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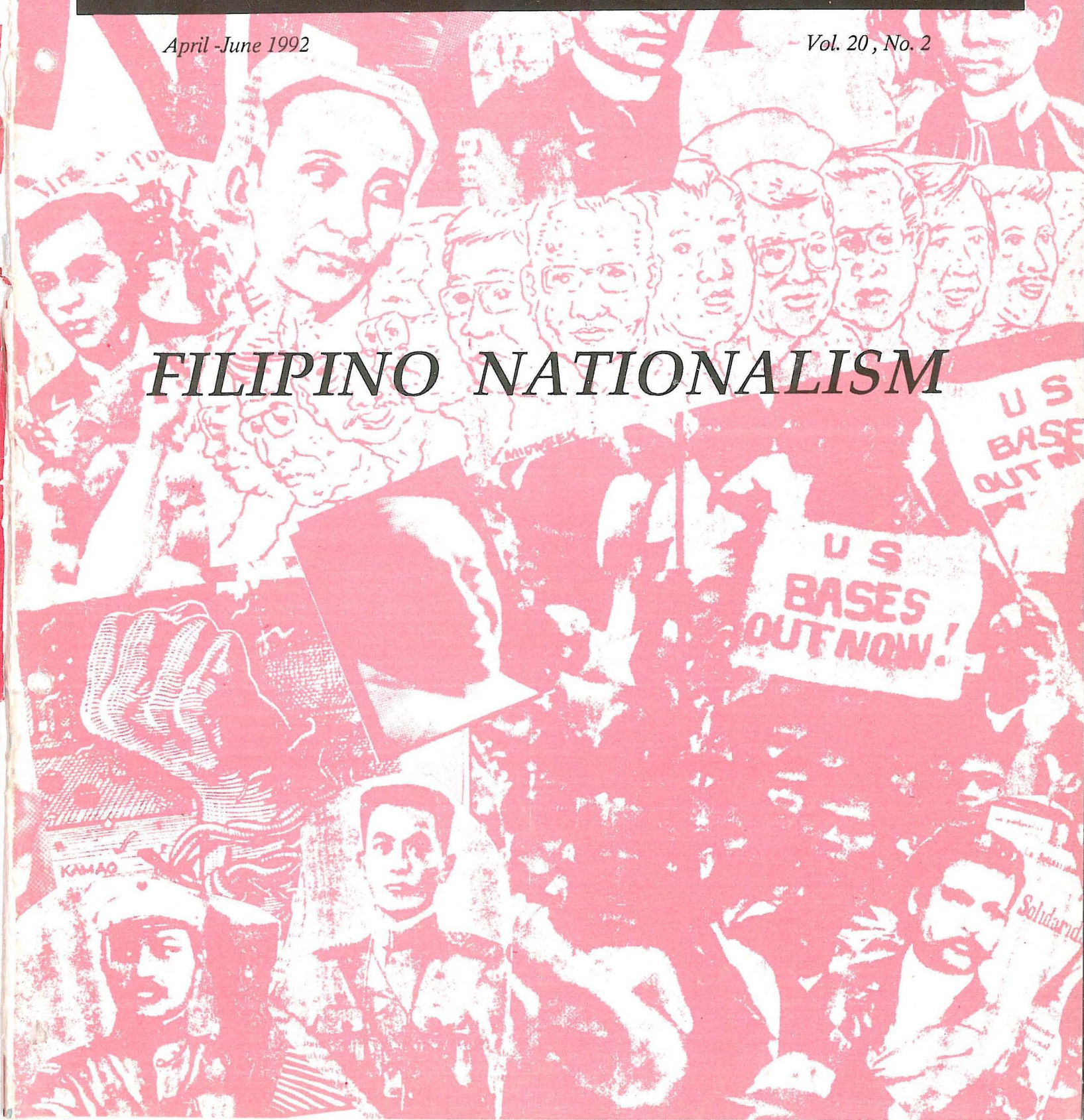


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FILIPINO NATIONALISM



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Editorial

Filipino Nationalism

Filipino nationalism is essentially a product of colonialism. It is both a transmission from and a reaction to western imperialism as well.

With a cross in one hand and a sword in the other, our first colonial master, Spain, placed the Archipelago, with the exception of the Muslim South, under a single political authority. This political unification of the people, although geographically and linguistically fragmented, was a great leap towards the growth of nationalism.

Another factor for its growth was, paradoxically enough, the exploitative and suppressive acts of the colonial master. His high-handed ways would cause the native people to react strongly in the form of uprisings or revolts and engendered a feeling of shared suffering on the part of the latter, a psychological development which had the effect of drawing them together. Naturally, it would only be a matter of time when the parochial and regionalistic attitudes of the natives would transform into a national sentiment.

The national awakening would be speeded up by the impact of European liberalism on the country. This was made possible by the improved transport and communication system between the Philippines and the West. The rise of the Filipino middle class, many members of which would find themselves in Europe and getting exposed to the pervading progressive and even radical thoughts of the time, and the administration of the country by the liberal-minded Governor General Carlos Maria de la Torre likewise did much for the awakening. It would also find a further catalyzer in the activity of writers who denounced the deplorable conditions and criticized the decadent and excessive authorities, thus undermining the people's faith in the colonial government. And when nationalism finally acquired a more complete shape, it would express itself by a cry for reforms. But reforms were not forth coming. And as things turned from bad to worse with acts of government suppression becoming all the more ruthless, arbitrary and widespread, nationalism became militant and turned into an independence movement.

The revolution was launched. The unwanted colonial regime was overthrown. The Filipinos began to set up the Philippine Republic. But Philippine independence was nipped in the bud. The United States of America had a burgeoning economy. It thus needed new markets and new areas for investment. And finding a convenient excuse in the rightly or wrongly held belief of "manifest destiny" to "take up the white man's burden," as Rudyard Kipling, the acknowledged poet of Western imperialism had versified, that country which had strongly repudiated colonialism in the Age of Reason, now, would find itself coveting the Philippines.

In so doing, America would have to wage war against the Filipinos. The savagery of that war and the ruthless ways of the invader to subjugate the Filipinos, which are a matter of record, could only strengthen all the more the latter's nationalistic spirit. In fact, although they had lost the war and consequently had to submit grudgingly to the rule of the new colonial master, their nationalistic fervor persisted even amidst the formidable efforts at

(See Editorial, page 27)

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Contents

Editorial

- 2 Filipino Nationalism
□ Cesar P. Pobre, Ph. D.

Main Features

- 4 Centennials of the Filipino
Struggle for Independence
□ Romeo V. Cruz, Ph. D.
- 7 Spirituality and Revolution among Filipinos
□ Pablo S. Trillana III, J.D.
- 12 Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy: First and Only
President of the First Republic and His
Vision of the Good Society
□ Rosario Mendoza Cortes, Ph. D.

Regulars

- 17 PSSC News
- 22 New Publications Available at the CSS

Special Feature

- 23 Understanding the CASS: A Close Look at
PSSC's Exchange Program
□ Ma. Eloisa G. Parco

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Centennials of the Filipino Struggle for Independence

Romeo V. Cruz, Ph. D.*

From 1887 to 1913, crisis after crisis punctuated Philippine history by stages finally culminating in the birth of the Filipino nation. Indeed there was a series of baptisms of fire, not just one baptism claiming in its wake sacrificial victims and covering a time span of twenty-six years. This epoch of traumatic crises in our history is traditionally divided into the Propaganda Movement (1880-1896), Revolution I (First Phase, 1896-1897), Revolution II (Second Phase, 1898-1899), the Philippine-American War (1899-1902), and the Continuing Unorthodox Warfare (1903-1913).

If we, at the Philippine Historical Association (PHA), inaugurated on 31 July 1987 the centennial celebration of our struggle for independence to commemorate the happenings and heroic deeds of historical actors in 1887, it was because of our growing concern and alarm that our people and our government would allow the year to slip by without showing any sign of awareness of its significance. We should have started the centennial celebration in 1980, the hundredth year of the start of the Propaganda Movement. The movement was set in motion by the activities of at least four historical figures — Pedro Paterno, Graciano Lopez-Jaena, Gregorio Sanciano, and Marcelo H. del Pilar. Their works and deeds became the patterns that dictated those of the later and younger propagandists. Unfortunately, not a single group or not even the government remembered the significance of that year as the centennial of the Propaganda Movement that started in 1880. There was another option as a historical landmark that could serve the purpose. This was 1907, the hundredth year of the transplantation for the first time of the ideology and policy of nationalism on Philippine soil. Again the year passed in silence. This was to be expected this time because the country was still under American colonial rule and the continuing guerilla warfare had kept the American proconsuls occupied. It would truly be laughable for the Americans to agree to a centennial celebration of a potentially dangerous and explosive situation which would only revive the memory of a past that the Americans would want the Filipinos to forget.

Besides, we should be pragmatic and hope that in the next century 2007 and 2080 will not pass without someone remembering that that would be the bicentennial or second hundredth year of Philippine nationalism and the Propaganda Movement, respectively.

The year 1987 is quite different. It is the centennial of Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere*, of the Madrid Filipino colony's newspaper *España en Filipinas* edited by Eduardo de Lete, of Pedro Paterno's publication of *La Antigua Civilizacion Tagalog*, of Mariano Ponce's departure for Spain to start work on the propaganda movement, of the famous precedence cemetery cases in Binondo, Navotas, Malolos and other places that undermined the friocracy in the country, and of Papa Isio's (Dionisio Sigobela) assumption of leadership over the Babalanes in Negros. These are enough justifications for making that year the start of the centennial celebrations. The *Noli* alone was sufficient to declare that a centennial year. The *Noli* was the Magna Carta of Filipino nationalism, calling on the people to recover their self-confidence, appreciate their own worth as a people with a glorious past, assert their equality with the Spaniards, and more significantly, take pride in the past heritage built by their ancestors. If we evaluate in terms of the evolution and development of Filipino nationalism Paterno's *La Antigua Civilizacion* and what he wanted to prove — that Christianity was already present in pre-colonial Tagalog civilization in the form of Bathalism — then we have enough grounds to join the nation in declaring that year the centennial of *Noli* and *La Antigua*, both dealing with cultural nationalism and the cultivation of a sense of pride in the pre-colonial past of the Filipinos.

Every year from 1987 will be a centennial year until 2013. But why 1913 or 2013 as a cut off year? It could have been earlier like the conventional year that marked the arbitrary termination of the Philippine-American hostilities in 1902, making the year 2002 the centenary worth celebrating. The year 1902 was an arbitrary declaration made by the

Americans to end the war which they called an insurrection, using of course their own criteria for the selection of 1902 to terminate the war. Moreover, the Americans and their Filipino collaborators, in making the selection, failed to consider the role played by lower class Filipinos, the so-called *tulisanes*, social bandits, *ladrones*, brigands, fanatics, etc. These "unsavory elements", the counter-culture and alienated, actually continued the war — to be exact, the "little wars" — until they surrendered, were either killed, executed or captured. There was Julian Baltasar of Urdaneta, Pangasinan and Antonio Valdez of the same province with their followers called *Guardia de Honor* who were active not only in Pangasinan but also in the provinces of Tarlac, La Union, Ilocos Sur, Nueva Ecija and Zambales. The Guardias were finally suppressed in 1910. But others were Dionisio Sigobela, or Papa Isio, who led the Babailanes of Negros and remained active in the struggle for independence until his surrender in 1907. The Pulajanes of Samar-Leyte, led by Papa Pablo,

heroes defending the Fort of Taraca, hotbed of the resistance, in May 1903. Between 1903 and 1906, Datu Ali fought the Americans in the Cotabato and Lanao areas until he was killed in October 22, 1906. His resistance nevertheless was continued by Datu Alamada until 1913. The Datu until the end, refused to surrender to the Americans and only laid down his arms before a Filipino official. Between 1901 and 1913 battles after battles were fought between the Filipino Muslims and the Americans with their Filipino auxiliaries, in Palawan, Mindanao, and Sulu. Before the year ended in 1913 two famous battles were fought: the Battle of Taglibi and the Battle of Bud Bagsak. That year saw the end of military rule in the Muslim areas and the inauguration of civil government. The year also saw peace and order in nearly all provinces in the Visayan islands and Luzon. All this then would justify the terminal year 1913 when tranquility reigned all over the land. We should then honor its commemorative centennial in 2013 if only to realize the fact that the counter-culture, social

"The radicals and patriots of yesterday became tomorrow's reactionaries and traitors who gave the Americans encouragement and an excuse for imposing their rule over the Filipinos."

Papa Faustino, and Otoy, started out as a *Dios-Dios* movement and soon adding independence to its goals, continued the fight for liberty until the leaders were captured or killed. In Central Luzon, an ex-guerrilla, Felipe Salvador, led a group called Santa Iglesia and fought the Americans until he was captured and executed in 1911. It is true that these groups were millenarians, social bandits, primitive rebels, religious fanatics, and whatever the establishment called them during the early decades of American rule. But it cannot be denied that they blended their religious convictions with the goal of independence and thus carried on the struggle long after the leaders of the first Philippine Republic had given up the ghost of a fight with the Americans. Furthermore, the Muslim Filipinos in the South also continued the war after the Americans arbitrarily declared their victory in 1902 against the First Philippine Republic.

In the south, the Philippines had many heroes who conducted a guerrilla war, perhaps independently of the first Republic, but nevertheless a "war" that bothered the Americans no end and kept them busy. Datu Tungul from Binidaya attacked the Americans near Camp Vicars in June 1902 and John Pershing himself was forced to attack and kill the Muslim

bandits, and the Muslims had their share in the liberation of our country.

For us to be concerned about the centennial of the Revolutionary years from 1896 to 1898 and the years of warfare, whether conventional or unorthodox, from 1899 to 1913 would be quite natural and in the nature of things a national reflex. To illustrate, in 1896, for instance, there were at least three principal developments that should be honored either locally or nationally: the cry of Pugad Lawin on August 23, the first bloody encounter at Pinaglabanan, San Juan on August 30, and the martyrdom of Jose Rizal on December 30. The next year 1897 let us not forget the martyrdom of Numeriano Adriano and Domingo Franco, both active leaders of the *Liga Filipina*; the Tejeros Convention that established the "First Republic" with Aguinaldo as president, the establishment of the Republic at Biac-na-bato, and the Truce of Biac-na-bato, among many that should be honored with centennial celebrations by the year 1997. We could go on with the enumeration of episodes, developments and characters covering the whole archipelago during the decades of the Revolution and warfare but our examples are enough to demonstrate the significance of the period. But why the episode

traditionally referred to as the Propaganda Movement (1880-1896) for a beginning decade of centennial celebrations? So many arguments could be used against celebrating the hundred years of the movement. For one, an examination of the leaders' demands and goals would show that these were past-oriented, attempting to revive earlier romanticized images of policies enunciated by Spain like assimilation, justice, fair play, racial equality, and the like. This would make the Propagandists conservatives if not reactionaries.

For another, if we assume the revolution to be inevitable in the sense that it could take place earlier, the right time for it would have been immediately after the 1872 martyrdom of the three priests — Gomburza. Given the validity of these premises, the Propaganda Movement criminally delayed the revolution that should have taken place earlier. Due to the fact that the Propaganda Movement had taken place at the time it did the costs proved to be quite debilitating to the nation physically and emotionally — besides losing potential leaders of a future Republic like Rizal, del Pilar, Jaena, and others. Because things happened the way they did, their potentials remained unrealized and unfulfilled. Moreover, the revolution proved to be untimely, taking place at the time of the intensifying imperialistic impulse that made it possible for a hunting American Eagle to land and sink her talons on a waiting victim. Besides, those propaganda leaders who survived the Spanish squeeze and the revolution proved to be the very traitors who undermined the Philippine Republic established at Malolos, Bulacan. The radicals and patriots of yesterday became tomorrow's reactionaries and traitors who gave the Americans encouragement and an excuse for imposing their rule over the Filipinos.

Despite all this the Propaganda Movement was not that bad if assessed vis-a-vis the development of Filipino nationalism and nationhood. The leaders

made the people conscious of a Filipino nation separate from the Spanish nation, with its own tradition and a past of virtue and nobility. It would not be unreasonable to conclude that the direct consequence of the Propaganda Movement was the revolution. Given the advantage of hindsight, we may even say that the goals and desires of the Propaganda leaders were revivals of past ideals and therefore conservative and even reactionary. But these reactionary ideals and goals should be evaluated and ranged against what the friar regime stood for. Toward the middle of the 19th century, Spain had officially made the church a department of the state in the Philippines. These very goals which we criticized as reactionary were subversive and radical from the standpoint of the friars and frailocracy, to quote Marcelo H. del Pilar. The demand for knowledge, justice and equality, and the goal of citizenship under the imperial republican regime would constitute the gravest threat, to friar rule. Hence, the persecution and prosecution, later exile and execution, resorted to by the friars-rulers who obliged the Propaganda Movement with causes and martyrs. Whether by design or divine intervention, the propaganda leaders became martyrs to a cause — assimilation — that should not have been belligerent, radical, and revolutionary. The friar rule therefore gave us the occasion and the martyrs to commemorate and honor in a centennial celebration starting 1987. □

**Romeo V. Cruz, Ph.D. in history, was a former representative of the discipline of history to the PSSC Executive Board. He is also a past president of the PHA, a former Dean of U.P. Clark Air Base, and a retired professor of history at the University of the Philippines. He delivered this paper during the launching of the "Centennial of the Decades of Filipino Struggle for Independence" by the PHA at the National Library on July 31, 1987.*

Spirituality and Revolution among Filipinos

Pablo S. Trillana III, J.D.*

Introduction

There are two "revolutions", so conventional history tells us, that Filipinos today can look back to: the Philippine Revolution of 1896 which ultimately led to the end of Spanish colonial rule, and the EDSA Revolution of February 1986 which resulted in the downfall of a 20 year authoritarian rule. In all honesty, however, we must ask whether a revolution has ever taken place in the Philippines — or more precisely, among Filipinos? To answer that question, we must first be clear on what is meant by "revolution".

The Philippine revolution of 1896 is commonly regarded as an armed uprising against Spain by a people newly awakened to nationhood. The EDSA Revolution, on the other hand, is acclaimed as a rare demonstration of "people power" to effect the relatively peaceful overthrow of an unpopular regime. To discern their common thread, it is necessary to examine more deeply these two glorious events of Philippine history, as this could lead us to the essence of "revolution" in the Philippine context.

To start with, it is safe to assume that both events were spurred by a basic and massive desire for change. But what sort of change? Were the *Katipuneros* merely after the termination of Spanish colonial rule and the creation of an independent state? Did Filipinos from all walks of life come to the defense of a faction of military defectors just so Marcos would be ousted?

On both occasions, individual participants in the mass movement for change had a wide range of motives — some pure, others selfish, still others ill-defined. What mattered, ultimately, was the recognition of their bonds, the realization of their collective strength, and the triumph of their spirit. By banding together and expressing their common will, they initiated the process of change.

As made manifest by subsequent events at the turn of the century and during the past six years, the process of change did not reach — or does not seem

headed towards — full fruition. The First Philippine Republic was short-lived as a new colonial power emerged to subjugate the Filipinos. On the other hand, the Aquino Administration finds itself overwhelmed by "traditional" problems — aggravated by rising popular expectations and by destabilization efforts of rival political, ideological and military forces.

Why did neither "Revolution" gather enough momentum to effect substantial and lasting change in Philippine society? The answer seems to lie in the focus of the desired change. In both instances, political emancipation, ultimately became the focal objective. It was as if, by establishing a Philippine Republic and by installing a new President, the rest of the necessary changes would neatly fall into place. This frame of mind, experience tells us, has only bred disillusionment.

Deeper reflection would make us conclude that political freedom, by itself, cannot lead to substantial change. This is because politics involves, primarily, structures and power relationships. But beneath the "superstructure" are people — individual human beings. If no transformation occurs on the personal level, all change on the structural level could be superficial.

This brings us to the crux of revolutionary change. A popular mass movement cannot be rightfully called a revolution unless each participant professes a commitment to internal change. This perspective is consistent with the traditional Filipino view that perception of a need for social transformation stems from a desire to restore the balance between internal values and the external order.

Roots of Filipino spirituality

Before the advent of colonial rule, the "Filipinos" (i.e. the native inhabitants of the archipelago) manifested an inherent spirituality which transcended tribal differences in religious and cultural expression. This spirituality stemmed from their concept of

themselves as part of nature, of divine creation. The ancient Filipinos like most of their Asian brothers, believed that the spiritual and the material were inseparable. This worldview bred a social order based on what they perceived to be oneness and harmony among all living things.

Pre-colonial Filipinos, in seeking to preserve harmonious interaction with each other and with the rest of nature, lived within deeply-rooted ethical norms. They stressed purity of the inner self (*kalinisan ng loob*) in the belief that, as long as everyone was motivated by unselfish interest, the external order (family, community, society, nature) would not be disturbed. Responsibility, social concern, and respect for nature were bedrocks of conscience in this God-oriented culture.

Spirituality and the Katipunan

After the Spaniards stumbled into these islands, they began a conscious program to colonize the natives. As they spread among the people, they found a native spirituality which they proceeded to denigrate as pagan and superstitious. They did not glean what was good in the native spiritual traditions and, therefore, they did not see fit to build upon them. Neither did they respect said traditions as other colonizers would, for instance, do in India and Vietnam. Failing to nurture the strength of a pure and simple faith, they placed emphasis on form and ritual. Intent on using the church to subjugate the Filipinos, they cultivated instead a form of dependence on the friar-dominated church to achieve "salvation".

On the surface, it seemed as if most Filipinos during the Spanish colonial period were content in passively accepting the friar-articulated teachings of the church. In reality, a great number among the masses clung to their basic spirituality and culled from the Christian faith certain elements that were consistent with their beliefs.

According to Prof. Reynaldo Ileto, the *pasyon* became the central idiom through which poor Filipinos expressed their view of the situation of Philippine society. Just as Jesus Christ suffered, died, and rose again to lift mankind from the mire of sin, so too, must they make sacrifices to arrest society's moral decay and restore "Paradise" (i.e., the lost balance of spiritual and material forces).

Unknown to many, the *Katipunan* became a genuine mass movement because it embodied the spiritual aspiration of peasants and plebeians. Traditional history has tended to view the evolution of the *Katipunan* in terms of Western libertarian ideals. The longing for "freedom" and "independence" is predominantly interpreted at face value. Until recently, little effort has been done to delve into the deeper meanings that ordinary folk attached to such terms (particularly in the original vernacular) as enunciated by leaders like Andres Bonifacio.

Kalayaan, for instance, (according to Ileto) did not connote "freedom" and "independence" until there arose the clamor to separate from Spain just prior to the 1896 Revolution. Originally, the term contained the concept of "becoming one" and stimulated a yearning for contentment. Root words *laya* and *layaw* conjured images of childhood in the care of the loving parent. In this context, Spain was pictured as an uncaring stepmother who had to be rejected in favor of a new mother nation "*Inang Pilipinas*", which would genuinely look after the welfare of her people.

The mass base of the *Katipunan*, therefore, looked upon revolution as a redemptive process. The Spaniards had lost the moral right to govern, but it was not enough for Filipinos to take up arms, and force the colonizers out of power. The clarion call of the *Katipunan* demanded that its adherents, precisely because they sought to redeem the country, should march in perfect cadence to Rizal's prescriptive

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lament about redemption: "*Redencion supone virtud, virtud sacrificio, y sacrificio amor*".

Participants in the revolution, therefore, had to attain a level of consciousness where each was willing to endure sacrifice, to work hard, even to shed his own blood to initiate, first, change within himself and, then, in the external order. Hence, the bond among the revolutionaries was not just physical and ideological. The *Katipunan*, at its inception, was truly a spiritual force seeking to redeem the Motherland.

This spiritual dimension of the struggle surfaces clearly in the writings of Bonifacio and Jacinto and the initiation rites assiduously espoused by the former. Both insisted on *kalinisan ng kalooban* or inner transformation as the essential foundation of the struggle to redeem the Motherland.

In *Kalayaan*, the official organ of the *Katipunan* whose only issue came out in January 1896, both Bonifacio and Jacinto were exacting in their call for "a dying to a state of darkness". Here "darkness" meant ignorance because of "bad inclinations" that blinded the people from seeing that the appealing exteriors of Spanish rule were all *pandaraya*. In their manifestoes in *Kalayaan*, the two heroes were compelling the people to confront and recognize this trickery as the veil that dimmed their vision of their enslaved state.

Bonifacio and Jacinto were, therefore, insistent that anyone, who wished to join the *Katipunan*, should first die to a past of bad habits, experience his inner transformation through sacrifice and endurance as in the *payson* and, thereby, prove his *damay* and *patotoo* to the sacred ideals of redeeming *Inang Bayan*. This was the true way, the only way, - the *landas sa Kalayaan*.

This preoccupation with inner transformation as the condition of revolution was the underpinning of the *Katipunan* initiation rites as envisioned by Bonifacio. To him, the *Katipunan* was a society dedicated not simply to political self-rule but to a rule founded on brotherly love. Central to the idiom of the initiation rites was the death to a past life of blindness. Each neophyte must affirm his wish to die to past relationships - to previous attachments and bad inclinations. He was required to prove this willingness through tests of hardship in order to achieve internal purification. Only then were the gates of the society opened (*Pagbibukas ng Karurikan*) to receive the neophyte, who was made to sign his membership oath in blood.

Towards the end of the initiation, the *Katipunan* leader would exhort the new recruit in the plaintive and supplicating language of a woman in chains who sought compassion and *damay* from her sons. The final words of this lament brought back the theme of inner transformation, of humility, unity, love, and sacrifice:

Talastasin naman ninyo pili kong kababayan na ang nilalandas ng Katipunan ito ay isang daan sa pagkakaisa, pagitinginan at pagdadamay na di magmamaliu magpahangan libing. At sa Katipunan ito talastasin ninyo na iniauwaksi ang masasamang asal, masasamang loob at lalo pa at higit ang kapalaluan palibhasa ay ang tinunungo ay ang isang uugas at dalisay na kalinisan magpahangan kailan. Kababaan loob at pamumuhunanan ng ingat na buhay at madlang kaya upang ipagtaggol ang bandila ng tumatangis nating Relihiyon at sariling bayan.

At the end of the initiation ceremony, Agoncillo states, the *Katipunan* brothers would be shedding tears. The message of compassion for the motherland was understood and the tears were expressions of deepening experience of a change in the *loob*.

It is to be noted that from the time the *Katipunan* was founded in 1892 until January of 1896, its membership numbered only about 300. After its official organ, *Kalayaan* was circulated and passed from hand to hand, the number rapidly grew so that from mid-March 1896 to the time of the August 1896 outbreak of the revolution (a matter of about five months), the *Katipuneros* numbered about 30,000.

The spread and popularity of the secret society, which surprised even Bonifacio, would unfortunately contain certain seeds that did not portend well for the successful achievement of its redemptive goal. Bonifacio's insistence on the initiation rites as the means to draw the neophytes to experience the change in their *loob* and, therefore, to determine the purity of their motives and steadfast resolve, met resistance. Citing E. Arsenio Manuel (Dictionary of Philippine Biography), Iletto reported that Ramon Basa, for example, either withdrew or was expelled from membership because he wanted to do away with the tedious process of initiation. Emilio Aguinaldo himself as well as others, according to Iletto (citing E. Aguinaldo's *Mga Gunita ng Himagsikan*), practically discarded the initiation rites while retaining the *Katipunan* rhetoric to rouse the people and sustain their resolve to fight.

In fact, Iloilo clearly suggests that Bonifacio's ultimate downfall, even when one admits that he was a poor military strategist, was traceable to his preoccupation with moral transformation and the initiation rites which he never wanted to give up, contrary to what others perceived as the practical imperatives of massive recruitment to support the revolution. Had Bonifacio's moral agenda been given the historical opportunity to take its course, it is not unthinkable that Bonifacio's call for "inner transformation" and "brotherly love" would have led, inevitably and ultimately, to a direct confrontation with the economic and political interests of the native principalia.

But while it lasted, Bonifacio's call for change in the *laob* and brotherly love, within the context of a deep and caring bond between mother and child (the original folk concept of *Katayuan*) was not lost on the masses. Among the memories of many *Katipun* veterans was the yearning for the condition of *Katayuan* achieved in the early stages of the struggle. Santiago Alvarez came close to recalling this condition when he described life in the liberated Cavite town of San Francisco de Malabon in the latter days of September 1896:

The people were truly happy, free to enjoy life in all sorts of ways. Food was plentiful; all things were cheap; there were no perversities, no robberies, no thefts, no pickpockets. Everyone had love for his fellowmen and in every place the *Katipun*'s teaching of brotherly love held sway. Frightful threats of death, like the whistling cannonballs, were viewed calmly as everyone simply ducked to avoid them. And with hope in the grace of God, the children, elders, women and men had no fear of death...no news of the enemy's advance was ever cause for fear... The cannon bursts were no longer feared and even came to be regarded as fireworks in a celebration...The women's stores were open all day and night: singing, dancing, feasting beneath the trees, gambling, and cockfighting everywhere, served to make them forget the impending sacrifice of their lives and blood. But at the first sign of fighting, all men and women would straighten up and grab their weapons of war.

Losing the spiritual thread

Eventually, however, leadership of the *Katipun* and political ascendancy in the events that followed fell into the hands of the faction that did not fully grasp nor share the spiritual dimension of the struggle. At this point, the desire for political independence became preeminent — making it easy for the

Americans to win over the revolutionary leadership with visions of a "democratic" way of life.

Under the American colonial rule, Philippine society became even more materialist in orientation. Filipinos drifted further away from the spiritual values which had for so long sustained their ancestors. In 1946, the Philippines finally achieved its leaders' post-colonial obsession: political independence. But this was proven to mean very little in terms of benefits to the majority of Filipinos. In the first place, as pointed out by nationalists, the economy remained dependent on the United States. More fundamentally, the orientation of development was based on aggregate economic growth with little regard for spiritual upliftment and for responsible stewardship of resources.

The Filipino soul floundered in the materialist environment. Economic development was pursued for its own sake with little regard for effects on individual lives (except in terms mainly of "trickle-down" benefits) and on the ecology. This made manifest a regression of spirituality — i.e., the Filipinos' former sense of oneness with each other, the universe, and the Creator.

Hence, while individual Filipinos attained varying degrees of "success", the Filipinos as a people drifted into a spiral of poverty. Clearly, social ends had become subordinate to private interests. What were being developed were, in the words of Mr. Sixto Roxas, "materials of society" and not society itself. The only signs of national progress were urban and export-oriented industries that stood awkwardly in the largely traditional and feudal landscape. It became painfully ironic that by the beginning of the 1990s a nation so rich in natural resources and human talent had distinguished itself as the basket case of the world's most dynamic growth region.

In the search for solutions to the nation's socio-economic problems, the norm had been to look toward Western formulas — represented on two extremes by the free enterprise and communist systems. This mindset, prevalent among the nation's leaders until recently, betrays a subconscious materialist — largely politico-economic — bias. Determining the proper perspective or ideology for development has been simplified into an exercise in fending off extreme tendencies of the "Left" and the "Right" and finding balance in the "Center". Value in the spiritual aspect is recognized largely in terms of "guidance" and divine assistance — not as the very anchor of existence.

EDSA: Glimpse into renewed spirituality

This mindset is unfortunate, particularly at this time in the light of the experience at EDSA in 1986. That event witnessed a resurfacing of the Filipino soul — quite aptly on an avenue with a name denoting “epiphany of saints” — at a moment of trial for the nation. Many Filipinos from all walks of life, aware that they could become martyrs for national deliverance, gathered at EDSA to pray and to relive their lost sense of community. Millions of their countrymen in homes across the land joined them in spirit. In unison, Filipinos expressed their rejection of an immoral regime and thereby — at least for a moment — restored the oneness of their innermost values and their worldly actions.

What happened at EDSA was a reenactment of the redemptive process. It fulfilled a prophetic vision best expressed by Rizal in the words of Padre Florentino in *El Filibusterismo*:

We must secure (liberty) by making ourselves worthy of it, by exalting the intelligence and dignity of the individual, by loving justice, right and greatness, even to the extent of dying for them — and when a people reaches that height, God will provide a weapon, the idols will be shattered, the tyranny will crumble like a house of cards and liberty will shine out like the first dawn.

The challenge before the Filipinos today is to continue the unfinished revolutions of 1896 and 1986 — to work at restoring the balance and unity of spiritual and material concerns within themselves. Only by discarding self-interest in favor of a renewed sense of community can Filipinos hope to achieve meaningful and sustainable development. If that internal and external transformation takes place, the

Philippines would have fulfilled its envisioned role as the beacon that would light the path for other nations.

February 1986 saw the Filipinos begin to assume the role inspiring millions with their commitment to peace and brotherhood. The succeeding struggles for the peaceful initiation of change in South Korea, Pakistan, Burma, and in the East and Central Europe cannot avoid being traced back to and measured against what the Filipinos achieved in EDSA, whatever else might be said of events thereafter. The misfortune, however, is that many Filipinos opted to leave the burden of pursuing the Revolution to Corazon C. Aquino and her much-handicapped government. With most Filipinos detached from, or unable to find their rightful place, in the process of national transformation, it was not surprising that the Revolution quickly lost its momentum. Six short years after, the same old social evils — thievery, corruption, immorality, exploitation, power grabbing, etc. — rebounded to plague the government and the nation.

To recapture the gains of 1896 and 1986, individual Filipinos have to renew their stake in the Revolution. They must stir back to life the conscience of endurance and hard work (*sufirir y trabajar*) that was nurtured in the *Katipunan* and resurfaced in EDSA. In sum, they must bring the process of change to the level of personal sacrifice and, through their collective effort, achieve national redemption and, ultimately, progress.

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Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy:

First and Only President of the First Republic and His Vision of the Good Society

Rosario Mendoza Cortes, Ph. D.*

On the 22nd of March 1897, Emilio Aguinaldo y Famy, was elected the President of the first Revolutionary Government ever formed in the history of our country. The Assembly convened at Tejeros, a barrio of San Francisco de Malabon, now named General Trias. It was originally called to discuss the strengthening of the defense of the *Magdiwang* territory. Many *Magdalo* towns, which had shielded the former, had fallen to counterattacking Spanish forces. The majority of the assembly, however, wanted to first settle the issue of what form of government the rebels would have. Andres Bonifacio, then presiding over the meeting, contended that a *Katipunan* government already existed but the *Magdalo* members insisted on establishing an unequivocal republican government. Bonifacio acceded to the wishes of the majority. In the election of officers to constitute the new government, Emilio F. Aguinaldo was elected president over Andres Bonifacio, founder of the *Katipunan*. Aguinaldo, himself, was not present. He was at Pasong Santol, near Dasmariñas, where the battle for Imus had been raging since 28 February 1897.¹

The Tejeros Convention was a turning point in the history of the Philippine Revolution. It decided once and for all the question of leadership. The election of Aguinaldo over Bonifacio appears to have demonstrated the reality that the Revolution had outgrown the *Katipunan*, that the leadership of the *Katipunan* was no longer sufficient to respond to new challenges posed by a changing environment.

Andres Bonifacio had fulfilled his historic role just as Jose Rizal and the propagandists had performed theirs. Rizal and Del Pilar had awakened the national consciousness and planted the seeds of nationalism and revolution. Bonifacio nurtured the seed by organizing the secret society, the *Kamahalmahala't, Kagalang galang na Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan* (Most Exalted and Most

Respected Society of the Sons of the People). He is deservedly called the Father of the Revolution. It was Bonifacio who founded it, and to it he gave his own selfless spirit and unbounded patriotism.²

In the estimate of O.D. Corpuz, the *Katipunan* functioned well as a secret society, but it was not organized as a fighting force, and the initial actions in the Revolution produced heroic acts rather than military victory. This was clearly shown in what should have been the taking of Manila by the *Katipunan* at midnight of Saturday, 29 August 1896.³

After the failure of the planned *Katipunan* attack, 29-30 August, Bonifacio withdrew to the hills of Montalban. He would reappear in Cavite in December 1896.

The revolution prospered instead in Cavite where there was strong *Katipunan* leadership and where the rebels could fight from fixed positions or entrenchments. Emilio Aguinaldo, the real leader of the *Magdalo* Council developed command and tactical leadership and Cavite soon became the center of the Revolution. Cavite had two *Katipunan* factions, the *Magdiwang* and the *Magdalo* Councils, which competed for leadership. Aguinaldo, the leader of the *Magdalo* Council proved himself a military leader and strategist with a series of brilliant victories over the Spanish forces in Cavite, where the Spanish government was forced to send its best generals.

The revolution had broken out into the open. It was no longer a secret fight against Spanish misrule and abuse. It had now erupted into an overt and desperate struggle for liberty and freedom and had attracted widespread support from many who were not at all connected with the *Katipunan*. But it was hampered by conflicts in leadership. Was it to gain support from the presence of the *Katipunan* Supremo that Artemio Ricarte and Mariano Alvarez (an uncle of Bonifacio's wife), both *Magdiwang* leaders, invited

Andres Bonifacio to visit his brothers in the liberated province of Cavite? In the light of what happened later on, it has been suggested that Bonifacio should have not come to Cavite. But he did so in December 1896 accompanied by his wife, two brothers and some twenty men. And the rest, as the cliché goes, is history.

The Tejeros Assembly was a response to the growing clamor for a unified revolutionary government to resolve the growing conflict between the *Magdiwang* and *Magdalo* leaders. The *Magdalo* rebels complained that the *Magdiwang* people refused to extend their help in fighting off the counterattacking Spanish forces and ill feelings were rapidly developing between the two factions. Now many *Magdalo* towns had fallen and the *Magdiwang* towns were themselves endangered. The *revolucionarios* convened in Tejeros, within *Magdiwang* territory. The election of Aguinaldo over Bonifacio as the first President of the revolutionary government was an acknowledgement of Aguinaldo's abilities—as a revolutionary leader on the battlefield.

"Because of Aguinaldo's success on the battlefield, his popularity began to overshadow that of the Katipunan's founder. Bonifacio's failure to recognize this historical development ultimately led to his disappearance from the scene."

The changed environment now clearly demanded a man who could command and lead them in battle. Because of Aguinaldo's success on the battlefield, his popularity began to overshadow that of the *Katipunan's* founder. Bonifacio's failure to recognize this historical development ultimately led to his disappearance from the scene.

From that time on, from the Tejeros convention of 22 March 1897 to the end of the First Republic with the capture of Aguinaldo at Palanan, on 23 March 1901, exactly four years later, Emilio F. Aguinaldo held the reins of leadership in that heroic age of our history.

Who was Emilio F. Aguinaldo and how had he come to snatch the torch of leadership from the fallen Bonifacio?

Emilio F. Aguinaldo was born on 22 March 1869 in Kawit (then known as Cavite Viejo) to Carlos Aguinaldo and Trinidad Famy, a family of the *principalia* class. He was sent to San Juan de Letran College but in the third year of the *segunda enseñanza*, he had to return home when a cholera epidemic hit Manila and all the schools were closed. He failed to return to school even after the epidemic was brought under control.⁴

In 1886, at the age of seventeen, his mother succeeded in having him appointed *cabeza de barangay* to save him from being drafted into the colonial army although he was eight years short of the required age of 25. Aguinaldo served as *cabeza* for eight years, until the end of 1894 when he was elected as *capitan municipal* of Kawit. Six years younger than Bonifacio, Aguinaldo was as energetic as the *Supremo*. He became an apprentice mason with the lodge "Pilar" in Imus on the day he took his oath as captain, January 1, 1895.

One day in March 1895, shortly before his 26th birthday, he crossed the bay into Manila, accompanied by Santiago V. Alvarez. At 7 p.m., blindfolded, he was brought in a calesa to Binondo and underwent the Masonic style initiation rites of the *Katipunan*. He chose the name of *Magdalo*, after the patron saint of his town, Mary Magdalene. After the rites were over his blindfold was removed, and he met Andres Bonifacio, in whose house the ceremonies were held.⁵

In Cavite, Aguinaldo was a great recruiter. After his own initiation, he made successive trips to Manila, each time bringing with him "many prominent persons" of Kawit for initiation. He was now municipal captain, Freemason, and *Katipunero* all at the same time, and he laments in his memoirs that not all patriots could join Freemasonry because "they could not meet the requirements".

This was due, he says, to the fact that those who became Freemasons were men "who had the means". But he was happy with the *Katipunan*. "I tried to urge all those who could not join Masonry to join the *Katipunan*." In the *Katipunan* all men were equal.

Bonifacio was pleased with Aguinaldo's good work, and accepted an invitation to go to Kawit in April 1896 to preside during the founding of the Kawit Council, called *Magdalo*, after Aguinaldo's *nom de guerre*. There was rivalry among the councils and their leaders had to demonstrate and maintain their status by having as many associates and personal followers with them. Like his peers, Aguinaldo therefore recruited not only his fellow *principalia* members, but soon his tenants and other townfolk as well. The *Katipunan* took in both the provincial *principalia* and the peasantry into its membership rolls.

According to Corpuz, when the *Katipunan* grew and began to spread into Nueva Ecija and Pampanga and later on to other non-Tagalog provinces, it lost its original urban and plebeian, as well as its Tagalog character. In the process, it became something more developed. It became the first active embodiment of the Christian Filipino nation, composed of Filipinos from the various social classes, geographical regions, and ethnolinguistic groupings associated in one union. In the words of Corpuz, it thus outgrew Bonifacio's *Sangkatalugan*. Although the Tagalog provinces would always be the cradle of the revolution, the rebellion that the *Katipunan* would begin would truly be the first Filipino rebellion.

In other words, the rebellion of the *Katipunan* had faded away as a "class struggle", it had become the struggle of the nation, the revolution of the Filipinos.⁶

Aguinaldo's vision of an independent society

There is no doubt that Jose Rizal and Apolinario Mabini were intellectuals who portrayed in their writings what they envisioned the Philippines and its people should be. They left us a body of literature from which we can draw their vision of a good society.

Emilio Aguinaldo, on the other hand, comes down to us as a man of action — a victorious general against the Spanish army, an indomitable fighter for freedom against American imperial power. But there is no doubt that he was a leader recognized by his peers. Despite his limited education compared to the Paternos and Buencaminos and others who composed the Malolos Congress of his time, he was nevertheless the leader chosen to head the First Republic. He must therefore have inspired in the men of that age, respect, admiration, and loyalty. In short, they must have drawn inspiration not alone from his deeds on the battlefield but also from his counsel and words of wisdom.

Long before Bonifacio arrived in Cavite, Aguinaldo had defeated the best of the Spanish generals — Ernesto de Aguirre and Ramon Blanco — bringing his feats to the attention of the Spanish government and the Europeans. Writing from London on July 1, 1898 to Jose Ma. Basa, Antonio Ma. Regidor said, "It is evident that no one but Aguinaldo can or should be our leader; he has a reputation and a name in Europe."⁷

Buoyed by his success in clearing parts of Cavite from Spanish control, Aguinaldo rallied his countrymen on the 31st of October 1896, to the cause of freedom as follows:

To the Filipino people, Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity:

"The Philippines presents today a spectacle without precedent in their history, the victorious attainment of their liberty and their independence...a heroism which will place them on the same level as civilized nations.

"We know that real progress in a people is based upon liberty and independence. This inspires the most noble and sublime emotions — the feeling that the citizen should not yield to the fear that our interests or our families may suffer, nor should we tremble at shedding blood to break the chains of slavery which we have dragged for 300 years of tyranny and abuse.

"A proof of the truth of this, that the revolution is founded on justice and right, is shown by all civilized nations, for none of them will permit the slightest encroachment upon the merest hand's breadth of their domain without pouring out the last drop of blood in defense of the integrity of the nation.

"People of the Philippines, the hour has come to shed our blood to defend our right to liberty. Let us hand ourselves about the flag of the revolution, whose motto is Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity."⁸

In that first call to his countrymen, Aguinaldo thus envisioned a society free and independent of foreign chains, a society permeated by the feelings of equality and held together by the bonds of brotherhood. To that end, he rallied his countrymen without counting the cost.

These feelings of Aguinaldo again found expression when, forced to retreat to the fastnesses of Biac-na-bato, due to the numerical superiority of Spanish arms, he again exhorted his countrymen in July 1897 to be of courage and honor. He appealed:

"On the inauguration of the second epoch of our struggle, from these mountains, ever faithful to our liberty and independence, we raise our voices to all those in whose breasts beat noble hearts; to all those who have courage and honor, dignity and patriotism ...

"Mindful of the common good, we aspire to the glory of obtaining liberty, independence and honor for the country. We aspire to have a common law, created for all citizens, which will serve them as a guarantee and assurance of

respect, without exception. We aspire to have a government which will represent all the active forces of the country, in which will take part the most capable, the most worthy in virtues and talents, without regard to their birth, their wealth or the race to which they belong. We desire that no friar set his foot on any part of the Archipelago. And that no convent or monastery or center of corruption, or partisans of that theocracy which has made this land another inquisitorial Spain, shall remain. In our ranks, order shall always be respected.

"Under our flag, justice will always govern.

"Worthy sons of that liberty, which has been so iniquitously snatched away from us, we shall show the world that we are worthy of having our own government — our own country as we have our own language.

"We fling back into their teeth the name which our enemies give us. We are the faithful sons, we who scorning life and money, and comfort, we who, scorning all kinds of hardships give our blood for the good of our country, for the welfare of our fellow citizens and the redemption of our children.

"Viva the free Philippines."⁹

Aguinaldo gave us a vision of a free Philippines under a rule of law, a society that would guarantee its citizens equality under the law, a government run by the most capable, the most virtuous and talented, without regard to birth, wealth, or race. It would also be a society freed from the shackles of a theocracy, a society where justice will always reign.

There is a message for us today that comes out of the past. While we already have a a Constitution that guarantees us those freedoms and civil liberties that Aguinaldo envisioned, our society is now beset by forces that would overturn the rule of law while others would restore theocratic influence.

Aguinaldo's obsession with the ideal of a free and independent Philippines is demonstrated over and over again. While he agreed to the Pact of Biac-na-bato and went into self-exile, he did so to fight another day. And true enough, he did not use the money paid him for self-aggrandizement. He used it to buy arms to renew the revolution. And when he returned, in May 1898, he launched a lightning campaign and quickly captured one Spanish garrison after another. So successful was his campaign that on June 5, he planned the proclamation of independence to take place on the 12th of June. He directed

Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista to draft the Act of Proclamation of Independence of the Filipino people, obtained the services of Julian Felipe to compose the national anthem and the craftsmanship of some patriotic ladies in the making of the Filipino flag that would symbolize our country. On the 12th of June 1898, these three symbols of our nationhood were thus shown to the whole world: the proclamation of Independence, the unfurling of the national flag, accompanied by the national anthem.

The Act of Proclamation itself is a simple but lengthy litany of causes and grievances. It stated that the Filipino people were weary of bearing the yoke of Spanish domination. It specified arbitrary arrests, harsh treatment, and executions by the *Guardia Civil*; the deportations instigated by the Archbishop and the friar orders; and the executions of Dr. Jose Rizal and several others, specifically the priests, Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora. The proclamation declared that the Filipinos "are and have the right to be free and independent," and the nation "from this day commences to have a life of its own," with every political tie between the Philippines and Spain severed and annulled.¹⁰

Thus was the nation born and its father was Emilio F. Aguinaldo. On June 18, Aguinaldo issued the decree for the organization of pueblo or town governments. The 18 June decree is significant in that it reveals Aguinaldo's political thinking. According to Corpuz, it reflected Aguinaldo's thinking as a former pueblo capitan by stressing that a "solid and robust" municipal organization was the "strongest bulwark" of national government. Aguinaldo never wavered on the issue of the important role of local self-government. On 3 August, in an address while presiding over the oath-taking of town heads, he would say that each town council served as the cornerstone of the state.¹¹

Aguinaldo's vision of the nation

Aguinaldo proposed certain amendments to the draft constitution adopted by the Malolos Congress that revealed his vision of a truly all-embracing nation. On 1 January 1899, Aguinaldo sent the Congress a message transmitting several proposed amendments. Two very serious problems of the Republic during the 1970s and 1980s were either by chance or foresight, covered in Aguinaldo's amendments. One proposal dealt with the design and establishment of a special political regiment or system for non-Christian hill tribes or communities "in conformity with their usages and traditional customs," including their representation in the legislature.¹² It will be recalled

that in the 1980s, there were demands for governmental autonomy to communities such as the Cordillera people in Luzon, as well as similar cultural minority communities in Mindanao.

Aguinaldo also asked for authority to negotiate with the Muslims of Jolo and Maguindanao "for the purpose of establishing national solidarity upon the basis of a real federation and of absolute respect for their beliefs and traditions."¹³

On this matter of the composition of the Filipino nation, Corpuz avers that nobody excelled Aguinaldo as the voice and exponent of a truly all-embracing nation. This idea of the Muslim Filipinos being in the same political community as the Christians was a development straight from Rizal (specifically the statutes of the Liga), but Aguinaldo's approach was sharper.¹⁴


Unfortunately, the Malolos Congress, which was wholly composed of Christians, either lacked the capacity to appreciate Aguinaldo's concept of a nation that included both Christians and Muslims, or could not see themselves in one nation with Muslims. Besides, federation with the Muslims would have entailed thorough changes in the unitary system that the Congress had already approved.

Aguinaldo kept the idea of a federation alive. On 19 January, he wrote the Sultan of Sulu "offering to the powerful Sultan of Jolo and to all brothers who acknowledge his great authority, the highest assurance of friendship, consideration, and esteem."¹⁵

Had the Christian lawyers of the Malolos Congress appreciated Aguinaldo's vision of the Filipino nation, it is not improbable that the cultural bias and political neglect by the Christian majority vis-a-vis the Muslim Filipinos in the succeeding era may have been avoided. On the other hand, the Moro National Liberation Front rebellion of the early 1970s was the inevitable bitter fruit of that lack of appreciation.

Conclusion

In sum, therefore, Emilio Aguinaldo envisioned an all-embracing Filipino nation that would include Muslims and Christians in the same political community with provision for governmental autonomy to cultural minority communities in both Luzon and Mindanao, under a regime of law and justice, freed from theocratic influence, a regime that guaranteed equality under the law, and a society buttressed by strong local government units held together by the bonds of brotherhood.

Emilio Aguinaldo's vision of a free and independent Philippines never wavered nor dimmed. Under his leadership the Congress produced a republican Constitution. HE LED THE NATION TO BECOME A REPUBLIC - THE FIRST REPUBLIC EVER IN THE WHOLE ASIA. When all of the elite had deserted him to embrace the American offer of autonomy, he fought doggedly on. HIS COURAGE NEVER FAILED. He had to be captured through treacherous means to be brought to heel. It is time we recognized him as the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY. 

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End notes

¹Onofre D. Corpuz, *The Roots of the Filipino Nation*, Q.C.: Aklahi Foundation, 1990, pp. 249-250. Corpuz based his account on the Memoirs of Artemio Ricarte and Santiago V. Alvarez.

²Ibid., p. 218.

³Ibid., p. 227.

⁴Emilio F. Aguinaldo, *Mga Gunita ng Himagsikan* (Memoirs of the Revolution), Manila, 1964, p. 15.

⁵Ibid., 21-34.

⁶Corpuz, op. cit., p. 223.

⁷Taylor, *The Philippine Insurrection Against the U.S.*, 5 vols.; Vol. III, Exh. 141, p. 251.

⁸Ibid., vol. 1, exh. 21, p. 287.

⁹Ibid., vol. 1, exh. 33, p. 333.

¹⁰Taylor, vol. III, exh. 28, pp. 102-106.

¹¹Corpuz, op. cit., p. 310.

¹²Taylor, vol. III, exh. 352, p. 457.

¹³Ibid., p. 458.

¹⁴Corpuz, op. cit., p. 329.

¹⁵Taylor, vol. V, exh. 1426, pp. 824-825.

PSSC News

SICOM holds forum on open pit mining

The Social Issues Committee (SICOM) held a public forum on "The Interplay between Culture, Environment, and State Policy: Open Pit Mining" on April 29, 1992 at Alip Auditorium, PSSCenter, Commonwealth Ave., Diliman, Quezon City.

The forum speakers were Engr. Catalino Corpuz of Mining Communities Development Center, Baguio City and Dr. Teodoro M. Santos of U.P. Institute of Geology. Also present were Engr. Michael Cabalda of Bureau of Mines, Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR), Mr. J. C. Cinco of Atlas Consolidated Company, and some PSSC Board and SICOM

members. Benguet Corporation was invited but did not send any representative.

Engr. Corpuz stressed the social impact of the open pit or surface mining being practised by Benguet Mining Corp. in Itogon, Benguet affecting seven out of the municipality's nine barangays. He summarized the issues raised against such practice as follows: (1) degradation of the environment caused by diversion of rivers, levelling of mountains, and dumping of wastes in riverbanks; (2) land dispossession and loss of livelihood of indigenous people living in that area; and (3) destruction of indigenous culture.

Dr. Santos suggested the possibility of cooperation for mutual benefit between the mining corporation and the community. According to him, this requires joint planning by them with sustainable development as a major consideration.

The participants came out with two recommendations to be submitted to DENR Secretary Fulgencio Factoran, namely, the need for an ombudsman who will look after environmental complaints and a tripartite fact-finding mission on the condition in open pit mining sites.

PSSC E.D. attends AASSREC meeting

PSSC Executive Director Ruben F. Trinidad attended the Executive Council meeting of the Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils (AASSREC) in Tokyo, Japan, March 22-27 1992. He is the incumbent vice-president of the Association.

Prof. Trinidad reported that the meeting set the calendar for the 10th AASSREC Conference to (See PSSC E.D. on p. 22)



Prof. Ruben F. Trinidad (seated at right, second row) during the AASSREC Executive Council meeting.

Multisectoral groups pass resolution on agrarian reform

More than 100 representatives from government agencies, nongovernment organizations, and academic institutions participated in the "National Forum on Agrarian Reform Agenda for the Next Five Years" to discuss issues on the implementation of the agrarian reform program and to draft a resolution for policy consideration.

The resolution calls for improvement in the implementation of the program premised on the constitutional

mandate to promote social justice, rural development, and industrialization. It will be submitted to the concerned government agencies for their information and consideration.

It listed 24 recommendations on issues involving the delay in the implementation of the program, program priorities, exemptions and models, support services, land valuation and compensation, ancestral lands, agricultural land taxation, land registration, and institutionalized partnership of government with

nongovernment and people's organizations.

Sponsored by the Institute of Agrarian Studies (IASI), the Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC), and the the National Research Council of the Philippines (NRCPP), the forum was held on April 23, 1992 at Alip Auditorium, PSSCenter, Diliman, Quezon City. It was part of a series of nationwide consultations to evaluate CARP accomplishments and the problems, issues, and constraints in its implementation.

RESOLUTION FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF AGRARIAN REFORM FOR THE NEXT FIVE YEARS

WHEREAS, the 1987 Constitution of the Philippines mandates the pursuance of an agrarian reform program to promote social justice and move the nation toward sound rural development and industrialization;

WHEREAS, the Philippine Congress passed R.A. 6657 instituting a Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP) founded on the right of farmers and regular farmworkers who are landless to own directly or collectively the lands they till;

WHEREAS, it is now recognized that the implementation of CARP has been confronted with policy, legal and operational problems;

WHEREAS, to make the gains of CARP irreversible and sustainable, crucial improvements will have to be undertaken;

WHEREAS, a series of nationwide consultations was conducted to evaluate CARP accomplishments and identify its most pressing problems and issues, constraints, and critical concerns;

NOW, THEREFORE, in view of the foregoing premises

and as a result of these consultations, it is resolved as it is hereby resolved that the following recommendations be made:

1. **REVIEW** the existing program framework and set a realistic target arrived at through participatory process and based on adequate and reliable data, a rationally-phased program, the institutional capability of the bureaucracy, and the financial capacity of the government. Furthermore, the scope of coverage of the Department of Agrarian Reform (DAR) and the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) on land distribution should be clearly delineated and firmed up.

2. **ADOPT** a *Desert Storm Approach* whereby the lead agency will have supervision over the personnel of line agencies involved in CARP implementation and control over allocation and utilization of the Agrarian Reform Fund (ARF).

3. **EXAMINE** the bases of land valuation formula to include both the social justice

and economic dimensions in the determination of land values and simplify valuation procedures for effective agrarian reform implementation.

4. **FORMULATE** immediately a national land use policy and issue a moratorium on agricultural land use conversion until such policy is drawn. The formulation of this policy should involve all concerned sectors and should take into account distinct physical, socioeconomic, environmental and cultural attributes of various areas of the country.

5. **INSTITUTIONALIZE** at all levels a dynamic partnership of government, non-government and people's organization (GOs, NGOs and POs) in CARP implementation, ensuring direct and preponderant grassroots participation.

6. **REVIEW** the acceptability and viability of non-land transfer models particularly stock ownership

(See next page)

Resolution for the Improvement of Agrarian Reform for the Next Five Years

option and leaseback agreements.

7. **IMPLEMENT** immediately the shift from share tenancy to leasehold in all crop areas, securing lessees' full enjoyment of their legal rights.

8. **ENACT** a progressive agricultural land taxation system not only to raise additional funds for agrarian reform but more importantly to deter the recurrence of the concentration of land ownership and the unscrupulous conversion of prime agricultural lands to other uses.

9. **CONSOLIDATE** and systematize the existing land registration data.

10. **FORMULATE** a mechanism that will operationalize complementation of the national goals of agrarian reform, agro-industrialization and an ecologically sustainable development.

11. **ENCOURAGE** genuine agrarian reform beneficiaries' associations and cooperatives that will protect the gains of agrarian reform and promote their interests and welfare.

12. **EXAMINE** the implications for agrarian reform of the devolution of functions to the local government units and formulate appropriate mechanisms that will guarantee the timely and effective implementation of the program.

13. **HASTEN** the payment to landowners and strengthen the support mechanism to enable them to transfer their capital from agriculture to industry.

14. **PASS AND IMPLEMENT** an ancestral land law responsive to the customs and traditions of indigenous Filipino cultural communities.

15. **DEVELOP** a comprehensive information dissemination program for all sectors of society (e.g., teachers, judges, businessmen, religious, and military) to provide a common framework for a better

understanding and deeper appreciation of agrarian reform.

16. **STRENGTHEN** the agrarian reform education program specifically through trainings to develop capabilities of farmers' associations/cooperatives, Barangay Agrarian Reform Committees, CARP Implementing Teams, PARCCOMs, NGOs, and government implementors at all levels (e.g., DAR, DENR, DA, LBP, DTI, DPWH).

17. **EMPHASIZE** the integration of agrarian reform in the elementary, high school and college curricula and develop adequate teaching skills and relevant instructional materials for all levels.

18. **DELINEATE** more clearly the role and functions of bodies involved in the mediation, conciliation and arbitration of agrarian cases to expedite the adjudication process.

19. **EXAMINE** the provisions and policies on deferments, exclusions and exemptions from CARP to determine their consistency with the philosophy and rationale of agrarian reform as embodied in the Constitution.

20. **DEVELOP** a participatory monitoring and evaluation system that takes into account the processes involved in agrarian reform implementation and uses both qualitative and quantitative parameters.

21. **FORMULATE** plans and policies for the implementation of agrarian reform in coastal areas and institute development programs for the benefit of women, youth, other landless workers and similar marginalized groups.

22. **PROVIDE** adequate and timely financial support for agrarian reform to ensure continued successful program implementation.

23. **INSTITUTE** mechanism that will

minimize/eliminate graft and corruption among government instrumentalities involved in implementing agrarian reform.

24. **MANIFEST** a strong and consistent political will of the government leadership from the national to the local levels to pursue and uphold agrarian reform.

IT IS FURTHER RESOLVED that these findings and recommendations be submitted to the Transition Committee and the incoming political leadership for their information, guidance and favorable consideration.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, we have signed this resolution on this 21st day of May 1992 at Quezon City, Philippines.

SIGNED:

SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS AND MEMBERS OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

THE INSTITUTE OF AGRARIAN STUDIES, U.P. LOS BAÑOS

DR. LUZVIMINDA B. CORNISTA
Chairman, National Coordinating Committee, Legislative Agenda for CARP project

DR. RENATO L. TALATALA
Project Leader

FRANCISCO R. CALIXTO
Assistant Project Leader

PHILIPPINE SOCIAL SCIENCE COUNCIL

DR. ROSARIO M. CORTES
Chairman, Social Issues Committee

PROF. CARMENCITA T. AGUILAR
Chairman, Task Force on Agrarian Reform

NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL OF THE PHILIPPINES

DR. EVA MINERVA DUKA-VENTURA
Chairman, Division of Social Sciences

DR. DOMINGO C. SALITA
Chairman Emeritus

PSSC conducts CAF Evaluation Survey

The Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC) presently conducts the first phase of the Census of Agriculture and Fisheries Evaluation Survey (CAFES), a project of the National Statistics Office (NSO).

Funded by the NSO, the CAFES aims to evaluate the results of the 1991 Census of Agriculture and Fisheries (CAF). The NSO conducted the CAF last year in order to provide government planners, policy makers and administrators with data to serve as basis for their social and economic development plans.

Under the Memorandum of Agreement signed in May 1992, PSSC will administer five phases of the CAFES, namely, (a) main survey operation, (b) matching operation, (c) follow-up survey, (d) data-encoding and machine processing, and (e) data analysis

for a period of 15 months starting on April 20, 1992. PSSC is expected to come up with a final report on June 30, 1993. The NSO, on the other hand, will assist the 13 participating PSSC regional centers in the training and field operations.

The Project Director is Prof. Ruben F. Trinidad assisted by the Research, Training, and Development Division of the PSSC composed of Alana G. Ramos, Ma. Gina Tuzon, Richard de Dios, Amylene Dizon, and Mary Ann Blas. Dr. Ann Geronilla of the Philippine Statistical Association and U.P. Los Baños is the project's Technical Consultant,

Also involved in this evaluation survey are NSO Director Dr. Margarita Guerrero as Project Manager, NSO regional offices and some PSSC associate members.

Announcement

UNESCO bibliographic databases now available

Requests for bibliographic search on six recently installed databases at UNESCO headquarters may now be sent to UNESCO-PROAP, Bangkok.

The six databases are: (1) UNESCOBIB, which consists of 46,000 bibliographic references to documents and publications issued by UNESCO; (2) IBEDOCs, which has 12,700 references to worldwide literature on education; (3) ICOMMOS, which contains 25,300 references to worldwide literature on museums, historic monuments, and sites; (4) DARE, which has

worldwide references to 4,600 research institutes and info services and 4,500 periodicals in social sciences; (5) ENERGY, a compilation of references to about 4,500 sources of information on research in renewable energy sources; and (6) UNESDATA, which contains a description of 66 bibliographical, referral, and factual databases produced at UNESCO.

Request forms and detailed information on each database may be secured at the Information and Special Services Division, PSSC Secretariat, PSSCenter, Commonwealth Ave., Diliman, Quezon City with tel. nos. 922-96-21 loc. 307.

New RAP Grantees

The Research Committee met and approved the application of three graduate students for research grant under its Research Awards (RAP) Program last March 17, 1992.

The new grantees for the first quarter of this year are Marianita Dablio, Ma. Elisa Esguerra, and Jose Alberto Reyes. They recently received P5000 as a supplementary financial assistance for their research.

Ms. Dablio is a Ph. D. Communication student from U.P. Diliman working on the topic "Information Exchange Between Technology Innovators and their Publics".

Ms. Esguerra, M.A. in Psychology student, U.P. Diliman, writes a thesis on "Pagdadalamhati at Pamimighati: Isang Proseso ng Liberasyon" (Grief and Sorrow: A Process of Liberation).

Mr. Reyes, also taking a master's degree in psychology at U.P. Diliman, makes a research on "Causal Attributions of Successful and Unsuccessful College Students".

The Committee awarded 15 research grants to successful applicants last year. For this year, applications for the next three quarters are still open.

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AASSREC 9th conference proceedings

The "Proceedings of the Ninth Biennial Conference and the Joint UNESCO-AASSREC Regional Symposium on Human Resource Development," held at the Philippine Social Science Council, Quezon City, Philippines on August 5-10, 1991 came out of the press last March 1992.

The book features the activity reports of the AASSREC's member councils in the last biennium. It also contains summaries of the presentation and discussion made during the symposium on human resource development where two issues are specifically examined: social science perspectives on human resource development and human resource development perspectives in educational planning.

The first of the PHILIPPINE NATIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY's monograph series will soon come off the press. Entitled "IN SEARCH OF HISTORICAL TRUTH", this monograph features selected papers read at the 9th National Conference on Local and National History held in Butuan City, Nov. 8-12, 1988. Included are those written by Dr. Onofre D. Corpuz, Fr. Rolando S. Delagoza, Dr. Erlinda M. Burton, Prof. Regino P. Paular, Prof. Aurora Roxas-Lim, Fr. John N. Schumacher, Prof. Celestina P. Bonzan, Fr. Jose S. Arcilla, Ms. Guadalupe Uy Choco, Prof. Carmencia T. Aguilar, Prof. Adjarail B. Hupas, and Dr. Yoshiko Niigano of Kanagawa University, Japan.

Announcement

The Philippine Political Science Association (PPSA) is currently accepting articles for its Philippine Political Science Journal (PPSJ).

Contributors of the article/s to be featured in the Journal

PPSA holds training workshop

The Philippine Political Science Association (PPSA) held its "Training Program and Workshop to Upgrade the Teaching of Political Science" on April 6-8, 1992 at the PSSC Seminar Room, PSSCenter.

The workshop sought to upgrade the teaching of political science specifically in the area of government and politics, foreign policy and international relations, and comparative government and politics. It was attended by about 60 members of the PPSA coming from various academic institutions.

UGAT to hold 14th nat'l conference

The Ugnayang Pang-Aghamtao (UGAT) will hold its 14th Annual National Conference with the theme "The Anthropology of Philippine Anthropology" on June 4-6 1992 at the College of Forestry, U.P. Los Baños. The conference aims to discuss various issues concerning the practice of anthropology in teaching, research, and community service "with the end in view of defining the goals and direction that the discipline will take in this crucial period of the century".

Among its speakers are Dr. Robert Salazar (De La Salle University), Mr. Ruben Martinez (People's Center for Development), Dr. Alicia Magos (U.P. Visayas), Prof. Luis Carmelo Buenaventura (St. Paul's College), Dr. Erlinda Alburo (University of San Carlos), Mr. Wilfredo Ronquillo and Mr. Cecilio Salcedo (National Museum of the Philippines), Prof. Jerome Bailen (U.P. Diliman), Prof. Ponciano L. Bennagen (Sentro Para sa Ganap na Pamayanan), Prof. Benjamin Bernales (Ateneo de Manila University), and Dr. Julian Abuso (U.P. Diliman).

Ayta meeting held

The Central Luzon Ayta Association (CLAA) held a five-day general assembly last May 20-25, 1992 at Boca, Botolan, Zambales.

It was attended by representatives from 58 people's organizations and 20 nongovernment organizations.

The meeting sought to strengthen the capability of Aytas to deal with crisis situation. Specifically, the participants discussed the making of their by-laws and the situation of Aytas in Central Luzon. Committee workshops on ancestral land, health, livelihood, education, and relief and rehabilitation were also conducted.

The CLAA holds office at Room 421, DFF Bldg., Gen. Hizon Ave., San Fernando, Pampanga.

will receive two complimentary copies.

Manuscripts must be typewritten, double-spaced, and have not yet been published in any of the local journals.

Those articles not considered for publication will be turned over to the PSSC Library.

Send your article/s to: The Editor, PPSJ, PSSCenter, P.O. Box 205, U.P. Post Office, Quezon City.

PSSC E.D., from p. 17

be held on Sept. 5-11, 1993 in Japan. Each member council was requested to organize a seminar on the theme "Environment and Sustainable Development: Social Science Perspectives" and prepare a country paper on it.

He also added that according to the guidelines set in the meeting, the paper must answer the following questions:

- 1) What are the peculiarities of national-local environment that help or hinder development?
- 2) How is the government responding to this burning issue in terms of policy instruments and administrative measures?
- 3) What is the extent of public awareness and public concern about environmental issues?
- 4) How can social scientists of the country contribute in this area? In other words, have social sciences in the country taken stock of what exists in social science literature in terms of theory, or methodology of research, or concrete field studies relative to environment?
- 5) What agenda can be proposed for research collaboration at the Asia-Pacific level?

Also, PSSC will prepare a country paper for the Japan Science Council's international symposium on "Economic Reforms and Democratization in Asia-Pacific Region" to be held during the same conference.

New Publications available at the Central Subscription Service

Conducting and Managing Communication Survey Research: The Asian Experience by Cesar M. Mercado, Ph. D. (1992), P200.

This book provides a practical guide to graduate students in communication and other social science practitioners engaged in evaluating the social impact of development projects.

Phenomena and their Interpretation - Landmark Essays, 1957-1989 by Jaime C. Bulatao, S. J. (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1992), P289.

This book consists of essays on the Filipino soul "providing the readers with maps, as it were, of the Filipinos' outer and inner lives - as citizens of a particular history, on one hand, and on the other, as creatures of a timeless, subjective, transpersonal universe."

Basic Concepts and Methods in Research by Venancio B. Ardales (Quezon City: Great Books Trading, 1992), P120.

This book deals with a thorough discussion of basic concepts and methods in research useful to researchers engaged in any field of study.

The State, Economic Transformation, and Political Change in the Philippines, 1946-1972 by Amando Doronila (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), P750.

This book presents an interpretation of political change by examining the role of the state as a catalyst of socio-economic and political transformation. It focuses on the process leading to the development of an interventionist state in the Philippines and its influence on the breakdown of democracy and the declaration of martial law in 1972.

The Anatomy of Electoral Fraud: Concrete Bases for Electoral Reforms (The Tancungco Report) by Luzviminda Tancungco (1992), P400.

This book provides a comprehensive analysis of elections in the Philippines.

Proceedings of the Ninth Biennial Conference of the Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils and the Joint UNESCO-AASSREC Regional Symposium on Human Resource Development, (August 5-10, 1991, PSSCenter, Diliman, Quezon City), P150.

Order your copies now! Please come and visit our store at the 2nd Floor, PSSCenter, Commonwealth Avenue, Diliman, Quezon City or call 922-96-21 loc. 338 (ask for Emily or Lydia).

The PSSC Social Science Information accepts articles, news, press releases, announcements, and other write-ups concerning any discipline in the social sciences. All articles must be typewritten, double-spaced, with a brief information regarding the author. All contributions must be addressed to: The Editor, PSSC Social Science Information, PSSCenter, P.O. Box 205, U.P. Post Office, Diliman, Quezon City.

PSSC Exchange Program

Understanding the CASS: A Close Look at PSSC's Exchange Program

*Ma. Eloisa G. Parco**

The Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC) established an exchange program with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) in 1980. It started with the visit of 13 members of the Executive Board to China and a return visit of eight officers of the CASS. The latest exchange was made last November 1991, with Mr. Niu Fengrui of the Hebei Academy of Social Sciences conducting a two-week visit. I was sent to China for a month to carry out my own research; but more importantly, to be able to have a greater understanding of the CASS set-up and to study how PSSC can attain greater and wider scope of coordination with the Academy.

The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)

From the start, the CASS's definite goal is to promote research. According to its own brochure, it is "the National Research Center for the Social Sciences in the People's Republic of China". Founded in May 1977, it is currently composed of 31 research institutes, three research centers, two publishing houses, and a graduate school, all of which conduct different types of research.

Its staff was estimated to be around 5,100 as of 1988. Fully 75 percent of the total is concentrated directly in research and services facilitating research such as translations and computer services. The CASS covers the largest body of disciplines in its research on the social sciences in China.

Structure and functions

Being directly under the State Council of the National Government, CASS seeks to actively



The author (fifth from left) and the faculty of the Department of History, Yunnan University.

promote the growth of the social sciences in China, while keeping up with the advances made in other parts of the world. At the same time, through research, it is expected to contribute to the success of China's modernization campaign without losing sight of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong thought as its guiding ideology.

China's most distinguished scholars comprise the leadership of the CASS, headed by a president. The president assumes command responsibility and determines the Academy's work direction. There are seven vice presidents, one of whom is known as the Managing Vice-President, who takes care of the day-to-day activities of the Academy. The latter is also assigned control over a number of offices especially

**Ma. Eloisa Parco, M.A. student in Oriental Religions and Cultures at the University of Santo Tomas, where she is presently teaching history courses, was chosen as PSSC representative under the exchange scholar program between the PSSC and the CASS. She went to Beijing on Nov. 4 - Dec. 4, 1991 to help strengthen PSSC's inter-institutional ties with the academic community in China, especially with the CASS.*



Above: The author and Prof. Chen Yan in front of the Institute of Oriental Languages and Literature. Below: The author poses for a souvenir photo at the historic Tiananmen Square.

the ones dealing with everyday affairs: the Bureau of Scientific Research, the Personnel Office, the Foreign Affairs Bureau, and the Academy Offices Administration. Each of the 31 research institutes and three research centers are headed by a director. Under him are the chiefs of each division and section of the institute. All institutes have their own publications: books, journals, and monographs. At present there are more than 80 journals being published by these institutes, some of which are in English.

Other features of the CASS

The research-oriented set-up of the CASS makes it necessary for each of the institutes to have its own library. The largest collection in the CASS belongs to the Institute of History totalling 700,000 volumes in Chinese, English, French, German, and other languages. The total collections of the entire CASS are placed at more than five million items. Its libraries are in constant touch with publishing houses abroad,

such that they contain some of the most respected scholarly journals published in the USA, Europe, and Asia.

Aside from the journals and books published by each institute, the CASS has two publishing arms: the China Social Sciences Publishing House and Social Sciences in China. CASS averages more than 100 books published in a year in addition to printing thousands of articles, hundreds of reports, and translations.

Perhaps the most unique feature of the CASS is its Graduate School, doubling as a training base for researchers in the Academy. Its graduates do not only work for CASS but eventually find their way to other research organizations. The president of the Graduate School is also the concurrent CASS president.

Other possible linkages

Aside from the CASS, the PSSC may establish linkages with three other types of institutions such as provincial academies of social sciences, universities, and institutes. Some examples of these are as follows: Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, Guangzhou Academy of Social Sciences, Peking University, Yunnan University, Yunnan Normal University, Zhongshan University, Jinan University, China Institute of Contemporary International Relations, and Yunnan Institute of Nationalities.

All these institutions have expressed a great willingness to link up with the PSSC. In some instances, those with existing links hope to make them closer. Provincial academies and other officials are quick to point out the autonomous and independent character of their institutions, resulting in many ties abroad without CASS involvement. The Yunnan Academy for example, has set up links with the University of the Philippines Department of History in 1987 and sent a delegation to the Philippines in 1989. Zhongshan University and Jinan University have forged ties with De La Salle University and the Philippine Association for Chinese Studies on their own. There is no obstacle therefore in establishing direct contact, which is their preferred mode of linkage.

Even the CASS officials have expressed this partiality to direct linking, on an institution to institution basis — where the arrangements do not fall

within any executive agreement between the governments of China and the Philippines.

The PSSC and the CASS: Comparison and Assessment

Taking into consideration all these data, how then does PSSC compare with the CASS? And what steps should be taken to further strengthen the institutional ties between them?

It is clear right from the start that the origin, nature, objectives, and milieu within which the PSSC and the CASS were created are largely different. Privately-owned, funded from local and foreign sources, the PSSC is a national federation of social science organizations. The CASS, while maintaining and asserting its autonomy, remains state-funded and highly centralized. A look at PSSC's "Agenda Towards the Year 2000", indicates that most of its objectives are meant to extend assistance to member organizations and make PSSC's role more active in policy formation. CASS's objectives, meanwhile, are strongly geared towards research as a means of fostering the growth and development of China as well as the different social science disciplines. These differences do not include the unique political, social and economic framework of society within which the PSSC and the CASS exist.

The operational structure of the two institutions are also quite different. The Governing Council is the policy-making body of the PSSC while the Executive Board is the implementing body, and the Secretariat, comprises the PSSC office staff. The CASS "organized its institutes to undertake a large proportion of the key items in the state research programs". This is done by the President and the seven vice-presidents. Research is also determined by each institute's director and members depending upon the subject to be studied.

PSSC's stated objectives towards the year 2000 involve strengthening its role in the Philippines. Its research involvement, moreover, is not in the same manner as the research conducted by CASS. Research involvement at PSSC is more of auxiliary research where it assists member associations/individuals carrying out research by providing funding, data and consultancy services. The working committee in research for example, feels the public pulse and awards funds to selected graduate students in the social sciences. The Institutional Development Committee takes charge of the research consortia program but more as a coordinator/consultant rather than being the researchers themselves. For CASS,

these services are only the means to facilitate theoretical and applied research done by its staff. In other words, these services are considered secondary to CASS's main interest as initiator of research.

Due to these basic differences, some impediments emerge. PSSC's exchange programs are on a modest scale. It has a growing list of associate members but its loose relationship with them, owing to its federated nature, does not facilitate collaborative ventures with government departments nor foreign academic institutions.

In contrast, the CASS has extensive relations and exchanges with institutes inside and outside China. One hundred fourteen national social science societies and associations are currently affiliated with the CASS. They promote collaboration among themselves on one level, and with the academic communities and the government on another level. The CASS has formally signed academic exchange programs with 21 countries, excluding the travel of its members abroad by invitation or as participants in conferences and symposia. All these serve to expand CASS' exposure and involvement in the current trends of social science development in the world.

So it seems that while the PSSC is more concentrated on firming up its linkages locally, with the intent of doing the same with foreign linkages, the CASS pursues both actively, reaping advantages internally and externally.

To promote closer collaboration, the language barrier between the two institutions must also be surmounted.

Common research interests

Many Chinese scholars have expressed great interest in our forthcoming elections and the performance of the outgoing Aquino administration. Government and politics are definitely good source bases for collaborative projects. Economics, land reform, the foreign debt, investments, Philippine history and literature, the national minorities, the Chinese in the Philippines, Filipino women studies, the ASEAN, are all of interest in the institutions mentioned previously.

Conversely, scholars in the Philippines are interested in Chinese contemporary history, China's foreign relations, the economic policy, advances in technology, archaeology, the national minorities and many others.

Recommendations

Having pointed out the differences between the PSSC and the CASS in their objectives, structure, and operations, the following are hereby proposed:

(1) A review of the PSSC objectives be set as part of the "Agenda Towards the Year 2000", insofar as they lack definite focus on the PSSC's external linkages with the CASS (and all other foreign institutions).

In particular, PSSC's research objectives should be looked into to determine whether PSSC would continue being a supportive organ for local research rather than an initiator of research at home and abroad. Its networking thrusts should also be studied in order to clarify the process with which its contact with the CASS would enable it to "assist member organizations in undertaking professional activities... at the local, national and international level..."

(2) A revision of the functions of the working committees or the Secretariat, or the creation of a new committee/office which will take charge of the PSSC's exchange programs with the CASS and other institutions is proposed.

(3) A regular exchange of publications with the CASS to be expanded gradually is also suggested in order to strengthen the ties already present.

(4) A marked change in the level of exchange may also be carried out.

Mr. Jian Han Zhang, Deputy Director of the Foreign Affairs Bureau of the CASS said, "We are concerned not so much in quantity, as in quality." This implies the preference for senior scholars with doctorate degrees as well as those with higher positions on the administrative level, to match those scholars sent over to the Philippines.

With or without the recommendations stated above, there is a wide area of possible cooperation between the PSSC and the CASS. However, these would be more meaningful and significant should the first two recommendations be carried out.

A new perspective for PSSC

There is much to be done on PSSC's external relations with the CASS. This, however, can hardly be viewed as a deterrent towards the original objectives in the "Agenda Towards the Year 2000". The gains that have been attained since 1980, no matter how modest, should be preserved and should spur us for further improvement.

China is a fast-changing society, determined to pursue modernization and peopled by a hardy, industrious, and talented lot bent on seeing China closer to attaining its dream of being a fully-industrialized nation by the next century. Our country may be delayed towards the same goal by natural causes, but mostly by causes of our own making. Yet, our country's role in the next century cannot be overlooked. It is an important entity in the Asia-Pacific area which has become, possibly, the theater where the world's major changes will be played out within the next one hundred years. China and the Philippines can learn from one another—must learn from one another's experience, being the foremost social science organizations in their respective countries involved in nation building.

The proposed recommendations presented earlier are intended to help bring about a stronger PSSC within the framework of the "Agenda Towards the Year 2000". It is in that spirit that they should be regarded as a "new window" through which PSSC would gain new perspectives, broaden its horizons, enjoy a panoramic view and bring others to share and appreciate its vantage point.

PSSC Social Science Information

July-September 1992, Vol. 20, No. 3

Next Issue:

- Filipino Historians and Philippine Nationalism by *Bonifacio S. Salamanca*
- Mabini's Plan for a Societal Change by *Judith B. Baroquillo*
- Pananaw ni Rizal sa Mabuting Lipunan by *Noel Teodoro*

Editorial

suppressing it. The first decade or so of American colonial rule was characterized by some Filipino historians as a period of suppressed nationalism. There was a strict censorship of the press. A law on sedition was passed. Nationalistic political parties were banned. The display of all flags, banners, and emblems used by the Filipino freedom fighters including those of the Katipunan were prohibited. But just the same these setbacks were not to dampen the national sentiment. Independence missions were fitted out, and thanks to American labor and agricultural groups, who, acting on the mistaken belief that Philippine labor and agricultural products were seriously competing with theirs, lobbied to pressure the US Congress to grant independence. And it did!

Thus, in preparation for the transition from colonial to independent status, a Commonwealth government was set up. But about halfway towards the end of the transition, the country was invaded by Japan. By this time, Filipino nationalism had come into its own. War or no war, the Filipinos would not compromise, with independence within their grasp. They would resist the invader spontaneously, no matter what the cost; and the guerilla war that they launched hurt the Japanese intruder so badly that it became very much easier for the American liberation forces to make him go down to his knees in shameful surrender.

At long last, and with all the "blood, sweat and tears," the Filipinos got their independence on July 4, 1946, or, did they?

The fact is that the USA did not really leave the Philippines alone. In the guise of what was said to be "special relations," America's hold of the country continued to be as real as ever. The result has been not only to make the country overdependent on America, but more importantly to incapacitate it from moving forward, as it were, even as other erstwhile colonized countries initially more underdeveloped would overtake it in the process. This is why Filipino nationalism has since been primarily directed against America's continued undue influence. And since the influence has had its most concrete expression in the military bases, the move has been first, to reassert Philippine sovereignty over them and then, to terminate their use by the Americans. The success especially with regard to the latter move was dramatically revved up by the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo — as if by Divine blessing.

But the nationalist movement does not stop there. Much is yet to be done to make the Filipinos truly masters of their own house. Hence, the movement must proceed in ways more than one, persistently and assertively, so that the Philippines can eventually find, through self-reliance and resiliency, its rightful place under the sun.

This, we have to keep in mind if we must give meaning to the centennial of Filipino nationalism now being commemorated.

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