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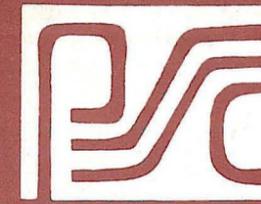
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*in this issue:*

\* MESSAGE TO U.P. SCHOLARS

\* POLITICAL RESTRUCTURING TOWARDS THE CONSTITUTIONAL  
STATE: A PROBLEM OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE



## A Call for Greater Social Commitment

Sylvia H. Guerrero  
Chairman, PSSC Executive Board

*The national crisis triggered by the assassination of political oppositionist Ninoy Aquino, Jr. last August 21, 1983 has heightened the need to reexamine the role of social scientists in the country's economic, political, and social life. As academics, researchers, practitioners, and technocrats, social scientists have constantly sought to actively contribute to national development; as social critics, they have continually analyzed the basic and persistent problems of Philippine society and have advocated alternative approaches toward extirpating these ills.*

*It is thus significant to note the collective position taken by over 200 social scientists who participated in the First National Social Science Congress held last November 17-19, 1983 at the Philippine Social Science Center. In an unprecedented move, the Congress participants unanimously passed a Statement of Concern bemoaning "the breakdown of moral values" in the country and "the erosion of respect for the human being and his inalienable rights to life, liberty, truth and other basic human rights." Moreover, the delegates presented seven demands, starting with "a peaceful and non-violent change of leadership and government, the holding of free and honest elections to the affirmation of people's sovereignty in the land, and an end to the economic domination of foreign powers and transnational corporations."*

*The crises confronting the country and the implications of these on social scientists were analyzed by the participants. In the face of the deepening social crises, scholars were called upon to "lead in sharpening and applying the nation's capacity to reflect, evaluate, and innovate." Expatriate political scientist and scholar Jose V. Abueva contributed his own assessment of the crises as well as suggestions on how these crises might be resolved.*

*He stressed the need for committed social scientists to play an important role in reshaping Philippine society. This means getting involved as a whole person, "not the compartmentalized being that you and I feel our lives and our social science have made of us." Recounting his own personal experience in Tokyo after August 21, 1983, when asked by Filipinos to lead the final prayer in an ecumenical meeting for Ninoy, his immediate response was to refuse the invitation "to compose and say what would amount to a political prayer." Upon reflection, he realized that he had refused not because he was afraid but, as he revealed ". . . my long years of social science training and practice had conditioned me consciously to try to separate my scholarship from my private feelings and religious beliefs. In a word, I had become not only secularized but also, in some sense, de-sensitized."*

*Thus, the most recent developments in the social science community and the PSSC in particular, are noteworthy and auspicious. As the coordinating Council of professional social science associations and research institutions, the PSSC is actively pursuing its advocacy function — to make itself a more visible agency for the articulation of consensual statements on national issues backed up by scientific research. In this regard, the PSSC Social Issues Committee has just been created. In addition, through the Institutional Development, Research, and Publications Committees, efforts are being made to expand the PSSC's outreach — to disseminate more widely and utilize more effectively research outputs in social science. Through an integrated information network, PSSC will make available to scholars, policymakers/administrators and grassroots people, data and information necessary for intelligent decision-making and responsible social action. In this sensitive period of the country's history, committed social scientists have, indeed, a most crucial role to play.*



## MESSAGE TO U. P. SCHOLARS

Oscar M. Alfonso

Scholars like you ought to be concerned with Orwell because of his instructive books; *1984* specially, because it portrays what happens in a society that subverts the qualities we love in a scholar, or the characteristic that scholars ought to have: curiosity, perseverance, initiative, originality, integrity, self-dedication. Most of all, *1984* is a reminder for people to think for themselves. Can they be called scholars, truly, they who do not think for themselves?

*1984* is about a totalitarian state called Oceania. In Oceania there is no privacy.

Everyone owes personal loyalty to the Party. Everywhere there are large posters reminding everybody: **BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU.**

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Excerpts of the speech delivered by Dr. Oscar M. Alfonso during the UP Scholars' Recognition Convocation sponsored by Phi Kappa Phi, Pi Gamma Mu and Phi Sigma Honor Societies held at the Abelardo Hall Auditorium on 11 January 1984. Dr. Alfonso is the Executive Vice-President of the University of the Philippines System.

It is a situation that does not conduce to independent thinking, or to any thinking except conformably. There is no room for the scholar's curiosity, no substance for his perseverance, no incentive for initiative, no stimulus for originality, no use for integrity, no cause or reason to dedicate oneself except to the pervasive party which is the One Cause. It is the tyranny of an overarching state power.

*1984* places scholars all over the world on the alert. Its percipient if overdrawn description of an all-consuming state sounds the alarm and asks scholars everywhere: is its warning prophecy, or is it contemporary reporting? Where, on the face of this earth in the year 1984, is Oceania? True scholars should have the strength of mind to make scholarly assessment for a scholarly finding.

But what, again, does that have to do with this convocation? I like to think this is one of the central messages of Orwell's *1984*: the tragedy of

Oceania is the failure of love, love down the drain.

When I speak of love on this occasion, do I see it as a special charge for scholars to love and to be loving? Yes, because a scholar — reclusive and therefore exclusive — can sometimes be so full of himself, he needs reminding that there are others about him who would love to see him persevere in caring for them; who would revel in his curiosity and welcome his initiative in the ways of love. The scholar, more dedicated and more resourceful than others, more easily discovers originality in how he looks after his fellows. He wears his integrity best when he acts least for himself and mostly for others. He truly thinks for himself when he helps others, when this is done not out of compulsion but freely and voluntarily.

What I suggest is an activist role in love for scholars, a most desirable activism as many would agree; for scholars to be at their best by being splendidly human, most nobly human, when they come into their own in their respective professions. . . .

# POLITICAL RESTRUCTURING TOWARDS THE CONSTITUTIONAL STATE: A PROBLEM OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

Perfecto V. Fernandez

## I. The National Situation and the Roots of Crisis

### A. Crisis as Crucible for Re-birth

The Filipinos today are a Nation beset by crisis. On the one hand, there is the economic crisis. There is serious shortage of foreign exchange, resulting in lowered imports and reduced payments in liquidation of our foreign obligations. This is accompanied by a marked increase in prices, pushing up the cost of living, by the shutdown of firms and retrenchment of operations, increasing the ranks of the unemployed, and by slow-down of credit, resulting in reduced business activity.

On the other hand, there is also the political crisis. The issue is essentially one of trust and confidence in the Government. Suddenly, in the wake of the Aquino assassination, movements posing challenges to legitimacy erupted. There was the demand for resignation of public officials, as well as in the ranks of the opposition, the unity efforts of diverse groups disenchanted with the Government, the boycott of the plebiscite, and all too obvious cleavages within the majority party, including defections and increasing resistance to the party leadership. Without a doubt, the cumulative impact of both political and economic crisis has been disruptive and unsettling, and has caused widespread panic, confusion and disarray. So many have lost their bearings, and

in lieu of understanding, there is anger, then fear. For the hazards generated by the crisis are genuine and perplexing. But while the crisis has created danger, it has also provided new opportunity for understanding ourselves and our society. We are driven by the crisis into assessing our situation, into searching for causes, and into a national quest for a new equilibrium. In this sense, we may take the present crisis as a possible crucible for national awakening and rebirth.

### B. Capitalist Democracy as National Consensus

There are many who say that the Philippines is headed for socialism. This may be so. The future will tell. But we who live in the present and are concerned with the present, must deal with the situation as it is. There is high probability that in the near future, we will remain capitalist. If this be so, one central problem remains — whether or not the Philippines can truly be a liberal democratic State.

We begin by projecting a national consensus on liberal democracy for the Philippines. There is good basis for such a projection. On the one hand, there is the national experience of over seven decades in liberal democratic institutions. On the other hand, the articulated demands over the crisis periods since 1972, are concerned largely with restoration or reform of such institutions. Emphasis is given on civil liberties, free and honest elections, civilian control of the military, free and independent mass media, an independent legislature, and independent judiciary.

## C. Principles of Liberal Democracy: The Constitutional State

### 1. Republican Principles

For a clear understanding of the projected national consensus, let us summarize briefly the key principles of liberal democracy. These principles, taken collectively, define our political goal, and individually, provide a standard of measurement of what we have, what we lack and to what degree. They also constitute reliable indicators of the true situation concerning the projected consensus. To the extent that there is substantial disagreement with such principles, the projected national consensus may indeed be problematical.

First, the will of the people must be truly the sovereign will. The highest offices of the Government must be held only by those truly chosen by the people through elections. The fundamental law, or the constitution, must be truly their enactment, first through duly chosen representatives who propose the constitution or amendments thereto, and second, through plebiscites clearly reflective of the popular will.

Second, the People must be guaranteed their natural and inherent powers and freedoms, through a Bill of Rights in the constitution. The Government is necessarily a Limited Government, because the Civil Liberties of the People are prohibitions and restrictions on what the Government can do. There is therefore a division of powers in the political system: those that the People have reserved to themselves, and those inherent in them, and those conferred on the Government, as their agency, instrument and representative. The

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A Gaudencio Garcia Lecture delivered on 23 February 1984, at the UP Law Center. Perfecto V. Fernandez is a professor of Law at the UP College of Law.

power to enact the constitution and its amendments is part of sovereign power, which is original with and inalienable from the People. The power of election to the highest political offices of the State is likewise inherent in the People and reserved to them. Their powers to influence their Government, through various forms of free association, and through various modes of expression, are original and inherent powers that may not be abridged or prohibited.

Third, the Government must be operated under a system of Separation of Powers. In the tripartite system, the powers of the Government are allocated among three branches, i.e., the Legislative, the Executive and the Judicial Branches. Each of the three branches are separate from, and equal with the others. No branch may exercise the powers allocated to the other two branches, except as the Constitution expressly permits.

Fourth, the armed forces of the State must be subject at all times to the control of the Civil Authority. Internally, the police should have no function except to enforce the law and keep the peace. In case of civil disorder, the operations of the army must be subjected to the same law and regulations that govern the police. When operating within Philippine territory, the military should have the same status, duties and legal obligations as the police. Except in cases of dire necessity, the armed forces should be employed only against external enemies.

Fifth, political offices must be held only for a fixed or definite term, the period of which must be definitely ascertainable if not actually stated. The holding of such offices for an indefinite period opens up the temptation to prolong tenure, subjecting it to Will, rather than to Law. Where an office-holder can will his continuance in office, there is corresponding loss of control by the Sovereign People over such office.

Sixth, the Judiciary must be independent and constituted of highly competent and honest men. This is a *sine qua non* for a fair and impartial administration of the law. Since the Law is the will of the Sovereign, it

must be given full force and effect, without fear or favor. This is possible only if the Judges are men of unquestionable capacity, integrity and probity.

Seventh, the elections for the highest offices must be held at fixed periods as provided in the fundamental law. Where the holding of such elections is indefinite or uncertain, and the actual date is left to the discretion or determination of office-holders, the temptation is great to postpone, or even do away altogether, with such elections. This permits office-holders, who are mere representatives, to frustrate the exercise of the Sovereign Will through elections.

## 2. Constitutional State

Taken together, these principles describe the Constitutional State, which may be defined as a State in which power is allocated to the spheres of Government and Liberty under law. The People, as Sovereign, bind themselves under a Constitution which is the Fundamental Law.

On the one hand, the People are allocated their natural rights under the concept of Civil Liberty. The People are also organized into Electoral Power, which designates the highest officials by election, and into Constituent Power, by which the fundamental law is adopted or revised. This comes under the concept of Political Liberty.

On the other hand, a Government is organized as an instrument of the Sovereign People and under their control. To ensure such control, the Government is a Limited Government because it cannot abrogate the Civil Liberty of the People, nor usurp their Political Liberty. Then, its powers are distributed under a tripartite system governed by the Separation of Powers. Moreover, all such powers are derived from law, and must be exercised in accordance with law.

Such pluralist arrangement is deemed liberal, because Civil Liberty can flourish, and democratic because the processes for the creation of law are participated in by the people, in the exercise of Political Liberty.

## 3. Constitutional State in Philippine Setting

From our brief sketch of the Constitutional State, one point is immediately clear. There are very few States both historical and existing, that can meet or satisfy all the criteria or indicators that we have discussed at any one time. In this sense, the Constitutional State may be an emergent national phenomenon. A state may meet one or two of the prescribed postulates, and gradually satisfy the others over a period of time. Thus, a state that is not a Constitutional State may evolve or develop over time into one. Conversely, a state that is already a Constitutional State, may over time suffer decline and regress into a State that is not quite a Constitutional State.

When we apply then the concept of Constitutional State to our national situation, and assess our political experience and institutions in terms of its postulates and standards, we must never lose sight of the severely limiting conditions in which we have emerged as a Nation. First is our prolonged incubation under successive colonial regimes. Second is the handicap resulting from the onerous burdens and incapacities imposed on us when we were granted independence in 1946. Third is the debilitating impact of the Pacific War that ravaged our economy and people. Fourth is the hostile condition of the international environment into which we emerged, marred by super-power rivalry, and the prolonged conflicts of the Cold War, including the armed eruptions in Korea, Vietnam and the Middle East.

### D. From Colony to Neo-Colony: Myth and Reality

#### 1. The Segmented Society

When the Republic of the Philippines was inaugurated in 1946, its fundamental law radiated the principles that define the Constitutional State. The 1935 Constitution reflected in its provisions, the political experience of the world's great democracies, Great Britain and the United States.

But the conditions in the country,

in which such grand heritage had been transplanted, were simply uncongenial or unsuitable. In essential matters, there was a total absence of cohesion or homogeneity. Instead, there was distressing segmentation.

In the economy, the indigenous subsistence agriculture, which was everywhere, was distinct and separate from the export-import-financial sector, which was dominated by foreigners and their adjunct class, the mestizos.

The population consisted of sharply defined groups, i.e., the natives with their ethnic groupings, the resident aliens, and the mestizo class. Culturally, there was the Anglo-American, the Hispanic, the Chinese, the Islamic, and the native. For the most part, the ruling and economic elites were the foreign and the mestizo groups. The larger sector of the population consisted of peasants, tenant farmers, the workers in the mines, timber areas, plantations, and sugar mills, and the subsistence fishermen. English and Spanish were official languages, but only a small percentage of the population understood or spoke these languages. By and large, the culture was traditional, quite alien and different from the Anglo-American in which constitutionalism evolved and was nourished.

## 2. Political Party as Instrument of Oligarchy

In such milieu, the political institutions transplanted from the West took on new functions and a different contour. From the start of the tutelage period down to independence day, the political life of the country was in the hands of the elite, and the political process as evolved bore the stamp of the segmentations within the society.

The political party consisted of four sections: the power holders or seekers who led the party, the power brokers who controlled the peasant votes in the different regions, the financiers who provided party funds and the electoral cadre who were tasked with shepherding the peasants and workers into the voting booths. The power holders and seekers were the ilustrados, educated in Spain and later in America.

The power brokers were the big landlords and plantation owners to whom the peasants and the workers were beholden. The financiers were the comprador class, engaged in export and import trade or in financing such trade. The electoral cadre were petty chieftains, or local leaders who owe loyalty to the big landlords or plantation owners.

## 3. Electoral Process as Feudal Interchange

The electoral process was transformed into a set of exchange transactions among the participating sections of the political party. The power holders and power seekers were elected or given appointments to key offices. In turn, they funnelled party funds provided by the financiers to the power brokers and the electoral cadre, and provided continuing patronage to the deserving and loyal followers. The power brokers delivered the votes in their respective regime; and in exchange, secured control over key appointments of public functionaries in said regime, particularly, judges, fiscals, police chiefs, provincial commanders, treasurers, and school superintendents and principals. The party financiers provided funds, and in exchange, they had access to government franchises, contracts, concessions, grants, and other valuable matters. The electoral cadre, who took charge of the actual shepherding of voters, received substantial sums for expenses, from which they deducted their fees, and in addition, were provided patronage through municipal contracts, public works, and local offices.

The assimilation of the political party into the feudal pattern, also stamped it with a corresponding division of labor. As soon as the electoral cadre, who were the most numerous group in the country, had delivered the votes, their role in party matters was at an end. All that remained for them was to exact the patronage due to each according to the value of his services. They had no say, as a party section, on the policies and measures to implement party programs, whatever these were, and no say, on how the govern-

ment was run, nor on how the officials they got elected conducted themselves in office.

## 4. Power Monopoly and Elitist Domination

Such non-involvement or abstention of lower party echelons has profound significance for the policy making process in the Government. It means no influence by the great bulk of the party membership on the framing of national policy. It means control of the policy process only by a few and at the top. It gives the party leadership full power and freedom, not only in the direction of policy but also of its specific content. It is this precise situation that, from the very beginning, gave this country a government by an oligarchy. Notwithstanding outside trappings, the Republic came and remains under elitist rule. For the resultant power and freedom of the party leadership in the making of policy meant unrestrained vulnerability, if not susceptibility, to the pressures of power groups and special interests. Party leaders are sensitive to political and other forms of opportunity, for themselves and for their party, and in the absence of countervailing pressure from within the party, their discretion meant freedom to yield to demand and importunity. In the circumstances, this meant surrender to oligarchic and allied interests. This was as much true of the Nationalista Party as the Liberal Party, as they alternated in the control of the government.

## 5. Alien Power Base

In the contemporary idiom of militant activism, foreign domination of the Philippines is identified as emanating from the "IMF-World Bank" and administered by the "Marcos-U.S. dictatorship." There is, of course, some truth in such perception. But it does not tell the whole story. It is, indeed, only a small part. In large truth, which is not articulated by militant activities, foreign domination, in terms of its reflection in oligarchic rule, has its principal physical situs within and inside the Philippines.

## 6. Alien Strongholds and Auxiliary Enclaves

The complex of foreign interests that have developed for almost a century, comprising landed, financial, industrial, commercial and other substantial interests, may be aptly described as the alien power base within Philippine society. There are two major components: the colonial stronghold, consisting of Spanish, American and European interests that took root and have developed during the colonial period from 1870 to 1945, and the neo-colonial stronghold, consisting of financial, industrial and commercial interests of foreigners established and developed since 1946.

Reinforcing and supporting these strongholds are auxiliary enclaves of the native elite consisting of businessmen and professionals whose interests are intertwined, enmeshed, allied or dependent on alien entities within the strongholds. Such auxiliary enclaves include law offices, management and accounting firms, engineering companies, advertising and public relations agencies, trading or distribution outfits, and educational and training establishments. Taken together, these strongholds and the auxiliary enclaves linked to them, hold the preponderant political power and influence in Philippine society.

The main outlines of the Philippine economy since 1900 conform to the patterns and configuration set by interests within the foreign base. Essentially, it was as it is now, a comprador economy. We have the export component, consisting of agricultural, mining and timber enterprises; the import component, the industrial and commercial component serving both, and the financial component serving all sectors.

## 7. Political Flux and the Comprador Economy

The concentration of economic power and political influence in these strongholds was the primal force that prevented a significant change in economic policy in the direction of genuine

industrialization. Four recurrent phenomena accompanied the continuity and persistence of the comprador economy: (1) since 1946, none of the industrialization plans launched with such great hopes was ever truly implemented; all languished stillborn; (2) all Filipino presidents who had imposed controls over imports and foreign exchange in the interest of industrialization were ousted from office in virtual disgrace; (3) every electoral debacle suffered by a majority party was preceded by a split or schism; and (4) the electoral debacle suffered by incumbent presidents is preceded by a prolonged massive campaign of mass media on the issue of graft and corruption.

The over-all outcome should give us pause: for over a quarter of a century, no Filipino leader since 1946 has had sufficient political power to survive long enough in office to establish an industrialization program. The history of the Republic may be likened to a swift-moving parade of presidents, swept into office with such great hopes and expectations, then slowly immobilized by the recalcitrance and obdurateness of organized interests and then eventually swept out amidst a torrent of censure and condemnation.

This perpetual motion, oscillation and confusion in our politics offers a most strange contrast to the immobility, if not stagnation, of our economy, caught or locked in the perplexities and vulnerabilities of the export-import system. Indeed, the turbulence and disquietude in our politics is the precise means to the stability and the preservation of the comprador system of our economy.

## 8. Martial Law and the Crisis of the Seventies

The imposing of martial law in 1972 was an essential measure for coping with developments that threatened the existing order. First, a nationalist upsurge backed by growing mass movements was a political force that endangered the traditional equilibrium. Second, the cumulation of nationalist policies during the sixties had generated a growing

native-controlled industrial sector known as bureaucrat capitalism. Third, the import substitution policy threatened a long run decline in imports. Fourth, the growth of the internal economy threatened to absorb future production and to thwart further expansion of the export sector.

To abort these growing tendencies towards political stabilization and industrialization, three objectives had to be attained. First, the nationalist upsurge and the supportive movements had to be smashed. This was essential counter-insurgency. Second, the export capability had to be expanded and the importation of goods and services must be escalated. Third, new areas of opportunity must be created and developed for the excess capital in the industrial nations, which is threatened with a fall in profits specially with the ending of the Vietnam conflict. Only martial law, and the authoritarian system of politics that it spawned, could bring about the conditions essential to these objectives, for democratic politics had to be suppressed, the nationalist groups neutralized, if not smashed, and policy making and administration insulated from populist pressures.

## 9. The Comprador Economy Intensified

Under the power monopoly established under martial law and the subsequent authoritarian system, the entire Philippine economy was overhauled and re-tooled to attain three main economic aims. First, it must generate exports in two forms: needed materials in raw or semi-processed form, and low-technology industrial goods in accordance with the new international division of labor. Second, the economy must be programmed to absorb the greatest possible amount of imports. Third, the economy must be so re-arranged, as to require ever increasing utilization of foreign exchange. In other words, the economy had to be engineered into an efficient base of needed materials and lower cost mass-consumer goods, an avid consumer of imported goods, and an insatiable user of foreign exchange.

We were thus locked into a squirrel-cage economy: we always consumed more than we produced and spent more than we earned, always borrowing to meet the increasing gap between income and expenditure. In consequence, the more we produced in national wealth, the less we had of it. Thus, we experienced the paradox of Third World societies: an expanding economy accompanied by deepening poverty. The evidence is irrefutable: in the three and a half decades since independence, the Philippine peso had to be continually cheapened, so that foreigners could take more goods away from this country while paying less and less in terms of their own currency. More goods sent out, for less and less goods brought in eventually leads to national bankruptcy.

#### 10. Alien Domination as Root of Crisis

We can now see the root cause of the crisis before us, in a clearer light. Indeed, it is the very same root cause of the same crisis that we had been undergoing since 1946. It is that the alien strongholds within our country hold preponderant political power in the shaping of national policy and that our political parties have been no more than organized and well-masked conduits of such power.

Because these alien strongholds are the ultimate but camouflaged enfranchisers of the political parties, such parties are truly truncated and have no organic unity with the people. Hence, none of our presidents have really commanded an enduring mass base and mass support. All they have had were votes swept in by the electoral cadre of their party.

Such electoral cadre have been generally mercenaries, and are easily lured into defection to other camps. This is evidenced in the electoral politics before martial law, by the frequency of party splits or schisms. Without any sizeable following within the electoral cadre, no party faction could truly challenge the party leadership. Our political history however, is replete with such challenges. The true situation

is that each party leader has his retainers within the cadre, and his defection would signal their own.

The power of the alien strongholds, as institutionalized via oligarchic control of the political parties, is naturally exerted to their advantage and in their interests. Positively exerted, the power had yielded favorable or congenial policies. Negatively exerted, the power had aborted all the industrialization plans. Against a president with nationalist leanings, the power had been used to split the majority party and to strengthen the minority parties, so as to engineer an electoral debacle that would sweep him from office.

It is a latent function of the power to prevent perpetuation in Government of any one person, or dynasty. This is crucial function. For the maintenance of the neo-colonial system, it is indispensable that the parties should take turns being majority, then minority party. This periodic swing of power from one party to the other is stabilizing in many ways. First, the change in administration by election yields a general euphoria that sustains the hope of the population for a better life, and that enables them to endure continued exploitation with accustomed placidity. Second, it ensures that no genuine program of industrialization could really take root, simply because no leader can stay in power long enough to see it through. Third, it creates the illusion of change, while in truth, the comprador system remains unchanged.

We can now see the national predicament in perspective. In the situation that we are in, the exercise of political rights through elections and political parties have no impact or bearing on basic policy, and therefore cannot bring about meaningful change. This is simply because the policy making at the top is controlled by the oligarchy, at the heart of which are the alien strongholds. The civil liberties of the people cannot be exercised to effect truly meaningful change, because in our system, policy is instituted by the action of public officials, and public officials are part of, and controlled by the oligarchy. This is the explanation of the drift and stagna-

tion that holds our society in thrall. All the agitation that has permeated our politics since 1946, including the ranting, the marching, and fighting, has not changed one whit the basic structure of the comprador economy.

#### II. Reconstruction Towards Constitutional State

##### A. Mass-Based Party as Counterforce

In order that the Republic can truly become a genuine constitutional state, more is required than just free political parties and free elections. We must not forget that we had from 1946 to 1972, substantially free elections, with alternating majority parties, but this was accompanied by deepening national turmoil that led to martial law and to the present crisis. Since the root cause of our continuing crisis is foreign domination of our political process via the alien strongholds within the oligarchy, we must develop a counterforce that will enable the people not only to vote officials, but also to exert continuing control over the making and implementation of policy. Such counterforce must be strong enough to control Government, and therefore strong enough to oust the oligarchy from its dominance over public affairs.

How is this possible? Such counterforce is possible only in the form of a mass-based party led by good and honest nationalists. These are, of course, large requirements. To begin with, a mass-based party must have more than merely large membership. It is required that those who join the party are genuinely members with abiding commitment to the nationalist goals of the party, and a willingness to contribute their substance, time and energy to the party. Unlike the electoral cadre of the existing parties, such membership must participate actively in the evolution and development of party strategies, plans and programs.

As for the party leaders, they must be truly nationalist. The criterion is simple. A nationalist understands that effective political power today is in the hands of an oligarchy dominated by

*(continued on page 14)*

## pssc activities

### New PSSC Officers for CY 1984

The PSSC Executive Board elected its officers for CY 1984:

Chairman: *Sylvia H. Guerrero*, Dean, Institute of Social Work and Community Development, University of the Philippines

Vice-Chairman: *Cesar P. Macuja*, Chairman, Management Audit Company  
Secretary-Treasurer: *Ruben F. Trinidad*, Deputy Director, National Tax Research Center

The Board also appointed the following Committee members:

#### STANDING COMMITTEES

1. *Membership Committee*: Helen R. Tubangui (chairman), Shirley C. Advincula, Consuelo L. Gutierrez, and Mercedes B. Concepcion (ex-officio)

2. *Nominations Committee*: Alejandro N. Herrin (chairman), Patricia B. Licuanan, Burton T. Oñate and Corazon Alma de Leon (ex-officio)

3. *Elections Committee*: Domingo C. Salita (chairman), Saturnina L. Hamili, Ma. Lourdes A. Carandang and Romeo V. Cruz (ex-officio)

4. *Finance and Business Affairs Committee*: Ruben F. Trinidad (chairman), Dante B. Canlas, Andrew B. Gonzalez, Raul P. de Guzman, Cesar P. Macuja, Filologo P. Pante, Emmanuel T. Velasco and Mercedes B. Concepcion (ex-officio)

5. *Institutional Development Committee*: Cesar P. Macuja (chairman), Wilfredo F. Arce, Leslie E. Bauzon, Juan R. Francisco, Thelma Lee-Mendoza, Lydia Tansinsin, and Bonifacio P. Sibayan (ex-officio)

6. *Research Committee*: Felipe B. Miranda (chairman), Victoria A. Bautista, Ponciano L. Bennagen, Luisa T. Engracia, Feliciano M. Lapid, Benjamin B. Lozare, Filologo P. Pante, Cristina P. Parel, Emy M. Pascasio, Bonifacio S. Salamanca, Ma. Corazon J. Veneracion, Elizabeth K. Ventura, Ricardo M. Zarco, and Jaime C. Bulatao (ex-officio)

7. *Publications Committee*: Thelma Lee-Mendoza (chairman), Dominador Z. Rosell (ex-officio) and all journal editors as members

8. *Executive Committee*: Sylvia H. Guerrero (chairman), Cesar P. Macuja, Ruben F. Trinidad, Loretta Makasiar Sicat, and Leslie E. Bauzon (ex-officio)

#### SPECIAL COMMITTEES

1. Awards Committee: Cesar M. Mercado, Alejandro N. Herrin

2. Social Issues Committee: Ponciano L. Bennagen (chairman), and presidents of PSSC member associations or their duly appointed representatives as members.

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#### Chantornvong Visits PSSC

*Sombat Chantornvong*, Associate Director of the Thai Khadi Research Institute, Thammasat University, Thailand visited the PSSC last April 11.

He came to discuss the possibility of identifying Filipino scholars who have conducted studies on Thailand and the ASEAN. He also intended to acquire copies of their works.

This is in line with their effort to set up a special collection of research works done on Thailand in other languages. He also expressed willingness to work out an exchange of information scheme between the Thai Khadi Research Institute and the PSSC.

In his capacity as a member of the Executive Committee of the Social Science Association of Thailand (SSAT) and as the Chairman of its International Affairs Sub-Committee, Dr. Chantornvong also explored the possibility of future cooperation between the SSAT and the PSSC and its member associations.

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#### New Grantees

#### Discretionary Research Awards Program

1. Milagros Maruja B. Asis  
"Correlates of Husband-Wife Dis-

crepancies in Fertility-Related Attitudes and Perceptions on their Influence on Contraceptive Practice" P5,000.00

2. Ma. Trinidad A. Crisanto  
"Le Role de L'activite Psychometrique et la Variation Mychthémérale dans la Distinction Endogéne-Psychogene des Depressions" P3,450.00
3. Remedios C. Garcia  
"The Dibaloyons of Bukidnon" P4,900.00
4. Rolando M. Gripaldo  
"The Political and Social Thought of Manuel L. Quezon" P5,000.00
5. Violeta S. Ignacio  
"Image of America in Tagalog Poetry, 1898-1972" P5,000.00
6. Mardonio M. Lao  
"Bukidnon Under Three Powers, 1860-1945" P5,000.00
7. Patricia B. Licuanan  
"Professional Psychology in Asia: Problems and Prospects" P2,587.00
8. Alicia P. Magos  
"Igcado Society: The Persistence of Babaylanism in a Visayan Village" P5,000.00
9. Cristina J. Montiel  
"Value Changes in Filipino Student Activists from Adolescence to Early Adulthood" P5,000.00
10. Josefina N. Natividad  
"Foetal Loss: Levels, Trends and Implications" P5,000.00
11. Edgardo P. Paat  
"Philippine Political Authoritarianism: 1972-1982" P3,200.00
12. Editha Brigida C. Panay  
"Exploring the Logical Operations of the Elementary School Child" P3,924.34
13. Ma. Lourdes L. Ramos  
"Hypnotherapy in the Treatment of Psychosomatic Disorders" P4,000.00
14. Isagani O. Sta. Maria  
"The Slum Dwellers in the Tondo Foreshore Area: Their Attitudes and Aspirations and their Socio-Economic Conditions" P3,133.75

## newsbriefs

The Development Academy of the Philippines (DAP) conducted a policy-oriented research workshop on *Equity in Natural Resources Development: Issues and Data Needs* on January 30-31 at the DAP Conference Center in Tagaytay City.

Eight papers were presented: "Natural Resource Disposition in the Philippine Uplands" by Prof. Owen J. Lynch, Jr. (UP College of Law); "Forest Development by Public Corporations" by Dr. Adolfo Revilla (College of Forestry, UP at Los Baños); "The Role of the Marine Sector in Socio-Economic Development" by Elizabeth Samson (Fisheries Industry Development Council); "Equity in the Use of Philippine Forest Resources" by Dr. Cerenilla Cruz (College of Forestry, UP at Los Baños); "Equity in Mineral and Energy Resources" by Dr. Teodoro T. Santos (Natural Science Research Center); "The Data Base: Agriculture" by Celestino C. Olalo (Bureau of Agricultural Economics); "Equity in Fishery Resource Management" by Dr. Wilfredo Cruz (College of Development Economics and Management, UP at Los Baños); and "Gains from Employment in Natural Resource-Based Industries" by Rosemarie Aquino (Research Center, De La Salle University).

The workshop sought to elicit and collect expert opinion to form the basis for a research agenda on natural resources development, particularly in relation to the equitable distribution of these resources and their benefits. It was co-sponsored by the Philippine Institute for Development Studies (PIDS) and the Canada-based International Development Research Centre (IDRC).

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The *First Regional Training Course on Social Indicators for Asia and the Pacific* ended after six weeks last 25 February at the Development Academy of the Philippines (DAP) Conference Center in Tagaytay City with the awarding of certificates of training to

the 28 foreign and local participants by DAP acting-president Jose P. de Jesus.

Jose Leviste, secretary-general of the Office of the Prime Minister and Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry, acted as guest speaker during the closing ceremonies. DAP vice-president for research Dr. Mahar Mangahas also delivered a final report as course director.

The annual course aims to provide specialized training for middle- and junior-level technicians from the Asia-Pacific region in the design, operationalization, analysis and reporting of social indicators appropriate to their country setting. Aside from lectures on substantive areas, an introduction on field surveys and computer data processing was also conducted by an international faculty, in addition to a practicum in social reporting.

The course was developed by the DAP, a leading research institution in social indicators since 1974, in close collaboration with the UNICEF East Asia and Pakistan Regional Office, and the UNICEF Country Offices of Indonesia, Korea, Pakistan and the Philippines. As de Jesus underscored in his welcome address at the opening rites last January, the course is a response to the long felt need for a formalized training in social indicators, particularly for government technicians involved in generating social data. The Second Regional Course is scheduled for January-February 1985.

Applications and inquiries regarding the Second Regional Training Course may be addressed to:

Research for Development Dept.  
Development Academy of the  
Philippines  
P.O. Box 74, Araneta Commercial  
Center, Cubao, Quezon City,  
Philippines  
(Cable: ACADEMYFIL MANILA)

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Mario D. Zamora, Professor of Anthropology at the College of William and Mary in Virginia, Williamsburg, Vir-

ginia, USA accepted an invitation to serve as corresponding editor for the Philippines of *Current Anthropology* (the world journal of the sciences of man) and organ of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. Dr. Zamora's term of office begins with the February 1984 issue of the journal. Other corresponding editors appointed come from Argentina, Brazil, Italy, France, Nigeria, and Switzerland.

*Current Anthropology*, edited by Cyril S. Belshaw, Professor of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia, Canada is sponsored by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. It is the published record of an experiment in communication with a worldwide community of individual scholars, the Associates in current anthropology. The first editor before Belshaw was Dr. Sol Tax, Professor Emeritus of Anthropology at the University of Chicago. The international journal is published five times a year by the University of Chicago Press.

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Mahar Mangahas, economist and vice-president for Research at the Development Academy of the Philippines (DAP) was recently awarded a Rockefeller Foundation grant for his research proposal entitled "Distributive Justice in the Philippines: Ideology, Policy and Surveillance." Mangahas was one of the two Filipinos in the first batch of seven scholars from Southeast Asia to receive the grant; the other is historian Reynaldo C. Ileto.

The grant is part of "Reflections on Development," a special Rockefeller Program" on social science fellowships for scholars in Southeast Asia and English-speaking Africa to advance knowledge on fundamental development issues in these regions." It will be made available in an amount up to U.S. \$23,350 to be used for a two-year period starting January 1984.

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## social scientists on the move

*Samuel K. Tan* of the UP Department of History enplaned to the US to avail of the Fulbright-Hays research grant. He will undertake research on the national minorities (non-Christian, non-Muslim tribes) in various depositories in the US.

Prof. Tan's stint in the US is from October 1st, 1983 to September 30, 1984.

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*Zelda C. Zablan* of the UP Population Institute participated in a symposium on "Population Policies in Asian Countries." It was held at the University of Hongkong from January 8-14.

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*Josefa M. Saniel* presented a paper during the conference on "Japanese Studies in the ASEAN: A Survey of Strengths and Weaknesses." The Conference was held in Bangkok, Thailand. Thammasat University and the Japan Foundation sponsored the activity.

Dr. Saniel is the Dean of the UP Asian Center. She stayed in Thailand from January 12-21.

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*Rene E. Ofreneo* of the UP Institute of Industrial Relations participated in a research seminar on "Strategies for the Future of Asia." It was held in Bangkok, Thailand from January 15-21. UNITAR sponsored the seminar.

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*Clarita R. Carlos* of the UP Department of Political Science presented a paper on "Ethical Dilemmas in Specific Development Strategies" during a two-day conference on ethics in international development held at Cornell University in New York in January.

Dr. Carlos is presently a Fulbright visiting fellow at the Center for International Studies at Cornell University. She was a PSSC-DRAP grantee in 1981.

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*Alejandro N. Herrin* and *Cesar M. Mercado* attended the 7th Annual Meeting of the ASEAN Population Programme Heads and Experts. The meeting was held in Malaysia on Janu-

ary 19-25 under the auspices of the ASEAN Population Coordination Unit.

Dr. Herrin and Dr. Mercado are professors at the UP School of Economics and the Institute of Mass Communication, respectively. Both are members of the PSSC Executive Board.

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*Daisy B. Atienza*, Professor and Coordinator of the Graduate Studies Program of the UP-IIR was granted a Colombo Plan Scholarship to enable her to participate in a three-month course in Industrial Relations at the International Training Institute in Sydney, Australia. The course began on February 8 and will end on April 6.

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*Karina C. David* of the Institute of Social Work and Community Development participated as Asian representative in the Second Meeting of the Advisory Group of the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation. The meeting was held in Uppsala, Sweden from February 12-17.

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*Loretta Makasiar Sicat*, PSSC Executive Director and incumbent member of the United Nations Advisory Committee on Science and Technology for Development, attended its 4th Session which was held in New York, USA on February 12-23.

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*Fe R. Arcinas* participated in the follow-up project meeting on "Asian Migrant Workers to the Gulf Region" which was held in New Delhi, India on February 16-20. The United Nations University sponsored the meeting.

Prof. Arcinas is the Chairman of the Department of Sociology, UP.

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*Sylvia H. Guerrero* attended as Philippine representative and researcher in a project meeting held in Bangkok, Thailand from February 21-25 under the sponsorship of Chulalongkorn University and the International Development Research Centre.

From March 10-17, Dr. Guerrero also joined the Philippine delegation for the Children's Literature Association of the Philippines Inc. (CLAPI) on a study-tour visit of the People's Republic of China. The visit was sponsored by the Writers' Association of China.

Dr. Guerrero is the Dean of the UP Institute of Social Work and Community Development and the Chairman of the PSSC Executive Board for CY 1984.

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*Irene R. Cortez*, UP Vice-President for Academic Affairs attended the Third Session of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). It was held in New York on February 22 to April 14.

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*Ajit Singh Rye* of the UP Asian Center participated in a seminar on "The Impact of ASEAN on Southeast Asia" which was held in Colombo, Sri Lanka. He will stop over in Singapore en route to the Philippines to consult editors regarding the publication of his book on Indians in Southeast Asia. His one-month stint lasted from February 24 to March 25.

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*Froilan M. Bacungan* of the UP College of Law participated in the meetings on "Corporations and Law in ASEAN Countries" held in Tokyo, Japan under the auspices of the Institute of Developing Economies. He also participated in the conference on "Non-Tariff Barriers to Expanding Intra-ASEAN Trade" held in Singapore. It was sponsored by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS). He stayed abroad from February 25 to March 7.

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*Carolina Hernandez*, Professor of Political Science, UP enplaned to the US to attend the conference on "Development, Stability and Security in the Pacific-Asian Region" and the "Security Conference on Asia and the Pacific." She also accepted the invitation of Columbia University in New York to serve as Visiting Fellow during the

(continued on page 13)

# information section

## RESEARCH PROJECTS

Reported research projects, contemplated, ongoing and completed for the period January-March 1984.

Entry Format: Title of project/proposal. Project director/researcher. Home institution. Status of project. Funding agency.

Status of Project:

Contemplated — formal proposal drawn.

Ongoing — preparatory activities after proposal is drawn to the stage before the completion of the final write-up.

Completed — final write-up accomplished.

*Analysis of Communication Resources of Two Agricultural Universities in Mindanao: Some Policy Implications.* Edna Derije Garzon. University of the Philippines at Los Baños. Completed. ADC.

*Dynamics of Grievance Handling.* Julie Q. Casel, UP Institute of Industrial Relations. Ongoing.

*Evaluation of the Program of the Netherlands International Education. (Philippine Country Study)* Jose C. Gatchalian. UP-IIR. Ongoing. NUFFIC/CESO, The Hague, Netherlands.

*Inter-Generational Occupational Mobility in Naga City and Related Practica Papers.* Aniceto B. Oliva. Ateneo de Manila University. Completed. PSSC.

*The Impact of the Marriage Enrichment Seminar on Couples' Marital Communication and Adjustment in Digos, Davao del Sur and other Practica Papers.* Nonita S. Relatado. Ateneo de Manila University. Completed. PSSC.

*Plantation Agriculture in the Philippines: A General Survey, 1960's-1980's.* Rene E. Ofreneo. UP-IIR. Completed. ILO-MOLE.

*The Religious-Political History of Antique (Spanish Regime).* Aida J. Mirasol Ricarce. Ateneo de Manila University. Completed. PSSC.

*Rural-Urban Migration in Cagayan de Oro City.* Nora C. Narido. Xavier University. Completed. PSSC.

*Samar (1898-1902): The Revolutionary Career of General Vicente R. Lukban.* Reynaldo H. Imperial. University of the Philippines. Completed. PSSC.

*A Survey of Education/Information Needs*

*of Rice Farmers at the Farm Level in Two Municipalities in Leyte.* Victorino N. Sugbo. UP-IIR. Completed.

## RECENTLY REPORTED PUBLICATIONS

Recently reported publications for the period January-March 1984.

Entry Format: Author/Editor. Home institution. Vol. No. Date. Pages. Cost. Where Available (PSSC Library unless specified otherwise).

## BOOKS/MONOGRAPHS

*Agricultural Modernization and Non-Agricultural Employment: An Asian and Pacific Perspective.* Florian A. Albuero. UPSE Discussion Paper 8214. Diliman, Q.C.: UPSE. 1982. 24 pp.

*Agricultural Sector Analysis in Asia.* Max R. Langham and Ralph H. Retzlaff, eds. Singapore: Singapore University Press. 1982. 420 pp.

*Arbitration and Group Decision under Uncertainty.* Jose Encarnacion, Jr. UPSE Discussion Paper 8311. Diliman, Q.C.: UPSE. 1983. 18 pp.

*Determinants of Inflation in the Philippines.* Romeo M. Bautista. UPSE. Discussion Paper 8309. Diliman, Q.C.: UPSE. 1983. 21 pp.

*The Economic Contract Law of the People's Republic of China: An Exercise in Compilation and Reform.* Occasional Papers, Chinese Law Programme Series No. 1, Centre for Contemporary Asian Studies. Hongkong: Institute of Social Studies, Chinese University of Hongkong. August 1983.

*Fundamentals of Experimental Psychology.* Paul W. Robinson. Second Edition. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall. c1981. 415 pp.

*Historical Research on Social Mobility.* Hartmut Kaelble. New York: Columbia University Press. 1981. 160 pp.

*How to Make a Social Survey Interview Schedule — Instructions for Beginners.* Frank Lynch, S.J. Bangkok: Agricultural Development Council, 1979. 61 pp.

*Improving Farm Management Teaching in*

*Asia.* B. T. Tan, et al., eds. Bangkok: Agricultural Development Council, 1980. 185 pp.

*Information Sources, Systems and Services in the Social Sciences, Final Report: 1983.* Asian Regional Seminar organized by UNESCO in collaboration with the U.P. Institute of Library Science and UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines. Published by UP Institute of Library Science and UNESCO Regional Office Bangkok, Thailand. 1983. 31 pp.

*Introduction to Social Work.* Rex A. Skidmore and Milton G. Thackeray. Third Edition. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall. c1982. 452 pp.

*Irrigation Policy and the Management of Irrigation Systems in Southeast Asia.* Donald C. Taylor and Thomas W. Hickman, eds. Bangkok: Agricultural Development Council, 1979. 198 pp.

*The Making of Social Psychology: Discussions with Creative Contributors.* Richard I. Evans. New York: Gardner Press. c1980. 230 pp.

*Man, Land and Sea: Coastal Resource Use and Management in Asia and the Pacific.* Chandra H. Soysa, et al., eds. Bangkok: Agricultural Development Council, 1982. 320 pp.

*The Military in a Post-Marcos Philippines: Short-Term Scenarios by a Concerned Civilian.* Felipe B. Miranda. Discussion Paper No. 84-1. Diliman, Q.C.: Department of Political Science, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, UP. January 1984.

*Nepal's Experience in Hill Agricultural Development.* Ministry of Food and Agriculture, HMG. Kathmandu. 1981. 234 pp.

*The 1981-85 Tariff Changes and Effective Protection of Manufacturing Industries.* Romeo M. Bautista. UPSE Discussion Paper 8213. Diliman, Q.C.: UPSE. 1982. 31 pp.

*Philippine Population Literature in Periodicals (Second and Third Quarters 1982): An Annotated Bibliography.* Manila: Population Center Foundation. 1983. 59 leaves.

*Population of the Philippines: Current Perspectives and Future Prospects.* Mercedes B. Concepcion, ed. Manila: National Economic and Development Authority. 1983. 216 pp.

*Portfolio Choice and Risk.* Jose Encarnacion, Jr. UPSE Discussion Paper 8307. Diliman, Q.C.: UPSE. 1983. 21 pp.

*Program Evaluation: Methods and Case Studies.* Emil J. Posavac and Raymond G. Carey. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall. c1980.

*Readings in Agricultural Administration.* G. P. Wood and A. T. Mosher. New York: Agricultural Development Council. c1980. 244 pp.

*Regression by Minimum Sum of Absolute Errors: Some Results.* Rolando A. Danao. UPSE Discussion Paper 8304. Diliman, Q.C.: UPSE. 1983. 14 pp.

*Sensory Systems and Communication in the Elderly.* J. Mark Ordry and Ken R. Brizzle, eds. New York: Ranen Press. c1979. 322 pp.

*Serving Agriculture as an Administrator.* A. T. Mosher. New York: Agricultural Development Council. c1975. 64 pp.

*Some Well-Behaved Composition Functions Involving Nonconcave Argument Functions.* Raul V. Fabella. UPSE Discussion Paper 8310. Diliman, Q.C.: UPSE. 1983. 14 pp.

*Training Agricultural Economists for Work in International Development.* Darrell F. Fienup and Harold M. Riley. 1980. 137 pp.

*Truncation Bias in Household Money Demand Tests.* Manuel F. Montes. UPSE Discussion Paper 8211. Diliman, Q.C.: UPSE. 1982. 33 pp.

*Women and Development in Southeast Asia I.* Khin Thitsa and Signe Howell. Occasional Paper No. 1. University of Kent at Canterbury, Centre of Southeast Asian Studies. September 1983. 81 pp.

*Young Offenders in Contemporary China: Contributing Factors and Related Services.* Mok Bong-ho. General Series No. 1. Occasional Papers, Centre for Contemporary Asian Studies. Hongkong: Institute of Social Studies, The Chinese University of Hongkong. December 1983.

## JOURNALS

*Arab Journal of Language Studies.* Ahmad Abd al-Halim, editor-in-chief. Vol. 2. No. 1, Aug. 1983. 184 pp. Published twice a year by the Khartoum International Institute of Arabic, P.O. Box 26, Al-Duyum alshargiyya, Khartoum, Sudan. Annual subscription prices: institutional subscriptions — \$16. personal subscriptions — \$6.

*Assignment Children.* A journal concerned with children, women and youth in development. Mandl, P.E., editor. No. 63/64. 1983. Published by the United Nations Children's Fund.

*Historical Bulletin.* Rosario Mendoza Cortes and the Editorial Board, Philippine Historical Association, editors. Vol. 26. Nos. 1-4. Jan.-Dec. 1982. 265 pp.

*Initiatives in Population.* Virgilio Lacaba, editor. Vol. 7. No. 1. 1983. 51 pp. Published quarterly by the Population Center Foundation.

*International Political Science Review.* Andre Philippart, editor. Vol. 3. No. 3. 1982. 367 pp. Published quarterly by the International Political Science Association (IPSA).

*The Journal of History.* Leslie E. Bauzon, editor. Vols. 25 & 26. Nos. 1 & 2. Jan.-Dec. 1980-1981. 307 pp. A biannual publication of the Philippine National Historical Society. In this issue: a Filipiniana bibliography, 1743-1982 by Marcelino A. and Cresencia R. Foronda. Subscriptions (P30.00/U.S.10) may be addressed to the Central Subscription Service, P.O. Box 655, Greenhills, Metro Manila 3113, Philippines.

*Journal of Philippine Development.* Jennifer P. T. Liguton, managing editor. Vol. 8. Nos. 1 & 2. 1981. 110 pp. Published twice a year by the Philippine Institute for Development Studies. The subscription rate is P60.00 for one year. Single copies are available at P35.00 each. Manuscripts, inquiries, subscription orders and other correspondence should be sent to the Editorial Staff, Journal of Philippine Development, Philippine Institute for Development Studies, NEDA sa Makati Bldg., 106 Amorsolo St., Legaspi Village, Makati.

*Kinaadman (Wisdom).* A journal of the Southern Philippines. Miguel A. Bernard. S.J., editor. Vol. 6. No. 1. 1984. Published by Xavier University jointly with Ateneo de Zamboanga and Ateneo de Naga. Domestic rates: single issue — P35.00 (plus postage), annual subscription — P75.00 (postpaid).

*Korea Journal.* Paik Syeung-Gil, editor. Vol. 23. Nos. 9 & 10. Sept. & Oct. 1983. 70 pp. & 74 pp. Published monthly by the Korean National Commission for UNESCO. Annual subscription: Korea W8,400, Asia: US\$23.00, U.S.A. & Canada: US \$25.00 and elsewhere US\$26.00 surface.

Send requests to: Kumi Trading Co., Ltd., Subscription Department, C.P.O. Box 3553, Seoul, Korea.

*Minzokugaku-Kenkyu.* The Japanese journal of Ethnology. Ayabe Tsuneo, editor. Vol. 48. No. 2, 1983. 250 pp. Published quarterly by the Japanese Society of Ethnology.

*Pakistan Economic and Social Review.* Rafiq Ahmad, editor. Vol. 19. No. 2. Winter 1981. 85-156 pp. Bi-annual journal of the Department of Economics, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan.

*Philippine Journal of Industrial Relations.* Rene E. Ofreneo, editor. Vol. 5. Nos. 1-2. 1983. 136 pp. Published by the Institute of Industrial Relations, University of the Philippines.

*Philippine Journal of Linguistics.* Andrew Gonzalez, FSC, editor. Vol. 14. No. 1. June 1983. 85 pp. Individual journals are sold in the Philippines for P20.00 a copy. Subscription per year is P40.00. Foreign subscriptions including the cost of handling and mailing is \$15 a year.

*Philippine Journal of Public Administration.* Mila A. Reforma, editor. Vol. 24. No. 4. October 1980. 422 pp. Official journal of the College of Public Administration, University of the Philippines, and the Philippine Society for Public Administration. Subscription: domestic — P60.00 a year; foreign — \$25.00. Single copies: domestic — P16.00; foreign — \$7.50.

*Philippine Political Science Journal.* Loretta Makasiar Sicat, editor. No. 10. December 1979. 101 pp. Official publication of the Philippine Political Science Association. Subscription rates: P20.00 per copy; P40.00 a year for mailed subscriptions in the Philippines. Foreign: U.S. \$15.00 for institutions and U.S. \$10.00 for individuals annually.

*Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society.* Joseph Baumgartner, editor. Vol. 11. Nos. 2/3. June/September 1983. 221 pp. Subscription rates: One year — P45.00 in the Philippines; US\$10.00 in Southeast Asia; US \$12.00 in all other countries. Single issues: P12.00 in the Philippines; US\$2.75 in Southeast Asia; US \$3.50 in all other countries. Subscription orders and proposals for exchange should be addressed to the Business Manager, San Carlos Publications, University of San Carlos, Cebu City 6401, Philippines.

*The Philippine Statistician.* Burton T. Oñate, editor. Vol. 32. Nos. 1-2. January-June

1983. 104 pp. Annual subscription: Philippines — P12.00, Foreign — \$4.00.
- Population and Development Review*. Ethel P. Churchill, managing editor. Vol. 9. No. 3. September 1983. 403-582 pp. Published quarterly at \$14.00 for one year and \$24.00 for a two-year subscription by the Population Council.
- Public Enterprise*. Ivo Pelicon, editor. Vol. 4. Nos. 1 & 2. 1983. Published by the International Center for Public Enterprises in Developing Countries.
- Saint Louis University Research Journal*. Felino L. Lorente, editor. Vol. 16. Nos. 1-2. March-June 1983. 284 pp. Published quarterly by the Saint Louis University. Subscription rates: P67.21 for SLU graduate students; P73.93 for others in the Philippines and \$33.79 for those in other countries; single copies, P20.71 per issue (P12.32 foreign). Subscription and purchase orders should be placed directly with the Business Department, Saint Louis University Research Journal, Saint Louis University, P.O. Box 71, Baguio City 0216, Philippines.
- Silliman Journal*. Dale Law, editor. Vol. 29. Nos. 3-4. Third and Fourth Quarters 1982. Published quarterly under the auspices of Silliman University, Dumaguete City. Annual subscription rates: Dumaguete — P40.00; other Philippines — P50.00; foreign — \$12.00; back issues — P20.50/\$4.00.
- Social Work*. Thelma Lee-Mendoza, editor. Vol. 28. Nos. 1 & 2. 1983. 89 pp. A quarterly journal of the Philippine Association of Social Workers.
- Solidarity*. F. Sionil Jose, editor. Vol. 3. 1983. 80 pp. Published quarterly with editorial and business offices at 531 Padre Fauna, Manila, Philippines. Subscription rates: \$8.00; individual copies: \$2.50.
- Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science*. Peter S.J. Chen, editor. Vol. 10. No. 2. 1982. 117 pp. A joint publication of the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies and the Department of Sociology of the National University of Singapore.
- No. 11. Nov. 1983. Published by the Reference Centre, Clearing-House and Information Section Population Division, Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP).
- Annual Newsletter of the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies*. No. 16. 1982.
- Asian Mass Communication Bulletin*. Vol. 13. Nos. 5 and 6. 1983. Published by the Asian Mass Communication Research and Information Centre.
- Asiaweek*. Vol. 10. Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, Jan.-Feb. 1984. Published by Asiaweek, Ltd.
- Balikataneews*. Vol. 5. No. 5. Sept.-Oct. 1983. Official bi-monthly publication of the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women.
- Beijing Review*. A Chinese Weekly of News and Views. Vol. 26. Nos. 43-52. Oct.-Dec. 1983; Vol. 27. Nos. 1-7. Jan.-Feb. 1984.
- Ang Brodkaster*. Vol. 6. No. 5. Nov.-Dec. 1983. Published by the Kapisanan ng mga Brodkaster sa Pilipinas.
- Bulletin of the Nutrition Foundation of the Philippines*. Vol. 23. No. 3. May-June 1983.
- Bulletin of Peace and Development*. Vol. 1. No. 4. Dec. 1983. A quarterly publication of the Mindanao Executive Development Academy (MEDA) and the Southern Philippines Center for Peace Studies (SPCPS).
- Bulletin of Philippine Folklore and Local History*. Vol. 3. No. 3. Sept. 1983. A joint publication of the Philippine Folklore Society and the National Conference on Local History.
- CCAS Newsletter*. Autumn 1983. Published by the Centre for Contemporary Asian Studies, Institute of Social Studies, The Chinese University of Hongkong.
- Canopy International*. Vol. 9. Nos. 3-6. March-June 1983. Monthly publication of the Forest Research Institute, MNR College, Laguna, Philippines.
- Centerviews*. Sept.-Nov. 1983. Published by the East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii.
- Commerce*. Vol. 7. No. 12. Sept. 1983. Based on the Research Works of Nepal Economic and Commerce Research Centre.
- Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. Annual Report 1982-1983*. Published by the Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.
- Development and Freedom*. Soldjatomoko. Ishizaka Lectures 2. Published by the Simul Press.
- Development Research News*. Vol. 1. Nos. 4-5. Nov.-Dec. 1983. A monthly publication of the Philippine Institute for Development Studies (PIDS).
- Economic Review*. Vol. 9. No. 3. June 1983. Published by the People's Bank, Research Department.
- Economist*. Vol. 289-290. Nos. 7318-7332. Nov. 1983; Jan.-Mar. 1984.
- The FPOP Bulletin*. Vol. 14. Nos. 2 and 3. Apr.-June; July-Sept. 1983. A publication of the Family Planning Organization of the Philippines.
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- Fieldnotes*. Vol. 2. No. 3. Dec. 1983. Published by the Philippine Association for Intercultural Development, Inc.
- Grassroots Development*. Vol. 8. No. 1. 1984. Published twice a year in English and Spanish by the Inter-American Foundation.
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- The IDRC Reports*. Vol. 12. Nos. 3 and 4. Oct. 1983; Jan. 1984. Published by the International Development Research Centre.
- The IRRI Reporter*. No. 4. Dec. 1983. Published by the International Rice Research Institute.
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### MORE RECENT ACQUISITIONS

The following materials are available for room use at the PSSC library.  
ADOPT. Asian-Pacific and Worldwide Documents on Population Topics. Vol. 5.

*International Social Science Council Newsletter*, No. 26. Dec. 1983. Published by UNESCO, Paris.

*International Studies in the Nordic Countries Newsletter*, No. 2. 1983. Issued by the Nordic Cooperation Committee for International Politics including Conflict and Peace Research.

*Japan Monitor*, Nov. 1983. Published by the Japan Center for International Exchange.

*Language Planning Newsletter*, Vol. 9, No. 4. Nov. 1984. Published by the East-West Culture Learning Institute, East-West Center.

*The Letter*, Vol. 14, No. 6. Dec. 1, 1983. Published six times a year by the Ford Foundation.

*Newsweek*, Vol. 102, Nos. 22-25. Nov.-Dec. 1983; Vol. 103, Nos. 1-12. Jan.-March 1984. Published by Newsweek, Inc.

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*PCF Media Service*, Population News for Mass Media. Vol. 5, Nos. 17-24. 1983; Vol. 6, Nos. 1-3. 1984. Published by the Population Center Foundation.

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*Philippine Development*, Vol. 6, Nos. 4, 5, and 6. Sept., Oct., Nov. 1983. Published monthly by the Office of the Director General of the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA).

*Philippine Studies Newsletter*, Vol. 11, No. 3. Nov. 1983. Published with the assistance of the Social Sciences Research Institute and the Center for Asian and Pacific Studies, University of Hawaii.

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*RIHED Bulletin*, Vol. 10, No. 3. July-Sept. 1983. Published by the Regional Institute of Higher Education and Development.

*Rural Reconstruction Review*, Vol. 5. 1983. An annual journal of the International Institute for Rural Reconstruction.

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*Vietnam*, Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Vol. 7, Nos. 10 and 11. Oct. and Nov. 1983.

## newsbriefs

(continued from page 8)

Dr. Mangahas is expected to take a leave from DAP for a total of about six months over this period in order to devote full attention to data analysis and writing on Philippine distributive justice. His proposed book-length project will be an integrated presenta-

tion based on his research papers on the subject done over the past 10 years, updated and supplemented by new material whenever possible. It covers the following topics: a) History and Economic Injustice; 2) Filipino Values of Distributive Justice; 3) Trends in

Economic Growth and Inequality; 4) Distributive Equity and Public Policy; 5) Equity and Development Planning; 6) Social Indicators and Social Reporting; and 7) Summary and Conclusions.

## social scientists on the move

(continued from page 9)

period between the two conferences from March 22 to April 12.

\* \* \* \*

Randolf S. David, Director of the UP Third World Studies Center represented the Philippines at the Annual Planning Meeting of the United Nations

University held in Tokyo, Japan on April 17-22.

\* \* \* \*

Gerard Rixhon was reconfirmed as Director of the Regional Research and Training Program of the Agricultural Development Council (ADC), Bangkok, Thailand. His term of office

is until 1986.

PSSC has been administering the ADC Asian Fellowship Program since June 1979. The program provided full financial support to selected Asian graduate students in social sciences related to agricultural and rural development in the Philippines.

## Political Restructuring ...

(Continued from page 6)

alien strongholds within the country, and is committed to changing such situation, through the peaceful takeover of the Government by the people through the mass-based party. In our situation today, nationalism is not simply love of country. Out of love of country, one can justify placing it under a foreign power, in the honest belief that it can attain peace, prosperity and progress that way. What is needed is commitment to the Nation as the repository of sovereign will, hence, to its independence as the indispensable precondition to the reality of national sovereignty. This is attained only by ending foreign domination of our political process and institutions.

You will notice that for leadership in the mass-based party, to be a nationalist is not enough. It is required that he should also be good and honest. For there are good nationalists, and bad nationalists, just as there are honest as well as dishonest nationalists.

### B. National Independence and Civil Liberties

Once national independence is attained, the essential precondition for making the Republic a truly constitutional state would have been achieved. For then, the sovereignty of the people would be a reality, and elections would be free and meaningful in terms of policy. Because of populist control of the political process via the mass-based party, the will of the people would truly govern policy and make the law.

The Government, then, under populist control, could create conditions for the independence of the judiciary, the independence of the mass media, and the independence of the universities. Once such conditions are attained, the Nation will enjoy true Liberty under the Rule of Law. We would have created a pluralist foundation for a truly liberal democratic society in the concept of the Constitutional State.

### C. Obstacles and Prognosis

Now that we are energized by this vision of a free society, let us turn to the obstacles that stand in our way. The obstacles are many and formidable. The alien strongholds are deeply entrenched and their surrogates control strategic sectors of our society. Of crucial importance here is their domination of the facilities for cultural conditioning, specially media and the schools. Then, the native oligarchy with the adjunct elites are tied to the status quo and will resist any change adverse to their interests. In the struggle, they will certainly side with the alien colony.

Fortunately, however, the logic of developments favor change. As the population expands and the exploitation in the comprador economy deepens, economic hardship will compel more and more of our people to think for themselves, and to assert their self-interest. When such time comes, the mass-based political party will have come into its own, and the struggle can begin.

The PSSC Library is inviting organizations having social science publications to exchange their materials with our *PSSC Social Science Information*.

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This form is a regular insert of this newsletter. It is intended to cover information on projects, researches, publications, and other activities that occur within your institution.

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- UNPUBLISHED PAPERS** (Theses, dissertations, term papers, discussion papers, monographs, etc. [Indicate full title, date, type, author, sponsor, where it was/will be presented, where available, a brief description of content, etc.]). **Note:** For your evaluation, we are enclosing herewith a copy of \_\_\_\_\_ which you may reprint without obligation.

4. **RESEARCH PROJECTS** (Indicate, title, objective, project director, status. [contemplated, ongoing, completed], source of funding, date, staff, etc.)
  
5. **NEW COURSES/PROGRAMS OFFERED** (Indicate title and objective of program/course, date offered, subject matter, staff, name of institution, etc.)
  
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9. **NEW RECRUITS** (Indicate name, designation, highest educational attainment, previous work, date recruited, etc.)
  
10. **FEATURE ARTICLES, NEWS ITEMS** (Editor's note: You may send us copy/ies of your institution/staff/students' papers and/or interviews, personality profiles which you consider will be of interest to the general readers of this newsletter.) Publication of any article is to the discretion of the Editorial Board.

## announcements

### Call for Papers

The 1984 *Southeast Asian Studies Summer Institute (SEASSI)* will be held at the University of Michigan from June 11 to August 17. It will provide intensive courses in seven languages namely, Tagalog, Burmese, Indonesia, Javanese, Malay, Thai and Vietnamese. It will also offer courses in Southeast Asian history, history of art, anthropology, and music in addition to readings in Dutch and Old Javanese.

The 1984 SEASSI will also sponsor the *Southeast Asian Studies Conference* on August 2-4. Scholars interested in "language and power" or literature are invited to present their papers.

Abstracts of 300-500 words may be submitted to: Michael Cullinane, CS-SEAS, 130 Lane Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109.

\* \* \* \*

### CCSEAS-DAP Joint International Conference

The Canadian Council for Southeast Asian Studies (CCSEAS) in cooperation with the Development Academy of the Philippines (DAP) will hold the *Third International CCSEAS Conference* at the DAP Conference Center in Tagaytay City on May 19-24, 1985.

The theme will focus on "Resource Management for Local Livelihood Security and Enhancement."

The conference aims to provide a forum to facilitate collaborative research and information exchange on aspects of village-level development in Southeast Asia.

Participation will be by invitation only but interested parties may inquire from either of the two addresses:

Dr. Geoffrey B. Hainsworth  
Institute of Asian Research  
University of British Columbia  
Vancouver, Canada

Dr. Mahar K. Mangahas  
Development Academy of the  
Philippines

DAP Building, San Miguel Avenue  
Pasig, Metro Manila, Philippines

Particulars regarding the sponsorship of participants for conference fees, travel and living arrangements will be announced later.

\* \* \* \*

### UP-IIR Schedule of Symposia for 1984

The *UP Institute of Industrial Relations* invites everyone to attend the

following symposia and roundtable discussions for 1984:

February 25 — Layoff: Selected Viewpoints

March 24 — Export of Manpower: A Reassessment

April 28 — Workers' Education: Further Explorations

May 25 — Philippine Labor Movement: Accounts from the Labor Pioneers

June 30 — Cultural Aspects of Filipino Management Practices

August 25 — Filipino Work Ethics and Habits

September 29 — Inflation and Devaluation: Impact on the Working Masses

October 27 — Productivity: Primary Concern of Employers and Workers for Survival

November 24 — First National Conference in Philippine Industrial Relations

December 8 — Quality of Working Life: Selected Dimensions

Venue will be the UP-IIR Building, Bonifacio Hall, UP, Diliman, Quezon City. Admission is free.

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Unless so indicated, the views expressed by the authors of feature articles in this publication do not necessarily reflect the policies of the Philippine Social Science Council, Inc.

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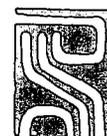
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- \* *Philippine Journal of Psychology*  
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