courage in standing up against the

powers and the might of the state, and his determination to achieve his objective through peaceful and non-violent means. It was the African experience that made him the Mahatma and prepared him for the independence struggle in India.

It is correct to say that from the day he landed in Bombay in 1915 until the infamous day of his assassination in New Delhi on January 30, 1948, Gandhi never rested for a day in the service of his country. Dr. Albert Einstein, in paying tribute to Gandhi, said that "the future generations will not believe that a man such as he ever walked this earth." And ironically, within less than half a century since his death, even in his own country, which calls him the Father of the Nation, he is partly a forgotten man.

Mahatma Gandhi not only changed India's destiny but, in doing so, also brought to the attention of the world community the moral and spiritual efficacy of these precepts of *Ahimsa* or non-violence and *Satyagraha*, the adherence to truth as a viable and necessary means to achieve social and political objectives. These are well-known principles and precepts, but are not fully applied in practice today on a scale that Gandhi did in his work, first in South Africa and later, on a much larger scale, in India.

He did not develop any systematic ideology nor did he lay claim to have discovered anything original in the realm of political thought. Gandhi was an adaptive, practical man. He learned from others enthusiastically and experimented with ideas and concepts that many earlier thinkers had espoused. It is in this particular sense that one finds Mahatma Gandhi original. It is also in this particular context that one may suggest that he is even more relevant today to the world community than ever before.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE GANDHIAN CONCEPT OF PEACE

Mahatma Gandhi found something good in every religion. He maintained that human beings are motivated more by love and truthfulness in their day-to-day life, particularly within the realm of the family. This is universally true and a verifiable phenomenon. All human beings are brothers under the skin, as proclaimed by all religions. They are the children of the same father, God. But why

are there conflicts and fights that lead to so much suffering, death and destruction?

Gandhi dwelt on this issue all through his life. He demonstrated by example that love and non-violence are effective means of achieving peace, provided that people are freed from fear, greed and hatred and that they become votaries of truth and non-violence as basic traits of their lives.

Many consider Gandhi as a fanatic of sorts. In their view, as long as there is a humanity that is divided by geography, history, culture, religion, race and ethnicity, there will always be conflict that will lead to war. And the stronger and the smarter ones will survive. It is a world that expects only the strong to survive. Gandhi and his ideals would thus, seem irrelevant in the context of such a "realistic and practical" view of the world. The vicious cycle of war and strife shall continue endlessly, and humanity shall continue to suffer. There is no escape.

Mahatma Gandhi's response to such a cynical or defeatist attitude was: Do not despair, keep going, walk along the path of peace, truth and non-violence, and, if necessary, walk alone even one step at a time. Keep faith with truth and non-violence, and one day it will make a difference.

His concept of an enduring peace to protect humanity from wars of destruction and pillage is anchored on truth, which Gandhi viewed as the reflection of God Himself, and non-violence, the inherent quality that all human beings possess. Peace must emerge from the hearts and souls of men of God and goodwill who are willing and ready to die while nurturing and protecting it through non-violence and love.

During our own time and all throughout history, factual evidence in support of the Gandhian contention is overwhelming. It shows that peace achieved through violent wars and destruction has never been a lasting peace. Time and again, it has proven to be fragile and transitory.

Since the end of World War II, mankind has witnessed many smaller wars. The regional and local wars have proven to be more vicious and destructive than the so-called world wars. And we see

no lasting peace in sight. Instead, humanity is witness to an open season of endless, deadly strife that inflicts devastating losses of human lives everywhere. Moreover, the world is now being torn apart by religious, racial, ethnic and communal conflicts almost everywhere.

Ironically, the people of the South Asian sub-continent, whom Gandhi once claimed as his own people and for whom he worked and died, are in constant conflict, with one another. International conflict among nations in the sub-continent and internal social strife within each country are not uncommon. One is compelled to ask in desperation, why have they forgotten the teachings of their own leader? If Gandhi is considered now to be even more relevant to the world community at large, he and his teachings must, of necessity, be of greater relevance and use to these countries.

Gandhi has gone long ago, but his way of viewing human and global problems is still relevant. It is up to the men of God and goodwill to take courage and apply Gandhi's philosophy to the solution of our current problems.

PART II

I shall briefly discuss some of the significant aspects of the Gandhian style of leadership by example and by identification with the masses — the general framework of the epic struggle waged by the Indian people under his inspiring leadership. I shall also outline two broad aspects of this complex struggle for independence: (1) the united efforts of the Indian people against the British rule through non-violent and peaceful means; (2) the revolt of the self — the inner purification of Indian society by purging itself of the rampant injustices made against the untouchables, women, tenant farmers, bonded and indentured labor; upliftment of the people's self-awareness, self-respect and moral standards, to mention only a few. In this respect, I shall also dwell on some of the key aspects of his "Constructive Programme" the blueprint that he designed for the radical transformation of the Indian people and the country.

Gandhi was pragmatic enough to recognize the enormity of the task of changing the 'unchanging India. Nonetheless, he gradually plunged into the historic struggle and did make a difference and changed the face of India.

Upon his arrival in India, he was urged to wait and not to immediately rush into politics, to study the Indian scene through an extensive tour of the country, and then decide what he wanted to do. This wise counsel fitted well into Gandhi's own inner compulsion. It was his plan to learn objectively and better understand the prevailing political and social conditions in the country. He set off on a nearly year-long journey throughout the country, meeting people from all walks of life. He traveled mostly by railway, in a third-class coach. This was then, and still is, the popular and inexpensive means of mass transportation for the poor people in the country. In his insistence on traveling by third-class coach, Gandhi was, in fact, building his strongest link with the common people of India whom he had vowed to serve.

Gandhian dictum demanded that if he had to serve the poor majority, then he should learn and practice to live like the poor, suffer with them and be one of them. The leader and the led must be one with each other in thought, spirit, faith, resolve and action. And the Gandhian way to achieve this unique, symbolic unity was remarkable. Seen in the context of his life's work and his faith in God and man, it was the only right and moral way to stake a claim on moral and political leadership: by a total identification with the aspirations of the common man.

Gandhi's style of leadership was unique. He would cajole and complain about the bad habits of the people traveling in the third-class coaches. At the same time, he would point out the prevailing shortcomings of the railway system, particularly its arrogant and overbearing staff, who treated the riding public with disdain. He would engage the railway authorities in lengthy correspondence to redress the complaints of the poor riding public, who were too scared to protest.

Many of these complaints seemed to many and too trivial for a leader of Gandhi's stature to be engaged in lengthy correspondence and follow-ups. Yet Gandhi gave them great significance. To him, the pains of ordinary travelers, crowded like sardines into coaches,

were as relevant as the discomforts of India as a nation under the boots of the British Raj. They were synonymous. His purpose, therefore, was not only to redress the complaints, but more importantly, to make the people increasingly aware that (a) they were entitled to humane and decent treatment as paying passengers, and (b) they would get justice and better treatment if they lodged their complaints and registered their protest.

This was Gandhi, the educator and the leader, teaching his people to wake up and rise to action and revolt. This was the Gandhian way of striking out the endemic fear from their minds. He was also assuring the poor people that he would speak and work for them whatever their cause or complaint be.

Gandhi was particularly sensitive to the widespread fear among the rural folk who talked about the invincibility of the British and their inexorable destiny to rule India. They had even come to accept the injustices perpetrated by the British as the consequence of their *Karma* in their previous lives. Many other reformers and leaders had recognized this, but they failed to find a solution to it. It was left to Gandhi to lift the people out of this fear, if not entirely, to a great extent.

Everything he did and every statement he made was to capture the mind, spirit and hearts of the common man. He was remarkable in developing rapport with the common man. He believed that it would be the common man, the poor masses, and the oppressed who would walk with him because they had the bigger stake in the fight for independence. They would be the vanguard of his battles and, in the long run, the beneficiary in an independent country.

Winston Churchill's description of Gandhi as a "naked *fakir*" was most eloquent and accurate because this was exactly what Gandhi wanted to be, a *Fakir* in the true sense of the term. And he lived the life of a *Fakir*.

In the Indian cultural context, particularly in Norther India, a beggar or a mendicant is normally called a *Fakir*. But saints, seers and men of God who teach, preach and work for the good of humanity are also called *Fakir* and are respected and even worshiped by their followers.

It was to become a true *Fakir*, a humble being, identified with the millions of people, that Gandhi gradually changed his garb,

too. He adopted the single-piece loin cloth, or *dhoti*, as it is called in Hindustani, ordinary slippers or *chappals*, and carried a staff in his walks. He also spoke to the people in the simplest manner possible to overcome complex language barriers, India having scores of languages and hundreds of dialects.

His frail body in a common man's garb became the symbol of new India: poor and emaciated with hunger, yet defiant and proud. In this one single act, Gandhi gave India, especially the vast rural India, a unifying symbol that eventually galvanized the country as a nation. The world knows him that way and, thanks to the movie "Gandhi", the younger generations have also become familiar with the Mahatma.

I relate these rather interesting aspects of his life primarily to underscore his unique style of leadership, his clarity of thought, his neatly and assiduously defined objectives, and his preparedness and determination to achieve them with the active participation of the masses of the Indian people. He was preparing for a long-drawn-out fight against the British on his own terms.

He recognized, after his extensive tours of India, that the Indian masses were not prepared to engage in an armed struggle as advocated by the so- called radical groups in India. The people were not only poor, illiterate, divided by geography, culture, language and religion; they were also totally disarmed, disunited and utterly disorganized. The British Raj felt secure in India, not only because it had massive police power exercised through its army of occupation, but also because India was no match to its organized state power. Armed struggle would devastate India even more into abject poverty and enslavement.

It seems from hindsight that Gandhi considered the terrible fear instilled in the hearts and minds of the vast majority of the Indian people as the most serious impediment to his goal of unifying them to rise against the British rule. Fear of authority and fear of the government had been embedded in the psychic depth of the Indian masses as a result of centuries of foreign rule that were uniformly devastating and oppressive. The British rulers systematically made use of this historic impact on the minds and hearts of the people. Gandhi needed some herculean deed to impress upon his own people that he could stand tall against the British Empire and

to let the British know that he was not scared to face the consequences of his act of defiance and revolt. Imprisonment and death would not deter him from his peaceful and non-violent protest.

This strategy, anchored on truth, worked in his first major confrontation with the government authority in the Champaran where Gandhi had taken up the cudgels for the tenants of the British estate owners who were being brutally exploited and evicted from their farms for not following the demands of the land-owners. He was brought to court, summarily tried, and sentenced to a maximum jail term of five-and-half years. Gandhi told the court that he was willing to endure the punishment, but he refused to accept the authority of the British. He said that British rule was unjust and, so long as it remained unjust, he would continue to oppose and fight against it. Imprisonment and death were of no consequence to him. He had no ill-will against the judge because he was only performing his duty. Likewise, he bore no anger or hatred against the British people. What he was opposed to was the unjust and immoral British colonial rule.

Here was the specter of a naked *Fakir* fearlessly defying the mighty British Empire. The masses of India were instantly aroused, as if the fear that had saturated their souls and spirit were lifted and they were freed from its bondage. Fearlessness and raw courage surged to the surface. Gandhi had struck the first blow at the impregnable citadel of the British Empire and, for the first time, the British government was placed on the defensive. Gandhi had pitted his love force against physical brute force. Although it was a minor encounter, it was strategically decisive. He had taken the first step to level the playing field. From hereon, the British had to meet Gandhi on his own terms. He would not fall into their trap.

Gandhi viewed the national movement for the emancipation of India from the British Raj as an integral part of a much broader national struggle; that is, to regain its social and moral emancipation. And since it would outlast the fight against the British, the broader struggle should not be made to wait; it had to be simultaneously fought. Gandhi opted to fight on both fronts with equal vigor and fervor.

However, there was a qualitative difference in the methods employed to seek inner purification of the social order. Unlike the

struggle for independence, no direct action was required. Instead, the social and moral transformation had to be achieved through collective, cooperative and collaborative programs of action. For attaining national self-purification, the emphasis was on service and sacrifice by the constructive workers as well as the members of the community.

The concept of collective national purification through service and sacrifice was an all-embracing program of action. It was aimed at rebuilding the old India into an entirely new society and nation. In a typically Gandhian design, it aimed to establish on earth *Ram Rajya*, a kingdom of God, a regime of peace, tranquility, justice, equity, honor and love.

The Constructive Program, a blueprint of social action, was designed, among many other things, to eradicate all the social, economic, cultural and moral infirmities in Indian society. In particular, it aimed (1) to mitigate and remove the social disparities, specifically the injustices of the caste system in Hindu society, perpetrated against the so-called untouchables; (2) to promote communal unity and peace by removing religious and cultural antagonism, specially among certain segments of the Hindus and Muslims; (3) to end the age-old exploitation and oppression of workers, tenants, and bonded and indentured labor; (4) to uplift the status of Indian women in the social order; (5) to give equal educational opportunity to all, irrespective of caste, creed or sex; (6) to uplift the rural masses in order to improve the quality of their life; (7) to rekindle the spirit of *Swadeshi*, love of things Indian, specifically hand-spun and hand-woven *Khadi* and home-made products manufactured and produced by Indian workers and peasants; and, most importantly, (8) to promote national unity needed to in the struggle against the British.

Gandhi demanded strict discipline and commitment from those who took the vow of following his footsteps. Yet he was ever conscious of human frailty and constantly provided guidance to all through his personal suffering and sacrifice.

He was particularly interested in changing the attitudes of the people. He encouraged them to strengthen their moral and ethical fiber by subjecting themselves to strict discipline and hard work in the service of others. I shall elaborate on these points

by citing relevant illustrations from my personal involvement in this movement.

Earlier, I had stated how, through my mother's encouragement, I became interested in the Mahatma's teachings, and how I became what may be called a Gandhian follower. A few instances in my life that I shall share with you will give you some inkling of what it meant to ordinary people like myself to follow his precepts, and what was required of such people in search of "self-purification".

I had the rare opportunity of working on several occasions in the Mahatma Gandhi's Camp at the Bhanghi Colony in New Delhi.

Mahatma Gandhi was a wanderer and moved about the country whenever he was out of prison and confinement.

The political developments in India in the post-war period were dramatic and moved with alarming speed. The British, having won the war, realized to their dismay that they were no longer capable of retaining and sustaining their rule in India much longer. It was just too costly and too risky. Their mind was occupied by the realities of the enormous task of reconstruction of their war-damaged country. The glory of the Empire was a luxury, was something the pragmatic British could ill-afford. The first post-war elections in England brought into power the Labour Party, which was eager to explore the possibility of transfering power to Indian hands. The Labour Party government accelerated this process even further by sending a Cabinet Mission to negotiate with Indian political parties and leaders.

This naturally unleashed hitherto dormant political passions, hidden fears and ambitions all at the same time. Every party of some consequence wanted a part in the negotiations and claimed a share of political power. In deciding which party would inherit the mantle of the British authority, the participation of Mahatma Gandhi was inevitable and crucial.

Those indeed were the most dramatic, exciting and traumatic days in the history of contemporary India. I mention this in passing because these events are extremely relevant to everything Gandhi stood for. It was his final test. The country he wanted to free and unite was about to be dismantled and carved into two separate nations.

It was the fateful years of 1946 to 1947. Mahatma was prevailed upon by the Congress Party leaders to stay in Delhi to guide them and take active part in the negotiations with the British government's representatives as well as with various Indian political parties.

Mahatma Gandhi agreed to take part in those negotiations in the hope that he might still change the tide of events that was leading towards the edge of disaster. It was my impression then that Mahatma Gandhi was losing control over these fast-moving events, even though he still remained a formidable political influence in the country.

He agreed to stay in the capital and decided to put up his camp in the Bhangi Colony in New Delhi. Bhanghis are sweepers of low caste even among the so-called untouchables. The colony, a cluster of low cost housing units, was built for the Bhanghis employed by the Municipality of New Delhi. Being one of the workers of the Congress Party in Delhi, I was involved in putting up the Gandhi Camp in the colony. The tasks included, among others, cleaning up the place and putting up a huge tent for the people who were expected to flock by the thousands to just see Gandhi. The municipal authorities had hurriedly built a nipa hut for the Mahatma.

The main point of this lengthy discussion is the decision of Mahatma Gandhi to put up his headquarters in the Indian capital in the colony of the Bhanghis.

At a time when the entire nation was looking in just one direction, the forthcoming exit of the British from India, Gandhi had this question in mind: The British are about to leave, but have we purged ourselves of the evil of untouchability? He had brought into the forefront the unfinished revolution of national self-purification.

So long as Hindu society kept the *Harijans* or the children of God, as Mahatma Gandhi used to call the untouchables, in bondage of prejudice and injustice, India would not be morally and ethically emancipated.

Working in that colony for even a short period gave me the rare opportunity to observe at close range the complex, rigid daily routine of Gandhi. In the last years of the British Raj, that small colony of untouchables became a hub of negotiations and consultations between

Mahatma Gandhi and the Indian political leaders, as well as the representatives of the British government. It was in those negotiations that the future of India was shaped and finally decided and sealed.

It was fascinating to witness history in the making. I saw the highest representatives of the British government, from England and New Delhi, troop in droves to this humble abode of the great Mahatma. I remember the leaders of all the political parties making a beeline to consult Gandhi all day and even late into the night.

Here was the frail old man whom Winston Churchill once called a "naked *fakir*", negotiating the dismantling of the British imperial rule in India in a Bhanghi colony!

Many leaders before Gandhi had decried the fact that the British had destroyed, deliberately and systematically, the once-thriving textile industry in India. To make way for the Lancashire-made cloth, the British imposed excise duty on Indian-made textiles, making these more costly and thus, less competitive with British textiles. The demise of the Indian textile industry resulted in terrible famine and death in the provinces of Behar and Bengal.

It was left to Gandhi to thrust this historical debacle before the nation as a symbol of national sorrow and shame. He made the *Charkha*, an ordinary spinning wheel, the symbol of Indian revolution, and it became the centerpiece of the national flag throughout the struggle against the British.

Not only that, he began to spin yarn to underscore the need to revive the dead craft and to be self-sufficient and to prove to the British that India shall rise again. He made it compulsory for all those who wanted to be regular members of the Congress Party to learn to spin and to wear nothing on their person but hand-spun and hand-woven cloth called *khadi*. It became the uniform and distinguishing mark of the soldiers of non-violent revolution.

I learned to spin yarn, not enough to provide for my basic clothing needs. But it rekindled within me and hundreds and thousands of others a sense of pride and love for things Indian and native, and not hatred for things made elsewhere.

This created a national upsurge of using Indian-made cloth and began to provide employment to hundreds of thousands of

people. Other cottage industries began to be revived, especially textile, being the most important of them all.

The wearing of *khadi* clothes was a reaffirmation and a celebration of the *swadeshi*, things one owns that are made in India by the Indian people and for the use of the Indian people. It might sound strange in the contemporary spirit of free and unfettered international trade, but Mahatma Gandhi's movement pushed India forward as a nation. The spinning wheel, the wearing of *khadi*, and *swadeshi* were all statements and symbols of a resurgent India. The important point here is that they all instilled self-pride in the people who, only a few years before, were frightened even by their own shadow.

All throughout my childhood and adult life, until I came to the Philippines, I never used any mill-made or imported foreign clothes. It was my mother's desire that I wore *khadi* when I was a small child. Later, when I was old enough, I understood its significance and took the vow to continue to do so. My mother and my sisters provided enough hand-spun and hand-woven clothes for my needs when I stayed in my village. Later, I bought all my clothes from Khadi Bhandhar, an outlet selling "certified *khadi*", clothes spun and woven by people who were paid fair wages. There was so much demand for it that some unscrupulous business houses began to make unreasonable profit from its sales by employing underpaid workers. *Khadi* produced by enslaved workers was not considered certified and we were prohibited from using them. Gandhi urged us not to patronize any businesses that exploited the poor people.

So when I came to the Philippines, in keeping with my vow, I brought along with me enough *khadi* clothes to last me for two years. My original intent was to stay here for a year at the most! But I committed a grievous error of judgment in tailoring all these clothes in typically Indian style. I was of course ignorant of Filipino styles and fashion at the time. And so when I landed at the then small airport in Manila at high noon on June 13, 1951, forty two years ago, I was all dressed up in *khadi* like a Nehru. I must have looked funny because all the people around looked at me from head to foot and then smiled, making me self-conscious of being the odd-man-out in the crowd. I put up a brave front and told my friends and relatives that I would persevere and keep on wearing my Indian

clothes, but they laughed, too. After a few weeks, I could no longer stand the attention I was getting wherever I went. Obviously, I was weak in my resolve. I finally gave up with deep regret and a sense of guilt. I bought new wardrobe in Divisoria, and for the first time in my life wore European-style clothing made of non-*khadi* material. This was not the only vow I had to break. Among others, I relearned to take alcoholic drinks. I had fallen and my resolve was shaken.

Gandhi also taught us to purge ourselves of prejudice, superstition and narrow caste considerations. In India, caste prejudices are like your skin. They are born with you. They still survive and have done grave injustice to the so-called outcastes and untouchables in Hindu society. To purge ourselves of such caste complexes, as demanded under Gandhian discipline, I started my self-purification by serving the untouchables. Normally, untouchables are required to do all the so-called dirty and menial jobs in society. But we were asked to choose a particular village and within it the specific quarters of the untouchables. And then, for a month or even longer, we regularly cleaned their homes as well as their dirty streets and did whatever they asked us to do.

That was nearly fifty years ago and it still remains an extremely memorable experience. It was indeed a demanding experience and we all had difficulties at first. But at the end of it we all came out winners and ennobled in spirit and thought. I have never had such a satisfying personal experience that changed my social orientation radically for the rest of my life. Incidentally, when I was born, my mother was attended to by a "midwife" who was an "untouchable" in our village. When I was growing up, my mother would make me touch her feet to pay my respects to her. (This is the way young ones in India pay their respect to their elders. It is similar to the kissing of the hands in the Philippines.)

These personal narratives are not sufficient to provide the full range of complexities of the teachings and thought process of Mahatma Gandhi. These are bits of observation and some insights drawn decades ago. It is obvious that I am still deeply touched by my encounter with Gandhian thought and briefly with Gandhi himself, even though I am no longer a Gandhian follower as I was in my younger days.

When freedom finally came to India, he remained unaffected by the excitement it brought to the nation. In fact, he was not even around to join the massive celebrations in the capital. Instead, he was walking the riot-torn provinces in the eastern parts of India where thousands were killed and hundreds of thousands rendered homeless as a result of the Hindu-Muslim riots.

The enormity of the task of healing the wounds of religious killings constantly engaged his mind and tortured his soul. His dreams of a free and united India, shattered all around him, made him realize also that he had failed to accomplish the all-important task of national self-purification. If that had been even half-done, the Hindu-Muslim riots that shocked the world and brought untold suffering to the innocent masses would have been avoided.

Gandhi was realist enough to recognize the inadequacy of his efforts and the enormity of the tasks that faced the political leaders since his return to India in 1915. Strange as it may seem, Gandhi made, just a few days before his assassination, a critical self-assessment of what he, as a leader, and the nationalist movement that he led had accomplished.

Gandhi was sad and felt devastated. The British rule had ended, but India was partitioned against his will and wishes. He agreed to the partition plan under pressure and against his inner thought and feeling. Yet he was determined to move on and lead the movement for the inner restructuring of Indian society that was sadly lagging behind.

It was for this reason that he drafted a proposal suggesting a new role in the social restructuring of the Indian National Congress Party. That proposal, even though it never received any serious attention from the Indian National Congress Party, is now considered his Last Will and Testament. It recognized the need for national self-purification and the ill impact of the newly-gained power of government in the hands of the Congress Party; that is, it would erode the party's moral and ethical fiber. He proposed that the Congress Party disengage itself from governance and disband itself as a political party, as it had outlived its usefulness, its main purpose of dismantling the British Raj having achieved. He also proposed that it transform itself into a *Lok Seva Sangh*, a people's service organization, to continue the unfinished task of social transformation of the country.

Here are the opening lines of this short but extremely significant historic document. It was actually a draft resolution which the All-Indian Congress Committee (AICC) was expected to consider.

> Though split into two, India having attained political independence through means devised by the Indian National Congress, the Congress in its present shape and form, i.e., as a propaganda vehicle and parliamentary machine, has outlived its use. India has still to attain a social, moral, and economic independence in terms of its seven hundred thousand villages as distinguished from its cities and towns.... It must be kept out of unhealthy competition with political parties and communal bodies. For these and similar reasons, the A.I.C.C. resolves to disband the congress organization and flower into a Lok Sevak Sangh....

This historic proposal was written on January 21, 1948 and Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated on January 30, just nine days later, by a Hindu fanatic. The Congress Party leadership now holding the reins of government did not give much attention to it after the death of the Mahatma. However, it was widely known that one of the top leaders of the Congress Party and, for long, a close associate of the Mahatma remarked, after listening to this proposal and other remarks made by Gandhi, that "the old man has lost his head."

In his last days, many people who attended his daily prayer meetings noticed that the Mahatma seemed in pain and isolated. He was heard as saying some of these words: "Oh God, there was time my people listened to my voice; now no one listens to me. If I have done what you have expected of me, please take me away".

Apparently, God was listening, as after a few days he was gone.

Unmistakably, Mahatma who almost always occupied the centerstage in Indian politics for nearly three decades, was largely marginalized by the turn of events and, more significantly, the abandonment of his advice by the key leaders of the Congress Party.

It seemed to me then, and I am more convinced now, that, with the assumption of government powers, the Congress Party could no longer follow faithfully the Gandhian path or abide by his strict moral and ethical code. It was a politics of power, connivance,

compromise and convenience. Gandhi, it seemed, was rather naive in asking his followers to forsake the political power that they had worked so hard to gain and was now within their reach. In a sense, his assassination symbolically cut off the intimate bond between the Congress Party and Gandhian ideals.

Of late, many serious thinkers and writers, specially in India, have raised questions about the relevance of Gandhi to our time and clime. I believe most of his teachings, if not all, are still very relevant today. It is a matter of choice and purpose on our part to take a second look at Gandhi.

To Gandhi, peace in a community, a nation or the world can only be achieved if the individual is able to lift his moral and spiritual self to a level where he is at peace with himself and with God. He considered truthfulness, belief in God, and righteousness as essential to a peaceful and harmonious community. Gandhi firmly believed in the principle of spiritual unity of the entire human race — a view proclaimed time and again by seers and saints all through the ages. Their practical application in his political activities and social programs was Gandhi's unique and innovative contribution to the politics of independence in India.

It was also his firm conviction that all human beings are brothers and sisters under the skin, irrespective of their geographic and racial origins. The view that we are all the children of the same God, also convinced him that he could communicate with his opponents, oppressors and followers alike with equal ease. He repeatedly exhorted his followers not to insult or to be unkind to the British people and officers in India, because they were their brothers and sisters, and not different from them in spirit. He often reminded his listeners in his daily prayer meetings that he was pleading what Buddha and Jesus Christ had espoused centuries ago. He said that the greater truth was the unity of all life and he considered Truth as synonymous with God. He said he had not seen God, but he had experienced the power of Truth.

Today, we clearly see the continuing relevance of his teachings, his life's work, and the message he left for all humanity. In a world ridden with continuous orgies of violence resulting from the ever-expanding cycle of ethnic, religious, racial and political conflicts, it seems wise and prudent for all women and men of goodwill to

seriously study and consider the practical application of non-violent means in the settling of conflicts and disputes within and among nations.

I think here lies Mahatma Gandhi's relevance to us in our own time and clime.

NOTES

1. M.K. Gandhi, *The Story of My Experiments with Truth.* Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1940. p.13.

At the time of rewriting this article in mid-May 1994, I was shocked to read a story of a mass children's wedding in the state of Rajasthan in India. Some of the children were reportedly as young as five years old. Nearly a century after Gandhi married at thirteen, old India has not changed a bit; or the contrary, it seems to have worse. In an ironic way, this unchanging nature of Indian culture and custom is testimony to the tremendous odds Gandhi confronted in bringing about change in India and also why he failed to succeed!

2. Gopinath Dhawan, *The Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi.* Ahmedabad-9: Navajivan Press, 1951, p. 235

LEADERSHIP, INNOVATION AND REFORM IN THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES (1987-1993)

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A VISION FOR THE U.P.

You may recall that as a nominee for President in 1987, I offered my vision of the University as a community of scholars. I asked the University of the Philippines (U.P.) to help provide the nation with learning and leadership for social transformation along the path and towards the destination envisioned in the new Constitution, namely: to build a peaceful, democratic, prosperous, just and humane society. Since the people ratified the Constitution, this is perhaps the best approximation of the Filipino vision of the Good Society. In the true sense, therefore, I have been advocating that U.P. gear its education towards the realization of the Good Society however distant the goal.

I challenged our faculty to help me break the status quo in U.P. if we were to help in some way to change the status quo in society through our teaching, research, extension and public service. In particular, in the midst of widespread poverty, inequity and injustice, I proposed that we help the government and the nation bring about progressive change or reforms that would enhance and redistribute income, wealth, power, education, access to information, and opportunity. By "social transformation" I meant bringing about

basic changes in our values and beliefs, our attitudes and behavior, and our structures and institutions. I challenged the faculty and the academic units to be effective leaders in their own fields, and to train our students to be progressive leaders.

Initially I suggested seven, and then nine, themes or issue-and-problem areas as U.P.'s unifying concerns: (1) population, resources, environment and sustainable development; (2) values, culture and communication in relation to nation-building and development; (3) education, learning and development; (4) science, technology and development; (5) poverty and basic human needs; (6) the national economy, public welfare and global interdependence; (7) governance, democratization, public welfare, and social justice; (8) the well-being, welfare, empowerment and development of people; and (9) peace and security and human rights.

Accordingly, focused on these concerns, one of my first initiatives was to organize the multidisciplinary, University-wide U.P. Assessments on the State of the Nation Program. Under it we undertook various studies by mobilizing the wide variety and broad scope of the U.P.'s academic disciplines and professional programs. The list of publications of this new program attests to its validity. (See Annexes for Publications of the U.P. Assessments on the State of the Nation Program.)

OUR THREE MOST BASIC INNOVATIONS AND REFORMS

In the long view, the most important and consequential innovations and reforms of my term are: (1) the multilingual U.P. Language Policy whose hallmark is the use and development of Filipino, the national language recognized in the 1987 Constitution, as the language of communication and of undergraduate education in the University; (2) the Socialized Tuition and Financial Assistance Program or *Iskolar ng Bayan* Program as a reform for equal opportunity, social justice and democratic access to U.P. education; and (3) the Distance Education Program leading to the future establishment of the U.P. Open University to greatly expand the University's service and outreach throughout the country and to overseas Filipinos.

The Multilingual U.P. Language Policy: Emphasis on Filipino

In our vision for U.P. to help provide the nation with learning and leadership for social transformation, U.P.'s most basic contribution is its policy and program stressing the use and development of Filipino. Through this, U.P. is demonstrating to itself, to other schools and to the nation the validity, usefulness and effectiveness of Filipino as the language of learning and communication in the universities and for all Filipinos. As we use Filipino in our instruction, research and communication, we are also preparing dictionaries, glossaries and other learning materials in Filipino. (See Box 1. *Ang Palisi sa Wika ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas* and Box 2. *Bunga ng Implementasyon ng Palisi sa Wika*).

My learning and working in the USA, Japan, Nepal and Thailand for 17 years over a span of 35 years and my observation in other countries impressed me that the most advanced and progressive nations used their own language for learning, communication and governance, enabling them to achieve national identity, cohesion and unity. In contrast, I saw how our insistence in using a foreign language, English, as the predominant language in education, law and government, professions, and the print media was obstructing our quest for national identity and solidarity, and equitable development for all Filipinos. This insight made me determined to give our language policy and program the highest order of priority and my fullest support.

As professors, students and presidents in the leading universities like U.P., Ateneo and De La Salle communicate in Filipino, they give prestige to the language of the people as also the language of intellectual discourse. They hasten the day when all Filipinos will be comfortably proficient and naturally proud in speaking our national language in the schools, in the government and everywhere in the country, in addition to being able to use their regional languages, English and some other foreign language. In the near future, as increasing numbers of our graduates who are proficient in both Filipino and English assume positions of leadership in government and society, they will be in the forefront of using Filipino as the national and official language mandated in the Constitution.

Box 1

Ang palisi sa wika ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas

Multilinggwal ang Palisi sa Wika ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas na inaprubahan ng Lupon ng mga Rehente noong Mayo 29, 1989 bilang pagtupad sa atas ng 1987 Konstitusyon:

* Una, kinikilala ng patakaran ang realidad ng Filipino bilang nasyunal na linggwa franka na nabuo batay sa interaksyon ng iba't ibang etnolinggwistikong grupo sa bansa at binubuo naman ng mga elementong unibersal sa mga wika sa Pilipinas. Bilang Pambansang Unibersidad, nangunguna ang U.P. sa paggawa ng mga hakbang para lalong mapaunlad ang Filipino batay sa mga rehyunal na wika ng Pilipinas. Hinihikayat nito ang pagturo ng mga rehyunal na wika sa Pilipinas, ang pagsaliksik sa mga lokal at rehyunal na wika, kultura at literatura.

* Pangalawa, inaatas ng patakaran ang paggamit ng Filipino bilang pangunahing wikang panturo at saliksik sa andergradweyt na lebel sa loob ng risonableng panahong pangtransisyon. Sinusunod lamang nito ang tinatakda ng Konstitusyon na "simulan ang paggamit ng Filipino bilang midyum ng opisyal na komunikasyon at bilang wikang panturo sa sistema ng edukasyon" (Art. XIV, sek. 6).

* Pangatlo, di tinatalikuran ng patakaran ang Ingles. Kinikilala ito bilang pangunahing linggwa franka ng mundo kung kaya pinapanatili at pinapalakas ng Unibersidad ang Ingles bilang pangunahing wikang internasyunal ng Unibersidad.

* Pang-apat, tinatag ang Sentro ng Wikang Filipino para sa mga sumusunod na tungkulin: pagmonitor ng implementasyon ng palisi sa wika; pagbigay suporta sa mga saliksik sa Filipino at iba pang wika sa Pilipinas; paghanda ng mga diksyunari at glosaring disiplinal at iba pang materyal sa Filipino.

Box 2

Bunga ng implementasyon ng palisi sa wika (1989-1993)

Sa pang-apat na taon ng implementasyon ng wika:

* naisulong na ang paggamit ng Filipino bilang wikang panturo sa tatlong pangunahing kolehyo: Kolehyo ng Gawaing Panlipunan at Pag-unlad ng Pamayanan, Kolehyo ng Sosyal Sayans at Pilosopiya, Kolehyo ng Arte at Literatura. May ilang batayang kursong tinutoro sa Filipino sa Matematika, Pisika, Kemistri, Enhinyeriya, Pangasiwaang Pangmadla, at iba pang disiplina.

* may mga glosaring disiplinal nang nabuo ang mga kolehyo tulad ng Medisina, Arkitektura, Arte at Literatura, Sosyal Sayans at Pilosopiya, Edukasyon, Agham, Gawaing Panlipunan at Pag-unlad ng Pamayanan, Araling Islamiko; gayundin, ang mga yunit ng U.P. Visayas ay nagsasagawa ng kanilang proyekto ng pag-ambag ng mga terminong Bisaya sa glosaring disiplinal na kanilang binubuo.

* may mga kasalukuyang proyektong sinusuportahan ng Sentro: ang pakipagtulungan sa Kolehyo ng Batas sa pagbuo ng English-Filipino Legal Dictionary, pagsuporta sa mga modyul panturo ng UPIS, paghanda at paglimbag ng Filipino Grammar at English-Filipino Dictionary nina Dr. Ernesto Constantino at Dr. Consuelo Paz. Humihingi naman ng *counterpart fund* sa U.P. ang isa pang malaking proyekto ni Dr. Ernesto Constantino na sinusuportahan ng Toyota Foundation — ang proyektong *A Universal Dictionary of 100 Philippine Languages* na binubuo ng 42 bolyum.

By our language policy and program, U.P. is quietly leading the national language revolution with our people around the country who use Filipino. Meanwhile, our national leaders are deliberately procrastinating in Congress and Malacañang, afraid of the controversy and the levelling and democratizing effects of obeying the constitutional command that Filipino shall be the language of the Filipinos.

STFAP/ Iskolar ng Bayan *Program*

Before I returned to U.P. in 1987, U.P. had become elitist in its student composition: upper and middle class students from the better high schools and large cities predominated, while lower income students from other schools and from provinces farther away from U.P. campuses were in the minority. As an institution training future leaders, U.P. reflected the inequity and injustice in society and was perpetuating this condition. All students paid low tuition which favored the rich but was still unaffordable to poor students when the cost of books, board and lodging, and transportation were added up.

The ideal of socialized tuition and more subsidies for qualified but low income students had been talked about for about 18 years but nothing serious was done about it. Given my background as a struggling working student in U.P., I was determined to introduce a basic reform to democratize access to U.P. education in the spirit of equal opportunity and social justice. As early as my eighth month I got the Board of Regent's approval of our Socialized Tuition and Financial Assistance Program (STFAP) or *Iskolar ng Bayan* Program. Implementation of the historic innovation began in June 1989.

In inventing and establishing STFAP we were defying the prophecy that something like it would be a managerial nightmare and politically explosive. Realizing that U.P. students would object and protest any increase of tuition, however minimal, I decided that we should increase tuition for students of the richest families by no less than 400 percent! This was necessary to make it feasible to allow socialized tuition discounts for middle class students and redistribute more substantial subsidies to the students from the lower-income families.

The *Iskolar ng Bayan* Program or STFAP is a massive multi-million peso program for undergraduate students only. It consists of subsidized education and socialized tuition for all; and financial assistance and subsidies, scholarships and student assistantships to lower-income students. Its underlying principle is: from each according to one's means, and to each according to one's needs.

From June 1989 to April 1993, excluding the academic year 1993-1994, the program cost P198,549,000. During the first four years, 22,734 students belonging to the four lowest income brackets (Brackets 1 to 4) paid no tuition and other fees, and received cash aid amounting to P171,728,000 in the form of monthly subsidy, book allowance, and transportation and lodging allowance. (See Table 1. Total Cost of STFAP).

Table 1
Total cost of STFAP (In P100,000)
1989-1990 to 1992-1993

YEAR	BRACKETS 1 to 4 Grantees	TOTAL CASH AID	STUDENT ASSIST.	ADMIN. EXPENSE	TOTAL COSTS
Year 1 1989-1990	5,905	38,160	2,822	2,000	42,982
Year 2 1990-1991	5,222	30,590	3,688	2,400	36,678
Year 3 1991-1992	4,872	34,928	4,443	2,800	42,171
Year 4 1992-1993					
Diliman	2,434	23,478	4,026		27,504
Manila	410	5,144	421		5,565
Los Baños	2,360	21,848	1,108		22,956
Visayas	1,531	17,580	113		17,693
Sub-total	6,735	68,050	5,668	3,000	73,718
TOTAL	P22,734	P171,728	P16,621	P10,200	P195,549

In schoolyear 1992-1993 alone, students in Brackets 1 to 4 totalled 6,735 or 23 percent of 28,872, the total number of undergraduates. With the addition of 5,440 more or 19 percent of the students (in Brackets 5 and 5-A), the undergraduate population who paid no tuition and other fees reached a total of 12,175 (or 42 percent of all the undergraduates). Students in Brackets 6, 7 and 8 (3,771 or 13 percent) got tuition discounts of 75 percent, 50 percent and 25 percent, respectively. (See Figure 1. STFAP Distribution of Undergraduate Students, 1992-1993).

But even the students in Brackets 9 and 9-A (12,920 in all or 45 percent), who paid the full tuition and fees averaging about P12,200 per year, were still partially subsidized by U.P. because the direct cost of education for every student for one year was estimated at P24,000. For comparison, Ateneo de Manila University and De La Salle University charge tuitions of about P25,000 to P30,000 per year.

Table 2 shows the actual subsidies that U.P. paid the students in the different brackets of STFAP in 1992-1993. Undoubtedly, in a poor country like ours the State, through the University, heavily subsidizes its students. Those from lower income families (students in Brackets 1 to 4) each received as much as P35,000 to P43,500 in subsidy during the academic year; those from higher-income families (in Brackets 9 to 6) still received subsidies ranging from P11,800 to P19,900 each. Again, this is why we say that every student in U.P. is an *Iskolar ng Bayan* or a scholar of the nation, supported by the State and by the people through their taxes.

Through STFAP, we have given hope to thousands of qualified students to study in U.P. where their modest means would otherwise prevent them from availing of a U.P. education. Because of STFAP, applicants for the UPCAT increased from about 30,000 in 1989 to 44,000 in 1993. To further democratize opportunity for access to U.P., we increased the number of testing centers from 29 to 40, initiated affirmative action programs, and offered more scholarships. Starting 1993, the UPCAT has been given in both English and Filipino to afford the students a choice in the language they want to use in answering the questions, thus further democratizing access to U.P.. By this innovation, U.P. has broken a new ground by being the first university and State institution to conduct a nationwide examination in both English and the national language.

Figure 1

STFAP distribution of undergraduates students
Academic Year 1992-1993

STFAP Brackets	No. of Students	Percentage
Brackets 1 to 4	6,735	23%
Brackets 5, 5A	5,446	19%
Brackets 6 to 8	3,771	13%
Brackets 9, 9A	12,920	45%
TOTAL	28,872	

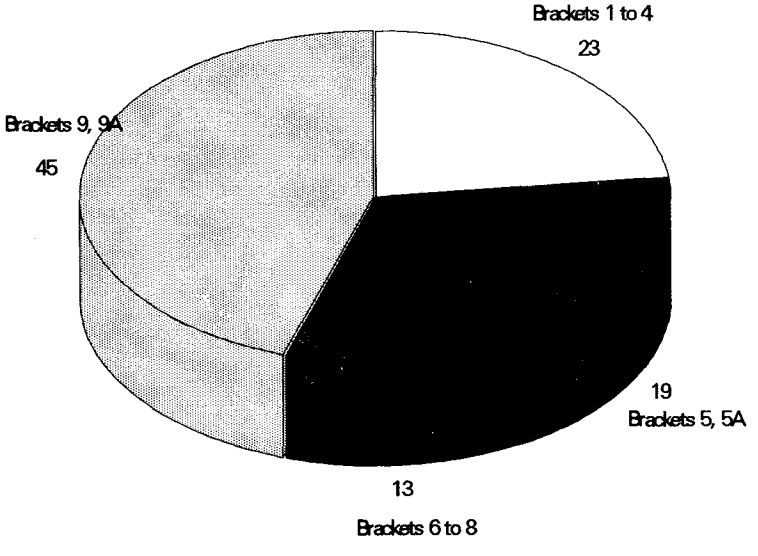

Table 2
U.P. subsidies to all students under STFAP
(1992-1993)*

	A	B	C	D	(A+B) - (C+D)
STFAP Bracket	Direct Cost of U.P. Education	Total Cash Benefits	Tuition Paid	Miscellaneous Fees	Actual Subsidy
1	24,000	19,500	-	-	43,500
2	24,000	17,000	-	-	41,000
3	24,000	14,500	-	-	38,500
4	24,000	11,000	-	-	35,000
5	24,000	-	-	1,400	22,600
6	24,000	-	2,700	1,400	19,900
7	24,000	-	5,400	1,400	17,200
8	24,000	-	8,100	1,400	14,500
9	24,000	-	10,800	1,400	11,800

* *Computations, in pesos, are based on the expenses paid by an undergraduate student enrolled in 18 units at P300 per unit.*

From the outset, the faculty, staff and the Board of Regents supported the STFAP, and so did the Congress which made it a public policy by a provision in the annual General Appropriations Act since 1989. However, for two and a half years, we were engaged in a struggle with student leaders which was vigorous, turbulent, and even violent on two occasions. To the credit of the students, however, in some of our many consultations with them, they were able to suggest ideas for refining and improving the STFAP, which we adopted.

From Distance Education to the U.P. Open University

Building on the University's initiatives in distance education in Los Baños and Diliman, we introduced an expanded Distance Education Program which the Board of Regents approved on August 27, 1992.

Earlier on I had visited the Indira Gandhi Open University in New Delhi which already had enrolled 150,000 students in its sixth year of operation. This example impressed me with the wisdom of building up our new Distance Education Program to become the U.P. Open University in the near future. My even earlier initiative in getting Congress to support U.P. in its effort to establish a U.P. Mindanao as the fifth constituent university had met with strong opposition from private and state universities and political leaders in Mindanao.

The projected U.P. Open University will be able to reach out to many thousands more qualified students in the country and overseas whose circumstances would otherwise prevent them from pursuing their studies in one of U.P.'s campuses . This innovation will enable us to avoid the formidable obstacles of establishing yet another U.P. constituent university on account of the heavy investments and maintenance costs it would entail; better still, it would multiply the outreach capacity of U.P. many times more, at a cost affordable to the students and to the State. Thus, U.P. would be democratizing student access to quality education much farther, in the spirit of equal opportunity, social justice and social transformation.

Responses to Twin Concerns and Challenges

As part of our agenda for innovation and reform for social transformation in the University, two concerns and challenges were foremost in our minds: (1) improving academic standards in the pursuit of excellence and (2) enhancing the status and welfare of the faculty and staff. Let me report on our positive and innovative responses to them in reverse order.

Enhancing the Status and Welfare of Faculty and Staff

For this purpose, these are what we did with the help of the government and other benefactors.

(1) Establishment of University Professor as the highest permanent academic rank in recognition of academic

excellence, with compensation only one salary grade below the U.P. President's. Sixteen scholars have been promoted to University Professor.

(2) Increase in Ph.D. holders from 666 to 813 (147, or 22 percent, more).

(3) More and better-endowed professorial chairs. Established 147 more professorial chairs (36 percent more; to a total of 552 professorial chairs) and raised the monthly honorarium for chair holders from P1000 to P2,500 (150 percent).

(4) New "Super Chairs". Established eight "super chairs" or distinguished professor chairs to honor former presidents of the Republic, with a monthly honorarium of P10,000 for up to three years.

(5) GE professorial chairs and faculty grants. Established these chairs and grants to recognize and reward teaching in the General Education Program as the basic program for all U.P. students.

(6) From occasional to annual promotions of faculty. Rank promotions of 1,171 faculty, the most extensive in a comparable period: 52 percent of the Assistant Professors; 50 percent of the Associate Professors; 42 percent of the full Professors; and of course, 100 percent of the 16 University Professors to date.

(7) Recognition of junior faculty through mass tenure and more faculty grants. Promoted 472 Instructors to Assistant Professor and gave them tenure; and provided 879 faculty grants and increased the annual honorarium for each faculty grant from P6,000 to P15,000 (or by 150 percent).

(8) Substantial salary increases. Late in 1988, President Aquino authorized a 10-percent increase in faculty salaries. In 1989, the Salary Standardization Law provided substantial salary increases to: Professors (67 to 102 percent); Associate Professors (33 to 64 percent); and modest increases to Assistant Professors (16 to 26 percent) and Instructors (6 to 19 percent).

(9) Substantial increases in pay for course teaching. The Board of Regents authorized substantially higher pay for overload

teaching, summer teaching, and for teaching by professors emeriti and lecturers.

(10) Substantial non-salary cash benefits. From 1987 to 1992 additional cash benefits amounted to P884,491,000 (P628,642,000 from the National Government and P255,849 from U.P.).

(11) Establishment of the President's Awards for Outstanding Publications and Creative Works. To recognize up to 50 publications and creative works each year with a cash award of P30,000 for each faculty author.

(12) President's Awards for Distinguished Service to the University and Outstanding Research. The first awardees were University Professor Jose Encarnacion, Professor Raul P. de Guzman, Professor Francisco Nemenzo, and Professor Salvador R. Salceda.

(13) Built 372 permanent housing units for faculty and staff in U.P. Diliman and U.P. Manila, including 24 housing units in U.P. College Baguio. These units in four-storey walk-up apartment buildings and townhouses increased University housing in U.P. Diliman by 43 percent.

(14) More health benefits in the form of hospital service at less cost at the U.P. Philippine General Hospital.

(15) Medical Aid Fund. Increased the medical aid to P1,000 per year for employees assigned to Salary Grades 1 to 19.

(16) Educational privileges of U.P. personnel and dependents. 8,214 faculty and staff, and 13,050 dependents obtained tuition and fee discounts equal to P40,291 million. Moreover, the tuition privilege was extended to non-earning dependents under certain conditions.

(17) Provident Fund. To generate more funding for personnel benefits, we set up an endowment fund with an initial capital of P20 million.

From the foregoing specific and concrete actions, with the help of the government and other benefactors, we have shown how seriously we endeavored to enhance the status and welfare of our faculty and staff.

Improving Academic Performance and Service

The innovations and reforms to enhance the status and welfare of faculty and staff also contribute to improving academic performance and service. Towards meeting the latter goal and challenge, we specifically undertook the following.

(1) Restoration of integrity and merit in admission to U.P. by abolishing presidential discretion in admitting students who failed the U.P. College Admission Test or who had not taken it.

(2) Use and development of Filipino as the language of undergraduate instruction, research and communication, as discussed above.

(3) Upgrading of English language proficiency. Complementing the promotion of Filipino and regional languages, culture and literature under the U.P. Language Policy, we set up the English Language Project to measure the English proficiency of students and promote excellence in the teaching and use of English as the global lingua franca.

(4) Judicious and democratic selection of chancellors, deans and directors to lead in improving academic standards and performance.

(5) Introduction of new curricular programs by the various colleges and constituent universities.

(6) Academic and management review of all academic units. This was the basis for improving their academic programs and management and revising their curricula.

(7) Review of the General Education Program as the basic program for all U.P. students, as basis for identifying problems and solutions and incentives to encourage the best professors to teach GE courses and recognize young faculty who teach GE courses.

(8) Reorganization and reform of U.P. Manila, the School of Labor and Industrial Relations, the College of Law and the College of Engineering.

(9) Integration of the three Philippine Studies Programs (in the Asian Center, the College of Social Sciences and Philosophy and the College of Arts and Letters) into one unified and better-coordinated program.

(10) Establishment of the U.P. International House (U.P. Balay Internasyonal) in U.P. Diliman as a center for international, scholarly and humanistic cooperation and a faculty center.

(11) Improved student evaluation of faculty performance. We encouraged better and wider use of evaluation of faculty performance by their students.

(12) Establishment of the U.P. Education Research Program, with a multidisciplinary core staff and associated faculty, to improve the University's capacity for assessing and improving its academic programs and for collaborating with other universities.

(13) Systematic assessment of U.P. education by faculty and students. An initial study of 14 colleges in U.P. Diliman was focused on knowledge management and attitude and value formation (the KAVS study). This revealing initial study is the basis for improvement and reform of U.P. education and student training for leadership.

(14) Establishment of the U.P. Oblation Awards for the 50 topnotchers in the U.P. College Admission Test to ensure that the best students actually enrol in the University.

(15) Expansion of cooperation with foreign universities through many more new exchange agreements.

(16) Reorganization and renewal of the U.P. Press under the operational management of the four chancellors. The primary purpose is to enhance the intellectual and artistic productivity of the faculty and to make the output of the U.P. Press reflect the University's creativity and output.

(17) Preparation of the U.P. Strategic Plan as a long-term exercise to chart the direction and development of the University into the 21st Century.

(18) Establishment of endowment funds for continuing support of research and the library collection. These are the U.P.

Research Endowment Fund (P27.6 million); the U.P. Library Collection Development Fund (P18.5 million); and the Special Program Endowment Fund (P20 million) for special projects. I wanted to ensure additional funding for research, so that we could be more independent in our choice of research topics, and for our libraries, because government funding is always inadequate. Endowment funding for these purposes is one of our innovations.

U.P. AS SOCIAL CRITIC AND CATALYST IN NATION-BUILDING AND DEVELOPMENT

Among the distinctive roles of the University in quest of the Good Society are those of social critic, catalyst and partner in nation-building and development. In relation to these, I can only discuss very briefly some initiatives and innovative programs we introduced: (1) the establishment of the U.P. Center for Women's Studies to advance the status and welfare of women; (2) the review and strengthening of science and technology programs; (3) the U.P. Assessments on the State of the Nation; (4) the U.P. Public Lectures on the Aquino Administration and the Post-EDSA Government; (5) the new Leadership, Citizenship and Democracy Program; (6) the renewal of the University Center for Integrative and Development Studies; (7) U.P.'s initiative in establishing the National Inter-University Forum on Education in cooperation with some university presidents; and (8) the leadership in preparing the comprehensive conversion program for the military bases and military camps in Metro Manila in anticipation of the withdrawal of the US military from the bases.

U.P. Public Lectures

In June 1991, in anticipation of the end of President Corazon C. Aquino's six-year term a year later, I invited her and her Cabinet to a U.P. public lecture series on her Administration's achievements and legacy. When she accepted, it was easy for me to get the highest leaders of the Congress, the Supreme Court, and the constitutional bodies to join the lecture series. This became the U.P. Public Lectures

on the Aquino Administration and the Post-EDSA Government (1986-1992) which were held in U.P. Diliman from January to June 1992.

To complement the lectures as the self-assessments of the leaders, we invited a panel of scholars and a journalist to critique each lecture. Out of the public lectures, as part of the U.P. Assessments on the State of the Nation, we are publishing six volumes. The idea of the nation's highest leaders giving a public accounting of their stewardship in U.P. and submitting themselves to critical inquiry is a unique and historic innovation in public accountability in a democracy.

Leadership, Citizenship and Democracy Program

We recognize the importance of research, teaching and dissemination of knowledge on the issues, problems and processes of leadership and citizenship in a society seeking to be free, peaceful, democratic, just and humane. This is why U.P. is engaged in the education of future leaders and the training and fostering of present leaders in various walks of life. In order to build more systematic knowledge and assimilate experience on leaders and leadership, we established the Leadership, Citizenship and Democracy Program in the College of Public Administration.

Renewal of the UCIDS

Through my full term, we carefully searched for the best ways to develop and strengthen the University Center for Integrative and Development Studies (UCIDS), the University-wide research and outreach center of U.P. in Diliman. In my last two years, I was able to redefine and restructure UCIDS to consist of the Education Research Program, the Assessments on the State of the Nation Program, the Peace, Conflict Resolution and Human Rights Program, and a Special Program for various projects. As reorganized and funded, UCIDS has greater potential for undertaking vital research relevant to the nation's development; for assessing and improving the University's own teaching, research, extension and public service and for enabling U.P. to perform its leadership role vis-a-vis other universities and the Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS).

U.P.'s Leadership in Educational Reform and Development

One of my concerns as I assessed U.P.'s relations with other state and private universities and DECS, was how to enhance and assert U.P.'s leadership in national educational reform and development. I sensed that without a clear vision of this important role of U.P. as the National University, we would not have the will and know-how to perform it effectively. Our College of Education was not in the forefront of educational development. Even if it were, U.P. has to draw on its wide array of disciplinary and professional knowledge and expertise to be able to contribute significantly to the improvement and reform of the entire educational system.

We therefore took the following initiatives:

* Intensified U.P.'s participation in the activities of the Philippine Association of State Universities and Colleges;
* As an institutional base and resource, I organized the U.P. Educational Research Program (UPERP) to backstop the review and renewal of U.P.'s academic programs and U.P.'s cooperative relations with other universities and the DECS.
* With the U.P. ERP's support, I organized the National Inter-University Forum on Education (NIUFE) with the initial help of the presidents of Ateneo de Manila University, De La Salle University, Far Eastern University, University of the East, Polytechnic University of the Philippines, and the Fund for Assistance to Private Education.
* During my term as NIUFE Chairman (1990-1992), NIUFE organized regional roundtable meetings and two national conferences on major issues of educational reform and renewal, and published a quarterly newsletter. In 1992 we launched the *Ugnayan: Philippine Journal of Higher Education*, a bi-annual journal co-published by the U.P. ERP and NIUFE.
* The U.P. ERP and the NIUFE Secretariat contributed to the work of the Congressional Commission on Higher

Education, the joint Senate-House body that assessed the educational system, and produced a report recommending reforms.

* The NIUFE proposed ideas in Congressional hearings that shaped the proposed Commission on Higher Education as a major reform of the educational system.

Leadership in Conversion of Military Bases and Camps

Some members of the faculty had conducted a study on the consequences of the withdrawal of US forces from the military bases upon termination of the RP-US Military Bases Agreement in 1991. Then, in 1989, President Aquino appointed me as Chairman of the Executive-Legislative Bases Council, whose task was to draw up a comprehensive conversion program for alternative uses of the military bases and the military camps in Metro Manila. Adopted by the President in October 1990, the conversion program boosted the government's bargaining with the US and the Senate's position in eventually rejecting the RP-US Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Security on September 16, 1991, which ended 400 years of foreign military presence in the Islands.

By our leadership in planning the conversion program and by our faculty and students' advocating the withdrawal of the US military and rallying against the treaty, U.P. served the country on a vital issue involving its sovereignty and dignity, and its peace, development and welfare. The conversion program indicated the principles and key concepts and ideas for alternative economic, social and security uses that are guiding the ongoing conversion of Subic, Clark and other installations and military camps.

Leadership in the Filipino Language Movement

We should also add U.P.'s use, development and propagation of Filipino as the language of intellectual discourse and communication as one of its most significant contributions as social critic and catalyst in nation-building and development.

DEALING WITH OUR ECOSYSTEMS OF MEDIOCRITY, AMBIVALENCE OR EXCELLENCE FOR THE RENEWAL OF U.P.

On various occasions we have truthfully examined the diversity of academic ecosystems, or cultures, in our heterogeneous University. We can, as we sometimes do, locate our faculty and colleges along a continuum of ecosystems, from mediocrity to ambivalence to excellence. We have intellectual drop-outs and deadwood, as we say, and intellectual deserts. We also have veritable oases or centers of scholarly excellence and brilliant scholars who compare with some of the best in the world. And we have ecosystems of ambivalence in between the two ends of our imagined continuum.

Ecosystems of Mediocrity

In ecosystems of mediocrity, many faculty regard the University mainly as employer. They remain here because they have a job to do, not a mission to fulfill. Perhaps, some stay because they cannot find better employment elsewhere. Others try a bit harder but have simply fallen far behind in their professional growth. They are now unable or no longer willing to read, write, and publish. Alas, there are enough of their kind in some of the departments and colleges, so there they comprise a critical mass and control the politics of the ecosystem -- who gets recruited, tenured, promoted, appointed to committees, or chosen to head their academic unit. Having somehow lost their scholarly commitment, they now turn on each other in personalized competition and petty factionalism, and against the University Administration as it shows its concern.

Ecosystems of Ambivalence

In ecosystems of ambivalence, there are a number of highly trained and committed scholars but they are surrounded by sufficient numbers of the mediocre, the burnt-out and crablike partisans. Here, the academic culture and social structure become ambiguous and ambivalent. Bright young scholars are regarded as threats by the entrenched senior faculty and their junior proteges, and are thus, unwanted. Too often, compromises are made on academic standards and assessments of scholarly performance. "Live and let live"

becomes the unwritten code of conduct. So elements of mediocrity, ambivalence and excellence co-exist in these ecosystems. Which culture will prevail in a given period depends on chance or circumstance, or the kind of department head or dean who is in charge. But excellence is at constant risk of erosion. This is why sometimes it is necessary to appoint a department head, dean or chancellor from another college or university.

Ecosystems of Excellence

In ecosystems of excellence, faculty are chosen competitively according to their scholarly achievement and potential. The standards for appointment, tenure and advancement are higher than those prescribed or practised in most other colleges. The deans and department heads reflect and uphold the values, norms and practices of the college. The collective goal always is to excel and be among the best scholars and colleges in their particular discipline, not only in the Philippines, but also in the region or throughout the globe. Peer standards and pressure induce faculty to do research or write creatively, to publish in the best journals or be published by the better-known publishers in their field. Faculty regularly attend professional meetings here and abroad, for they are recognized nationally and internationally. The department or college is able to generate funding for research, scholarships, advanced training, libraries, laboratories and participation in international meetings and research.

Somehow, the deans, department heads and the faculty, too, are able to apply our traditional values of *pakikipagkapwa*, *pakikisama*, *hiya* and *utang na loob* positively in order to uphold and sustain the culture of excellence, instead of bringing it down. There are informal groups and contending schools of thought, but these contribute to healthy competition and scholarly growth, hold their members together and do not degenerate into personalistic factions. The faculty are cohesive. They are preoccupied with their scholarly mission and their striving for excellence. So they leave themselves little time for petty and demoralizing conflicts.

To be specific and concrete, let me cite just two examples of ecosystems of excellence: the School of Economics and the Marine Science Institute.

Ecosystems and Traditional Values

In ecosystems of mediocrity or ambivalence, in contrast, the traditional values of *pakikipagkapwa, pakikisama, hiya* and *utang na loob* tend to pull the faculty farther apart in factionalism and down into routinary and perfunctory conduct and deeper stagnation. We have also observed that, despite their scholarly abilities, some faculty members are side-tracked into more and more consultancies and professional practice. They tend to exploit their University connection for their selfish, material ends at the increasing expense of the University's interests.

A few have said that U.P. has lost its soul. If it has, it is perhaps because more members of the faculty than we would truthfully admit have abandoned their vocation of teaching, research, writing, art and community service in their preoccupation with their money-making sidelines.

Role of Academic Leaders and Faculty in Self-Renewal

Given its different ecosystems, the University needs outstanding department heads, deans, directors and chancellors who will nurture and protect excellence, and who can help arrest and reverse the conditions and tendencies of mediocrity or ambivalence in the departments, colleges or institutes. The President can do only so much in a supporting and promotional role, and in restructuring and improving the system of rewards and incentives. Perhaps, we can involve some of the best scholars outside U.P. and even abroad in the assessment of our faculty and programs. Unlike in the highly competitive university systems in the more advanced countries where the best universities compete with each other, on the whole, the Philippine university system does not give U.P. too much competition or challenge to its preeminence. Actually, however, we should be more aware that in a few fields and professions some of the best private colleges and schools are already outpacing U.P..

Going back to learning for social transformation and applying it to the University faculty themselves, what more do we have to learn about the conditions and factors that lead to mediocrity, ambivalence, or excellence? What more do we need to know to

enable us to renew and transform the undesirable or less desirable academic cultures and practices into the ideal ones that we also see around us? One lesson stands out. Collectively, in the various colleges and constituent universities and the U.P. System, the faculty and academic administrators must categorically uphold academic excellence and expose and penalize mediocrity. To do otherwise is unworthy of belonging to U.P.

As President for six years, I spent a lot of time with my colleagues in the University Administration trying to search for the best deans, directors and chancellors. We saw that many of the deans and most of the chancellors who were appointed through our search and consultation process made a discernible difference in the standards of their academic units and the quality of their faculty's performance.

But we also feel strongly that the department heads are key players in academic life whose selection needs far greater attention than it has received. Much of mediocrity is traceable to the absurdity to which "departmental autonomy" has been asserted and tolerated before the academic administration intervened.

In the end, it is the individual faculty member and the assemblies of faculty, under able and responsible academic leadership, that spell the difference in academic quality and performance. To be sure, the U.P. vision of learning and leadership for social transformation applies to all of us in the University, but especially to the faculty and academic administrators, if we are to be a more beneficial influence in our society.

U.P. President's Role in Initiating Research

With my own experience as a scholar and my exposure to the active role of UN University Rector Soedjatmoko in introducing research ideas, I was proactive in initiating research as U.P. President. Among the research ideas I initiated were: (1) the U.P. Assessments on the State of the Nation; (2) the U.P. Public Lectures on the Aquino Administration and the Post-EDSA Government (1986-1992); (3) the U.P. Cultural Dictionary for Filipinos; (4) the seven-volume U.P. Anthology of Filipino Socio-Political Thought; (5) the Leadership,

Citizenship and Democracy Program; (6) Assessment of Faculty Teaching and Student Learning; (7) U.P. Profile of Filipino Well-Being based on periodic national survey research; (8) the *Ugnayan: Philippine Journal of Higher Education.*

DEMOCRATIC CONSULTATION AND COLLEGIAL ACADEMIC DECISION-MAKING

As I was elected President by the Board of Regents through democratic consultation with the faculty, and also with students and staff, I felt strongly that I had a mandate to extend and refine our democratic consultation in the selection of chancellors, deans and directors. In the wake of the EDSA Revolution, democratic consultation was often misunderstood as the election of these academic administrators by the faculty, students and staff and their mere ratification by the President and the Board of Regents. Wisdom prevailed and we modified our procedures.

To strengthen unified leadership, collegiality and teamwork among the academic administrators, upon my recommendation, the Board of Regents changed the terms of chancellors and deans from five to three years and decided that a chancellor's term shall not exceed the President's own tenure. Thus, succeeding presidents will have the chance to select a new set of chancellors to form his team, with a reasonable search and transition period of almost three months.

We realize that academic decision-making needs a system of governance that is collegial and democratic, but also hierarchical and based on scholarly merit and excellence. It must be decisive and accountable, involving — depending on the kind of decision at issue — the participation, not only of the faculty, the President and other officers of administration and the Board of Regents, but also the students and staff.

As a public institution in a constitutional democracy, U.P. is politically accountable to the President of the Philippines, the Congress and the people, through the Board of Regents. As a university, at the same time, U.P. jealously guards its academic freedom and institutional autonomy in the firm belief that its scholarly

functions should be performed by an academic meritocracy or an "aristocracy of the mind", if you will.

This is why we scrupulously observed and safeguarded the duties and prerogatives of the faculty, as prescribed in the U.P. Charter, University Code and academic tradition. The Board of Regents and I very rarely opposed the faculty and the University Councils, and if ever, only to uphold the rule of reason, law, justice and humanity, in accordance with the U.P. Charter or as determined by the courts in the cases brought to them. I am glad that in these cases, where the faculty or students challenged the decisions of the U.P. President and Board of Regents, we were upheld by the Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court.

Financing and Supporting U.P.'s Programs and Development

The U.P. budget for 1993 was P2.04 billion, excluding the additional subsidies of mandated personnel benefits from the national government and U.P. unexpended balances; in 1992, the latter amounted to P212 million. The income of the University was 21 percent of the budget. During my term, University business enterprises raised P36,952,311. The U.P. Foundation, Inc. generated P192.14 million, and contributed P55.80 million for professorial chairs, faculty grants, scholarships, research and faculty development and other projects. Assisted by the Vice-President for Administration and Development, we were able to raise P223.22 million. Part of this supplemental funding, or P22 million plus US $234,141, was contributed by alumni and friends of the University.

To provide seed money for continuing major activities of the University, we set up some endowment funds (as partially mentioned earlier) with money from the U.P. Foundation and with the P70 million we raised by the sale of the U.P. Basilan Rubber Plantation thus far:

* U.P. Research Endowment Fund. P27.6 million (U.P., P20 million; U.P. Foundation Inc., P7.6 million).

* U.P. Library Collection Development Fund. P18.5 million (U.P., P10 million; U.P. Foundation, Inc. P8.5 million).
* Provident Fund. U.P., P20 million for increased personnel benefits.
* Special Program Endowment Fund. U.P. P20 million.

Even with these combined resources which augment the income of U.P. and enlarge the facilities and benefits it can extend to its faculty and students, U.P. needs much more to maintain high standards and upgrade its faculty and facilities. Compared to the national universities of Singapore, Malaysia. Thailand, South Korea, and Indonesia, U.P. has not received as much support and investment from the government, which spends up to 40 percent of its revenues to pay its foreign and domestic debt.

CONTINUING MAJOR PROBLEMS: THE NEED FOR GREATER APPRECIATION BY NATIONAL LEADERS OF U.P. AS THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

It is common knowledge in the University that we face serious problems of a continuing nature: the low salaries and benefits of the faculty compared to employment in business, industry and the professions; the high turnover of young faculty in a number of colleges; the resulting lack of replacement of senior and retiring faculty; the inability to attract some of the best minds to join the faculty; the inadequacy of our libraries and laboratories; the waning commitment of some faculty members to academic life and the University; destructive factionalism and mediocrity in some departments and colleges; and the consequent inferiority of some of our academic programs in comparison to those of our best private universities and of other national universities in Asia.

Our interrelated problems in the University are of course linked to our country's many tough problems. Close to the centennial of the Philippine Revolution of 1896, we are still a divided nation struggling against ourselves while the world rushes by. All these are a continuing challenge to all of us.

Throughout my term, I did my utmost to persuade the government, private business, and our alumni and friends that U.P. requires far greater support if it is to improve and sustain the vital work and services it renders to the nation as the National University. We all need to convince our leaders that the rapid economic transformation of Japan and the East and Southeast Asian dragons involved tremendous investments in education and science and technology, including the development of the national universities.

Our leaders should recognize the special status and role of U.P., for it is no ordinary institution or state university. It is the country's National University, its premier and most prestigious institution of higher learning. As such, it is the apex of the nation's system of higher education which is made up of more than 80 state universities and some 800 private universities. In East and Southeast Asia, its national status is comparable to that of the University of Tokyo, Beijing University, Seoul National University, Chulalungkorn University, University of Malaya, the National University of Singapore and the University of Indonesia.

Founded in 1908, U.P. is the oldest state university. It has grown into one of the largest universities by Philippine standards. Now a system of four universities (U.P. Diliman, U.P. Los Baños, U.P. Manila, and U.P. Visayas), U.P. has some 35,000 students, including its over 800 foreign students. In 1993, 44,000 applied for admission to U.P. while only some 8,000 students could enrol.

I believe our full-time faculty of 3,347 (by end of 1992) is the largest among Philippine universities. None of these universities can match the advanced degrees that our faculty have earned here and abroad. The many alumni serving in positions of leadership in various sectors of society, and even overseas, sustain U.P.'s preeminence and prestige. The substantial subsidies that go with its quality education add to the great attraction U.P. commands in society.

When the National Board of Education designated U.P. as the National University in 1972, it did not define precisely but simply implied what it meant; the Board members knew of the leading role played by national universities in Asia and elsewhere. In the course of my leadership, I developed my own concept of U.P. as the National University in terms of the unique and distinctive combination of interrelated roles it plays, as follows:

(1) *U.P. sets standards and introduces innovations in higher education, in the arts and humanities, the natural and social sciences and the professions.* Among all the universities in the country, U.P. offers the most varied academic programs, 385 of them in 1993.

(2) *U.P. is the leading graduate university in the country.* It offers more graduate programs than any other university (175 master's programs and over 50 doctoral programs), providing advanced training to professionals and to scientists and scholars, most of whom serve in the faculties of various other universities. Roughly one out of five students in U.P. is a graduate student. In 1993 we counted 228 graduate programs as against 157 undergraduate programs offered by the University.

(3) *U.P. is the foremost research university in the country.* This is said in terms of faculty involvement, scientific, scholarly and artistic output, and investment and expenditures.

(4) *U.P. is a training center for leadership in different fields of human endeavor.* Through the years, many U.P. alumni have in fact served as leaders in government, business and industry, the professions and the arts. During my term, for example, half of the 24 senators, over 20 of our 200 representatives in congress, and 10 of the 15 justices of the Supreme Court were U.P. alumni. In relation to the actual numbers of U.P. students and graduates, compared to those of other universities, U.P. can claim a disproportionately high percentage of the nation's leadership roles. I estimate that altogether U.P. students comprise less than two percent of the total enrollment of all universities in the country.

(5) *U.P. is a public service university like no other in the country.* It performs a wide variety of policy research, training, extension and consultancy services for the government, the private sector and the public. In any year a number of our faculty are seconded to responsible government positions and the committees of Congress. The U.P. Philippine General Hospital is the country's largest

hospital complex. It serves about half a million patients annually, and is the nation's best and largest health training center, serving medical and nursing personnel from all schools in the country.

(6) *U.P. leads as a regional and international university.* It does so through its foreign students, the participation of its faculty in international scientific, scholarly, humanistic and artistic activities, and its cooperative links with many foreign universities. A number of foreign scholars, writers and artists come to the University as visiting professors, researchers and visitors.

I cannot overemphasize the invaluable contributions of the members of my executive team, the chancellors and vice-chancellors, the President's Advisory Council as a whole, the University Councils, the deans and directors, and the faculty to our collegial leadership, innovations and reforms. We were fortunate to have individual regents whose varied perspectives, rich experience and sound judgment made the Board of Regents an effective governing body. The Board tested, validated, refined and authorized our proposals and major programs, innovations and reforms. The University owes them and our academic leaders and faculty a huge debt for their integrity, commitment, hard work and even sacrifice. Unlike the members of other boards, the regents do not receive any compensation or allowances at all.

My presidency of U.P. was the opportunity of a lifetime to try to make a difference in U.P.'s role and responsibility as the National University. I tried to direct U.P. towards the vision of helping provide our nation with the learning and leadership it needs for our social transformation towards the Good Society envisioned in the Constitution. In my humble view, this is an overarching and continuing role U.P. must play as the National University.

In its never-ending search for truth, we hope U.P. can enlighten and empower our people, and even enliven and ennoble their lives, and thus uplift the human condition. I like to believe that we began a number of new programs, innovations and reforms for the social transformation of U.P. and the nation. I sincerely hope that our successors, and the faculty and staff will pursue our initiatives in

order to fully realize our shared purposes and objectives for the good of U.P. and the country.

I wish to thank all our faculty and students, the Board of Regents, staff and alumni, the U P. Foundation Inc. and other foundations, our foreign government donors and cooperating universities for their varied contributions to the work of the University in my time. I am grateful and thankful as well to the government, the larger academic community, the private sector, our citizens and all others who pay their taxes here, and are, therefore, stakeholders in U.P. Special thanks are due to the members of my executive team, the chancellors, deans and directors who were, and are, in the forefront with the faculty in doing the work of the University and in carrying out our innovations and reforms thus far and into the future.

Let me end by returning to a paraphrased verse with which I ended my vision paper in 1987:

The future of U.P. is not a place we are going to, but a place we shall be making together.

Not a path to be merely discovered, but one to be made consciously and purposively.

And the activities we shall together do will change all of us as makers, towards our destination — the U.P. dedicated to learning and leadership for social transformation and the lasting betterment of all Filipinos.

Annex 1

Publications on the State of the Nation
University Center for Integrative and Development Studies

A. U.P. Assessments on the State of the Nation

1) *Presidential Leadership and Cory Aquino*
Edited by Belinda A. Aquino, 1989

2) *The Failed December Coup, View from the U.P. Community*
Edited by Belinda A. Aquino, 1989

3) *A Distant Peace: Human Rights and People's Participation in Conflict Resolution*
(Co-published with National Book Store)
by Ed Garcia, 1992

4) *Philippine Education: Promise and Performance*
by Josefina R. Cortes and Nestor R. Balmores
Edited by Priscilla S. Manalang, 1992

5) *National Identity and Social Change*
by Maria Luisa Canieso-Doronila, 1992

6) *Where Food and Population Meet: The Filipino Household Among Other Households*
by Gelia T. Castillo, 1993

7) *Reconceptualizing Giftedness in the Philippines*
by Erlinda F. Camara, Occasional Paper Series #1, 1993

8) *The Meaning and Measurement of Well-Being: A Review of the Research Literature*
by Lynna Y. Sycip, Maruja B. Asis and Emmanuel M. Luna, Occasional Paper Series #2, 1993

B. State-of-the-Nation Reports

1) *Saving the Present for the Future: The State of the Environment*
by Percy E. Sajise, Nenita E. Tapay, Enrique P. Pacardo, Nicomedes D. Briones, Rosario D. Jimenez, Edgardo E. Gomez, Prescillano M. Zamora, Miguel D. Fortes, Macrina T. Zafaralla, Imelda Zosa-Feranil, 1992

2) *The Politization of the Military*
by Felipe B. Miranda, 1992

3) *Primary Health Care in the Philippines*
by Arturo M. Pesigan, Ruben N. Caragay and Marilyn Lorenzo, 1992

4) *The Record of a Non-Confrontational Debt Management Approach*
by A. M. Mendoza, Jr., 1992

5) *Ending the Armed Conflict: Peace Negotiations in the Philippines*
by Jose V. Abueva, Maria Serena I. Diokno, R..B. Rodil, Abrina Aydinan, Temario C. Rivera, 1992

6) *State of Philippine Education: Tension Between Equity and Equality*
by Josefina R. Cortes and Nestor R. Balmores, 1992

7) *Devolution and Empowerment: The Local Government Code of 1991 and Local Autonomy in the Philippines*
by Proserpina D. Tapales, 1993

8) *The Philippine Congress: Executive-Legislative Relations and the Restoration of Democracy*
by Olivia C. Caoili, 1993

9) *Imperatives for Sustainable Industrialization*
by V. Bruce J. Tolentino, 1993

10) *Philippine Science and Technology: Time for Bold Moves*
by Virginia S. Cariño, 1993

C. To be Launched on June 15, 1994

1) *Population, Human Resources and Development*
Edited by Alejandro Herrin

2) *U.P. In Search of Academic Excellence: Lectures in Honor of President Jose V. Abueva, 1987-1993*

3) *Peace, Conflict Resolution and Human Rights Research Report Series*

Protecting Ancestral Land Rights in the Cordillera
by Steven Rood

The 1986-1987 Peace Talks: A Reportage of Contention
by Maria Serena I. Diokno

The Quest for Justice: Obstacles to the Redress of Human Rights Violations in the Philippines
by Leonora C. Angeles

Peace Zones in the Philippines
by Zosimo Lee and Cecilia Conaco

4) *Peace, Conflict Resolution and Human Rights Occasional Papers Series*

Reflections on the Peace Process
by Ed Garcia

5) *State of the Nation Research Reports*
Policy Issues, Responses and Constituencies: State-Civil Society Relations in Policy-Making
Third World Studies Center

The Filipino Child: A Health Situation
by Perla Santos Ocampo

Parliamentary vs. Presidential Government (Aquino-Ramos Eras)
by Olivia C. Caoili, *et al.*

6) *State of the Nation Occasional Papers*

Indigenous Coastal Resource Management: The Case of Mataw Fishing in Batanes
by Maria F. Mangahas

7) *KAVS Reports (Vol. 1 of 10 Volumes)*

Learning from Life: An Ethnographic Study of Functional Literacy in Fourteen Philippine Communities (Volume 1 of 16 Volumes)

Annex 2

Publications on the U.P. Public Lectures
on the Aquino Administration and
the Post-EDSA Government (1986-1993)

Volume 1. The Aquino Administration: Record and Legacy (1986-1992)

This is a collection of the lectures of President Corazon C. Aquino and the members of her Cabinet.

For the first time in Philippine history, an outgoing Administration was able to report, discuss, and publish a comprehensive and coherent self-assessment of the challenges and problems it faced since it assumed power and responsibility, its performance and achievements through its leadership and stewardship of the government, and its legacy to the nation and succeeding administrations. By its self-assessment, the Aquino Administration fulfilled in a unique and distinctive way its public accountability in a developing constitutional democracy.

President Aquino also made possible an unprecedented democratic exercise when she submitted her leadership and administration to the criticism and judgment of scholars and journalists at the public lectures and in the books in which the lectures and assessments were published.

Volume 2. The Aquino Presidency and Administration (1986-1992): Contemporary Assessments and "The Judgment of History?"

The University of the Philippines ensured a free discussion of the public lectures delivered by members of President Aquino's Cabinet which were published in Volume 1. With the consent of the President and her Cabinet, after each public lecture, which was a self-assessment, two scholars and a journalist presented their views or assessments of the lecture; this was followed by an open forum. This companion volume presents the perspectives and opinions of members of academia, the media, and the participants in the open forum. For a fuller and even more diverse perspective and to broaden

and enrich the assessments, additional commentaries by scholars and journalists are also included.

Volume 3. The Post-EDSA Vice-Presidency, the Senate and House of Representatives, the Judiciary, and the Ombudsman (1986-1992): Self-Assessments and External Views and Assessments

The authors of the lectures collected in this volume are Vice-President Salvador H. Laurel, Senate Presidents Jovito R. Salonga and Neptali A. Gonzales, Speaker Ramon V. Mitra, Jr., Chief Justices Marcelo B. Fernan and Andres R. Narvasa, and the Ombudsman, Justice Conrado M. Vasquez. The views and assessments of members of the faculty, the media, and the participants in the open forum are also presented.

Volume 4. The Post-EDSA Civil Service Commission, Commission on Elections, Commission on Audit, Commission on Human Rights, and the Presidential Commission on Good Government (1986-1992): Self-Assessments and External Views and Assessments

The authors of the lectures and reports gathered in this volume are Chairpersons Patricia A. Sto. Tomas (CSC), Christian A. Monsod (COMELEC), Eufemio C. Domingo (COA), Mary Concepcion Bautista (CHR), and David M. Castro (PCGG). The views and assessments of members of the faculty, the media, and the participants in the open forum are included.

Corazon C. Aquino: Early Assessments of Her Presidential Leadership and Administration and Her Place in History. International Edition. This is an abridged edition of Volume 1, *The Aquino Administration: Record and Legacy (1986-1992)* and Volume 2, *The Aquino Presidency and Administration (1986-1992): Contemporary Assessments and "The Judgment of History?"*

The Senate That Said No: A Four-Year Record of the First Post-EDSA Senate. By Dr. Jovito R. Salonga, former President of the Senate of the Philippines. The author wrote this full-length self-assessment in response to the editors' request. Out of it a report on the Senate under Salonga was prepared for inclusion in Volume 3.

Annex 3

Chronological List of Members of the U.P. Board of Regents

NAME	TENURE	
	From	To
Chairpersons:		
Lourdes R. Quisumbing	August 1987	January 1990
Isidro D. Cariño	January 1990	July 1992
Armand V. Fabella	October 1992	present
Vice-Chairperson:		
Jose V. Abueva	August 1987	August 1993
Members:		
Clemente C. Gatmaitan, Jr.	April 1982	April 1989
Cesar Buenaventura	January 1987	December 1993
Primo Gonzales	January 1987	December 1991
Francis P.N. Pangilinan	January 1987	December 1987
Angelita T. Reyes	January 1987	December 1992
Flerida Ruth P. Romero	January 1987	December 1992
Edgardo B. Espiritu	August 1987	present
Ernesto M. Maceda	August 1987	November 1987
Carlos M. Padilla	August 1987	February 1992
Francisco Nemenzo	October 1987	October 1988
Edgardo J. Angara	November 1987	January 1993
David Andrew M. Celdran	January 1988	December 1988
Ponciano G.A. Mathay	January 1988	December 1990
Gonzalo Bongolan	January 1989	December 1989

Delfin L. Lazaro	May 1989	October 1992
Ruben B. Aspiras	September 1989	December 1990
Amante N. Jimenez, Jr.	January 1990	December 1990
Henry Bernabe A. Grageda	January 1991	December 1991
Solita C. Monsod	January 1991	December 1992
Lourdes L. Lontok Cruz	October 1991	December 1992
Angelo A. Jimenez	January 1992	December 1992
Oscar M. Alfonso	February 1992	January 1994
Salvador H. Escudero III	August 1992	present
Emerenciana Arcellana	January 1993	present
Antonio T. Carpio	January 1993	present
Nelia T. Gonzalez	January 1993	present
Perla D. Santos Ocampo	January 1993	present
Leticia R. Shahani	January 1993	present
Ariel Tanangonan	January 1993	present

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SECRETARIES OF THE BOARD OF REGENTS AND OF THE UNIVERSITY

NAME	TENURE	
	From	To
Martin V. Gregorio	June 1987	February 1988
Emerlinda R. Roman	February 1988	February 1991
Raul C. Pangalangan	February 1991	August 1992
Olivia C. Caoili	August 1992	August 1995

Annex 4

The President's Executive Team
(August 1987 - August 1993)

The Executive Staff

Vice President for Academic Affairs

Ester A. Garcia (May 1991 - August 1993)
Gemino H. Abad (November 1987 - April 1991)

Vice President for Planning and Finance

Honesto G. Nuqui (May 1991 - August 1993)
Felipe M. Medalla (July 1988 - April 1991)
Agustin L. Kintanar (August 1987 - June 1988)

Vice President for Public Affairs

Ledivina V. Cariño (July 1992 - August 1993)
Raphael Perpetuo M. Lotilla (July 1991 - June 1992)
Belinda A. Aquino (July 1989 - June 1991)
Oscar M. Alfonso (May 1989 - June 1989)
Rita D. Estrada (November 1987 - March 1989)

Vice President for Administration and Development

Erlinda S. Echanis (July 1991 - August 1993)

Vice President for Development

Melvyn S. Martin (May 1990 - April 1991)

Vice President for Administration

Emerlinda R. Roman (January 1990 - April 1990)

Secretary of the University

Olivia C. Caoili (August 1992 - August 1993)
Raul C. Pangalangan (February 1991 - August 1992)
Emerlinda R. Roman (February 1988 - February 1991)
Martin V. Gregorio (August 1987 - February 1988)

Senior Adviser to the President

Oscar M. Alfonso (August 1987 - January 1992)

Assistant to the President

Manuel A. Caoili (August 1987 - December 1987)

Annex 5

Constituent University Officers
(August 1987 - August 1993)

U.P. Diliman

Chancellor

Emerlinda R. Roman (April 1991 - August 1993)
Jose V. Abueva (January 1990 - April 1991)
Ernesto G. Tabujara (August 1987 - December 1989)

Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs

Milagros D. Ibe (June 1991 - August 1993)
Oscar M. Alfonso (May 1991 - June 1991)
Ester A. Garcia (April 1990 - April 1991)
Oscar M. Alfonso (January 1990 - March 1990)
Edgardo S. Pacheco (May 1988 - December 1989)
Paz G. Ramos (August 1987 - May 1988)

Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs

Leticia Peñano-Ho (September 1992 - August 1993)
Olivia C. Caoili (January 1990 - August 1992)
Salvador T. Carlota (August 1987 - December 1989)

Vice Chancellor for Administration

Ernesto R. Santos (January 1990 - August 1993)
Martin V. Gregorio (February 1988 - December 1989)
Emerlinda R. Roman (August 1987 - January 1988)

Vice Chancellor for Community Affairs

Claro T. Llaguno (February 1993 - August 1993)
Ernesto D. Pineda (March 1992 - January 1993)
Oscar I. Evangelista (January 1990 - March 1992)
Genaro T. Marzan (August 1988 - December 1989)
Ernesto G. Tabujara (OIC, January 1988 - August 1988)
Cristy Hernandez (August 1987 - December 1987)

U.P. Los Baños

Chancellor

Ruben B. Aspiras (April 1991 - August 1993)
Raul P. de Guzman (August 1987 - April 1991)

Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs

Fernando F. Sanchez (June 1991 - August 1993)
William G. Padolina (November 1988 - April 1991)
Edwin D. Magallona (August 1987 - October 1988)

Vice Chancellor for Administration

Ernesto M. Rigor (June 1991 - August 1993)
Domingo M. Lantican (August 1987 - March 1991)

Vice Chancellor for Planning and Development

Santiago M. Alviar (September 1990 - August 1993)
Emmanuel D. Bello (August 1987 - August 1990)

U.P. Manila

Chancellor

Ernesto O. Domingo (March 1988 - November 1993)
Juanito B. Billote (OIC, January 1988 - March 1988)
Conrado L. Lorenzo, Jr. (August 1987 - December 1987)

Assistants for Academic Affairs

Julita I. Yabes (March 1988 - August 1993)
Juanito B. Billote (VCAA, August 1987 - March 1988)

Assistants for Administration

Tessie B. Merca (OIC, May 1991 - December 1992/
Acting, January 1993 - August 1993)
Sofronio P. San Juan (March 1988 - April 1991)
Jose T. Domingo (VCA, August 1987 - March 1988)

Senior Assistant for Planning and Development

Marla P. Sta. Ana (OIC, June 1991 - November 1992)
Jose S. Baens (March 1988 - May 1991)
George G. Eufemio (VCPD, August 1987 - March 1988)

U.P. Visayas

Chancellor

Flor Lacanilao (September 1992 - August 1993)
Francisco Nemenzo (September 1989 - August 1992)
Rogelio O. Juliano (August 1987 - August 1989)

Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs

Minda J. Formacion (September 1992 - August 1993)
Jose N. Endriga (January 1992 - August 1992)
Lea S. Zapanta (OIC, October 1991 - December 1991)
Lourdes V. de Castro (November 1989 - September 1991)
Leonor M. Santos (August 1987 - August 1989)

Vice Chancellor for Administration

Nygiel V. Armada (January 1991 - August 1993)
Martin V. Gregorio (January 1990 - December 1990)
Rodolfo Baldevarona (OIC, September 1989 - December 1989)
Pepito M. Fernandez (August 1987 - August 1989)

Vice Chancellor for Planning and Development

Sonia P. Formacion (August 1987 - August 1989)

Other U.P. System Officers
(August 1987 - August 1993)

University Registrar

Amelia P. Guevarra (November 1990 - August 1993)
Emeteria P. Lee (August 1987 - October 1990)

University Center for Integrative and Development Studies

Cynthia Rose B. Bautista (November 1992 - August 1993)
Emmanuel C. Lallana (January 1992 - October 1992)
Jose N. Endriga (January 1991 - December 1991)
Carolina G. Hernandez (October 1988 - December 1990)
Fe R. Arcinas (OIC, January 1988 - September 1988)
Carolina G. Hernandez (August 1987 - December 1987)

University Center for Women's Studies

Sylvia H. Guerrero (October 1989 - August 1993)

Sentro ng Wikang Filipino

Teresita G. Maceda (June 1989 - August 1993)

Education Research Program

Ma. Luisa Doronila (June 1993 - August 1993)
Josefina R. Cortes (November 1990 - June 1993)

Office of Alumni Relations

Fe R. Arcinas (January 1989 - August 1993)
Leonardo D. de Castro (August 1987 - December 1988)

Office of Institutional Linkages

Ma. Teresa Sicat (June 1992 - August 1993)
Malaya C. Ronas (June 1989 - May 1992)
Josephine M. Malixi (August 1987 - May 1989)

Information Office

Ramona S. Flores (June 1991 - August 1993)
Angelito L. Santos (January 1990 - June 1991)
Rodolfo R. San Diego (OIC, May 1989 - Jan 1990)
Fermin D. Adriano (November 1987 - September 1988)

University Computer Center

Luis Alarilla, Jr. (August 1987 - August 1993)

University General Counsel

Carmelita Y. Guno (April 1991 - August 1993)
Raul C. Pangalangan (September 1990 - April 1991)
Demaree J.B. Raval (August 1987 - June 1990)

Human Resource Development Office

John Rabe/Clarita Nuñez (OIC, May 1993 - August 1993)
Perla Legaspi (March 1992 - April 1993)
Pio P. Frago (August 1987 - December 1991)

Budget and Controllership Staff

Victoria Catibog (August 1987 - August 1993)

University of the Philippines Press

Sylvia Ventura (August 1988 - August 1993)
Renato Correa (OIC, May 19988 - July 1988)
Vivencio Jose (October 1987 - May 1988)

University Business Manager

Proceso G. Ramos (February 1988 - July 1993)

President's Committee on Culture and the Arts

Jonathan Malicsi (August 1987 - August 1993)

JOSE V. ABUEVA (A.B. Arts-Law, U.P.; M.P.A, Ph.D. The University of Michigan) is Professor of Political Science and Public Administration and the 15th President of the University of the Philippines. He has worked with the government in various capacities; he was elected Secretary of the 1971-1972 Constitutional Convention. He was Visiting Professor at the City University of New York and Yale University, a staff member of the Ford Foundation, and Secretary of the University and Director of Planning and Evaluation at the United Nations University. He is the author of *Focus on the Barrio* and *Ramon Magsaysay: A Political Biography.*

GEMINO H. ABAD (A.B., U.P.; M.A., Ph.D., University of Chicago) is a University Professor and was Vice-President for Academic Affairs of the University of the Philippines. He was the first holder of the Carlos P. Romulo Professorial Chair in Literature. He was one of five poets who founded the Philippine Literary Arts Council (PLAC), which publishes the only Philippine poetry journal in English, the *Caracoa.* His works include *Fugitive Emphasis* (1973), *In Another Light* (1976), *A Formal Approach to Lyric Poetry* (1978), *The Space Between* (1985) and *Man of Earth (1988).*

PACIFICO A. AGABIN (Ll.B., U.P.; J.S.D., Yale Law School) is Professor of Law and Dean of the U.P. College of Law. He is a member of the Integrated Bar of the Philippines and of the Yale Club. He is the author of "Philosophy of the Civil Code" and "Judicial Review Over Executive Action" which both appeared in the *Philippine Law Journal.*

GELIA T. CASTILLO (A.B. Psychology, U.P; M.S. Rural Sociology, Pennsylvania State University; Ph.D. Rural Psychology, Cornell University) retired as University Professor from the University of the Philippines in 1993. She was Visiting Professor at Cornell University, Chairperson of the Research and Evaluation Committee for a Pilot Study of a Cooperative Approach to Rural Development, Consultant on Rural Development of Ford Foundation, Senior Research Fellow of the International Development Research Centre in Ottawa, Canada, Visiting Scientist at the International Rice Research Institute, and Research Adviser to UPWARD (User's Perspective with Agricultural Research and Development). Her published works include *All in*

a Grain of Rice: A Review of Philippine Studies on the Social and Economic Implications of the New Rice Technology (1975), *BEYOND MANILA: Philippine Rural Problem in Perspective* (1979), and *How Participatory is Participatory Development?: A Review of the Philippine Experience* (1983).

ONOFRE D. CORPUZ (A.B., U.P.; M.A., University of Illinois; M.P.A., Harvard University; Ph.D, Harvard University and Chulalongkorn University) is Professor of Economics and the twelfth President of the University of the Philippines. He was Secretary of Education from 1966 to 1968 and was again appointed Minister of Education in 1979. He retired from the government service in 1983. He wrote *The Roots of the Filipino Nation* (1990) and translated the *Historia de uno de los Iniciadores de la Revolucion Filipina* (1989) from Spanish to English.

ERNESTO O. DOMINGO (Associate in Arts and Doctor of Medicine, U.P.; Postgraduate Studies, UP-PGH Medical Center, Veterans Administration Hospital, Cleveland, Ohio, and Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio) is a University Professor of the University of the Philippines. He has held several administrative positions in U.P., among which are Director of the Postgraduate School of Medicine, Coordinator of Teaching and Research of the Philippine General Hospital, Chairman of the Department of Medicine, and Chancellor of U.P. Manila. He is a Founding Member of the Asia-Pacific Association for the Study of the Liver (Singapore). He is the author of *Section of the Abdomen and Perianal Region* (1978) and *Philippine Textbook of Surgery* (1990).

EDGARDO D. GOMEZ (B.A./B.S.ED., De La Salle University; M.S. Biology, St. Mary's College, Minnesota; Ph.D., Marine Biology, University of California, San Diego) is University Professor and Director of the Marine Science Institute at the University of the Philippines. He was the recipient of a Fulbright Travel Grant (1965-1966) and was chosen one of the Ten Outstanding Filipinos (TOFIL) in Science.

FLOR LACANILAO (B.S. Zoology, M.S. Zoology, U.P.; Ph.D. Fish Physiology, University of California, Berkeley) is Professor of Marine

Science at the University of the Philippines. He was Chancellor of U.P. Visayas, Chief of the Aquaculture Department of the Southeast Asian Fisheries Development Center. He was Consultant to the Haribon Foundation for the Conservation of Natural Resources, the FAO Advisory Committee of Experts on Marine Resources Research (Rome), the National Environmental Protection Council. He has a number of publications on fish physiology and reproduction, the most recent of which are "Coastal Resources Management and Public Policy" in *Our Sea Our Life: Proceedings of the Seminar Workshop on Community-Based Coastal Resources Management* (1993) and "Resource Allocation to Fisheries Research in the Philippines" in *Resource Allocation to Fisheries Research in Asia* (1993).

FRANCISCO NEMENZO (B.A., M.P.A., U.P.; Ph.D., University of Manchester) is Professor of Political Science and former Chancellor of the University of the Philippines, Visayas. He was Senior Research Fellow at the Australian National University, Canberra, served as Editor of the *Diliman Review*, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences from 1976 to 1981 and Faculty Regent of U.P. He has written several works on Philippine politics. He is co-author of *The Sovereign Quest: Freedom from Foreign Military Bases* and editor of *The Philippines After Marcos (1985).*

AJIT SINGH RYE (A.B., Punjab University) was Professor and Dean of the Asian Center before his retirement. A Filipino of Indian origin, he has conducted studies and published articles on Philippine-Indian relations, Philippine foreign policy, the Filipino-Indian community, Japan's role in Southeast Asia, Philippine-South Asia relations and international relations in the Asia-Pacific region. He is the Executive Director of the Philippine and Asia-Pacific Studies Foundation and Consultant to the Chancellor, U.P. Diliman for the International House.

JAIME B. VENERACION (A.B., M.A., Ph.D., University of the Philippines) is Chairperson of the Department of History at the UP College of Social Sciences and Philosophy of the University of the Philippines. He is President of ADHIKA ng Pilipinas, Inc., Vice-President of Balay Saliksikan ng Kasaysayan and Chairperson of the University of the Philippines Centennial Committee (to commemorate the Philippine Revolution of 1896). He is the author of *Kasaysayan*

ng Bulakan (1986), *Merit and/or Patronage* (1986), *Agos ng Dugong Kayumanggi* (1987), and *History of the Agustinian Sisters* (1993).

RUBEN L. VILLAREAL (B.S. Agriculture, M.S. Agronomy, U.P.; Ph.D. Horticulture, Rutgers State University) is Professor of Horticulture at the University of the Philippines, Los Baños. He served as Dean of the College of Agriculture of U.P. Los Baños for two terms. One of his published works was translated in Spanish language.

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