

OFFICE HOLDERS 1993-1994

GOVERNING COUNCIL

Carmencita T. Aguilar

Chairperson

Ma. Clara V. Ravina

Vice-Chairperson

Ruben F. Trinidad

Secretary (until October 31, 1994)

Ponciano L. Bennagen

Secretary (from November 1, 1994)

Members:

Noemi L. Catalan

Bernardita R. Churchill

Ibarra Gonzalez, S.J.

Gloria M. Santos

Corazon B. Lamug

Patricia B. Luna

Nelia R. Marquez

Corazon M. Raymundo

Felixberto H. Roquia, Jr.

Domingo C. Salita

Patricia A. Sto. Tomas

Victor Valdepeñas

Ma. Concepcion P. Alfiler

Ex-Officio

EXECUTIVE BOARD

Ma. Concepcion P. Alfiler

President

Rolando S. DelaGoza, C.M.

Vice-President

Ruben F. Trinidad

Secretary (until October 31, 1994)

Ponciano L. Bennagen

Secretary (from November 1, 1994)

Shirley C. Advincula

Treasurer

Members:

Clemen C. Aquino

Delia R. Barcelona

Emma S. Castillo

Milagros M. Catabona

Erlinda A. Cordero

Eliseo A. de Guzman

Gonzalo H. Jurado

Telesforo W. Luna

Sabino G. Padilla, Jr.

Ana Maria L. Tabunda

Amaryllis T. Torres

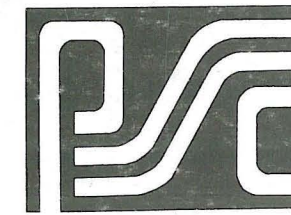
Carmencita T. Aguilar

Ex-Officio

Philippine Social Science Council
P.O. Box 205 UP Post Office, Diliman, Quezon City, 3004

May be opened for postal inspection

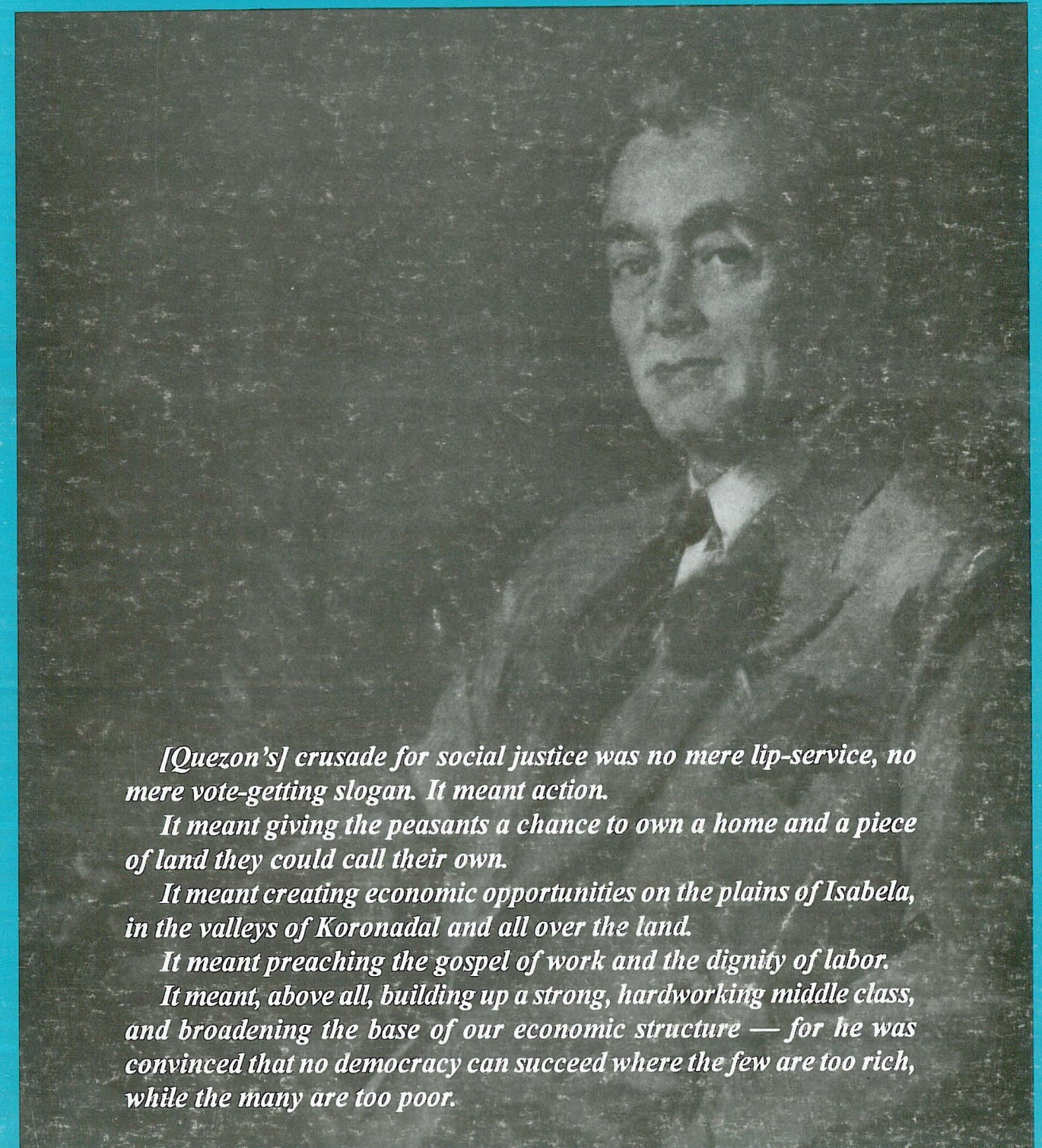
SSC
SOCIAL SCIENCE
INFORMATION



SOCIAL SCIENCE
INFORMATION

April-December 1994

Vol. 22 Nos. 2-4



[Quezon's] crusade for social justice was no mere lip-service, no mere vote-getting slogan. It meant action.

It meant giving the peasants a chance to own a home and a piece of land they could call their own.

It meant creating economic opportunities on the plains of Isabela, in the valleys of Koronadal and all over the land.

It meant preaching the gospel of work and the dignity of labor.

It meant, above all, building up a strong, hardworking middle class, and broadening the base of our economic structure — for he was convinced that no democracy can succeed where the few are too rich, while the many are too poor.

EDITORIAL

Eplacio S. Palispis, Ph.D.
President, Philippine Historical Association

PRESIDENT MANUEL LUIS QUEZON IN HISTORY

On August 19, 1878, as the small town of Baler was celebrating the feast of St. Louis, bishop of Tolosa and Patron Saint of the town, a baby boy was born. He was named Manuel Luis. That time, nobody thought this boy would become the first president of the Philippine Commonwealth, father of Philippine independence, champion of Social Justice, and father of national language.

The services rendered by Pres. Quezon in preparing the country for regaining the lost freedom and independence are beyond compare. Even on his death bed, El Presidente Quezon thought of and worked for his people. His long years of achievement and struggles stressed the desire of the Filipino people to live independently from foreign powers.

On August 1, 1944 Quezon finally succumbed to death. However, his vision for an independent nation, his dreams for his people, and his spirit of service to his country and people did not die with him. His vision for his country will ever live in our people.

To commemorate the 50th Death Anniversary of Pres. Quezon, the Philippine Historical Association has decided to hold a special seminar, right in Baler, the town that produced the great president. This seminar is part of the programs of PHA to go around the different regions of the country with the aim of promoting historical consciousness among the Filipino people.

In order to attain the goals of the country at the turn of the century, the Filipino people used to look back at the past. As the famous saying goes, "Ang hindi marunong lumingon sa pinanggalingan, mahirap makarating sa paroroonan."

As the country celebrates the decades and centennials of nationalism, we need to highlight the achievements of our heroes. The lives of these patriots who died for the country are worth remembering. Their examples of nationalism and patriotism are worth emulating.

Fifty years have passed. More centuries will pass, but heroes like Manuel Luis Quezon will not be forgotten in the minds and hearts of the Filipino people.

PSSC SOCIAL SCIENCE INFORMATION

April-September 1994

Vol. 22 Nos. 2-4

C O N T E N T S

2 Editorial

3 PSSC News

Articles on Manuel L. Quezon

- 8 New Light on Manuel L. Quezon's Nationalism**
• *Bonifacio S. Salamanca*
- 12 Manuel L. Quezon and the Philippine Constitution**
• *Gerald E. Wheeler*
- 21 Social Justice: Quezon's Centerpiece of the Commonwealth**
• *Celedonio O. Resurreccion*
- 31 Manuel L. Quezon As Resident Commissioner (1909-1916)**
• *Napoleon J. Casambre*
- 35 The Star of Baler**
• *Judith B. Barroquillo*
- 39 The "Good" Fight of President Manuel L. Quezon**
• *Gloria Martinez-Santos*
- 41 Notes for a Biography of M.L.Q.**
• *Manuel L. Quezon III*

Articles on Communication

- 45 Changing Conceptual Lenses: from Data Collection to Poietia (redefining data) Construction; from Data to Poietia**
• *Herminia Corazon M. Alfonso*
- 52 Book Review**
• *Rafael A. Villar*
- 60 Isang Pagsusuri sa Palisi sa Wika ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas**
• *Ma. Margarita Baula et al.*
- 73 Announcements**

ISBN 0115-1169

**THE PSSC SOCIAL SCIENCE
INFORMATION**

Editorial : Genaro N. Jacob, Elvira S. Angeles,
Fraulein A. Agcambot

Circulation: Lydia G. Wenceslao

The PSSC Social Science Information is published quarterly by the Secretariat of the Philippine Social Science Council with Ruben F. Trinidad as Executive Director until 31 October 1994 and Ponciano L. Benaagen, Executive Director since November 1, 1994. It is produced by the Project Development and Publication Division.

All correspondence should be addressed to The Editor, PSSC Social Science Information, PSSCenter, Commonwealth Avenue, Diliman, Quezon City.

The views expressed here are by the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Philippine Social Science Council.

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

To quote from this publication, proper acknowledgement should be given.

PSSC NEWS

DR. CABALLERO PARTICIPATES IN RESEARCH METHODS WORKSHOP ABROAD

Dr. Evelyn Caballero was one of 15 participants chosen for the National Science Foundation Institute for Research Methods in Cultural Anthropology which was conducted in Colorado Springs, USA from June 19 to July 1994. Over 60 participants applied for the workshop, and Dr. Caballero was the only Asian in the group. Workshop lecturers were Perti Peltó, Russ Bernard, and Steve Borgatti.

Dr. Caballero is a member of the Ugnayang Pang-Aghamtao (Anthropological Association of the Philippines) and is a Research Associate in the Social Development Research Center at De La Salle University. □

PHA HOLDS QUEZON SEMINAR

Ameurpinia DL. Costa
GDLC Graduate Student

To commemorate the 50th Death Anniversary of the late President Quezon, the Philippine Historical Association launched a special seminar in Baler, Aurora (formerly Tayabas, then Quezon) in August 1994. The theme of the seminar was "Pres. Manuel Luis Quezon in History."

Dr. Epitacio S. Palispis, president of PHA and who is from Baler, said that the association decided to hold the seminar in Baler, the birthplace of the late president, as part of its objective to promote historical awareness

DAERS PROF DELIVERS INAUGURAL PROFESSORIAL LECTURE

Dr. Levita A. Duhaylungsod, assistant professor in the Department of Agricultural Education and Rural Studies (DAERS) and PNB Professorial Chairholder in Rural Sociology delivered her inaugural lecture on Tuesday, September 6, 1994 at the DAERS Lecture Hall.

The lecture, which was entitled "Systems of Subsistence and Simple Reproduction in the Philippines: Differential Transformation of an Enduring Mode of Production," is the very first professorial lecture on anthropology at UPLB.

Anthropological insights into the Marxist mode of production concept were used by Dr. Duhaylungsod to analyze the manner in which societies based on subsistence production in the Philippines have articulated with capitalism. The lecture was based on 15 years of research experiences and was illustrated with four case examples from the T'boli, Higaonon, Patahanin, and Ikalahan groups.

The lecture was very well attended and a lively, intellectually-stimulating discussion followed afterwards. (*UPLB Newsletter*, Vol. 13[16], September 19, 1994) □

and awaken the people to the historical significance of their local places. In his opening remarks during the seminar, Dr. Palispis also mentioned the significance of the small town of Baler, being the last seat of the Spanish rule in the country with the church of Baler serving as garrison for a group of Filipino survivors fighting for Spain. He added, "this town will never be forgotten in history for producing a great man who was to become the first president of the Commonwealth of the Country."

Meanwhile, a group of prominent historians from PHA recalled in their lectures the significance of Pres. Quezon in history. Prof. Judith Barroquillo,

retired history professor in the University of the East, talked on "Pres. Quezon: The Star of Baler." The President's unique contribution to history and politics was described in the paper of Dr. Celestina P. Boncan of the University of the Philippines. Dr. Napoleon Casambre, UP professor of history, lectured on "Manuel Luis Quezon as Resident Commissioner." Dr. Gloria Martinez Santos, executive director of PHA and Dean of External Affairs of St. Mary's College delivered a paper on "Manuel Luis Quezon and His Good Fight."

The delegates, composed of teachers, employees, barangay and town officials and selected students from various towns of Aurora, were

led by Mr. Domingo F. Hulipas, schools division superintendent of Aurora, who also delivered words of greetings. Meanwhile, Provincial Board Member Godfrey Laureles welcomed the participants on behalf of Governor Edgardo L. Ong of Aurora. SB Zenaida S. Querijero represented Mayor Arthur J. Angara in welcoming the delegates.

The lively interactions were led by the following as moderators: Abelardo A. Aquino, Arnulfo de Leon, Nora C. Abondo, and Eleanor DM Olivar. Mr. Ponciano S. Catpino, Jr. acted as overall master of ceremonies. Special numbers were rendered by the ASCOT chorale, Aurora National Science High School, and ALAI Dipaculao.

This PHA seminar, which is the first PHA-sponsored seminar in Baler, was co-sponsored by the Philippine History Foundation, the Provincial Government of Aurora, the Municipal Government of Baler, and the Graduate School of Dr. Gloria D. Lacson College where Dr. Palispis is president. □

FORMER PSSC EXECUTIVE BOARD VICE-CHAIRMAN AND EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEMBER RECEIVES AWARDS AND GRANTS

Dr. Bonifacio S. Salamanca, currently the most senior member of the U.P. Diliman history faculty and holder for the second year in a row of the U.P. Club of America Diamond Jubilee Professorial Chair in History, recently received a number of recognitions, honors, awards, and grants. The historian was appointed last April as Contributing Editor to the

PSSC, COLLEAGUES HONOR PROF. RUBEN F. TRINIDAD

Professor Ruben F. Trinidad, PSSC Executive Director for ten consecutive years, was feted at a dinner hosted by the Philippine Social Science Council on November 18, 1994 at the PSSCenter. Highlighting the affair was the awarding of a Plaque of Recognition to Prof. Trinidad for his service, dedication and competence in discharging the functions of an Executive Director.

Prof. Carmencita T. Aguilar, PSSC Governing Council Chair gave the opening remarks, followed by testimonials of Dr. Sylvia Guerrero, Director of UP Center for Women's Studies; Dr. Cynthia B. Bautista, Director of UP Center for Integrative and Development Studies; Dr. Domingo C. Salita, PSSC Legal Counsel (Dr. Salita took particular note of Prof. Trinidad's efficiency in handling PSSC funds). Later, Ang Grupong Pendong rendered two songs which dwelt on the present state of the environment.

Dr. Thomas P. Africa gave a witty and memorable testimonial touching on his personal working experiences with Prof. Trinidad, while Dr. Pilar Ramos Jimenez extolled Prof. Trinidad's professionalism dealing with fellow social scientists and his expertise in coordinating conference in the PSSCenter.

The Secretariat, through Mrs. Lorna P. Makil, Ms. Fraulein A. Agcambot and Atty. Rachel P. Anosan (former PSSC staff) paid tribute to Prof. Trinidad's competence and, to borrow Prof. Aguilar's words, "in keeping the house in order." As if the testimonials were not enough, the staff "serenaded" Prof. Trinidad and the guests with Christmas carols.

In response, Prof. Trinidad expressed his "boundless gratitude to the Governing Council and the Executive Board for the opportunity to serve the PSSC, as well as for the trust and confidence" that they reposed on him. ■

prestigious *Journal of American History* (JAH) of the Organization of American Historians (OAH), a rare distinction. He was immediately nominated for, and given, a U.S. Information Agency grant to attend the OAH Annual Meeting held at Atlanta, Georgia, on April 14-17, 1994. U.P. Diliman awarded a research grant which enabled him to do research at the Paul V. McNutt Papers at the Lilly Library of Indiana University at Bloomington, Indiana which is the home of the OAH and the JAH, and at the U.S. National Archives

in Washington, D.C. before proceeding to Atlanta.

While Dr. Salamanca was abroad the Philippine Historical Association, of which he was thrice elected President and now a member of its Board of Consultants, nominated him for an award by the U.P. Alumni Association. The 1994 UPAA Professional Award for History was conferred upon him on June 18, 1994 during the U.P. Alumni Homecoming held at the Bahay Alumni on the Diliman campus.

Dr. Salamanca has been associated with the PSSC, off and on, for some twenty years, initially as a member of the Research Committee, then the Executive Board, of which he was Vice-Chairman in 1975, Chairman of the former Modern Philippine History Program Committee, etc. He participated actively in the preparation of the History Section of the PSSC *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (Vol. I, 1993), even as he was commissioned to write a "Historical Overview of the Philippine Social Science Council, 1968-1993;" the latter is being edited for publication later this year.

Dr. Salamanca has likewise been active in the National Research Council of the Philippines, serving as Vice-Chairman of the Division of Social Sciences (1988-1990) and Chair of the Geography Section (1993-1994).

Among his well-known publications are: *The Filipino Reaction to American Rule, 1901-1913* (1968, 1984), now regarded as a classic; "Background and Early Beginnings of the *Encomienda* in the Philippines" (1961); and "The Negotiation and the Disposition of the Philippine War Damage Claims: A Study in Filipino-American Diplomacy, 1951-1972" (part of a book, published by Harvard University in 1984). His latest works are a two-part article on "The RP-US Military Bases Agreement Negotiations: A Study of Negotiating Styles" (1993) and "Notes on the Study of Philippine International Relations" (1994), both of which appeared in *The World Bulletin*; and "Notes on the First Filipino Secretary of Education" (*UPEAA Research Journal*, 1993).

He is currently working on a "Documented and Documentary History of the 1947 RP-US Military Bases Agreement and Military Assistance Agreement" under a grant from the Foreign Service Institute of the Department of Foreign Affairs, and the first portion of "A Century of Philippine-American Relations, 1898-1998: A Filipino Perspective." The second project is being funded by the University of the Philippines Center for Integrative and Development Studies. □

REGIONAL SEMINAR AT VIRGEN MILAGROSA UNIVERSITY

The first of the 1994 Regional Seminars conducted by the Philippine Historical Association (PHA) on the effective teaching of history was held at the Virgen Milagrosa University Foundation (VMUF), San Carlos City, for Regions I and II on June 24-25, 1994. It had for its theme "Interpreting the Vision: Philippines 2000 From a Historical Perspective." The objectives of the seminar were to deepen the historical consciousness of the participants; to interpret the Vision of Philippines 2000 from a historical perspective; and to focus attention on our local history to strengthen our nationalistic spirit.

Dr. Martin P. Posadas, President and Chairman of the VMUF Board of Trustees, welcomed the participants while Atty. Abelardo Fermin greeted them on behalf of the City Mayor, Hon. Douglas D. Soriano, after an Invocation delivered by Fr. Reynaldo A. Domagas, VMUF Chaplain, and the singing of the national anthem conducted by Mrs. Francia Ramos. A unique feature of the opening ceremonies was the

singing of the national anthem in the Pangasinan language by the Tambayo Cultural Group of VMUF. The same cultural group directed by Dr. Perla S. Nelmda, Consultant, also furnished intermission numbers in the form of a choral number, "Binalatongan," composed by Mely Cayabyab Soriano and a folk dance number. Dr. Epitacio S. Palispis, PHA President, delivered the Opening Remarks.

The principal lecture on the first day was given by PHA Ex-President and Vice-President for Research, National Defense College, Dr. Cesar P. Pobre, who expounded on the main theme: "Understanding the Vision of Philippines 2000 from a Historical Perspective." Dr. Rosario Mendoza Cortes, Professor Emeritus of history, U.P., spoke on "The Role of Local History in Strengthening Nationalism" by citing incidents from Pangasinan history that illustrated the development of political maturity in Pangasinan society in the nineteenth century. She emphasized that "knowing one's own history strengthens love of one's country."

An interpretation of Philippine History from a new approach was offered by Dr. Celestina S. Boncan, PHA Secretary; Dr. Napoleon J. Casambre of U.P. and PHA PRO prepared the lecture on Significant Events in Asian History, while Dr. Reynaldo Palma, De La Salle University professor and PHA Governor gave the lecture on World History as taught in public schools today.

The strategies of teaching history effectively to pre-college students was handled by Dr. Gloria M. Santos, PHA Executive Director and Dean of External

Affairs, St. Mary's College while UE Professor and PHA Treasurer Judith B. Barroquillo dwelt on the teaching of history in college.

Those who served as moderators were Dr. Guido M. Tiong, Member VMUF Board of Trustees, and Dr. Melanio Malicdem, a Dean at the Pangasinan State University. A lively discussion on historical issues in the afternoon of the second day gave the participants an opportunity to clarify their own thinking on controversial issues in Philippine history.

Copies of the *Historical Bulletin* and publications of the National Historical Institute were presented to Dr. Martin P. Posadas by Dr. Epitacio S. Palispis and Mrs. Avelina Castañeda of the National Historical Institute. Lucky participants in the raffle conducted after the seminar also went home with copies of the *Historical Bulletin*. □

13th IAHA CONFERENCE IN TOKYO

The 13th Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia was held on 5-9 September 1994 at Sophia University, Tokyo, Japan. Among the participants were members of the Board of Governors, Philippine Historical Association: Dr. Rosario Mendoza Cortes, Dr. Sonia M. Zaide and Professor Oscar L. Evangelista. Dr. Cortes delivered a paper on "The State of the Art of Local History in the Philippines," while Prof. Evangelista expounded on "A New Perspective for the Study of Japanese Participation in Philippine History," and Dr. Zaide enlightened scholars on available Spanish sources in Philippine historiography.

Participants in the conference came not only from the universities of East Asia, South Asia and Southeast Asia, but also from Australia, Canada, Czech Republic, France, Italy, Mexico, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom, and the United States. The conference offered an intellectual feast for scholars. Of particular interest to Filipino historians were "Recent Findings of Trade Ceramics in the Philippines" by Wilfredo F. Ronquillo of the National Museum, "Japan's Involvement in the Philippine Revolution of 1896" by Ikehata Setsuho of the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, and "Three Sources of Information on the General Conditions of the Philippine Islands at the End of the 18th Century," from the General Archives of the Indies in Seville, furnished by Dr. Maria Fernanda Garcia de los Arcos of the Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana, Mexico.

The Philippine participants were treated to a reception at the Philippine Embassy in Tokyo on Wednesday evening, 7 September, hosted by the Philippine Ambassador to Japan. □

SSRC-MacArthur Foundation Fellowship

(from p. 73)

a member of the international system are eligible. An academic appointment is not a requirement, nor is an academic affiliation during the term of the fellowship always expected.

This is a program directed towards the professional development of researchers and of their critical, innovative research projects. It does not support curriculum development, public education programs, policy advocacy, social or political action, of the creation and maintenance of organizations.

The Council does not discriminate on the basis of age, color, creed, disability, marital status, national origin, race, sex, or sexual orientation. ■

For further information and application materials, contact:

Social Science Research Council
Program on International
Peace and Security
605 Third Avenue
New York, New York 10158
United States of America
Tel: (212) 661-0280
Fax: (212) 370-7896

New Light (from p. 11)

would mean a tremendous loss of revenues for the Insular Government, and correspondingly public services would decline, to offset which the Government may have to resort to the "imposition of new taxes," direct or indirect. This possibility Quezon feared because even as he admitted that compared with taxation in other countries the Filipino taxpayers were indeed paying much less, if one took "into account the economic state of the country those taxes were so onerous that the poor (in general) can hardly bear them." At any rate, no new taxes should be levied, Quezon said, especially because these "would fall more upon the mass of the people who, on account of their extreme poverty, cannot and should not be burdened with new taxes..." □

NEW LIGHT ON MANUEL L. QUEZON'S NATIONALISM

Manuel L. Quezon, whose 116th birth anniversary the nation marked two days ago, is perhaps best remembered as a great Filipino for his ardent love of country and people, or his nationalism, if you will, and for his astounding social consciousness, or passionate espousal of justice. Indeed, Quezon was unsurpassed in the first of these laudable but not necessarily twin virtues and unequalled in the second by any of his contemporaries, or even by the younger sector of the Filipino leadership, before the outbreak of the Second World War in the Pacific. He was the quintessential statesman in that he possessed both nationalism and social consciousness simultaneously and almost with the same sense of mission and intensity, if not also tenacity, a quality which we would do well to emulate in thought and especially in deeds today.

There is abundant literature on these two aspects of Quezon's public life—for that matter on all facets of his life—in the form of full-length biographies and monographs, commemorative articles and eulogies, etc. It would seem almost impossible now, more than a century after his birth and 50 years after his death—he died August 1, 1944—for one to be able to add something new about Quezon's nationalism and love for the common man. But the writing of history, as well as of biography, is such that an author never actually gains access to all known



Commonwealth Act No. 1: Quezon signs the National Defense Act of 1935 in the presence of VP Sergio Osmeña and Gen. Douglas MacArthur, among others.

sources of information about his subject—especially unpublished documents—during and even after composing his work. Perceptive scholars will probably gain new interpretations by simply using secondary sources, and thereby contribute additional knowledge, but only through the fortuitous discovery of unpublished sources is new information really gathered and existing information corroborated and convincingly re-enforced.

This paper is essentially of the latter category: a corroboration and re-enforcement of what we already know of Quezon's nationalism and love for social justice. It is based almost entirely on an unpublished document, an archival material or primary source, to use the jargon of historical research. The document in question is the minutes of the meeting held on March 29, 1910 between the members of the

committee of the Philippine Assembly, and of the Philippine Commission, respectively the lower and upper houses of the Philippine Legislature under the Philippine Organic Act of 1902. The minutes are among the Papers of James F. Smith in the Washington State Historical Society, Tacoma, Washington. The meeting, which took place in Baguio, was for the purpose of securing the Commission's concurrence with the Assembly's proposed joint resolution on the establishment of reciprocal free trade relations between the Philippine and the United States, as envisaged in section five of the Payne Bill. Quezon, who was the majority floor leader of the Assembly, was the chairman of the Assembly Committee, whose members included Assemblymen Macario Adriatico, Alberto Barreto, Vicente Singson Encar-

The "Donovan Minutes," as we may as well label the record, clearly document Quezon's then unequivocal stand and that of the Philippine Assembly on Philippine independence, and his vigorous defense of the economic interests of the Filipino people—both of which speak of his love of country or nationalism and his early concern for the present and future welfare of the masses.

nacion, Matias Gonzales, Salvador Laguda, Filemon Sotto and Juan Villamor. Gen. James F. Smith was the governor-general of the Philippines and concurrently president of the Philippine Commission, whose other members were Vice Governor-General Wm. Cameron Forbes, Commissioners Gregorio Araneta, Frank A. Branagan, Newton Gilbert, Rafael Palma, Juan Sumulong and Dean C. Worcester.

In transmitting a copy of the 42-page (legal size paper) typewritten minutes of the discussions to Governor-General Smith on August 9, 1909, Commission Secretary Wm. H. Donovan wrote:

This discussion was had without an interpreter and I utilized the services of a Spanish stenographer, but... he was undoubtedly confused and failed to do as well as he might have done otherwise. I translated and took note at the same time as a check on him, but you will realize that to make a running translation and write as fast as a man talks at the same time is at best not an easy matter. I send it to you....This record will not be printed in the (Commission) journal, but will be filed with other similar records in my office.

The "Donovan Minutes," as we may as well label the record, clearly document Quezon's then unequivocal stand and that of the Philippine Assembly on Philippine

independence, and his vigorous defense of the economic interests of the Filipino people—both of which speak of his love of country or nationalism and his early concern for the present and future welfare of the masses. While it may be presumed that Quezon had benefited from the contributions not only of his colleagues in the Assembly Committee but of other assemblymen as well, the view expressed in response to counter-arguments by the members of the Commission—particularly Smith, Forbes and Worcester—were spontaneous, and presumably unhearsd. They may thus be considered as intrinsically Quezon's.

The following were the Assembly's reasons for opposing free trade relations between the Philippines and the United States, as embodied in its Proposed Joint Resolution No. 37 and orally conveyed to the Commission by Quezon:

1. Free trade would be injurious and "detrimental" to economic interests of the Filipino people;
2. It would inevitably create a situation which could ultimately hamper the attainment of Philippine independence; and
3. It would result in a reduction in government revenues and the consequent curtailment of public services.

Quezon next amplified the Assembly's arguments against free trade separately. Free trade, he claimed, would certainly attract "powerful American companies to the (country) and would make American capital the absolute owner of the market." With no competition to hamper them, such companies would also take over Philippine agriculture because Filipino agriculturists, lacking capital, would then be unable to maintain themselves "in the midst of the circumstances" generated by free trade.

Shifting from generalities to specifics in an effort to be more convincing, Quezon dwelt on what could possibly happen to the sugar and tobacco industries. In the case of the former, he said that for the Filipino sugar farmers to be in a position to benefit fully from free trade, that is, to be able to export as much sugar to the United States, they would have to produce not only more sugar, naturally, but also sugar of much "better" quality than heretofore. They would be able to do so, however, only if they acquired modern mills or centrals like those in Hawaii and Puerto Rico; but since these cost a million dollars each, and considering the meager capital in their hands, no individual Filipino sugar planter or even a combination of them could acquire the modern machinery or plant. They therefore would have no choice but to go to the "sugar trusts," that is, huge American companies or monopolies which in the end would become owners of Philippine lands. "With respect to tobacco," Quezon continued, "the American trusts, competing with our industrialists would finally ruin them and, when they became masters of the situation, would impose their prices on tobacco until

the agriculturists would be compelled to sell them their lands."

What would happen next? Now owning the vast Philippine sugar and tobacco lands, Quezon assumed that American capitalists or trusts would naturally want to increase the production further. More laborers would be needed but there being dearth of such manpower locally, the companies would resort to the importation of foreign laborers, resulting, for sure, in Chinese "immigration to which.... the Assembly is decidedly against."

In sum, free trade would be detrimental to the economic and social interests of the Philippines. As Quezon put it, while rebutting the Commission's counter-claims — mainly Smith's, Forbes', and Worcester's—that free trade would not jeopardize any specific Philippine Agricultural products, let alone industries, and that it was absolutely necessary for the development of the Philippines: "it is the consequences of free trade that we wish to avoid, which as I said before, would be precisely the control of our commerce, for industry and of our agriculture by large companies from America."

Quezon categorically stated that he was against free trade because he believed that it would delay, perhaps forever, the independence of the Philippines.

It is all too clear that Quezon was stoutly defending the economic interests of the country—in essence the national patrimony. When pressed for a categorical answer as to whether he opposed the entry of American capital, he said that generally he was not, "but we desire its entry here in the form of prices for our agricultural products," especially sugar and tobacco.

Having reiterated the Assembly's economic reasons and fears, which included the possibility of free trade benefiting only a few foreign companies and not the entire Filipino people, as well as the specter of Chinese immigration, and retreating only slightly from the position he had previously taken, Quezon expectedly advocated as an alternative to free trade the one embodied in the Assembly's resolution: duty free admission into the United States of Filipino sugar and tobacco as well as hemp and copra (the last two actually were not charged any duties) and the admission into the Philippines, likewise duty free, of American machinery for agriculture, road-building, dredging, icemaking and the like. When told by Smith that this would be unacceptable, that if the Filipinos really opposed the trade, the free entry of the Philippine tobacco and sugar into the United States duty free would be denied, Quezon stated right then and there that if a choice were to be made between free trade and the closing of American market to Philippine sugar and tobacco, "it would be more advantageous for the country that the present state of affairs continue," rather than accept free trade. (Since 1902, Philippine sugar and tobacco had been enjoying a 25 percent reduction of the American tariff,

hardly a preferential treatment considering shipping and insurance costs.)

In his autobiography, *The Good Fight*, Quezon categorically stated that he was against free trade because he believed that it would delay, perhaps forever, the independence of the Philippines. The "Donovan Minutes" provide corroborating evidence of Quezon's claim. I have demonstrated in my book, *The Filipino Reaction to American Rule, 1901-1913*, that this claim is open to exception and that the Assembly's official political argument against free trade was not initially his but had been provided by the former *Federalistas*, one time advocates of perpetual union with the United States, albeit by 1909 already in favor of ultimate independence as *Progresistas*. Still, one cannot but consider the record as honestly expressive of his own nationalist faith—at least, at that time. It is therefore equally important to summarize Quezon's elaboration of the Assembly's contention that free trade would ultimately impede the attainment of Philippine independence.

Quezon posited that free trade would inevitably strengthen the "bonds of union between both countries... from an economic point of view," what with "more American interests" being created in the Philippines. This situation would augment the already existing impediments—a "greater" one would develop, he said—to the "obtainment of our independence." In what way? Quezon had a ready explanation:

"It is simply natural, simply logical, to suppose that American capital would consider itself better protected, better supported, under the

Government of the United States of America, then under an independent Filipino Government, and therefore that it would prefer to remain under the protection of the star-spangled banner, than under a Filipino banner, for many reasons that it is unnecessary to enumerate. Suffice it to say that those capitalists, at least, might allege in favor of their theory that experience has already been had of the protection that not only capital but also labor receives under the Government of the United States, and that it is not yet known what would be the protection that that capital might receive from a new Government, a government without experience, as would be an independent Filipino government."

In reply to Smith's and Forbes' counter-arguments that free trade, precisely because it would result in the rapid economic development of the Philippines and therefore give it the financial capability to maintain its independence, could not and would not be an impediment to the attainment of that independence, Quezon countered by saying that "history shows that no colony where many interests of the home country have become established had become independent." He even went to the extent of saying that the Filipino people, speaking through the Assembly and himself, preferred "a slow prosperity which is to lead us to independence, rather than a rapid progress which is to make us renounce it perpetually." Becoming emotional, or sentimental, Quezon told his interlocutors of his being fully aware "....that the policy America has followed in the Philippines is a policy without precedent in the history of humanity; that for the first time in the life of peoples a case arises where a powerful country retains another, not to subjugate nor

exploit it but to emancipate it and make it prosperous. The Assembly fears, however, that, once the large trusts are owners of the national wealth of the Philippines, their power may reach the extreme of preventing the administration from carrying out its humane purposes."

Quezon thus joined the economic and political consequences of free trade.

Quezon's social consciousness — his concern for the common *tao*—, or the great masses of the people—stands out in bold relief as he elaborated on the economic and financial reasons behind the Philippine Assembly's opposition to the free trade. While conceding that free trade would attract "powerful American companies to the Philippines" with the subsequent "promotion of the sources of wealth of the country," he nevertheless gravely doubted whether "such would redound to the general benefit of the country;" on the contrary, he believed that free trade would "only (be) of benefit to those large (American) companies."

To Quezon such a situation would be unfortunate. He welcomed the economic development of the Philippines, all right, but not with a tiny minority—and most likely a foreign one at that—benefiting mainly if not solely from such a development. All the inhabitants of the country, including the Americans and other foreigners, must share in the economic prosperity of the country. There should be no wealthy oligarchs, or a "plutocratic people," to use Quezon's words; instead, "even the mass of the people should be prosperous." Free trade, in Quezon's view would only generate contrary outcomes. Quezon's sense of social justice, bordering

on complete egalitarianism, led him to prefer, in lieu of rapid development of the nation's wealth through free trade but which only redound to the benefit of some or a few people, "the slow progress (of the Philippines) which would distribute the national wealth among all the social classes."

Forbes, in arguing strongly that the Filipino leaders were wrong in their strong opposition to free trade, adverted to the great stride that the Porto Rican economy had made since the onset of free trade relations with the United States. To this Quezon replied that he was also familiar with Porto Rico's economic development—through statistics—but that he did not know what the condition of the Porto Ricans was. "I would like to know," he addressed Forbes, "whether the great development of the national wealth of Porto Rico has redounded to the benefit of the Porto Ricans themselves or not, that is, whether the common people had bettered their condition or not."

As pointed out earlier, Quezon stated that the Assembly was not opposed "in a general way, (to) the coming of American and foreign capital" into the Philippines. It nevertheless "desires to regulate the investment of such capital in order that, while it brings benefit to the capitalists, it may redound to the detriment of the natives." But since the all-Filipino Assembly was not the sole law making power, let alone in control of the government, "it is natural that (it) should entertain fears for the consequences of an avalanche of capital here."

A final proof of Quezon's social consciousness in general and concern for the poor in particular was his argument that free trade

MANUEL L. QUEZON AND THE PHILIPPINE CONSTITUTION**

Some thirty years ago, 202 public figures set about the task of writing a constitution for the soon to be born Commonwealth of the Philippines. The document that was created by this joint endeavor has weathered well and has required a minimum of repair. Just twice have amendments been added. Though judicial decisions have broadened or refined the meaning of many articles and sections, the basic constitution remains largely as written by the delegates. When compared with the history of many foreign constitutions, the Philippine charter has been a grand success. As President of the Philippine Senate in 1934, and acknowledged leader of the country, Manuel L. Quezon played a major role in the creation of the Constitution. This article will discuss the part played by Quezon at three significant points in Philippine constitutional history; the writing of the Constitution in 1934 and 1935; the amending of the charter in 1939 and 1940; and during the crisis over suspension of the presidential succession section of the Constitution in 1943.

Before turning directly to the subject of Quezon and the Constitution, we should mention a few problems that face the historian, particularly the alien historian, when it comes to dealing with Manuel L. Quezon. First of all that magnificent monature. It represents in many ways the collective judgment of the Filipino people on the worth of Quezon;

and it is a rallying point for those who wish to promote further national unity. To the author, the Quezon Monument is really a tribute to the man who represented that ideal to the nation. The monument is also a tribute to the generation of the 1930's which preferred self-rule, with its attendant political and economic uncertainties, to the not-too-harsh existence of a colonial dependency. If we may interpret the meaning of the Quezon Monument in these terms, it will allow us a certain logical consistency when dealing with Philippine political history. It is almost a truism that nations do not normally honor politicians with national monuments; they save these edifices for those they elevate to the pantheon of national heroes, or they use the structure to remind later generations of a significant landmark in their history. The Washington Monument in the United States capital and Independence Hall in Philadelphia are such reminders for Americans. Filipinos have the Rizal Monument, the Mabini Shrine, the Katipunan Monument in Caloocan City, and the Quezon Monument to remind them of the revolutionary tradition and the independence ideal. This point is stressed because we look upon Manuel L. Quezon as a statesman and a politician, with an emphasis upon the latter role.

Because Filipino writers so far have not used the Quezon manuscripts as a basis for their research, and because the term

"politician" or "political partisan" sounds denigrating to many people, there has been a tendency to ignore this basic fact about Manuel L. Quezon—he was a politician. As such he sought elective office for the usual reasons: the desire to serve, the desire to wield power, the desire for ego satisfaction. And while his record of 40 years of service stands open for all to admire, his papers and the recollections of those who worked with him give ample testimony that Quezon thoroughly enjoyed wielding power. In May 1939, he told a group of Nacionalista associates just how he felt about power when it came to being President of the Philippine Commonwealth:

To tell the truth gentlemen, I should like to continue being President of the Philippines if I were sure I would live one hundred years. Have you ever known of anyone who voluntarily renounced power unless it was for a lady that, in his opinion, was more important than power itself, or because of the threatening attitude of the people? Everybody likes power. It is the greatest urge of human nature—power. I like to exercise power....¹

In the wielding of his political power Quezon worked within a hierarchy of interests: the national welfare, the advancement of the Nacionalista Party, his own personal goals. In time, as is inevitable with strong leaders who control powerful officers over long

*Dr. Gerald E. Wheeler was a Fulbright-Hays Lecturer in History at the University of the Philippines during the academic year 1963-1964. He is a Professor of History at San Jose State College (California).

**This article is a reprint from the Historical Bulletin, Vol. VIII No. 1, March 1964.

periods, the lines between the various interests Quezon served became blurred. National welfare, party advancement, and personal aggrandizement were merged. At the end of his life Manuel Quezon firmly believed that what was good for him politically was good for his beloved Filipinos as well.

The author has taken this brief excursion "Inside Manuel Quezon" because the central theme of this paper deals with Quezon's handling of the Philippine Constitution to achieve political ends. Basic to such a discussion is the general acceptance of the fact that among the many labels used to classify the illustrious Filipino leader the one marked "politician" must also be applied.

The Tydings-McDuffie Act,² passed by the United States Congress on March 24, 1934, provided for the establishment of a transitory government to be called the Commonwealth of the Philippines. The Act also called for the writing of a Philippine Constitution for the government of the Commonwealth. While the Independence Act gave plenary power to the Filipinos to create whatever type of organization best suited to their needs, it did require that the new constitution provide a government that would be "republican in form", have a bill of rights, have appended to the constitution certain economic provisions of the Tydings-McDuffie Law, and be acceptable to the President of the United States. Implicit in the Tydings Act was the fact that the new constitution could not depart too radically from democratic constitutional parties throughout the world.

As might be expected, Senate President Manuel Quezon was

deeply interested in the constitution that was to be written. He had pressed the United States Congress for the Tydings-McDuffie Act; and on May 1, 1934 the Philippine Government accepted the Independence Act in the name of the Filipino people. Following this action the legislature passed a convention bill calling for the election of 202 delegates to a Constituent Assembly.³ Governor General Frank Murphy set July 10, 1934 as the election day for the delegates. Quezon declined to stand for election to the convention and in this he was joined by Senator Sergio Osmeña, the leader of the minority group in the legislature. Both men urged that the partisanship so rampant in the previous years be set aside and that the people choose the delegates on the basis of their individual worth.⁴ Despite the fact that various candidates played down their party affiliations, the Constitutional Convention was dominated by Quezon's wing of the Nacionalista Party, the Antis, when it was called to order on July 30, 1934.

In the months between the passage of the Independence Act and the meeting of the convention a variety of people and interest groups began to press upon Quezon their views about the future constitution. The Young Philippines Party, for instance, met in convention early in July and passed a series of resolutions describing a constitution that would please it.⁵

The Director of the National Library, Teodoro Kalaw, gathered materials on earlier Philippine and foreign constitutions and had these printed for the delegates. He also drafted a model constitution that he believed would meet Filipino needs.⁶ And from America the Reverend John Burke, C.S.P., an old friend of Quezon suggested that religious instruction in the public schools be made mandatory in the constitution. Even more interestingly he called for a "declaration on human rights" to be placed in the document; and he concluded:

I would wish that in the economic, social provisions of such a constitution the responsibility of capitalism to the Government be expressed; that the rights of private property be recognized; that the principles of collective bargain which would give a voice to organized labor, be laid down⁷

Quite obviously the Nacionalista leader did not lack for advice.

Because of his position of leadership, the press regularly asked for Quezon's views about the future constitution and in general he stated only broad principles. But from a hint here, a press statement there, and an occasional formal interview, the delegates and the Filipino people were able to piece together a fairly good picture of a document that would suit the Senate President. If we were to

I would wish that in the economic, social provisions of such a constitution the responsibility of capitalism to the Government be expressed; that the rights of private property be recognized; that the principles of collective bargain which would give a voice to organized labor, be laid down.

draft a list of Quezon's views, it would contain these observations:

1. The constitution should parallel America's as closely as practicable. Since Filipino legislators had been trained under American laws, there was no sense in rejecting this experience. President Franklin Roosevelt had to sign the constitution before it could be submitted for popular approval in the Philippines; thus there would be no risk taken that he might reject it.¹
2. The Constitutional Convention should eschew the introduction of novel and untried ideas. Quezon wanted a conservative document based on experience. To him stability was a most vital quality for a government and thus experiments that could introduce instability should be shunned. Quezon stated it this way to the convention at its opening:

...This schooling in American political institutions is to us a most valuable asset. It would be dangerous and venturesome to reject it for the sake of new and untried theories... It would not be advisable to indulge in the experimentation of those ideas of government that are known to us only from book-reading.²

3. The American tripartite separation of powers should be followed. The President's term should be for six years without immediate reelection. The legislature should be bicameral with the Senate elected on a national or "at-large" basis. The judiciary should be independent of the other two branches of government and must be completely free of political pressure.¹⁰

These views of Quezon were generally known by the time the convention opened. While he had decreed that politics should not be a factor in the election of the

delegates, it was. On the eve of the convention's opening the Nacionalista President demonstrated the presence of partisanship when he called for a caucus of his party members. He admitted that the Antis held a majority in the convention; he therefore assumed that the party would have to accept responsibility for the document that was written. He welcomed minority support, and he insisted that the minority be consulted at every stage; but the Anti wing of the Nacionalistas would call the tune.¹¹ In political negotiations with the Pros who were led by Manuel A. Roxas, it was agreed that Claro M. Recto, a Quezon partisan, would be permanent convention chairman and Ruperto Montinola, a Pro from Iloilo, would be vice-chairman.¹² It was through the illustrious Don Claro that Quezon let his wishes be known to the convention. In justice to Recto, it should be noted that he was no mere mouthpiece for the Nacionalista President and on several occasions he pursued courses of action quite contrary to those preferred by Quezon.

Quezon wanted a conservative document based on experience. To him stability was a most vital quality for a government and thus experiments that could introduce instability should be shunned.

In the course of the six month convention Quezon's views were expressed with increasing frequency. After the opening he left for America and his stand on various issues came through epistles to his Nacionalista disciples. He was back in the Philippines for the final month when the constitution assumed its

definitive form at the hands of the general convention and the Special Committee on Style. While in Manila, Quezon was easily accessible to the Convention because his office was close at hand in the same building; but in the last week of the sessions the Senate President almost became a convention member as he sat in with the Special Committee on Style during some of its deliberations.

It would be tedious to catalogue all of the occasions in the constitutional debates where Manuel Quezon intruded his views, but a few of the more significant instances should be noted. When the rather heated questions of whether the Philippine Legislature should be bicameral or unicameral erupted, Quezon stood with bicameralists — provided the Senate were elected on an at-large basis. He argued in a letter to Recto, portions of which were read to the convention, that such a Senate would allow the nation to select its best minds for that body regardless of where they lived.¹³ However, because the bicameralists could not agree on the electoral basis for the Senate, the unicameralists won by default. Later, when he had returned from America, Quezon pressed the delegates for a reconsideration of the question; but too many decisions had been reached and the delegates were in no mood to reverse themselves.¹⁴ Several reasons can be advanced to explain why Quezon preferred a bicameral legislature. His own experience lay with such a body; America's congress was bicameral; and a small body like the Senate could easily become a powerful president's legislative arm. The more cumbersome National Assembly would be much more difficult to control absolutely. Quezon's interest in a Senate elected at-large

can also be explained politically. While such a system would allow the best people to stand for election, regardless of residence, it would also give the president or party leader a freer hand in selecting the person he would desire to have run under the party label.

When it came to representation in the National Assembly, once the die had been cast for unicameralism, Quezon also had some decided views. He wanted the non-Christian areas (Sulu, Lanao, Cotabato, Mountain Province) represented by appointive assemblymen. This would insure that the more literate Christians were not the only ones representing these areas.¹⁵ Quezon also pressed the delegates not to try to describe the Assembly districts in the constitution. He believed the actual boundaries could best be drawn by later legislation.¹⁶ Such legislation, at least when judged by American political experience, usually results in "gerrymandering" and therefore normally redounds to the benefit of the majority party that drafted the district lines.

During the convention Quezon expressed himself negatively on several important occasions. While supporting the principle that labor and the retail industries should be nationalized (Filipinized), Quezon hesitated to write such provisions into the constitution in the manner suggested by many delegates. Men like Salvador Araneta called for a constitutional requirement that 75 percent of the capital in industrial, retail, or agricultural enterprises be held by Filipinos or Americans. Other delegates suggested that similar economic enterprises must draw at least 75 percent of their

labor force from Philippine citizens or Americans. Quezon did not disagree with these proposals in principle, but he did not recognize that they could cause retaliation from countries whose nationals were affected.¹⁷ Even more importantly, such provisions could contravene existing American commercial treaties and thus the American president would be forced to reject the final document. Above all things, Quezon wanted a constitution that would be quickly signed by Franklin Roosevelt. Delay in the establishment of the Commonwealth could lead to other legislation by the American Congress that might be antithetical to the Filipino interests.

In the end, the Philippine Constitution did reflect almost everything that Quezon desired. The unicameral legislature was an experiment to a halt. The constitution did have some articles in it that departed radically from the American model, the provision for compulsory military or civil service is a good example.¹⁸ But on the whole the document was one that fitted Quezon's prescription—conservative and easily accepted by President Franklin Roosevelt. Here we can judge that Quezon was working in his most statesmanlike manner. There definitely was danger in delay. After the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, and even before the Constitutional Convention opened, the American Congress passed legislation setting excise taxes on Philippine sugar and coconut oil. It was one-sided legislation, offensive to Filipinos and fairminded Americans alike, but Congress was insistent.¹⁹ The only protection against more legislation of this caliber would be the launching of the Commonwealth Government and this

required a constitution. Manuel Quezon saw to it that first things came first.

When we turn to the 1940 amendments to the Philippine Constitution, actually passed by the National Assembly in 1939, we can observe more politics and less statesmanship at work in Malacañang. The movement to amend the constitution began soon after the inauguration of the Commonwealth Government on November 15, 1935. By the summer of 1939 the pressure for change was intense enough that a special session of the National Assembly was called to consider the matter. During 1939 two major proposals had received considerable public examination. One suggestion would abandon unicameralism and return to a two house legislature with a Senate elected at-large. The second matter that had arisen was whether the limitation of one presidential term of six years should be changed. A third constitutional proposal, one that received less publicity than the other two, was to create an electoral commission to control national elections.²⁰ At the center of the amendments controversy was Manuel L. Quezon, now President of the Philippine Commonwealth.

As we have noted, Quezon had expressed several times during the 1934-35 convention that he was not pleased with the Senate elected on at-large basis. Some three and a half years working with the Assembly had shown that he could master the body, but such control was rooted in an iron grip on his party. Were a strong minority to emerge, or possibly an opposition party gain control of the National Assembly, it would be possible to hold the president in check and frustrate his legislative programs.

With the Commission on Appointments (a committee within the Assembly) in opposition hands, the president's appointments would be jeopardized and his patronage power severely curtailed. Were he to press too hard he could be removed by impeachment process which was National Assembly controlled. Practically speaking, the Assembly, if in opposition hands, could act in the manner of parliamentary governments and show "no confidence" in the president by threatening impeachment or actually doing it. While these considerations were rather remote in 1939, a strong president like Quezon had to look ahead. In public speeches, news conferences, and finally in two messages to the National Assembly, Quezon stressed the desire to have a body that could "take a second look" at legislative proposals. Also the president believed that the Assembly represented constituencies that were too small. A senator, elected at-large, would have the whole country for his constituency and not just a small group of people in a confined geographical area. Whenever asked, Quezon always stated that provision for a Senate was his primary legislative interest.²¹ By February 1938 Quezon had gone so far as to inquire informally of President Roosevelt whether he would object to such an amendment; the American president could see no objection at all if that was what the Filipino wanted.²²

The proposal to change the presidential office term was quite openly rooted in the desire of many people to see Quezon continue as president beyond six years. The Philippine president normally reacted to questions in this area by saying that he had bought a farm in the Mount Arayat area of

Pampanga and he hoped to retire to it in 1941 at the close of his six years in office.²³ But when the proposals became more concrete, particularly to shorten his own six year term to four years, Quezon had another answer. He would have to seek reelection to a second term of four years in order to fill out the six years to which he had been elected; otherwise he would be abandoning those who voted him in office for six years. He also disliked the idea of having the term of an elected official shortened, even by the amending process, and thus his sense of honor would require him to stand for election to a second four year term.²⁴

The pressures for constitutional amendment eventually caused President Quezon to send a special message to the National Assembly on May 15, 1939. He asked it to pass legislation calling a constitutional convention. He admitted that the presidential term would be the primary business before the convention; but he also wanted this body to change the legislative system and create an elections commission. He warned the Assembly, and here we must question the president's sincerity, that he would not run for reelection if the Constitution were amended by that body rather than a convention of delegates fresh from the people.²⁵ On Quezon's mind, of course, were accusations that the National Assembly was so thoroughly controlled by him—through the party machinery—that amending the constitution was really no more difficult than passing any law he desired. Actually, as we shall see, this was true. Despite his warning, the Assembly called for a special session to meet on August 16, 1939 to consider amendments to the Philippine Constitution.

Whereas the constitutional convention of 1934-35 had tried to avoid open partisanship, the same spirit did not surround the passage of the new amendments. In the first week of July the Nacionalista Party held a convention in Manila to decide what would be the party policy on the amendments. The party, under the leadership of Speaker Jose Yulo, decided that the constitution should be amended by the special session of the National Assembly. By avoiding a constitutional convention, there would be no representation of minor political interests, and thus the amendments proposed would be solely those satisfactory to the Nacionalistas.²⁶ The party convention also accepted a formula, arranged by Minority Floor Leader Quintin Paredes, whereby the presidential term would be reduced to four years with one reelection permitted. The convention also resolved that President Quezon should continue for the two four-year terms. In the course of the debates and informal discussion on the so-called "Paredes Formula" it became increasingly clear that the party was looking far ahead. It was accepted that Quezon would be reelected in 1941 and would step down on November 15, 1943 at the end of his eighth year. The Vice-President would then serve for two years as president. In 1945 Quezon would be eligible for election again, and under the constitution he would be president when the Commonwealth ended on July 4, 1946 and the Republic began.²⁷

By the time the special session of the National Assembly convened on August 16th, party discipline and Malacañang pressure had assured that the amendments could be passed with little fuss. In fact the amending of the presidential term was so completely agreed

upon that the Nacionalista leaders decided to pass the resolution on their president's birthday, August 19th.²⁰ The framing of the three basic amendments (the election commission included), and the necessary detailed modification of their constitutional articles to make the document consistent throughout, took a month. On September 16, 1939, Quezon congratulated the Assembly for its fine work and with a bit of unconscious irony praised that body for voluntarily agreeing to share its power with the newly created Senate.²¹

While the National Assembly easily passed the constitutional amendments, this did not mean that there was no popular opposition to them. The dissident elements were not represented in the Assembly, but they could and did campaign against popular acceptance of the amendments when put to a plebiscite. Despite the vigorous campaigning of those opposed, in the early summer of 1940 the amendments received the necessary popular approval. They could now be sent to President Roosevelt for final acceptance. Here we find a little story that helps to illuminate what is really an academic question: was President Quezon more interested in the revival of the Senate or the changing of the presidential term?

Before the National Assembly met in August 1939, Quezon had steadily reiterated that his concern was with the Senate question. But the party convention in July brought the two issues into clearer perspective: the Nacionalistas were most interested in the presidential term, and they resolved that Quezon should seek reelection.²² In his message to the special session in August, President Quezon admitted that the presidential term problem was

what had brought them back to Manila. Finally, in the campaign for the amendments, the party speakers stressed the theme of allowing Quezon more time in office. Yet this does not answer the question. We can see how the Nacionalistas and those who supported the amendments felt; but what about the Commonwealth President?

During the summer and fall of 1940 Quezon and the new United States High Commissioner, Francis B. Sayre, fell into a war of words over the amendments and the question of whether the Commonwealth President needed the emergency powers that the National Assembly had voted him. To Sayre and other American officials, and to the liberal sector of the American press, the new amendments and the request for emergency powers appeared to be the opening steps in a power grab by Quezon. There was much talk of the beginnings of a dictatorship. The Filipino president suspected, incorrectly, that Sayre had asked President Roosevelt to veto the amendments.²³ A newspaper quarrel commenced over whether the American president had the right to veto the amendments.²⁴ Through it all it was clearly evident that Quezon was most concerned about the presidential term amendment. In the end, once the American elections of 1940 were past the issue of an extended American presidential term had died down. Roosevelt approved the amendments. He even joked with Jose Yulo a bit about complaints in some quarters that Quezon was setting up a dictatorship; but he assured the Speaker and Resident Commissioner Joaquin Elizalde that he had faith in Quezon's democracy.²⁵ In fairness to Quezon, it should be noted that many Americans had more concern

about democracy in America after Franklin Roosevelt's third term victory than they had for democracy in the Philippines.

The final situation to be examined concerns the problem of presidential succession within the Commonwealth Government in exile during World War II. Here the story involves the question of whether the Philippine Constitution should be suspended in order that Quezon might remain in office past the eight year limit which would arrive on November 15, 1943. Pursuant to the 1940 amendment, Vice President Osmeña would step up to the presidency on that day and Quezon would become a private citizen for the first time in almost 40 years, would step up to the presidency on

In the spring and early summer of 1942 Quezon, Osmeña and a portion of Quezon's cabinet were evacuated from the Philippines and brought to Washington to constitute a Philippine Commonwealth Government in exile. This movement was undertaken at the orders of President Roosevelt; and the purpose of the exile government was to keep before the world evidence of Philippine resistance to the Japanese. In terms of international law, the Quezon government became the *de jure* government of the Philippines and the Japanese occupation government was the *de facto* government.²⁶ German to the discussion that follows was the fact that the constitutional government in the Islands had been interrupted, but constitutional processes were being carried on in Washington despite the absence of the judicial and legislative branches of the Commonwealth Government. Very obviously the question of presidential succession had several dimensions to it beyond the personal fortunes of

Manuel Quezon and Sergio Osmeña. In American government circles the basic question asked was whether Quezon's leaving office would affect the conduct of war and the morale of the Philippine guerrilla resistance movement. For partisan-minded Filipinos the questions turned on how Quezon's continuance would affect post-war politics in the Philippines.

Among American government officials there was a general reluctance to set aside the Philippine Constitution in order to continue Quezon as president. To State Department and Interior Department officials, including both secretaries, it seemed inconsistent to be fighting for democratic government throughout the world and at the same time deny a man (Osmeña) his legal office.³⁷ However President Roosevelt, Secretary of War Henry Stimson, and General Douglas MacArthur saw things differently. All were agreed, and the president was most insistent, that the war effort would be hampered were Quezon to step down.³⁸ Despite the obvious difficulties, Quezon had continued his contacts with Filipino resistance leaders like Tomas Confesor, Carlos P. Garcia, and Macario Peralta. These men were keeping the message alive that Quezon was still in power, that Americans would help to rehabilitate the Philippines, and that in the not too distant future the American counter attack would begin. MacArthur believed that to substitute Osmeña for Quezon could jeopardize everything — Quezon agreed.

In the Commonwealth Government the problem of succession boiled over during October 1943. Vice President Osmeña was informed that there was a

succession question to be settled and he assumed that he would take over on November 15th. In a series of letters between the two men the fine points of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, the Philippine Constitution, international law, military policy, and good sportsmanship were examined. Copies of each exchange were dutifully sent to President Roosevelt to keep him informed.

Basic to Quezon's argument was the fact that the constitutional government of the Commonwealth had been terminated when the Japanese took over. Under the Tydings-McDuffie Law, appended to the Philippine Constitution, there was a provision that the President of the United States could suspend the Philippine Constitution when constitutional government was impossible. Quezon also argued that when Roosevelt ordered him out of the Philippines he meant that he should continue as president of the Commonwealth until he returned to the Islands. As a rather cutting filip to the argument, Quezon noted that Roosevelt had not invited Osmeña to Washington and obviously had not planned to have Don Sergio take over the presidency. It might be added that Quezon's letters to Osmeña fairly bristled with the usual sharp language that the fiery Filipino reserved for errant subordinates.³⁹ The Philippine Vice-President was not cowed in the least by Quezon's argument. He steadfastly maintained that constitutional government did exist in Washington, in fact both Presidents Roosevelt and Quezon had assured the Filipinos in a Washington Day address earlier that year that this was the case. Thus there was no legal basis for the American president to set aside the Philippine Constitution. Osmeña agreed that

political-military considerations could not be ignored. If the military leaders stated that Quezon should remain in office, then the American Congress should be approached to pass appropriate legislation. Osmeña insisted on one point, however, the Philippine Constitution was quite clear on who should be in office; if Quezon was to continue as president, the Philippine Constitution had to be suspended. Osmeña did not feel that he should ask for such action; he would find it hard to justify it when both finally returned to the homeland.⁴⁰ Politically speaking, neither man wanted to be on record recommending the suspension of the law of his land.

Quezon was further hemmed in by another consideration. He could not ask to have President Roosevelt or Congress suspend the Philippine Constitution — this would appear to be self-serving activity. On the other hand, neither President Roosevelt nor the Congress felt it could act without being formally asked by the Filipinos. Thus the burden to decide fell on Sergio Osmeña and he insisted that his own right to the office of Commonwealth President was beyond question.

On November 3, 1943 the whole problem was brought into the open by President Quezon at a cabinet meeting. No one present would take sides and Quezon dismissed the group. Osmeña then talked privately with Quezon and let him know that he would step aside if Quezon wanted it that way. Psychologically Osmeña had the upper hand — Quezon would have to ask to stay on. Quezon simply replied "Tu cuidao, tu cuidao." (It's up to you).⁴¹ The next day Osmeña talked with Senator Millard Tydings and on November 5th he brought to Quezon and the cabinet

a letter he had drafted. It was addressed to Senator Millard Tydings and Representative Jasper Bell, both being chairmen of the congressional committees concerned with Philippine affairs. In the letter, which was eventually signed by Quezon, Osmeña and the Cabinet (Quezon signing last), the United States Congress was asked to take whatever action it deemed best to clear up the succession question.⁴ The resultant action was Senate Joint Resolution 95, signed by President Roosevelt on November 12, 1943. The Philippine constitutional provisions concerning the presidency were suspended; President Quezon and Vice-President Osmeña would continue in their respective offices until constitutional government was again restored to the Philippines.

The resolution had passed the Senate unanimously on November 9th but in the House of Representatives there was heavy opposition to it. Filipinos in America, particularly those in California, were opposed to suspending the constitution and several of these Pinoy appeared before the congressional committees to state their opposition to the proposed change. On the final day of debate in the House, Vice-President Osmeña was asked by Representative Bell how he felt about the resolution. In his traditionally straightforward manner Osmeña said he would abide by any decision reached; but if Mr. Bell wanted to know his honest views he need only to read the letters that Osmeña had sent to Quezon on the subject, and he enclosed them for ready reference.⁵

Some writers have described this episode as "Osmeña's finest hour"; perhaps it would be more appropriate to call it "Quezon's

worst hour." The clue to Quezon's conduct—his aggressive attempt to deny the presidency to Osmeña—perhaps lies in a chance remark made during that bitter cabinet meeting of November 3, 1943. He directed the attention of the group to a personally autographed photograph that President Roosevelt had given him the year before when the exiles arrived from the Philippines. The inscription promised that Quezon would be returned in triumph. Quezon told the group that "I construed (it) to mean that I will be President until I return to the Philippines, for it is obvious that I cannot return in triumph if I were to return as a private citizen." To return to the Islands as Citizen Quezon was unthinkable; and the thought of Osmeña returning in triumph, to reap the political harvest that would attend such an act, undoubtedly drove Quezon to grip his office as if it were life itself. In terms of the man from Tayabas, it was. But whether suspension of the Philippine Constitution was necessary is now a moot question. The hand of God intervened on August 1, 1944; and it was Don Sergio who waded ashore near Tacloban on October 20, 1944.

At the beginning of this paper we noted that Manuel Quezon was a politician whose natural responses fitted that breed of man. He did influence the framing of the Philippine Constitution in many ways that would make it easier for him to wield political power. Yet his greatest influence was a conservative one; he saw to it that the document would be an acceptable one in America. For that moment in Philippine history, it was hard not to conclude that this was a worthy goal. From this brief study we can also conclude that the 1940 amendments to the

Constitution and the succession crisis of 1943 were products of Quezon's ambition to keep the reins of government in his hands. Here we might note that two Americans, at different times and under different circumstances, advised against the actions that Quezon took. His old friend Roy Howard, the owner of Scripps-Howard newspaper chain, advised the Commonwealth President to bow out at six years and not force the amending of the constitution. Howard believed that Quezon's place in history was secure and he could retire confident that he had served his country best by stepping aside.⁶ Four years later, during the House debate on Senate Joint Resolution 95, Representative Walter Judd of Minnesota expressed the belief that Manuel Quezon should not be extended in office. Judd predicted that Quezon's prestige would be further enhanced by his retiring rather than seeing the Philippine Constitution set aside.⁷ In both cases, as we have seen, President Quezon ignored the advice that was proffered so gratuitously. Pragmatically speaking, the Quezon Monument is a judgment on Manuel Quezon's conduct and services to his country; unfortunately edifices of such grandeur are seldom constructed to those "who also stand and wait."

END NOTES

¹"Speech in honor of Floor Leader Quintin Paredes," (typescript) Malacañan, May 22, 1939. Manuel L. Quezon Manuscripts, National Library, Ermita, Manila, (Hereafter cited as Quezon MSS.)

²U.S. Congress, "To provide for the complete independence of the Philippine Islands..." *Public Law No. 127 (H.R. 8573)*. 73rd Congress, approved March 24, 1934.

³The basic facts concerning the Constitutional Convention are taken

from Jose M. Aruego's extremely valuable study, *The framing of the Philippine Constitution*, 2 vols. (Manila, 1936).

¹⁰"Interview by Mr. Boguslav of the Tribune," (typescript) Manila, June 18, 1934. Quezon MSS.

¹¹"Platform of the 'Young Philippines' Adopted by the First National Convention, Manila, July 1, 1934." Quezon MSS.

¹²"Biblioteca Nacional de Filipinas, *Planes Constitucionales Para Filipinas*, Teodoro M. Kalaw, ed. (Manila, 1934). On June 7, 1934 Kalaw gave Quezon a draft of a constitution which he had put together based on a variety of sources. In his letter he mentioned the conservative quality of what he had written: "Debemos en lo posible aceptar las teorías americanas (algun tanto conservadoras) para asegurar la aprobación." Teodoro M. Kalaw to Manuel L. Quezon, Manila, June 7, 1934. Quezon MSS.

¹³Rev. John J. Burke, C.S.P., to Manuel L. Quezon, Washington, D.C., June 16, 1934. Quezon MSS.

¹⁴"Interview by Mr. Boguslav," op. cit.

¹⁵"Speech by President Quezon before the Constitutional Assembly," (typescript) July 30, 1934. Quezon MSS.

¹⁶"Statement by President Quezon," (typescript) June 22, 1934. Quezon MSS. See also R. A. Smith, "Osmeña back Quezon's positions on conservative constitution," (date line July 8, 1934) in *New York Times*, August 12, 1934.

¹⁷"Caucus de delegados a la asamblea constituyente celebrado en el salón del senado el día Domingo, 29 de Julio de 1934," (typescript). Quezon MSS.

¹⁸Aruego, op. cit., I 48-51.

¹⁹*The Tribune*, November 2, 1934; Aruego, op. cit., I 237-9.

²⁰Aruego, op. cit., 242.

²¹*Ibid.*, 247-9.

²²*Ibid.*, 245.

²³Aruego, op. cit., II 654-63.

²⁴Quezon publicly supported this feature in the Constitution with addresses before the Convention on February 5, 1935 and the University

of the Philippines on February 12, 1935. Aruego, op. cit., I 140-1.

²⁵Garel A. Grunder and William E. Livezey, *The Philippines and the United States* (Norman, Okla., 1951), pp. 223-4. In a letter to a close friend, an American newspaperman, Quezon lamented after the passage of the coconut oil tax: "It is inconceivable to me that such a great people as the American people should place their fate in the hands of so provincial and short-sighted legislators. It may well be said that America can only suffer the mistakes of her own sons." Manuel L. Quezon to Roy W. Howard, Honolulu, T.H., April 12, 1934. Quezon MSS.

²⁶"Commonwealth of the Philippines. 'Message of ... Quezon ... to the Second National Assembly (May 15, 1939) on Proposed Constitutional Amendments,'" in *Messages of the President*, Vol. 5, Part I (Manila, 1941), pp. 300-05.

²⁷*The Sunday Tribune*, July 9, 1939. See also transcript of "Speech before the public school teachers of Manila" (June 7 1939). Quezon MSS; "Speech in honor of Floor Leader Quintin Paredes," (typescript) Malacanán, May 22, 1939.

²⁸Manuel Quezon to Quintin Paredes (radio), Manila, March 2, 1938. Quezon MSS.

²⁹Manuel Quezon to Roy W. Howard, Manila, May 13, 1939. Quezon MSS.

³⁰"Minutes of Press Conference of August 5, 1939," (typescript). Quezon MSS.

³¹"Message... (May 15, 1939)..." pp. 302-3.

³²*The Tribune*, June 14, 1939.

³³*The Tribune*, July 8, 1939; August 6, 1939.

³⁴"Re-election to be voted as birthday gift," *The Tribune*, August 12, 1939.

³⁵"Commonwealth of the Philippines, 'Press Statement of ... Quezon ... on the National Assembly's Approval of Proposed Amendments ... (September 16, 1939),' in *Messages of the President*, Vol. 5, Part I (Manila, 1941), p. 466.

³⁶*The Tribune*, July 1, 1939.

³⁷Sayre wrote a long letter to President Roosevelt in which he recommended that the amendments be

signed; but he believed that they were "unnecessary, undemocratic and inadvisable." Francis B. Sayre to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Manila, July 25, 1940. Department of Interior, Division of Territories and Island Possessions, File Box 3. U.S. National Archives. State department's concern over the status of democracy in the Philippines was reflected in a "Memorandum from the Division of Philippine Affairs," File 811b.001 Quezon/146, August 15, 1940. U.S. National Archives. Typical of periodical writing hostile to Quezon was "The Filipinos Surrender to Dictatorship," (ed.) *The Christian Century*, September 25, 1940, p. 1163.

³⁸The Quezon-Sayre dispute over whether President Roosevelt had the power to veto Philippine constitutional amendments was reviewed in the *Manila Daily Bulletin*, December 10, 1940.

³⁹Joaquin Elizalde to Manuel Quezon (radio), Washington, D.C., July 31, 1940; Jose Yulo to Manuel Quezon (radio), Washington, D.C., October 9, 1940; Jose Yulo and Joaquin Elizalde to Manuel Quezon (radio), Washington, D.C., November 19, 1940. Quezon MSS.

⁴⁰The background and international law aspects of the situation were admirably stated in a lengthy legal brief by ex-Attorney General Homer Cummings. See Homer Cummings to Sergio Osmeña, November 1, 1943. Quezon MSS.

⁴¹Harold E. Ickes to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Washington, D.C., September 1, 1943; Cordell Hull to President ("Memorandum for the President"), Washington, D.C., September 8, 1943. File: 400 Philippines, Franklin D. Roosevelt Manuscripts, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

⁴²"Memorandum of a Conversation, Office of Philippine Affairs, November 4, 1943. Department of State, File 811b. 01/623. National Archives.

⁴³Manuel L. Quezon to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Washington, D.C., October 17, 1943; Manuel L. Quezon to Sergio Osmeña,

SOCIAL JUSTICE: QUEZON'S CENTERPIECE OF THE COMMONWEALTH

Students of constitutional history take pride in citing the distinctive features of the Constitution of the Commonwealth of the Philippines. It was reputedly the first democratic national constitution that contained a definition of the national territory,¹ and the first to embody a declaration of principles² and the first political charter in the world to adopt expressly as a principle of government "the promotion of social justice to insure the well-being and economic security of all the people."³ Social justice was to be a new vocabulary of the people and the government.

This paper takes a second look at social justice as a means and as an end of government, which President Manuel L. Quezon made a centerpiece of his administration. It briefly reviews the provenance and evolution of the concept, its adoption as a principle by the 1935 Constitution, the Filipino responses.

In particular this paper aims to inquire into the following aspects of social justice in relation to the Commonwealth of the Philippines:

1. What was the origin of the social justice provision of the 1935 Constitution of the Philippines. Was there a "Quezon's social justice theory"?

2. Why did Quezon espouse the social justice doctrine? Was he motivated by an innate compassion for the poor or by vote calculus for his political ends? Or did he adopt social justice out of a need for a leverage with which to counteract the growing problem of socialism among the peasantry and the factory workers?

3. How did Quezon conduct his crusade for social justice? Did he employ a phalanx of speakers and preachers to assist him?

4. What were the responses to Quezon's crusade? How did the National Assembly respond to the call for measures that would give flesh and bones to the constitutional principle? What was the response of the judiciary?

5. What happened to Quezon's crusade after his death? What has become of the social justice principle of government?

The Beginning

Senate President Manuel L. Quezon of the Jones Law era⁴ was not a delegate to the 1934 Constitutional Convention.⁵ Although he publicly professed noninterference with the proceedings of that constituent body, he as the recognized national leader was often consulted by his Con-Con connections through

whom he funneled his ideas. One of these ideas was the concept of social justice. At that time the concept was still imprecise, vague and untried in the political sphere of human action for it was yet to be applied and undergo refining into what it is today.⁶

This is not to say that Quezon originated the idea of social justice; he merely adopted it. In truth, there is no such thing as "Quezon's social justice theory," as some scholars thought.⁷ Social justice was a novel idea contributed, not by the world of jurisprudence as evidenced by its conspicuous absence in law dictionaries as well as in court decisions in countries other than the Philippines. Rather, the term social justice was conceived and given to the world by the Catholic Church in virtue of its social magisterium.⁸

The Provenance

Toward the last decade of the nineteenth century Pope Leo XIII felt disturbed by the worsening condition of labor. He identified the cause as coming from two sources. The first was laissez-faire enterprise, or economic liberalism; the other, the false teachings of Socialism, especially that respecting ownership of private property.

Appalled by the capitalists' inordinate obsession for huge profits, which resulted in the

emergence of a small number of affluent individuals enjoying luxuries and pleasures and, on the other hand, a multitude of workers living in abject poverty, Leo XIII promulgated on May 15, 1891, his now celebrated encyclical letter *Rerum Novarum*⁹. It prescribed a solution to the vexatious social problem noted. The solution was the universal adherence to and application of the principle of distributive justice. Hailed as a Magna Carta of Social Order, the encyclical set off a train of social teachings of the Church that generated needed reforms worldwide. In the words of one Pontiff, the *Rerum Novarum* stood out in that "it laid down for all mankind unerring rules for the right solution of the difficult problem of human solidarity, called the social question, at the very time when such guidance was most opportune and necessary."¹⁰

To commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the *Rerum Novarum*, Pope Pius XI issued the encyclical letter *Quadragesimo Anno*¹¹ on May 15, 1931. This papal document reviewed what had been done by the Church and by society during the forty years following its precursor. It explained and amplified the meaning of the Leonine encyclical, with the purpose of fostering a correct understanding and appreciation of it by a world enjoying a growing perfection of technological means but reeling under a confusion of ends and values. Pius XI changed Leo's nomenclature of "social problem" to "social question" and "distributive justice" to "social justice."¹² The felicitous changes have become the standard terms to this day.

Considering that the *Quadragesimo Anno* was promulgated just

three years before the 1934 constitutional convention was convened, and that it was given wide publicity in Christendom and discussed at different forums in Catholic colleges and universities, at meetings of lay religious organizations in parishes, at rallies of such learned societies as Catholic Evidence Guild and Chesterton Club, at the pulpit, and in the newspapers, as well as his close association with the Dominican fathers, Senate President Quezon, a voracious reader, could not have missed the inevitable trend that revolutionized human relations in economic society. His notion of "social justice" echoed the expressions in the two Papal encyclicals — the right use of private property, the payment of just wage, the sharing of profit, the protection of property right, and extension of economic security to the underprivileged.

The Meaning of Social Justice

Time was when the term social justice was non-existent. The expressions in vogue were legal or general justice, which consisted of commutative and distributive justice. These three forms of justice constituted the triptych bonds of men, as individuals and as members of society. Commutative justice linked man to man, who were mutually bound to give to each other what natural law had given to them — life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Legal justice and distributive justice define man's relation to the community. Legal justice expects each man to strive for the common good, the general well-being. Distributive justice regulates the proportionate share or allocation of common social burdens and benefits. The application of legal,

distributive, and commutative justice results in general justice, which makes a society just,¹³ according to Thomas Aquinas.

In contrast, social justice, regarded as a new species of justice, operates in a narrower area, being "a form of justice concerned with the socio-economic order."¹⁴ Its goal is the common good of economic society, and the common good is the common economic good, such as just wage, shorter work hours, better working conditions, profit sharing, improved relations between capitalists and labor, employer and worker, landowner and tenant.

The Poor Man's Advocate

Why was President Quezon seriously committed to the promotion of social justice during the Commonwealth era? This has been a favorite subject of inquiry by scholars wanting to know his motivation.

Was it because Quezon sprang from the poor class? "I am a poor man," he used to tell his friends, "born poor, lived with the poor, in my infancy and youth..."¹⁵ To accept poverty as a reason would be to fall into the fallacy of *non sequitur*, for many had been born poor but after reaching the

"[The] goal of social justice is the common good of economic society, and the common good is the common economic good, such as just wage, shorter work hours, better working conditions, profit sharing, improved relations between capitalists and labor, employer and worker, landowner and tenant."

pinnacle of success turned their back on the poor. Probably he was an exception. "I charge large fees to the rich and none whatever to the poor," he reminisced on his practice of the law profession.¹⁶

Of greater weight was the parting advice of his father Don Lucio, who brought him to Manila to study: "Be good and just to your fellowmen. No matter how high your station in life may be, never forget that you came from poor parents and that you belong to the poor. Don't forsake them whatever happens."¹⁷ These parting words were a lifetime binder.

The many instances of assistance to the poor revealed two complementary traits that were cultivated in him by parental guidance. His social conscience, resting on firm Christian foundation, served him as a latent instrument for the exercise of Christian love and charity toward his fellowmen. Social awareness enabled him to pinpoint those areas of human interaction that cried for social justice. It may be argued with reason that Quezon's commitment to the promotion of social justice was due to his Christian values and practical patriotism.

There were those who said that Quezon had no recourse but follow the constitutional mandate on the promotion of social justice. By his oath of office, he had sworn to faithfully and conscientiously execute the laws and do justice to every man and consecrate himself to the service of the Nation.¹⁸

It would be an act of dehumanizing Quezon if he were to be denied a personal political motive in espousing the Church's

doctrine. He knew the vote-drawing potential of a social justice program. As a perspicacious politician he readily saw its advantages as a possible centerpiece of his administration and so he adopted it. Yet there is good reason to believe that this personal political motive was not his paramount stimulant. In fact, there is hardly a trace in his public utterances that he resorted to "vote calculus" in his crusade for social justice.

Probably his historical orientation made him see the need of drawing the support of the masses in order to obviate a replication, at least during his term, of the tragic consequences of ideological conflicts, which could lead to premature dissolution of the Commonwealth. Social justice was a preferred alternative to revolution, not just an but the alternative. Quezon's thinking that social justice was the solution to the social question harmonized with the conviction of the *Rerum*

"... our Constitution embodies the living issues of our times. It contains the solemn demand that the promotion of social justice to insure the well-being and economic security of all the people should be the concern of the State."

*Novarum and the Quadragesimo Anno.*¹⁹

In sum, it would be more prudent and reassuring to rely on the simple thought that Quezon by personal and official temperament

was the complete poor man's advocate.

Social Justice Enshrined

The 1935 Constitution mandates: "The promotion of social justice to insure the well-being and economic security of all the people should be the concern of the State."²⁰

Adverting to the progressive character of the Constitution, President Quezon commented that "our Constitution embodies the living issues of our times. It contains the solemn demand that the promotion of social justice to insure the well-being and economic security of all the people should be the concern of the State."²¹

In order to facilitate the implementation of the distributive principle underlying social justice, the Constitution further provides:

"The National Assembly may authorize, upon payment of just compensation, the expropriation of lands to be sub-divided into small lots and conveyed at cost to individuals."²²

Himself a realist, President Quezon realized the magnitude of the social question targeted for attack through social justice. "The problem of our age," he stressed, "is how to harmonize property right with the right to live — and the right to live is paramount and above every other right."²³

He falls back to history to make a useful distinction.

"In pagan Rome it was proclaimed that the right of a man to his property meant not only the right to use it but

also the right to abuse it. "*Jus utendi et abutendi*." But that was a proper concept of right before the Son of Man laid down as the supreme law of human relations: 'Love thy neighbor as thyself. Do unto others what you would that others do unto you.' It is here then where pagan and Christian civilizations conflict. The former is the philosophy of selfishness; the latter, of love and justice. No Christian people should admit, much less practice the theory that he who has can abuse or misuse his possession. What we have in excess of our needs and reasonable luxuries should be spent *pro bono publico*.

The struggle that we see everywhere is between those who have and those who have not. The former trying to keep everything it has, mindless of the misery of those who have not. The latter trying to take away everything from those who have, forgetting that they have worked for it and are entitled to the fruit of their labor whether manual or mental. The task of our Government is not only to protect the right of those who have to the proper use and enjoyment of their property, but also to demand that those who have not received the fruits of their labor in its entirety should have sufficient for their needs and their dependents. It is time for us to sound the warning: Let no one believe that he can continue exploiting his fellowmen without in the end suffering from it. He who owns had better give a part of what he owns to the

community in which he lives if he wants to conserve the rest for himself.²⁴

Thus the constitutional provision authorizing the government to expropriate lands upon payment of just compensation was justified. Expropriation of private property is a due exercise of the power of eminent domain, an inherent power of the State. The payment of just compensation is predicated on the principle that in a democracy, private property is not subject to confiscation by the government.

The third provision of the Constitution designed to support the social justice principle states:

The State shall afford protection to labor, especially to working women and minors, and shall regulate the relations between landowner and tenant, and between labor and capital in industry and in agriculture. The State may provide for compulsory arbitration."

President Quezon's Crusade

From the inception of the Commonwealth Government the term social justice was a recurrent expression in almost all of Quezon's utterances. No matter what the occasion and what the subject matter was, he had an ingenious way of interpolating social justice. He was so closely identified with his pet subject that he could have earned the flattering sobriquet of "Mr. Social Justice."

His crusade officially began with his inaugural address on November 15, 1935, in which he articulated:

... The common man alone can save humanity from disaster. It is our duty to prove

No matter what the occasion and what the subject matter was, he had an ingenious way of interpolating social justice.

[Quezon] was so closely identified with his pet subject that he could have earned the flattering sobriquet of "Mr. Social Justice."

to him that under a republican system of government he can have every opportunity to attain his happiness and that of his family. Protection to labor, especially to working women and minors, just regulation of the relations between labor and capital in industry and agriculture, solicitous regard on the part of the government for well-being of the masses, are the means to bring about the needed economic and social equilibrium between the component elements of society.²⁵

Before the members of the National Assembly at his first appearance on December 21, 1935, he suggestively recommended as a wish that they enacted "legislation which would solve once and for all the problem of the relationship between the tenants and the landowners, especially in large estates." He told them that the poorer classes of the people would enjoy more contentment if every tenant could be secured of his just share in the products of his toil.

With that premise Quezon went on to recommend the enactment of legislation authorizing the purchase of friar lands for subdivision and resale at cost to actual tenants, the expropriation of urban haciendas and large landed estates for similar purposes. The National Assembly responded

favorably, a tribute to Quezon's leadership.

In the same address he identified the task of the government to be "not only to protect the right of those who have to the proper use and enjoyment of their property, but also to demand that those who have not received the fruits of their labor in its entirety and should have sufficient for their needs and those of their dependents."²⁷

In his first State-of-the-Nation address,²⁸ he reiterated his goal. "It is my ambition," he announced, [to see to the] "betterment of the working class without depriving capital of its rights, without endangering our political and social institutions, and all in the midst of peace and order."

President Quezon took advantage of every opportune occasion to share with the audience his thoughts on social justice. He raged against social injustice. "The time has arrived when the poor workers in the fields and factories in the Philippines must be given their due," he reminded with a warning, "for if they are not, it will not be long before we will see repeated in the Philippines what we see in so many countries in the world today."²⁹

He denounced delayed payment of salaries and wages. "One of the most unjust, and even cruel practices of employers that has been called to our attention is that of not paying their employees and laborers on the date their salaries and wages are due..."³⁰

In his first State-of-the-Nation address,³¹ he reiterated his goal. "It is my ambition," he announced, [to see to the] "betterment of the working class without depriving capital of its rights, without endangering our political and social institutions, and all in the midst of peace and order."

He would prevent monopolies by the rich in order to give the poor equal opportunity. "We will see to it," he promised, "that the man who works in the fields or in the factory gets the proper return for his work and will not let anybody exploit him like a beast."³¹

With respect to the Socialist doctrine on private ownership of property, Quezon's stand was uncompromising. "I am against communism," he said with conviction. "I am a firm believer in the institution of private property. I contend, however, that whenever property rights come in conflict with human rights, the former should yield to the latter."³²

Legislative Response

There was hardly a social justice measure proposed by President Quezon that was not enacted into law by the National Assembly. A selection of the salient Commonwealth Acts is given below:

- CA 18 facilitating and promoting the occupation and cultivation of public land at present unoccupied, by the establishment of Settlement Districts.
- CA 20 authorizing the President of the Philippines to order the institution of expropriation proceedings or to enter into negotiations for the purpose of acquiring portions of large landed estates used as homesites and reselling them at cost to the *bona fide* occupants.

- CA 27 increasing the rates of salaries and wages of low paid employees and common laborers of the National Government.
- CA 43 providing for laborers' dwellings.
- CA 103 creating the Court of Industrial Relations empowered to fix minimum wages for laborers and maximum rentals to be paid by tenants, and to enforce compulsory arbitration between employers or landlords and employees or tenants, respectively.
- CA 178 amending Act 4054 to promote the well-being of tenants (*aparceros*) in agricultural lands devoted to the production of rice and to regulate the relations between them and the landlords of said lands.
- CA 213 defining and regulating legitimate labor organizations.
- CA 279 providing that preference in dispatching shall be given to cases involving conflicts between capital and labor.
- CA 303 providing for the time of payment of salaries and wages of laborers and employees; prohibiting the forcing, compelling, or obliging of any employee or laborer to purchase merchandise, commodities, or any other personal property under certain conditions, and the payment of the salary or wages of an employee or laborer by means of tokens or objects other than the legal tender currency of the Philippines.
- CA 378 authorizing the President of the Philippines to enter into negotiations with owners of landed estates in the Philippines for the purpose of leasing such estates and to sublet the same to *bona fide* occupants or qualified persons.
- CA 420 authorizing the conversion into a corporation of the

instrumentality or agency in charge of subleasing landed estates acquired through lease or purchase under Commonwealth Act No. 379.

- CA 441 creating the National Land Settlement Administration.
- CA 444 the Eight Hour Labor Law
- CA 539 authorizing the President of the Philippines to acquire private lands for resale in small lots, providing for the creation of agency to carry out the purposes of this Act.
- CA 608 revising Commonwealth Act No. 461 regulating the relations between land-owners and tenants.
- CA 648 creating the National Housing Commission.
- CA 689 penalizing speculation on rents of buildings destined for dwelling purposes.

The above partial list of laws supportive of the social justice principle reflects the concern directly of members of the legislative department of the government, indirectly the personal desire and philosophy of Quezon the Commonwealth president, and generally the social need of the times.

Judicial Response

The cases elevated to the Supreme Court during the Commonwealth Era helped to clarify the meaning and scope of social justice in Philippine jurisdiction. Evidently they were test cases to determine how far the rights of individuals could go under the policy as against the power of the State.

In an early case the Court of Industrial Relations in its zeal of giving effect to the social justice provision of the Constitution rendered a decision favorable to the union of employees without due regard to the rights of the employer

Ang Tibay, shoe manufacturer. The firm sued the Court of Industrial Relations. The Supreme Court ruled: "The State in protecting the laborers should do so with a view to realizing social justice without impairing the rights of others and to giving to each and everyone what under the natural law, the statutes, or contracts, in his."³³ This was precisely what Quezon was saying and what the Papal encyclicals were preaching.

In another case,³⁴ the Supreme Court was more specific. The Rural Progress Administration (RPA), an agency duly empowered by law, instituted expropriation proceedings for the acquisition of a large landed estate including a small parcel of lot owned by Guido. Guido claimed impairment of his right and sued the RPA. The Supreme Court ruled that "the promotion of social justice ordained by the Constitution does not supply paramount basis for untrammelled expropriation of private land by the Rural Progress Administration or any other government instrumentality."

The Court stated further that social justice does not champion division of property or equality of

"... the constitution guarantees equality of opportunity, equality of rights, equality before the law, equality between values given and received, and equitable sharing of the social and material goods on the basis of efforts exerted in their production. Social justice is a command to revise social measures, but it cannot be used to trample upon the rights of others."

economic status; that what it and the Constitution do guarantee are equality of opportunity, equality of rights, equality before the law, equality between values given and received, and equitable sharing of the social and material goods on the basis of efforts exerted in their production. "Social justice is a command to devise social measures, but it cannot be used to trample upon the rights of others."³⁵

In what was probably the most celebrated case that was given prominence in the newspapers, the Court of First Instance ruled against the claim for compensation filed by the widow of a laborer who died by drowning when he was ordered by the foreman to retrieve a piece of log that was carried away by the swift current of the Pasig river.³⁶ The widow appealed.

Meanwhile President Quezon was informed of the CFI decision. In his characteristic Latin temper President Quezon exploded and vented his wrath against the decision for ignoring the principle underlying his social justice program. The newspaper reporters picked up Quezon's reaction, for which he was criticized. The case was still *sub judice* without his knowing it and on learning that it was so, he wrote a formal apology to the court.

The Supreme Court held: "Inasmuch as it was the foreman who, by his own negligence caused Antonio Lozano [the drowned laborer] to act, the former cannot allege in his defense that the latter failed to exercise due care. Neither can the employer invoke said defense because the effects of the negligence of the former extend to him. Appealed judgment reversed."³⁷

In another case,³⁸ the plaintiff Calalang sued, in his capacity as private citizen, the director of public works Williams, alleging that the closure of a certain segment of Rosario Street in Binondo to animal-drawn vehicles during busy hours of the day constituted a violation of his right of mobility under the social justice provision.

The Supreme Court, speaking through Mr. Justice Jose P. Laurel, ruled that the promotion of social justice is "to be achieved not through a mistaken sympathy towards any given group." It went on to elaborate:

Social justice is "neither communism, nor despotism, nor atomism, nor anarchy," but the humanization of laws and the equalization of social and economic forces by the State so that justice in its rational and objectively secular conception may at least be approximated. Social justice means the promotion of the welfare of the people, the adoption by the Government of measures calculated to insure economic stability of all the component elements of society, through the adoption of measures legally justifiable, or extra-constitutionally, through the exercise of powers underlying the existence of all government on the time-honored principle of *salus populi est suprema lex*.

Beyond the Commonwealth

The crusade for social justice was not coterminous with Quezon's life or that of the Commonwealth. After him the various presidents of the Republic continued the policy of ameliorating

rating the condition of the poor by giving them economic security and promoting their well-being.

President Manuel A. Roxas, amidst his herculean preoccupation with reconstruction and rehabilitation of the postwar economy, pushed through the enactment of the agrarian law establishing a seventy-thirty sharing arrangement between tenants and landowners.³⁹

President Elpidio Quirino went on record to say "We want our people to enjoy an increasing measure of social justice."⁴⁰ He created the Land Settlement Development Corporation (LASEDECO) in order to accelerate the farm development program.⁴¹

President Ramon Magsaysay abolished the LASEDECO and replaced it with the National Resettlement and Rehabilitation Administration (NARRA) to hasten free distribution of public agricultural lands to landless tenants and workers.⁴² Under Magsaysay, the Agricultural Tenancy Act of 1954 defined tenancy and laid down the basis for rentals or tenanted lands. Also enacted was the Land Tenure Reform Act of 1955,⁴³ which created the Land Tenure Administration empowered to acquire large tenanted rice and corn lands and resell them to their cultivators.

President Carlos P. Garcia carried on the social justice tradition set by his predecessors.⁴⁴

President Diosdado Macapagal ushered in a new dawn for the common man with his Agricultural Land Reform Code⁴⁵ that abolished share tenancy and established the leasehold, the latter leading towards ownership subject to mutual consent between the

landowner and the lessee.

President Ferdinand E. Marcos made land reform, as the cornerstone of the New Society, which envisioned every farmer as owner of the land he cultivates.⁴⁶

President Corazon C. Aquino not only adopted a new (1987) constitution that mandates the promotion of social justice "in all phases of national development,"⁴⁷ but also had her own Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law (CARL)⁴⁸ enacted. The concept of social justice, heretofore confined to the common economic good, has been expanded beyond the purview of the Papal encyclicals to equitable distribution of political power.⁴⁹

Very recently the Supreme Court had occasion to rule on social justice. The Office of the Mayor of the Municipality of Makati adopted a Burial Assistance Program that would give five hundred pesos to any qualified bereaved family. The Municipal Council approved Resolution No. 60 confirming and ratifying the Program, and the Metro Manila Commission re-enacted and approved it.

The Commission on Audit, however, disapproved disbursement from the P400,000 that had been certified as available for the Program on two grounds: first, that the Program had no connection with police power of the State and, second, that the expenditure of public fund should be for a public purpose. Said the Supreme Court: "The support for the poor has long been an accepted exercise of police power in the promotion of the common good.... Resolution No. 60 of the Municipality of Makati is a paragon of the continuing program of our government towards social justice.... [I]t vivifies

the very words of the late President Ramon Magsaysay 'those who have less in life, should have more in law'.²⁰

Summary and Conclusion

As adverted at the beginning this paper took a second look at social justice which President Quezon made the centerpiece of his administration during the Commonwealth era. A summary or findings is given as follows:

1. That Quezon did not originate the notion of social justice, nor did he formulate a theory of social justice; he borrowed the term and concept from the *Rerum Novarum* and the *Quadragesimo Anno* of Pope Leo XIII and Pope Pius XI, respectively;
2. That while several plausible reasons can be given to account for Quezon's espousal of social justice as principle of government, the most prudent reason is that throughout his private and public life Quezon was the complete poor man's advocate;
3. That Quezon carried on his crusade for social justice alone, pleading for justice to the poor in all his public utterances, regardless of the occasion, place and topic;
4. That the legislative and judicial departments, co-equal and co-ordinate with the executive department, followed the national leadership of President Quezon in the promotion of social justice;
5. That although the death of President Quezon marked the passing away of a fruitful era, it gave way to the Republic, which has been and is keeping faith with the Quezonian spirit

of genuine affection and concern for the poor.

We pass on to the reader as a fitting conclusion a portion of a panegyric in honor of Quezon:²¹

And his crusade for social justice was no mere lip-service, no mere vote-getting slogan. It meant action.

It meant giving the peasants a chance to own a home and a piece of land they could call their own.

It meant creating economic opportunities on the plains of Isabela, in the valleys of Koronadal and all over the land.

It meant preaching the gospel of work and the dignity of labor.

It meant, above all, building up a strong, hardworking middle class, and broadening the base of our economic structure — for he was convinced that no democracy can succeed where the few are too rich, while the many are too poor. ■

Notes

¹Section 1, Article I, The National Territory, 1935 Constitution of the Philippines.

²Section 1-5, Article II, Declaration of Principles, *ibid*.

³Section 5, *ibid*.

⁴The Philippine Autonomy Act, otherwise known as Jones Law, was the organic law of the Philippines from 1916 to 1935.

⁵Authorized under Section 1 of the Philippine Commonwealth and Independence Act, otherwise called the Tydings-McDuffie Law, Public Act No. 127 of the 73rd Congress, United States of America.

⁶William F. Drummond, S.J., *Social Justice* (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1955), page 15.

⁷Vide Emerenciana Y. Arcellana "Quezon's Gift: A Dream of Social Justice" in *Historical Bulletin*, Volume XXII, Numbers 1-4, January-December, 1978. *Quezon in Retrospect*, edited by Maure Garcia and Juan F. Rivera. A publication of the Philippine Historical Association, Manila, 1979. pp. 112-128.

⁸*Five Great Encyclicals*, (New York: The Missionary Society of St. Paul the Apostle in the State of New York, 1939), *passim*.

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 1-25. Hereafter *Rerum Novarum* shall be cited as *Rerum*.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, page 125, *Quadragesimo Anno*, paragraph 2. Hereafter cited as *Quadragesimo*.

¹¹*Ibid*.

¹²*Ibid.*, *passim*. See Drummond, *op.cit.*, page 20.

¹³Drummond, *op.cit.*, page 1 ff.; Jean Yves Calvez, S.J., and Jacques Perin, S.J., *The Church and Social Justice*. The Social Teachings of the Popes from Leo XIII to Pius XII, 1878-1958. Translated from French into English by Henry Regney Company, 1961. (London: Burns and Oates, 1961).

¹⁴Drummond, *op.cit.*, 20 and 50-51.

¹⁵Sol N. Gwekeh, Manuel L. Quezon: His Life and Career (Manila, Philippines: University Publishing Company, Inc., 1948), page 15.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, page 41.

¹⁷Quoted from Quezon's autobiography *The Good Fight* by Arcellana, *op.cit.*, page 125.

¹⁸Section 8, Article VII, 1934 Constitution of the Philippines.

¹⁹Rerum, paragraphs 11-14; Quadragesimo, para. 137 ff. Arcellana opines that Quezon believed in social justice as alternative to revolution.

²⁰Sec. 5, Article II.

²¹*Quezon Memorial Book*, "From His Own Lips," pp. 23-38. Published by the Quezon Memorial Committee, Manila, Manila, Philippines, 1952. Compiled and edited by Filemon Poblador.

²²Sec. 4, Article XII, Conservation and Utilization of Natural Resources, 1934 Constitution of the Philippines.

²³Address delivered on November 15, 1936, on the occasion of the first anniversary of the inauguration of the Philippine Commonwealth.

²⁴*Ibid.*, cf. Miguel R. Cornejo, *Cornejo's Commonwealth Directory of the Philippines, 1939-40*. Encyclopedic edition. Manila.

²⁵Section 6, Article XIII, General Provisions, 1934 Constitution of the Philippines.

²⁶Inaugural Address of President Manuel L. Quezon as President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, delivered on November 15, 1935.

²⁷See footnote numbered 23, *supra*.

²⁸Delivered on June 18, 1936.

²⁹Filemon Poblador, "From His Own Lips," *Quezon Memorial*

Book 1952, pp. 23-38.

³⁰*Ibid.*

³¹*Ibid.*

³²Quoted by Celedonio O. Resurreccion in "Quezon and the Commonwealth," *Historical Bulletin*, *supra*, pp. 137-143.

³³Ang Tibay vs. Court of Industrial Relations, 69 *Philippine Reports* 635.

³⁴Guide vs. Rural Progress Administration, 84 *Philippine Reports* 847.

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶Cueva vs. Barredo, 65 *Philippine Reports* 290.

³⁷*Ibid.*

³⁸Calalang vs. Williams, 70 *Philippine Reports* 726.

³⁹Republic Act No. 34, amending certain sections of Act No. 4054, as amended, otherwise known as "The Philippine Rice Share Tenancy Act."

⁴⁰Inaugural address as President of the Republic, December 30, 1949.

⁴¹Executive Order No. 355, October 1, 1950.

⁴²Republic Act No. 1166.

⁴³Republic Act No. 1400.

⁴⁴In his inaugural address delivered on December 30, 1957, President Garcia said: "Malacanang symbolizes hope, faith and justice. Under my administration, Malacanang will remain such a symbol. This Government will carry on dispensing social justice and protecting the poor."

⁴⁵Republic Act No. 3844, Agricultural Land Reform Code, 1963.

⁴⁶Republic Act No. 6389, Code of Agrarian Reforms of the Philippines, 1971. Vide, "Emancipating the Tenants" speech of President Ferdinand E. Marcos delivered at the Land Reform signing rites, Maharlika Hall, 20 October 1972.

⁴⁷Section 10, Article II, Declaration of Principles and State Policies, 1987 Constitution of the Philippines, effective February 2, 1987.

⁴⁸Republic Act No. 6657, Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law of 1988.

⁴⁹Section 1, Article XIII, Social Justice and Human Rights. "The Congress shall give highest priority to the enactment of measures that protect and enhance the right of all the people to human dignity, reduce social, economic, and political inequalities and remove cultural inequities, by equitably diffusing wealth and political power for the common good." (Emphasis supplied.)

⁵⁰Municipality of Makati vs. Commission on Audit (COA). The decision, penned by Associate Justice Edgardo L. Paras of the Supreme Court, was published in the Manila Bulletin (Wed. Oct. 16, 1991), page 7 and B-28.

⁵¹Pacifico A. Ortiz, S.J. "He Did Much for Country", Oration delivered at the U.S.T. Chapel on August 1, 1946, in *Quezon Memorial Book*, pp. 126-129 and printed in *Quezon in Retrospect*, *Historical Bulletin*, ante, pp. 235-239.

Bibliography

- Alberione, James, SSP, STD. *Design for a Just Society*. Originally entitled *Fundamentals of Christian Sociology*. Updated by the Daughters of St. Paul. Saint Paul Publications, Passy City, Philippines, 1977.
- Apostolic Letter of His Holiness Pope Paul VI*, 14 May 1971, to Cardinal Maurice Ray on the occasion of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*.
- Arceñana, Emerenciana Y. "Quezon's Gift: A Dream of Social Justice" in *Quezon in Retrospect* edited by Mauro Garcia and Juan F. Rivera, *Historical Bulletin*, Volume XXII, Numbers 1-4, January-December, 1978.
- Benn, S.I. and Peters, R.S. *Social Principles and the Democratic State*. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1959.
- Brandt, Richard B. (editor). *Social Justice*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc. 1968.
- Calvez, Jean Yves, S.J. and Perin, Jacques, S.J. *The Church and Social Justice*. The Social Teachings of the Popes from Leo XIII to Pius XII, 1878-1958. Translated from the original French into English by Henry Regrey Company, 1961. London: Burns and Oates.
- Centesimus Annus*, Encyclical Letter addressed by the Supreme Pontiff John Paul II on the Hundredth Anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*, 1 May 1991.
- Constitution of the Philippines*, 1935 and 1987.
- Cornejo's Commonwealth Directory of the Philippines, 1939-1940*. Encyclopedic Edition. Compiled by Miguel R. Cornejo. Manila, n.d.
- Grenin, John F., S.S. *Social Principles and Economic Life*. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1959.
- . *Christianity and Social Progress*. A Commentary on Mater et Magistra. Baltimore: Helicon, 1965.
- Drummond, William F., S.J. *Social Justice*. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1955.
- Five Great Encyclicals*. Includes *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*. New York: The Paulist Press.
- Fonacier, Consuelo V. (Compiler). *At the Helm of the Nation*. Inaugural addresses of the Presidents of the Philippine Republic and the Commonwealth. Introduction by Leticia Ramos Shahani, Ambassador of the Philippines. Cp. by Fonacier and Shahani. National Media Production Center, Philippines, 1973.
- Garcia, Mauro and Rivera, Jose F. (Editors). *Quezon in Retrospect, Historical Bulletin*, Volume XXII, Numbers 1-4, January-December 1978. Publication of the Philippine Historical Association, Manila, Philippines.
- Guery, Emile, The Most Reverend. *The Social Doctrine of the Catholic Church*. Including complete text of *Mater et Magistra*. Staton Island, New York: Alba House, 1961.
- Gwexh, Sol H. *Manuel L. Quezon: His Life and Career*. Manila, Philippines: University Publishing Company, Inc., 1948.
- Hayden, Joseph Ralston. *The Philippines. A Study in National Development*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955.
- Hebbhouse, L.T. *The Elements of Social Justice*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1959.
- Hughes, Henry Stuard. *Contemporary Europe: A History*. Fourth Edition. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1976.
- Ortiz, Pacifico, S.J. "He Did Much for Our Country" in *Quezon in Retrospect* edited by Mauro Garcia and Juan F. Rivera. See *supra*.
- Poblador, Filemon (Compiler and Editor). *Quezon Memorial Book*. Published by Quezon Memorial Committee, Manila, Philippines, 1952.
- Quirino, Carlos. *Quezon: Paladin of Philippine Freedom*. Introduction by Alejandro R. Roces. Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1971.
- Resurreccion, Celedonio O. "Quezon and the Commonwealth" in *Historical Bulletin*, Vol. VI, No. 3 and reprinting in *Quezon in Retrospect*, Philippine Historical Association, 1978.
- Manuel Quezon (from p. 20)
- Washington, D.C., October 20, 1943. Quezon MSS.
- ²⁸Sergio Osmeña to Manuel L. Quezon, Washington, D.C., October 18, 1943; October 19, and October 25, 1943; Sergio Osmeña to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Washington, D.C., October 27, 1943. Quezon MSS.
- ²⁹"Cabinet meeting held Wednesday, November 3, 1943 at 3:20 p.m. at the Shorcham Hotel," (typescript).
- Quezon MSS. See also Sotero H. Laurel, "with Don Sergio in War-time Washington," *Manila Times*, September 9-11, 1962. A much less accurate version is provided in Jesus V. Merritt, *Our President: Profiles in History* (Manila, 1962), pp. 64-68.
- ³⁰Sergio Osmeña, Manuel Quezon, et al., to Senator Millard Tydings and Representative Jasper Bell, Washington, D.C., November 5, 1943. Quezon MSS.
- ³¹The debate in the House of Representatives can be found in U.S. *Congressional Record*, 78th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 9378-80 (November 10, 1943). Sergio Osmeña to Jasper Bell, Washington, D.C., November 10, 1943. Quezon MSS.
- ³²U.S. *Congressional Record*, 78th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 9379-80 (November 10, 1943).
- ³³Roy W. Howard to Manuel L. Quezon, New York, N.Y., May 23, 1939. Quezon MSS.

MANUEL L. QUEZON AS RESIDENT COMMISSIONER* (1909-1916)

Manuel L. Quezon's role as one of the two Filipino Resident Commissioners to the United States¹ during the period 1909-1916, is relatively unknown. And yet if one would like to explain partly why he is sometimes referred to as the "Father of the Filipino Nationalist Movement" during the American tenure in the Islands, or better still, the "Architect of Philippine Independence" under America, he cannot ignore but point out Quezon's political career as Filipino Resident Commissioner to the United States from 1909-1916.

Quezon served in this capacity for three successive terms. He was first elected to the position, succeeding Pablo Ocampo de Leon, on May 15, 1909, and was re-elected thereto in 1911, 1913, and 1915. Like his colleague, Benito Legarda, his official function as a resident commissioner was to give pertinent information to the United States Congress about the real conditions in the Philippines in order that the body could legislate wisely and constructively for the colonial government in the Philip-

pines. But Commissioner Quezon went beyond that duty by conducting in the United States a campaign for immediate, complete and absolute Philippine independence. Even before leaving the Islands for Washington, D.C. to assume his post, he, together with some Filipino nationalist leaders, had already rightly recognized that the best way to carry out an effective fight for early Philippine independence was to influence American public opinion and the United States Congress. For the former was, and still is, a potent factor in determining policies of the American government and the latter was the body that would ultimately decide the question of Philippine independence.

Having been sworn in as a courtesy member of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress, Commissioner Quezon busied himself mastering the English language in order to be able to deliver speeches in English. He hired a tutor, but realizing that the process was very slow, he gave up after finishing fifteen lessons. Instead, he taught

himself by reading books, newspapers, and magazines with the help of the English-Spanish Dictionary, and also by attending social gatherings without any one with him to act as his interpreter.²

On May 14, 1910, about five months after his arrival in the American capital, Quezon delivered his maiden speech in the lower house of the United States Congress. He reviewed in detail the splendid work of the United States Government in the Philippines, expressing his people's gratitude. He also appealed to the pride, patriotism, and devotion to the principles of liberty and self-government of the American people. But then he added the reminder that in spite of all the good things done by America in his country, the Filipinos preferred to be free and independent. He declared:

"All this we acknowledge; for all this we are thankful; for all this we are grateful to your Government and to your people. But, Sir, despite it all, the Filipinos are not, as yet,

¹The Office of the Philippine Resident Commissioners to the United States was provided for in the Philippine Organic Act of 1902. See Public Law No. 235, Section 8, United States Statutes at Large, 64th Congress, pp. 545-546.

a happy people. Would you ask me why? Then, I will answer in the language of that great apostle of human freedom, Daniel Webster:

'No matter how easy may be the yoke of a foreign power, no matter how lightly it sits upon the shoulders, if it is not imposed by the voice of his own nation and of his own country, he will not, he cannot, and he means not to be happy under its burden.'

These words to us, Mr. Chairman, are freedom's text and rallying cry. We feel their truth deep in our souls, for it is the vital spark of our national hope....²³

On the whole his address was mild in tone, and the Filipino Nationalists who expected him to make an impassioned harangue in favor of immediate independence, were somewhat disappointed. But Quezon knew that he was in Washington to persuade and not to insult and, therefore, he had to act accordingly. The character of the independence campaign he was to undertake — conciliatory in form, but direct and determined in substance — was thus reflected in his speech.

Quezon made the United States Congress his real field of action for his campaign. On the floor of the House of Representatives, he delivered speeches and vigorously participated in the debates every time the subject of Philippine independence was the issue. On one occasion, when he had an opportunity to inform his

colleagues in Congress why the grant of independence to the Philippines rather than incorporation of the Philippines as a state of the Union would be a wise and just policy for the American government to pursue, he said:

*"American policy regarding the Philippines must be based upon the theory that the United States by its traditions, by its history, and institutions, and by the principles which constitute the very foundation of its national life, cannot consistently hold colonies against the avowed will of the inhabitants thereof. Therefore, that policy to be truly American must contemplate as a final outcome either statehood or independence. Statehood for the Philippines is not desirable, either from the standpoint of the American or from that of the Filipino. Differences in race, customs, interest, and the thousands of miles of water which separate both countries, are insurmountable obstacles to Philippine statehood."*²⁴

Perhaps he delivered his most eloquent speeches, pleading for what he called the "holy cause," the independence of his people, when the United States Congress was considering the Jones Bill. Every day from September 26 to October 14, 1914, he spoke on the floor often times defending the independence bill; and at other

times clarifying some unpleasant remarks of his colleagues. In one of the sessions, he got into a heated debate with Congressman Simon D. Fess of Ohio. Congressman Fess asked Quezon whether he believed that the Filipinos, without the aid of the Americans, could have made the progress they showed since the beginning of American rule in the Philippines. Quezon made no answer, but when it was impatiently demanded, he finally answered in the affirmative, causing much discomfort and embarrassment to the American solon.²⁵

Fully aware that he should also influence American public opinion in order to carry out his campaign more successfully, he spoke before American audiences

"American policy regarding the Philippines must be based upon the theory that the United States by its traditions, by its history, and institutions, and by the principles which constitute the very foundation of its national life, cannot consistently hold colonies against the avowed will of the inhabitants thereof."

²³Manuel L. Quezon *The Good Fight*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., p. 116.

²⁴*Cong. Rec.*, 61st Congress, 1st Session, p. 6310.

²⁵See H. Gwekko: *Manuel L. Quezon, His Life and Career*. Manila, Philippines: University Publishing Co., Inc., 1948, p. 70. See also *The Filipino People*, October 1912.

²⁶*Cong. Rec.*, 63rd Congress, 2nd Session, p. 16015.

outside the United States Congress. Under the sponsorship of the Anti-Imperialist League, he traveled through the different states in the American Union, taking every opportunity to speak on the actual conditions in the Philippines. At the same time, he tried to remind the American people that, through their Congress, they had the moral duty to enact a law giving the Filipinos their independence. Speaking before the Chamber of Industry of Cleveland, Ohio on April 14, 1914, Commissioner Quezon stated that the Filipinos were unanimous in their desire for independence, and that the argument of their incapacity to exercise it was merely a reason of those who wanted to retain the islands for the protection as well as for the advancement of their interests. He declared:

"We all want independence and are entitled to it. The argument of Filipino incapacity for self-government is hypocritical. It is the veil with which American officeholder covers his desire to keep his place. It is the ambush behind which lurk the company which monopolizes our hemp, and the sugar interests, which have already acquired, in defiance to Congress, 65,000 acres of land in one tract... Or at best it is the wish father to the thought of some missionaries or churchmen who mismanently think that they can

make more converts among the wild men of the Philippines."

Aside from speaking tours, Commissioner Quezon attended national conventions and popular gatherings of political parties. In 1912, when the Democratic Party members convened in Baltimore to select their presidential standard bearer, Quezon personally appeared before the Platform Committee and helped in the writing of the plank of the platform dealing with Philippine independence. He also gave banquets to cultivate the friendship of the Democratic Party leaders, especially those who were occupying positions influential in Philippine affairs.

To influence American public opinion further, he wrote campaign articles for American magazines and newspapers.⁷ Not satisfied with this, he founded his own periodical entitled "The Filipino People" in September 1912. According to him, the organ was intended to be "an official medium for expressing the views of the people whose name it bears and designed to bring about a better understanding in the Philippines and in the United States of the real conditions which exist in both countries."⁸ The paper continued publication for four years and was terminated when the passage of the Jones Bill by the United States Congress in August 1916, was certain.

So vigorous and spirited indeed was his campaign for immediate, complete and absolute Philippine independence that, at times, Commissioner Quezon was misunderstood by those elements who opposed him. On one occasion, he was denounced in Congress by Representative Austin of Tennessee of using money and banquets in order to gain the support of the Congressional leaders.⁹ At another instance, he was openly warned by General Edwards, then chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, that should he insist on continuing his independence campaign, every effort would be taken to retire him from the resident commissionership.

Undaunted, however, by the charges and the threats hurled at him, he continued his campaign, giving greater vigor to it when the Democratic Party came into power in 1913.

As a consequence of his untiring efforts, Commissioner Quezon was able to obtain results which, though not as much as what he really wanted — immediate, complete and absolute independence — were of great political significance in so far as preparing the Filipinos in the art of self-government. In 1913, he secured from President Wilson the appointment of Representative Francis B. Harrison of New York as governor-general of the Islands. Governor Harrison's administra-

⁷Mamuel L. Quezon: *The New Freedom in the Philippines* quoted by Honorable Clyde H. Tavenner in his speech in the House of Representatives, July 11, 1914, Washington, D.C., p. 6 (Pamphlet).

⁸One of the more representative of his articles was entitled "Recent Progress in the Philippines" published in the *Journal of Race Development*, January 1915.

⁹*The Filipino People*, September 1912, p. 12.

¹⁰*Cong. Rec.*, 64th Congress, 1st Session, p. 1027. Quezon denied these charges, saying that the money collected by the Propaganda Committee in the Philippines was used by his office to defray the expenses in distributing literature to inform the American public as to the real conditions existing in the Islands.

...as resident commissioner, he planted the seed of independence, out of which grew a tree whose fruit has given us the freedom and independence that we enjoy today.

tion later proved to be a significant phase in the Filipino struggle for independence. For it gave substance to the Democratic Party's pledge of Philippine independence by converting the colonial government of Filipinos aided by Americans. Believing that the only way to teach the Filipinos the art of self-government was to let them exercise it, he rapidly filipinized the government civil service. In fact, Governor Harrison even went to the extent of virtually abandoning his executive powers in order to give the Filipino leaders in the government ample freedom to conduct their own governmental affairs.

A more significant achievement was the Jones Law¹⁹ which, Quezon, himself, considered as the "crowning glory" of his work as resident commissioner. How he was able to obtain the enactment of the law from the United States Congress cannot be told in just a few words. Suffice it to say, however, that he had to use all the influence of his office as resident commissioner, his persuasive eloquence, and his enviable personal magnetism. The difficulties he met and overcame could be imagined by realizing that it took him seven years to convince the United States Congress to approve the law.

The Jones Law provided substantial changes in the administrative structure of the Philippine Government which, in effect, would give greater political responsibility to the Filipinos. The preamble of the Law declared it to be "the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence therein." This feature of the law made it the first act of the United States Congress relating to the government in the Islands which explicitly set forth a qualified promise of eventual independence. For that reason, the Law was held with great political significance by the Filipinos.

From the foregoing discussion, it is, therefore, very apparent that Manuel L. Quezon's role as a resident commissioner is not at all without significance. For as such, he was the first Filipino Resident Commissioner to serve not only as a mere encyclopedia, giving information to the United States Congress about the real conditions in the Philippines, but as a true and dedicated agent of his people to work for their immediate, complete and absolute independence. Although he failed to accomplish that objective of bringing home an independence, yet, in a sense, he succeeded in his work. He was able to lay the groundwork for the later

campaign for Philippine independence in the United States. Aside from that, he obtained some political concessions from the American government which to a large extent, enhanced the capacity of his people to maintain their own self-government. More significant, however, was that having secured the approval of the Jones Law in 1916, he, in effect, gave greater impetus to the later independence movement which ultimately led to the attainment of freedom from the United States in 1946.

Encouraged by the conditional promise of independence embodied in the Jones Law, the Filipino Nationalist stepped up their campaign for independence. From 1919-1933, several independence missions were sent to the United States to convince the American Government that a stable government had already been established in the Philippines and, therefore, independence should be granted. Out of these missions, which were indicative of the more persistent and vigorous independence campaign after 1916, resulted the passage of the *Here-Hawes-Cutting Law* and the *Tydings-McDuffie Law*, the latter becoming our historic Independence Law. Such being the case, it can be said that as resident commissioner, Manuel L. Quezon provided the generating force that led to our independence from the United States in 1946. Indeed, as resident commissioner, he planted the seed of independence, out of which grew a tree whose fruit has given us the freedom and independence that we enjoy today. □

¹⁹Cong. Rec., 64th Congress, 1st Session, p. 13417; See also Public Law No. 240, *United States Statutes at Large*, 64th Congress, pp. 545-546.

THE STAR OF BALER

I am very delighted to have reached this beautiful and famous town of Baler, and I am reminded of this equally famous remark: "I would prefer a government run like hell by Filipinos to one run like heaven by Americans." That was Quezon's fiery remark of his nationalism. It was in the United States Senate in 1926 when Quezon had a conflict with Governor-General Wood who was against the granting of independence to the Philippines, that he uttered this classic statement. Others perceived it as anti-imperialism. Well, Quezon was proud of being a Filipino and consistently refused to be subservient to anybody. He believed that the Filipinos deserved to be independent and were capable of running their own government. He wanted his countrymen to be free and happy. It was his great aim to obtain independence peacefully, and he worked hard for it. That is why he is remembered as the man who forged Philippine independence against the United States. In doing so, his nationalistic struggle started with emotional sparkles, then burned like a pilot light steadily and evenly illuminating — for his people to see his vision, like a star. Such was Quezon — Star of Baler. But this Star's vision was not only for Baler. It was above provincial interest, it was above political party, and above personal interest: it was an interest for the whole nation.

There are so many stories about Quezon: his philosophy, aspirations for the nation, the problems he met and how he tackled them — stories worth recalling because they are cardinal to understanding the role he played in the struggle for Philippine independence. There is one story, which stated that one morning, while Quezon was recuperating from a bout with tuberculosis in his house in Marikina, he watched from his window with mixed feeling of interest and curiosity, a man bent with age sweeping the dried leaves off the lawn. Now and then, the old man would lay down his broom and sit under the shade of the trees. Finally, Quezon called somebody to bring the old man into the house. The poor man was trembling when he appeared before Quezon. He thought he would be scolded for loafing under the trees. But Quezon was all kindness and asked who he was. The man said that he was 71 years old and had entered the Bilibid Prison 31 years ago, sentenced to life imprisonment for having killed a man who alienated his wife's affection. Right away, Quezon called the Secretary of Justice Abad Santos on the phone and told him to prepare the papers for absolute pardon of the aged prisoner. "I want to sign the papers today," he said, "the poor man is too old and feeble, he should not remain a prisoner a day longer."

Quezon's championship for the poor was well known. He was for justice for all: for the rich as

well as the poor, and not for a few alone. He said that we have to protect the poor since they did not have the means to pay for their needs nor were they learned enough to help themselves. He considered it reasonable to defend them, if their rights and they themselves were aggrieved. That is why when he became President of the Commonwealth Government, he utilized every opportunity in his administration to ameliorate the lot of the poor farmers and the factory workers. Hence, he was called the "Father of Social Justice." Quezon was also called the Patriot, the Statesman, the Leader, the Idol of his People, the Soldier, and many other endearing names. Today I have chosen to talk about Quezon the soldier — his life before he became Quezon The Statesman.

Quezon was born on August 19, 1878 in the village of Baler, on the northeastern coast of Tayabas, now named Quezon. It was the feast day of their village's patron saint, Saint Louise, Bishop of Toulouse, hence, his mother named him Manuel Luis. Quezon himself wrote about this tiny village: "Baler was an enchanting paradise on earth. The hardy inhabitants lived on their tiny ricefields and fish from the sea... We were considered the number one family in as poor and primitive Baler... Ours was the only family that could speak Spanish and my father was the only one who owned a shot-gun. Baler was famous for an abundance of beautiful ladies,

and at the early age of seventeen I was already attracted to girls with beautiful eyes and beautiful legs."

Manuel Luis Quezon's father was Lucio Quezon, a Tagalog from Paco, Manila; and was a sergeant in the Spanish infantry unit in Manila. He retired at the end of his regular term, and being adventurous he traveled as far as Baler. There he met Maria Dolores Molina, a Spanish mestiza, the belle of the town, and a school teacher for the girls. Lucio also became a school teacher for the boys and later got married to Dolores. They lived on the salary of P12 a month each and they owned a ricefield of two acres.

Manuel received his early education from his parents but at the age of seven he was sent to live with the Spanish Franciscan friar, Father Teodoro Fernandez, parish priest of Baler, who had agreed to teach Manuel religion, geography, history and Latin. Quezon said that Father Fernandez was saintly but was a severe man who pulled his ears when he did not study his lesson and when he got into mischief. After four years, Father Fernandez was transferred to Manila. Manuel's parents asked the friar to take him to Manila to be his mess boy in order that he could pursue his studies in the Colegio de San Juan de Letran. He stayed in the Franciscan convent for one year until Father Fernandez was again assigned to the province. Since his parents had some savings, they decided to enter him as a boarder in San Juan de Letran on condition that after obtaining his

Bachelor of Arts degree he had to support himself, paying his own tuition fees. Five years later he graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts, *Summa Cum Laude*. After graduation, he went home to Baler and found his mother sick of tuberculosis. He took care of her until she died.

Manuel returned to Manila with his father, determined to continue his studies at any cost or sacrifice. He went to the University of Santo Tomas and presented himself to the Director of Interns, Father Tamayo, who had been his professor in the Colegio de San Juan de Letran and told him his story. Father Tamayo immediately admitted him, granting him free tuition fees, board and lodging. In return, he had to tutor some students in mathematics and do some other work that might be given to him. So, Manuel was able to enroll in the College of Law where Sergio Osmeña became his classmate. This opportunity given to Manuel to be able to pursue his ambition made his father very happy. Before going home to Baler, he reminded Manuel: "My son, be good and be just to your fellowmen. However high your station in life may be, never forget that you came from poor parents and that you belong to the poor. Don't forsake them whatever happens."

Years did not change Manuel's conduct. He was the same gay and unruly student, more inclined to make mischief than evade them. He still loved to attend parties and dance with

beautiful ladies. The rules in the University closed the doors at seven in the evening and no one could go out anymore. However, Manuel discovered that a backdoor was left open for the cook to exit every nine o'clock in the evening. This gave him the idea that he could stay out beyond seven o'clock and return just before the cook would go home. One night, when he entered the door, to his surprise, he found Father Tamayo waiting for him. He was sent away from the boarding house. Fortunately, the punishment did not include expulsion from his classes. He had to transfer to a private students' boarding house but continued tutoring some students to pay for his board and lodging.

Quezon wrote that he was staying in that boarding house when he heard the shots fired by Admiral Dewey in Manila Bay on May 1, 1898. He ran to the beach and witnessed the defeat of the Spanish forces led by Admiral Montojo, which did not take long. On August 13 the Americans occupied Intramuros and Quezon said: "I confess to a feeling of deep sadness when I saw the Spanish flag come down." Classes were then closed and Quezon went home to Baler and learned that his father together with his younger brother had been murdered by some bandits on their way home from Nueva Ecija. So, he stayed in the home of his Aunt Zenaida and her two daughters, Amparo and Aurora.

When the news that the Philippine-American war broke out in February 1899, Quezon decided to join the revolutionary forces and fight for the freedom of his country. He went to Pantabangan and presented himself to

.....
 "However high your station in life may be, never forget that you came from poor parents and that you belong to the poor. Don't forsake them whatever happens."

Colonel Villacorta. He was appointed second lieutenant and was made Villacorta's aid-de-camp. Their headquarters were in Cabanatuan. His first mission was to go after the bandits who burned the residence of a rich family in Alaga. He caught the whole gang and he was promoted to first lieutenant.

Later, Quezon was assigned to the staff of General Emilio Aguinaldo, doing desk work. He was with Aguinaldo's staff when the General transferred the seat of the revolutionary government to Angeles, Pampanga, then later to Tarlac. When he was promoted to the rank of captain, he felt ashamed of the fact that he had been promoted without having heard the whistle of a bullet even at a distance. Quezon dreamt also to be one of the military heroes of the Philippines, so he requested General Aguinaldo to assign him to the front. He was assigned immediately to the Unit of General Mascardo, stationed at Porac, Pampanga. A day after he arrived at Porac, he was sent to the front and from then on he was in the battlefield fighting the Americans.

The Americans finally captured Angeles and were pressing hard the Filipino forces in Central Luzon, so Aguinaldo ordered all his forces to disperse to the hills and fight the enemies by means of guerrilla warfare. General Aguinaldo himself fled to the North, to the Cordillera Mountains, hotly pursued by the Americans. On the other hand, General Mascardo sent Quezon, together with twenty five soldiers to go to Bataan and look for a safe place for his retreating forces. Quezon and his men walked barefooted up and down the mountains, crossed rivers infested with crocodiles and slept on the

ground at night. After three days they came down on the plains of Bataan, and in the town of Orani they were told that the forest between Bagac and Morong would be the best place for them to retreat. Quezon sent his men to fetch General Mascardo who promoted him to Major upon reaching Bataan, and assigned him commander of the guerrilla unit that operated between Balanga and Mariveles.

Not long afterwards, Bataan was also occupied by the Americans. By then the Filipino troops had very limited food rations; General Mascardo got sick of malaria; and a few of his soldiers died of the same illness. Quezon too, woke up one morning with a very high fever; he was feeling very weak, and he thought he was dying. A certain Cabesang Doro pitied him and offered to take him to his friend's house in Navotas. Quezon was carried in a hammock to the beach where a banca was waiting; that took him to Navotas. Mang Doro's friend in Navotas had a son who had studied in Europe and brought home several books which Quezon read while convalescing. "The things that I read," Quezon explained, "left in my mind doubts as to the existence of hell as taught by the priests — doubts which later contributed to my leaving the Catholic faith for a long time and joining the Masonic Order."

After Quezon recovered from his illness, he returned to Bataan to join his comrades in the hills, but he once more got sick and was never well again or strong enough to engage in guerrilla activities.

At the end of March 1901, Quezon and his men received the news that the Americans had captured Aguinaldo. General

Mascardo told Quezon to surrender to the Americans, and if the news was true, to get in touch with General Aguinaldo and ask him whether they should continue fighting or surrender. Quezon surrendered to Lieutenant Miller, commander of the American post in Mariveles, who arranged his trip to Manila, direct to Malacañan Palace. There, he saw Aguinaldo, alone in a room, a prisoner.

Disgusted, Quezon was resigned to the outcome of the revolution. He stayed in the house of Dr. Alejandro Albert, a colonel in the Medical Services of the revolutionary forces, whom he met in Tarlac. While staying there he was arrested and imprisoned in a room by the Postigo Gate inside the Walls of Intramuros. There were more than 30 men inside who slept almost on top of each other. Quezon was set free after four months of imprisonment and he said he was not even told why he was imprisoned. He returned to the house of Dr. Albert, hoping that he could land a job, but he got sick again. He had a nervous breakdown and he had to be confined in the San Juan de Dios Hospital for several months. When he got well, Dr. Singian, one of his doctors who became his friend took Quezon to his home until he was fully recovered. Fortunately Quezon was employed at the Monte de Piedad with a salary of P25 a month. Once he got a job he transferred to the house of Mr. Santiago Antonio and lived here until he passed the Bar Examinations in April 1903, getting the fourth highest honor.

Two days later, Quezon was invited by Francisco Ortigas, a former schoolmate at the University of Santo Tomas, to work in his law office at P150 a month to start with, but was allowed to have his own clients. He won the first case

entrusted to him by Ortigas and after a few months his own personal clients increased in number, so he decided to put up his own law office. As a practitioner he made it his rule to charge high fees for the affluent clients and to defend the poor and the needy without pay.

In October 1903, he had to go home to Tayabas to handle a case against a certain Fabian Hernandez who had usurped his father's property. He won the case and this built up his reputation as a lawyer in Lucena, and won the admiration of Provincial Governor Paras, a Filipino, and the American judge, Paul Linebarger. He was offered the position of prosecuting attorney of Mindoro with the salary of P3000 a year, an amount much lower than what he was earning from his private practice, but he believed that the position offered to him may be the starting point set by fate for a greater service he could render to his people in their work of self-redemption. After only six months in Mindoro, he was made prosecuting attorney of Tayabas, his home province. He then invited his Aunt Zenaida and her two daughters to live with him in Lucena. He sent his first cousin, Aurora, to Manila to study in the Philippine Normal School.

Quezon's political career began when he was elected governor of Tayabas in 1906; then ran for the Philippine Assembly in 1907, where was elected unanimously as Majority Floor Leader. He was chosen as one of the Philippine Resident Commissioners to the United States from 1909; continuously worked to the passage of the Jones Law in 1916, which for the first time placed on

This story of the famous Son of Baler, to whom poverty was not an obstacle to the attainment of his noble goals: his rise to fame; his leadership; his nationalism, is one which must be told to all generations.

record the promise of America to grant independence to the Philippines. This achievement was duly rewarded with his election to the Senate of which he became president. He later headed a mission to the United States which secured the Tydings McDuffie Law, by virtue of which the Philippine Commonwealth Government was established on November 15, 1935 with him as its first president.

In 1918 Quezon married his cousin, Aurora, to whom he had been engaged for twelve years. They had four children — three girls and a boy. Quezon was an affectionate and loving husband and father. He enjoyed most the company of his wife and children.

Unfortunately, World War II broke out and the Japanese occupied the Philippines. Upon the insistence of General Douglas MacArthur, President Quezon had to go to the United States although he was very reluctant to leave his people. In the United States, he worked hard for American action to liberate the Philippines. But on August 1, 1944, barely three months before the landing of American forces in Leyte, death came to the President in Saranac Lake, New York. "That morning," Filemon Poblador wrote, "the President heard the news over the radio that General MacArthur had landed on Sanapor, six hundred miles from the Philippines. Six hundred miles, Quezon whispered, and for a moment, joy like a dying

ember sparked in his eyes. The news was too much an excitement for his heart to bear. Suddenly, death put an end to a most colorful life of service."

I will now end this talk with a beautiful story which I have cherished the past 56 years. When I was a young girl I had that very rare privilege and honor of having been asked to recite a poem for the President in 1938. I was then a Girl Reserve of the Young Women's Christian Association. He was seated just 10 feet away from where I stood and after my recitation he shook my hand. It was a glorious moment.

The next time I stood 10 feet away from President Quezon was on August 1, 1946. I was already a college student and was one of hundreds of thousands of people who had lined up along Rizal Avenue, watching the funeral procession that was to take President Quezon to his final resting place in the Manila North Cemetery. This story of the famous Son of Baler, to whom poverty was not an obstacle to the attainment of his noble goals: his rise to fame; his leadership; his nationalism, is one which must be told to all generations. It should be said that we should live by the principles for which Manuel Quezon labored and worked. He was not idle, while he lived, not for any single moment, so we too must act to be worthy of this heritage. □

Turn to page 40

THE "GOOD FIGHT" OF PRESIDENT MANUEL L. QUEZON

The "Good Fight" is the autobiography of President Manuel L. Quezon told in his own words except for the three, short chapters at the end of the book. These chapters were reconstructed from notes that were submitted by him to his private secretary, Mr. Serapio Cancrera at the time when his health could no longer allow him to dictate in his own words what he wanted Mr. Cancrera to write. The title of the book itself was taken from the Epistle of St. Paul, "I have fought the good fight...."

Indeed, the life of the late President Quezon had always been a series of heroic fights where he managed to come out victorious. Early in his life he had to fight poverty and ignorance for he was born of a poor family in Baler, a very remote town almost inaccessible to transportation. Through sheer industry and determination, he was able to conquer both. He not only finished Law at the University of Santo Tomas but succeeded in occupying the highest position that was possible for any Filipino citizen to occupy. From being a successful private practitioner and a humble town Councilor, he rose to become President of the Philippine Commonwealth.

Another significant battle he had to fight was his struggle to overcome his poor health. Ravaged by tuberculosis which he

must have contracted from taking care of his mother who died of that very same ailment, he successfully steered the ship of state at its most critical period, the invasion of the country by the Japanese Imperial Forces. Sick and weakened by unceasing coughing, he made firm decisions and never wavered in his vision of an independent Philippines by July 4, 1946. Traveling on a wheel chair, he managed to hop from Manila to Corregidor, from Corregidor to Mindanao, hopping from one Visayan island to another, from Mindanao to Australia and finally from Australia to the United States. This Odyssey was made by means of land, water and air using all forms of vehicles amidst falling bombs and torpedoes. What was more marvelous was that President Quezon lifted the morale of not only the soldiers but the civilians as well by incessantly reminding them of the victory ahead, taking care even of their basic need of food, medicines and war supplies.

Despite all these handicaps, President Quezon had the courage

and the strength to stand before the U.S. House of Representatives, on June 2, 1942 and the U.S. Senate sometime after. In both occasions, President Quezon was applauded in a standing ovation as he eloquently reminded both chambers of their sacred obligation to redeem the Philippines from Japanese hands and comply with their promise of recognizing Philippine independence on July 4, 1946; he even insisted that it could, perhaps, be granted earlier. His daring words "This war is not ours but yours but gallantly we fought at your side" and "Your slogan should not only be 'Remember Pearl Harbor' but also 'Remember the Philippines'".

President Quezon's fight against injustice is well documented. While he defended the cases for rich clients for which he collected substantial fees, he never abandoned the cases of the poor whom he defended with equal ardor and conviction. No matter how influential his opponent was, he never was afraid to fight for what he knew was right and just.

"This war is not ours but yours but gallantly we fought at your side" and "Your slogan should not only be 'Remember Pearl Harbor' but also 'Remember the Philippines.'"

He fought against the Americans bravely during the Philippine-American War believing in his heart and mind that General Aguinaldo had been short-changed in his partnership with Dewey and his men. However, after seeing how well Aguinaldo was being treated in Malacanan after his surrender, he eventually took his oath of allegiance to the American flag relying on securing the recognition of our independence as soon as the Filipinos could organize a stable form of government. He never gave up hope no matter how dark the prospects were that, somehow, someday the Philippines would obtain its rightful place among the free nations of the world.

President's Quezon's program of social justice is considered outstanding even up to this time. Land for the landless campaign resulted in the development of Mindanao, especially the Koronadal Valley. One of his first

preoccupations as President of the Commonwealth was to secure the passage of a law that would raise the minimum wage not only of the urban laborers but also the tenant farmers. His effort to solve the Friar Land problem by applying the Irish formula known as "Three F's" would have provided a lasting solution to agrarian reform had there been time to follow it to fruition. (Three F's mean fixed rental, fixed tenure, freedom to convey). His realistic approach to social justice may be summed up in his definition of independence in the following statements:

"I had learned that there were countries nominally independent but which in effect were under foreign rule; and still others which in theory as well as in fact had national independence, but whose people knew no freedom except the freedom to starve, the freedom to be silent, the freedom to be jailed, or the freedom to be

shot. None of those situations was I willing to see become the fate of my people. I had devoted my whole life in securing for them not the name or the form, but the substance and the essence of liberty."

The Good Fight, p. 143.

What was President Quezon's secret of emerging victorious in all of his fights? My personal opinion was that like a good fighter he knew how to step backward one step, to achieve two steps forward. He knew when to retreat and mount stronger, more prepared assault, always keeping his eye on the object of the race, fighting as St. Paul said, the "Good Fight."

As a legacy to his countrymen, he left the Code of Citizenship, among others. This Code of Ethics was made compulsory reading for every Filipino, especially those in government offices and institutions of learning. It is indeed unfortunate that with the death of this great star of Baler, this Code of Citizenship seemed to have been set aside. Is it not possible that this Code if resurrected and lived will serve as our beacon light to progress? ■

I had devoted my whole life in securing for them not the name or the form, but the substance and the essence of liberty.

The Star of Baler (from p. 38)

References

- Filemon Poblador, editor, *Quezon Memorial Book*. Manila: Philippines: Quezon Memorial Committee, 1952.
- Mauro Garcia and Juan Rivera, editors, *Historical Bulletin*. Manila, Philippines: Philippine Historical Association, 1978. Volume XXII.
- Quezon, Manuel Luis. *The Good Fight*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Incorporated, 1946.

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

Proposals for exchange should be addressed to the Librarian, Philippine Social Science Council, PSSC Center, Commonwealth Avenue, Diliman, Quezon City.

NOTES FOR A BIOGRAPHY OF M.L.Q.

Every biography is something like a detective story: a few clues are handled, a few witnesses examined, and from them a complicated series of events is reconstructed. The pleasure of the chase is in it. Unfortunately the analogy conceals a trap. Because we are dealing with clues and witnesses, it is easy to think we are chasing a criminal. We then no longer discover our subject's motives; we catch him in the act. If we are tempted to excuse a fault, we resist as if to compound the felony. The consequence is just as our grandfathers ran the risk of worshiping every famous man as a hero, so we, after half a century of debunking, run the risk of taking fame in itself as a sure sign of moral and mental turpitude. All our swans, because they are swans, must be geese.

Jacques Barzun

(from "Truth in Biography: Berlioz," 1939)

There is yet to be written "a critical and profound biography of this exceptional but complex man that will go beyond the more dramatic moments in his political career, peppered by the more colorful vignettes of his personal life," says historian Bernardita Reyes Churchill, in her foreword to the collected essays on Manuel L. Quezon by Rolando M. Gripaldo. She is right.

As at best, a young person with strong interest, but no formal training or experience, in the art of writing history, I would like to point out some topics that need to be investigated and incorporated into a "critical and profound biography" of my grandfather, Manuel Luis Quezon, should anyone attempt to write one.

Manuel L. Quezon's life has been written about at length by many people. Particular periods of

his life have been studied in great detail. One only has to point out recent works by Alfred McCoy, Samuel K. Tan, Aruna Gopinath, and Roland Gripaldo to prove this. Recent works on him display the fruits borne out of the intense research undertaken by the authors. Out of their works, a more subtle and at times iconoclastic interpretation of his life and motives are coming to surface. This is not only good, but necessary.

This is good because a complicated and vigorous man like Manuel L. Quezon deserves to be studied in detail; a man cannot have been in the forefront of national affairs for decades simply by being the fiery, mercurial, cunning political virtuoso that he is commonly depicted to be. He may have displayed all of these characteristics, but history as the portrayal of stereotypes is not worthy of the name. If some

maintain that the history written shortly after independence in 1946 was pure hagiography, then one could retort that the history written since the sixties has been pure debunking. But that does not mean that books written during both periods are useless or tainted; after all, writers of history today are attempting to challenge the canons and conventions of both eras; and out of this, only good, only deeper understanding can emerge.

This is also necessary because it is clear that our history and our society at present are very complex, and even more unique than we may think. In discovering who we really are now, it is helpful to see how we were then. Our understanding and appreciation of the present, our ability to see the root cause of our national virtues and defects, will only be as good as our ability to identify their roots and precedents in the past. It would be a poor service to past generations to treat

their achievements or failures superficially or blithely.

In the case of Manuel L. Quezon writers, who first made him appear as perfect Father of his country, they were challenged by those who maintained that he was nothing but a schemer endowed with the talent to opportunistically deceive those he came across. Today those writers are being challenged by those who feel that a person cannot be reduced to black and white. History as big, bold strokes, is being replaced with history as subtle shades on the canvas of our past.

At present a more favorable image of Quezon is emerging. He is no longer the protean figure or the political harlot; he is emerging as a leader endowed with talent and gifts who did what he could for his country. This is not to say that a sweet-smelling Quezon will emerge out of the works of the historians from now on. Rather, a well-rounded Quezon will emerge: a Quezon who was, all in one, a product of his time, a person ahead of his time, and a person in some instances even held hostage by his past.

What is needed now is for someone to attempt to synthesize all that has been written, and is being written, about him. There is a need to fill out the blanks left behind in the areas historians have

not studied in depth. To understand the Quezon of the 1940's, the Quezon of the 1920's and 1930's must be analyzed. And, the Quezon of the 1920's may be understood better if attention is paid to the Quezon who grew up in the twilight years of the Spanish regime.

At the same time even more effort has to be poured into the study of individual aspects of his life and character. It would be very helpful as well to study the private Quezon: the family man, the husband, the relative, the friend. Research on his kinship ties, and his friends, would provide illumination into his "real" self. Other aspects, if considered, would help us determine his private and public priorities.

In my view, the following aspects of Manuel L. Quezon's life are crying out for study and analysis:

1. His family background, his antecedents: these must have influenced the development of his character. His father, Lucio Quezon, came from Paco, Manila. An American activist in the 1960's claimed that he had been able to trace the Quezon family back to the Parian of the 18th century. Little is known about his life as a young man in Baler. His roots in Paco and Baler, if

traceable, would allow us to discern what society was like in the town in which he grew up. Events in the lives of his parents and relatives might have had extensive effects on his relationship with his province, town mates, relatives, and his social and moral views.

2. How mestizo was he? The extent to which he displayed the characteristics or attitude displayed by people with Spanish blood of his generation could be important and provide further insights into his psychology.
3. An analysis of conventionality or unconventionality: The impression I get is that he was a highly unconventional man. His sense of humor, said to be particularly a "Baler" one, his ability to be magnanimous and not hold grudges, may provide insights into his way of thinking. The extent to which he "fitted in," or consciously rejected, the conventions of his time, both in his personal and public life, would rather clarify his psychology and character.
4. A detailed analysis of his leadership style, as it changed over time is needed. The extent to which he was a democratic leader, even a

At present a more favorable image of Quezon is emerging. He is no longer the protean figure or the political harlot; he is emerging as a leader endowed with talent and gifts who did what he could for his country.

progressive one, and the veracity of the view that he was a leader with authoritarian tendencies, must be determined. This will also involve a thorough investigation into the personal, financial, local, national, and international components of the politics and society of his time.

5. The impact of his health on him as an individual, and as a leader, should be scrutinized. Tuberculosis is said to have psychological, as well as physical, effects on its victims (for example Mohammed Ali Jinnah of Pakistan). He also contracted other illnesses during his lifetime which may have affected his vitality and temperament.
6. An appreciation of how his religious beliefs affected him as a private individual and a leader must be achieved.
7. An analysis of the effects he had, indirectly or directly, on the policies and leadership styles of his contemporaries and successors, up to the present, would be fruitful.
8. The comments of his intellectual life should be dissected.

Manuel L. Quezon was a man who displayed a keen sense of history. He was a man who was confident of himself, and of his role in history. The fact that he willed all his private and public papers to

the Filipino people was proof of how conscious he was for the need to provide posterity with the tools with which to study him. Making his papers available for future generations to study could

allow us today to either reduce his place in history or make it secure. No one knows if there are documents lurking among his papers or those of his contemporaries that may prove damaging to him, his policies, or even his generation.

The decision to leave his life open to the scrutiny of others, some of whom may not be sympathetic to him, is, in itself, one that reveals his having a clean conscience and an abiding trust in his people. His was a decision that has not been

made by many other public figures in the Philippines. And the decision is all the more worthy one, since he did not change it even when he was not sure if he would ever return to his country.

Quezon was a man who displayed a keen sense of history. He was a man who was confident of himself, and of his role in history.

Manuel L. Quezon over half a century ago ensured that the tools needed by historians would be available to them if they wanted them. Yet for a long time they lay neglected and overlooked. It is time to finally make use

of the tools he provided. They may end up damning him, or exalting him. But the main thing is that they will help us understand him, and make up our minds for ourselves, about what his life meant and what his legacy was to us. That is something any historian should want to achieve. If as Karl Becker says, every generation writes its own history, let our generation write a complete, not superficial, one. □

subscribe to the



PSSC SOCIAL SCIENCE INFORMATION

Annual Rates: P80.00/US\$15.00 (4 issues)
excluding postage and handling i.e. P30.00 (local) and
\$ 5.00 (seamail)

PSSC CENTRAL SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE

PSSCENTER, COMMONWEALTH AVENUE, DILIMAN
QUEZON CITY 1101 OR
U.P. POST OFFICE BOX 205, DILIMAN, QUEZON CITY

THE QUEZON CODE OF CITIZENSHIP AND ETHICS

1. Have faith in Divine Providence that guides the destinies of men and nations.
2. Love your country for it is the home of your people, the seat of your affection, and the source of your happiness and well-being. Its defense is your primary duty. Be ready at all times to sacrifice and die for it if necessary.
3. Respect the Constitution which is the expression of your sovereign will. The government is your government. It has been established for your safety and welfare. Obey the laws and see that they are observed by all and that public officials comply with their duties.
4. Pay your taxes willingly and promptly. Citizenship implies not only rights but also obligations.
5. Safeguard the purity of suffrage and abide by the decisions of the majority.
6. Love and respect your parents. It is your duty to serve them gratefully and well.
7. Value your honor as you value your life. Poverty with honor is preferable to wealth with dishonor.
8. Be truthful and be honest in thought and in action. Be just and charitable, courteous but dignified in your dealings with your fellow men.
9. Lead a clean and frugal life. Do not indulge in frivolity or pretense. Be simple in your dress and modest in your behavior.
10. Live up the noble traditions of our people. Venerate the memory of our heroes. Their lives point the way to duty and honor.
11. Be industrious. Be not afraid or ashamed to do manual labor. Productive toil is conducive to economic security and adds to the wealth of the nation.
12. Rely on your own efforts for your progress and happiness. Be not easily discouraged. Persevere in the pursuit of your legitimate ambitions.
13. Do your work cheerfully, thoroughly, and well. Work badly done is worse than work undone. Do not leave for tomorrow what you can do today.
14. Contribute to the welfare of your community and promote social justice. You do not live for yourselves and your families alone. You are a part of society to which you owe definite responsibilities.
15. Cultivate the habit of using goods made in the Philippines. Patronize the products and trades of your countrymen.
16. Use and develop our natural resources and conserve them for posterity. They are the inalienable heritage of our people. Do not traffic with your citizenship. □

PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION BOARD OF GOVERNORS

DR. EPITACIO S. PALISPIS, GDLC
President

DR. ADRIEL O. MEIMBAN, NEC
Vice-President

DR. CELESTINA S. BONCAN, UP
Secretary

PROF. JUDITH B.
BORROQUILLO, UE
Treasurer

PROF. MINERVA GONZALEZ,
UST
Auditor

DR. NAPOLEON J. CASAMBRE,
UP
Public Relations Officer

DR. ROSARIO MENDOZA
CORTES, UP
Editor-in-Chief

DR. GLORIA M. SANTOS, SMC
Curriculum

DR. SONIA ZAIDE
Governor-at-Large

DR. REYNALDO PALMA, DLSU
Governor-at-Large

MRS. AVELINA CASTAÑEDA,
NHJ
Governor-at-Large

DR. CESAR P. POBRE, NDGP
Immediate Past President

 Herminia Corazon M. Alfonso, Ph.D.*

CHANGING CONCEPTUAL LENSES: from Data Collection to Poieta (redefining data) Construction from Data to Poieta**

When asked for comment on a draft of this paper, a U.P. Diliman professor's immediate remark was one of assent: "*Oo nga pala!*" (Oh, yes, indeed!)¹ The elaboration of the reply was one of realization of something that one had not thought of before but now sees it as, indeed, what actually transpires.

Two sections constitute the paper: one on the philosophy behind the changing conception; the other, on its context.

I. Philosophy

Construction (rather than Collection)

The proposed modification is not a mere semantic belaboring of terms but rather raises an epistemological issue that entails responsibility of social science researchers. What the latter refers to is the responsibility of

researchers for their constructions² (Krippendorff, 1993) for, although *not yet generally recognized, they do make up what they think are objects given (data), waiting to be discovered.*³

Clyde H. Coombs — who probably more than any other social scientist has devoted much thinking to, and done much work on, data in social measurement — "moved from talking only of data collection in the 1953 formulation of his 'theory of data' to talking increasingly of data making in 1964" (Bateson, 1984). His theory, however, is neutral:

Data theory merely says that whenever behavior has been mapped into data to be analyzed, someone has labeled something as stimulus and something else as a behaving organism. Data theory neither approves nor disapproves of this labeling. (Coombs, 1964)

But this neutrality becomes profound when coupled with his insight that *many alternative ways of mapping behavior into data are open to the creative scientist.* Put in another way, in Coomb's words, "*there is no necessary interpretation of any behavioral example as some particular kind of data*" (emphasis in the original), giving leeway to a variety of creative mapping.

Nicholas Bateson (1984) is more forthright than Coombs and gives the title, *Data Construction in Social Surveys*, to his book (emphasis mine). He explains:

I use this term ['data construction'] in preference to the conventional 'data collection' or 'data gathering' in order to stress that survey data are not, as their name would indicate, 'givens', waiting to be picked like flowers in a hedgerow. They are made, not found. (Coombs, who perhaps has given more

*Dr. Alfonso is professor of Communication in the University of the Philippines College of Mass Communication (UPCMC).

**This article was prepared by the author as holder of the Teodoro F. Valencia Professorial Chair. It has previously been discussed with, and subjected to the scrutiny of, four 'special publics' in the first semester, 1994-1995: the students in the doctoral course, Communication 312, whose content is precisely the subject of this paper; the author's undergraduate communication theory class who have had readings and discussions on this subject; faculty members in the Communication Research Department of the UPCM, and the Graduate Studies Committee of the CMC.

¹Dr. Emerita Lee, professor of education and former University Registrar, UP Diliman.

²For a noteworthy insight on this point, see Rafael A. Villar's book review of *Rethinking Communication* edited by Brenda Dervin et al., 1989 (elsewhere in this issue), where he cautions about commitment to responsibility possibly becoming stifling, as a prior restraint, to creativity.

³This constitutes what I have called in my dissertation "the data problem".

The author also acknowledges with thanks the solicited comments on this paper by Dr. Ma. Concepcion P. Alfiler, Dean Consuelo J. Paz, and Dr. Ledivina Carillo; the original pen-and-paper execution of the two models by Prof. Rafael A. Villar and their computer graphics by Mr. Rafael Jose R. Gutierrez; the much-valued assistance of Mr. Rodolfo Y. Tarlit, CMC College Librarian, and his staff, Mr. Romeo Perdigon, in coordinating with PSSC for the publication of this article, as well as two others by this author's students (Villar and Baula et al.), in this issue; and the competent computer reproduction of the whole paper by Ms. Leticia M. Dones.

thought than any other writer to the problems of the data of social research — though not specifically to the data of social surveys—moved from talking only of data collection in the 1953 formulation of his 'theory of data' to talking increasingly of data *making* in 1964). The researcher selects a topic for investigation and then frames a question about this topic which gives structure or shape to the answer. In an interview survey additional shaping is given to the answer by the interviewer through the supplementary questions (or 'probes') that she improvises and the comments that she feeds back to the person she is interviewing. If the interviewee gets 'off the point' she will try to bring him back to the subject-matter of the question. If she is recording his answer, verbatim she will edit out the throat clearings and the remarks that have nothing to do with the survey ('Is that the milkman I hear?'), and, when her work is finished and the questionnaire is returned to the researcher's office, coders and editors will continue to shape and to prune until the answer is reduced to a symbol standing for category membership — a code. (I use the feminine pronouns here as the best interviewers always seem to be women. All other roles in surveys are occupied equally well by either sex).

"without recourse to a pre-understanding of the social lifeworld we cannot know what we are grasping with measurement operations."

A 1993 book by Ian Dey, *Qualitative Data Analysis*, zeroes in on the issue in no uncertain terms:

The point is that any 'data,' regardless of method, are in fact 'produced' by the researcher. In this respect, the idea that we 'collect' data is a bit misleading. Data are not 'out there' waiting collection, like so many rubbish bags on the pavement. For a start, they have to be noticed by the researcher, and treated as data for the purposes of his or her research. 'Collecting' data always involves selecting data, and the techniques of data collection and transcription (through notes, tapes, recording or whatever) will affect what finally constitutes 'data' for the purposes of research.

Sociologists A.V. Cicourel (1964) and Jurgen Habermas (1983) both agree that data are produced but not without the difficulties that arise in establishing them in social research. Such difficulties, they hold, are rooted in epistemology for, as Habermas contends, "without recourse to a preunderstanding of the social lifeworld we cannot know what we are grasping with measurement operations." Cicourel then sees the need for a theory of culture that accounts both for meanings communicated in every-

day language, and for non-linguistic shared cultural experiences that inform every social act. Apropos is the term coined by phenomenologist Alfred Schutz (1962), "constructs of the second degree," or second-order constructs; i.e., "constructs made by the actors on the social

scene, whose behavior the scientist observes, and tries to explain in accordance with the procedural rules of his science."

In anthropology, Clifford Geertz (1973) notes: "this fact — that what we call our data are really our own construction of other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to — is obscured because most of what we need to comprehend [such as] a particular event, ritual ... or whatever is insinuated as background information before the thing itself is directly examined." Granting that there is nothing wrong with this, he nevertheless declares that "it does lead to a view of anthropological research as rather more of an observational and rather less of an interpretive activity than it really is."

The noted historian, Louis Gottschalk (1950) delineates facts of history as facts of meaning, and "have no objective reality of their own." They exist, he said, "only in the observer's or historian's mind..."

Others have their own 'labels': "*made*" observation (Kaplan, 1964); "*funded meaning*" (Dewey, 1939); and, even among empiricists, "*soft data*" (as opposed to purely observational "*hard data*") (Kaplan, 1964).

Even in physics, the most successful of the 'hard' sciences, a way of looking at it (and every science) other than the "obvious view" that "it is the discovery of a ready-made world" has been advanced by Bruce Gregory, Associate Director of the Harvard-Smithsonian Center for Astrophysics. His book, *Inventing Reality: Physics as Language* (1990) draws on the work of physicists Niels Bohr, Albert

Einstein and Richard Feynman in exploring science's attempts to understand the world by inventing its vocabulary to describe nature. The book opens with this quotation from Einstein:

To him who is a discoverer in this field, the products of his imagination appear so necessary and natural that he regards them, and would like to have them regarded by others, not as creations of thought but as given realities.

Convention, however, dies hard. For example, the decade-long series of experiments by Elton Mayo (1946), from which the well known "Hawthorne effect" became a byword in management, came to be reinterpreted as "a most unfortunate 'accidental' effect [and] used as a warning to stress the importance of maintaining a rigid 'neutrality' in all research dealings with subjects" (Ackroyd and Hughes, 1981). Again, Ackroyd and Hughes point out that, since the mid-1960s there has been "a more widespread recognition that 'facts' are not so much ineluctable features of reality as productions significant only within a given context of meaning" (emphasis mine). They cite Aaron Cicourel from whose perspective, they say, "the participants in the research... both investigator and subject... create what turns out as data." (emphasis mine). Yet, the title they gave to their book is *Data Collection in Context*. (under-scoring mine) Indeed, convention dies hard.

R.D. Laing (1967) offers a middle view of the data problem:

The "data" (given) of research are not so much given as taken out of a constantly elusive matrix of happenings. We should speak of *capta* rather than data. The quantitatively interchangeable grid that goes into the mill of reliability studies and rating scales is the expression of a processing that we do on reality, not the expression of the processes of reality (emphasis in the original).

Based on his observation that "what in empirical science are called data [are] in a real sense arbitrarily chosen by the nature of the hypothesis already formed" Laing suggests that "*capta*" could be a more "honest" term than "data." However, underlying this suggestion is again the distinction between a world that exists independently or outside of an observer and reveals itself through facts and a world that exists largely as observed by someone whose imagination or creativity captures what he/she is attending to, among things that "exist out there."

Poietia (rather than Data)

Following from the above, I propose the change from "data" to "poietia."

Poietia, just like conventional data, are observations that are assumed or asserted to be "facts" and, accepted as such, they are used as bases for decisions or as grounds for actions. Important distinctions, however, define the origin of their credentials.

Data derive their validity from the belief in a reality that is independent/outside of the observer, and this is seen as given,⁴ searched for, found and materially collected/gathered as evidence for testing hypotheses. In other words, this reality is thought to be "objective," or free of "contamination" from the subject community's (or the researcher's) observation. Given this etymology of "data," there is confusion, if not a contradiction in terms, in Coombs' "restricting" (his word) the term "data" to observations already interpreted and excluding observations that have been selected and recorded. This he illustrates in his model for his theory of data, thus:

"The 'data' (given) of research are not so much given as taken out of a constantly elusive matrix of happenings. This paper speaks of poietia rather than data."

⁴Data is the plural of *datum*. In the words of Urdang (1988): "in Latin *datum* is a form of the past participle of *dare* 'to give,' and it meant 'given,' probably in much the same way that 'a given (fact)' is used in English. It was borrowed in the 17th century in that sense but has evolved, mainly in its plural form, to mean a 'set of facts,' usually referring to a verifiable collection of figures, as one would encounter in statistics." Other dictionary authors/editors (Barnhart, 1988; Hoad, 1986; Klein, 1971; Onions, 1966; Fennel, 1964) define *data* (plural of *datum*) as something given, assumed, granted.

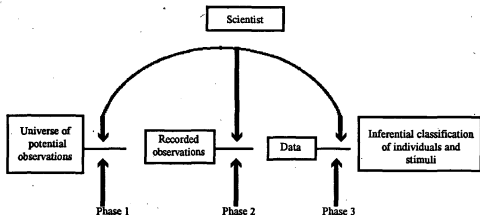
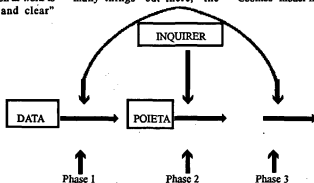


Figure 1.1 FLOW DIAGRAM FROM THE REAL WORLD TO INFERENCES. COOMBS, 1964

Kaplan, in his book published in the same year (1964) as Coombs', retorts: "I am saying that *there are no other sorts of observations [than interpreted]*, though often the interpretation at work is far from explicit and clear" (emphasis mine).

Kaplan's stance anticipates poieta. A researcher's (and the research subjects') conceptions come into play from the very moment of selection (from the many things 'out there,' the

"universe of potential observations;" or, "data," in the sense of this paper) and recording of observations. Taking poieta now into account, I would modify Coombs' model like this:³



sieve



CONCEPTUALIZATION

In order words, poieta derive their authenticity from the certification by the very person/s that "made" the research and is also the subject of the research. Poieta are

seen as dependent on the person/s who constructed them, the participating observers (i.e., the members of the subject community and the researcher), their history,

conceptualization and organizational features. For example, in a research on the valuation of costs which should accrue to the residents of an area of a proposed

³Modifications all in capital letters.

dam construction, the researchers initially thought that such costs were computable, based on material assets such as crops, property, etc. (Almazan et al., 1985). Later they realized that "not all figures on costs could be gathered." There were "factors like sentimental costs, pioneering costs, dislocation costs, etc. [which] could not be quantified but yet were important to the people." Thus, "changes in the research design were brought about due to the local circumstances."

The word "poietik" (from the Greek *poietik* meaning "producing") was invented for this author's dissertation to put across and project the created nature of "data". In coining poietik during a brainstorming conversation initiated by this writer with her dissertation advisor, Klaus Krippendorff, both of us categorically acknowledge observations as the product of *constructions*. It is the members of the subject community who, desirably by consensus among themselves, establish what they consider 'facts,' and confer evidential status on what they have co-constructed. This also implies two things: (1) that the community members have to take responsibility for their own constructions; and (2) that the evidential status of poietik may change in the process of inquiry as the members assert doubts, reconsider and agree on revisions by consensus. To illustrate (from the same land valuation study cited above), the research design — which was worked out by a research committee composed of residents and outside facilitators — underwent several changes.

One such change hinged on the "facticity" of the eligibility of livestock for valuation. The research committee observed that such assets were movable and would not be submerged, and therefore excluded them from items to be valued. However, a majority of the residents asserted that in the event of dislocation, "transportation for the farm animals would be extremely difficult. Also, should they decide to sell, market prices would have fallen due to the saturation of supply." (Almazan et al.) These arguments drawing on experience served as *empirical constraints* on the acceptability/nonacceptability of livestock valuations as poietik. The point I want to clarify and underscore is that both opposing observations, the research committee's and those of a majority of the residents, are constructions which contributed in evolving poietik that became the bases for decision.

Recall the celebrated "Hawthorne effects" which are very carefully avoided as confounding reactivity in conventional experimental research but which, by the same token, constitute an acknowledgement of the interactive, creative contribution of both subjects and researchers to how the data evolved. As Karl Popper

(1968) asserts, "experiment is planned action," and "we have to 'make' our experiences. It is we who always formulate the questions ... and in the end, it is again we who give the answer..." Ackroyd and Hughes (1981) are emphatic in their position that "in a strong sense of the word, data has to be created" because descriptions depend on the point of view or purpose of the observer.

II. Context

The proposed revision may be viewed in the light of social science, communication, and Philippine contexts.

It sees the social sciences not merely as "an extension of natural science," but as "a world apart," a "special case" which carries "elements of both science and humanities, but ... is different from both" (Littlejohn, 1992). It gives due course to the *humanistic element in the social sciences* (communication is one of these) which respects the creative (read constructive), interpretive capability of persons engaged in research. It accepts that the social sciences are *not the same* as the natural sciences. A panelist (a physicist) in a very recent encounter between social scientists and natural scientists,⁶ in so many

... "experiment is planned action," and "we have to 'make' our experiences. It is we who always formulate the questions ... and in the end, it is again we who give the answer..."

⁶Encounter of a Different Kind: The Sciences Meet", A panel discussion between the faculty of the College of Social Sciences and Philosophy (CSSP) and of the College of Science, sponsored by the UP CSSP, 20 July 1994.

words was in effect suggesting that the social sciences may have to develop their own concepts and procedures. A step in this direction may be this proposal for the use of poietia (instead of data) and the recognition of the constructive nature of how poietia evolve. However, as shown earlier, it should be pointed out that *this constructive nature holds not only in the social sciences but in physics and other sciences as well* (cf. above Kaplan's rejoinder to Coombs; the first sentence in the block quotation from Dey; and Gregory's thesis regarding the invention of reality in physics).

It sees data (read poietia) as the product of the shared interactive, creative contributions of people who are subjects-researchers and researchers-subjects (after Paulo Freire's student-teacher, teacher-student concept in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*) who have to be in communication with each other for the research to be possible at all. It eschews data as the result of "someone [having] labeled something as stimulus and something else as a behaving organism" (cf. the block quotation from Coombs, above) that is reminiscent of the undesirable deterministic, linear model of communication.

It sees the relationship between Filipino subjects-researchers and researchers-subjects as one of *pakikipagkapwa*. This Enriquez (1977) describes thus:

In a manner of speaking, the Filipino is never alone. He has a companion from birth till death. When the social scientist interviews the Filipino, there is someone else listening in the

room and perhaps a crowd of curious neighbors eavesdropping or peeping by the window" (See Feliciano 1965). As a child, the westerner [sic] might pity him for not having as many toys to play with but actually, it is the Filipino child who pities the Westerner for not having as many friends and playmates, and for not having as many brothers and sisters who care... In fact his creativity was first challenged most likely by the many toys he had to construct himself as a child. In any case, the Filipino child was nurtured with games more than with toys. For that reason, he deals with people and learns to relate with others at an early age.

Should the Filipino get sick, he is cured physically with drugs and medical aid but socio-psychologically with fruits beside him which he may not even eat. More importantly, he has people, friends and relatives. Even a room in a supposedly modern hospital which says "strictly no visitors" as you enter proves to be crowded with people.

My own field experience pointed up the Filipino's propensity for *pakikipagkapwa*. In a project where the 'treatment' was the instrument (self-administered questionnaire or interview schedule), despite safeguards for 'detachment' after having given clear instructions on the procedure, even in the questionnaire 'condition' the 'subjects' persisted in engaging the researchers in a situation that virtually became an interview (Alfonso et al., 1976). In general the interpersonal interaction seemed to elicit 'data' better. ■

References

- Ackroyd, Stephen and Hughes, John A. *Data Collection in Context*, New York: Longman, Inc., 1981.
- Alfonso, Herminia Corazon M. "On the Logic of Socially Shared Inquiry: An Examination of Participatory Research and Related Development Efforts from a Communication Process Perspective." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1992.
- ; Cipres, Susan B.; Adriano, Fermin D.; and Quifones, Marciano, Jr. M. "Tests on, and Construction of, Instruments Used to Measure Awareness, Knowledge, Attitude and Practice (AKAP) of Family Planning Among Varied Respondents in Selected Areas in the Philippines." UP/IMC-POPCOM-UNFPA Population Communication Project, Diliman, Quezon City, 1976.
- Almazan, Luz; Ravanera, Carmencita; and Malate, Raul. "Participatory Research in Community Organizing." "PR in Community-Based Valuation." *Human Society*. Vol. 39, 1985.
- Barnhart, Robert K. (Ed.). *The Barnhart Dictionary of Etymology*. New York: The H.W. Wilson Company, 1988.
- Bateson, Nicholas. *Data Construction in Social Surveys*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1984.
- Cicourel, A.V. *Method and Measurement in Sociology*. Illinois: Glencoe, 1964.
- Coombs, Clyde H. *Theory of Data*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964.

*Note: This is considered 'contamination of data' by positivists.

- Dewey, John. *Logic: The Theory of Inquiry*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1938.
- Dey, Ian. *Qualitative Data Analysis*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Enriquez, Virgilio G. *Filipino Psychology in the Third World*. Diliman, Quezon City: Philippine Psychology Research and Training House, 1977.
- Fennell, C.A.M. *The Stanford Dictionary of Anglicized Words and Phrases*. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1964.
- Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1973.
- Gottschalk, Louis. *Understanding History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950.
- Gregory, Bruce. *Inventing Reality: Physics as Language*. Wiley Science Editions. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1990.
- Habermas, Jurgen. *On the Logic of the Social Sciences*. trans. by Sherry. Weber Nicholsen and Jerry A. Stark. Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1988.
- Hoad, T.F. (Ed.). *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Word Origins*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Kaplan, Abraham. *The Conduct of Inquiry*. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1964.
- Klein, Ernest. *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*. Unabridged One-Volume Ed Amsterdam: Elsevier Scientific Publishing Company, 1971.
- Krippendorff, Klaus. "The Past of Communication's Hoped-For Future." *Journal of Communication*, Summer 1993.
- Laing, Ronald D. *The Politics of Experience*. New York: The Free Press, 1967.
- Littlejohn, Stephen W. *Theories of Human Communication*. 4th Ed. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1992.
- Mayo, Elton. *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*. 2nd ed. Boston: Harvard University, 1946, cited in Ackroyd and Hughes.
- Onions, C.T. (Ed.). *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*. London: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Popper, Karl. *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.
- Schutz, Alfred. *Collected Papers*. Vol. 1. The Hague, 1962.
- The Random House Dictionary of the English Language*, 1967.
- Urdang, Laurence. *The Dictionary of Confusable Words*. New York: Facts on File Publications, 1988.



PSSC Desktop Publishing Unit



For:	Rates per page*
Text already encoded	P 35.00
Text not yet encoded	P 50.00
Text with tables or charts	P 50.00
Laser printing	P 10.00

*Regular and associate members of the PSSC are given lower rates. For your desktop publishing needs, please call ☎ 922-9621 local 305/309 (ask for Alana, Elvie or Jacob) or visit us at 2nd Floor, PSSCenter, Commonwealth Avenue, Diliman, Quezon City.

Dervin, Brenda; Crossberg, Lawrence; O'Keefe, Barbara;
Wartella, Ellen eds. **RETHINKING COMMUNICATION**. Volume 1
Paradigm Issues. California: Sage Publications, Inc. 1989.
240pp.

Rethinking Communication, as its subtitle suggests, discusses paradigm issues in communication and the social sciences. In a sense, though, the readings are more about rethinking than about communication. The focus is on new or different ways of seeing the world; or different frameworks through which to construe the world. And the differences start right from the way the five essayists "see" the concept of paradigm: Rosengren (p. 22) decides to borrow Burrell and Morgan's "typology"; Hall (p. 40) prefers the term "problematic"; Giddens (p. 50) calls it "perspective or tradition"; Craig (p. 119) proffers the idea of a "discipline." Only Krippendorff (p. 676) is amenable to the term "paradigm."

The Essays

The following is a sketch of the five essays.

Rosengren, Kark Erik

In the essay "Paradigms Lost and Regained" Rosengren claims:

By means of the Burrell-Morgan typology, all schools of sociology (as well as all schools of other social sciences — for instance, communication research) may be ordered in a meaningful way. Instead of two amorphous "camps," [i.e., the positivist and the

critical] we have arrived at four meaningful types of schools of social science, called by Burrell and Morgan "radical humanism," "radical structuralism," "interpretive sociology," and "functionalist sociology," respectively [see the figure that follows]. In terms of the

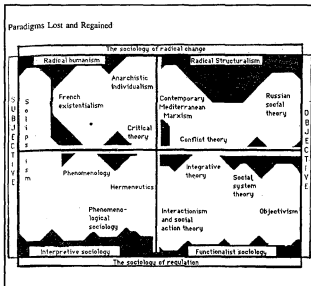


Figure 1.1. Burrell and Morgan's Typology for Schools of Sociology

*Written for the doctoral course, Communication 312, first semester, 1994-1995 in the University of the Philippines College of Mass Communication under Dr. Hermisina Corazon M. Alfonso.

polemics between representatives of different "paradigms" referred to ... "functionalist sociology" could be the "dominant paradigm," while the three others could be called the "dissident paradigms."

But while Burrell and Morgan maintain that the lines that divide the four typologies "are insurmountable ... in the sense that one can only dwell in one of the four cells ... at a time," in contrast, Rosengren argues "that the two dimensions are best regarded as continua rather than qualitative variables with only two values.... Consequently, the dividing lines may be regarded as much less absolute." (p. 22)

Echoing Thunberg and Hall, respectively, Rosengren declares:

Indeed, a most compelling problem of communication research is how people may use communication to raise themselves, in a spiral of interaction, from the level of degraded objects toward that of willing and acting subjects (see Thunberg et al., 1981). ...

Indeed, a most compelling problem for communication research is how, and to what extent, mass media in developed societies help to turn conflict into consensus (see Hall, 1982).

Rosengren likewise sees a decisive difference between the natural sciences on one hand and the humanities and the social sciences on the other hand. For while "there tends to be one paradigm at a time in each discipline or subdiscipline" in the former, "it is normal to have more than one 'paradigms' in each

discipline or subdiscipline" in the latter (p. 25) suggesting the belief "that most of the humanities and social sciences have not yet reached the paradigmatic stage reached by the natural sciences" (p. 24). He maintains therefore that "for lack of paradigms in the strong sense of the word, the present situation in communication research cannot be characterized by dialogues between paradigms" but "by dialogues that may gradually be leading to a paradigm" (p. 25).

Drawing from the lessons on distortions and imbalances commonly available in journalistic and research reporting Rosengren (p. 33) proposes the adoption of Wiberg's "Four Combinations of Scholars' Background and Results." An extensive quote is in order here.

Clearly what Orwell has in mind is dialogues between quasi-paradigms, but he has another way of saying it. His ideal is embodied in the picture of German and English historians agreeing on "basic facts" of the Great War of 1914-1918. That ideal, of course, is not always realized. Scholars and scientists, having different backgrounds, may or may not agree on central and basic results of their work. Indeed, the same is true of scholars and scientists with the same background. This gives us [the figure presented below], relating the two variables - identity in results and identity in background - to each other (such as, for instance, nationality, value orientation, "paradigm").

		SAME BACKGROUND	
		YES	NO
SAME RESULTS	YES		
	NO		

Figure 1.2. Four Combination of Scholar's Background and Results.

Source: Adapted from Wiberg (1969, p. 77).

Obviously, the upper, right-hand cell of the figure represents the triumph of science and scholarship: scholars and researchers arriving at the same results in spite of their different backgrounds. In the upper, left-hand cell, all is fine and well — except the gnawing suspicion that the identity of the results may be the outcome of a common background rather than of

sophisticated research. The lower, left-hand cell represents failure: differing results in spite of a common background. The lower, right-hand cell, finally, is often seen as failure, too. But nothing could be more wrong. That cell actually represents a promise. It offers an opportunity to take a close look at basic theories, concepts, and methods, to investigate the consequences of explicit stipula-

tions and implicit assumptions. It offers the opportunity, that is, for dialogues between open-minded representatives of different paradigms or quasi-paradigms. Actually, the situation of the lower, right-hand cell [of the figure above] is rather characteristic of the present overall situation in the humanities and the social sciences, including the situation in communication research. It is the situation very parsimoniously described by Burrell and Morgan's typology. What will come out of the situation to some extent depends on our interpretation of the dividing lines between the cells of the typology. There is a clear risk that if we resign and regard them as insurmountable, all of us will gradually move toward the left of the paradigm, ending up as babbling solipsists. For that is the most important dividing line in the Burrell and Morgan typology: the thin line between the solipsists and those among us who still adhere to the scientific criterion of intersubjectivity, the criterion lying behind Orwell's ideal of neutral truth.

Rosengren (pp. 36-37) concludes his essay, thus:

Suffice it to say that the *fundamentum divisionis* of the typologies are basically different: cognitive *assumptions* about society and science versus cognitive *interests*. Critical, "emancipatory" research is often carried out within Burrell and Morgan's three "dissident paradigms," while, by and large, administrative, "technical" research is carried out within the "dominant paradigm," and basic, "disinterested" research may be carried out in all the four cells of the Burrell and Morgan typology.

I would therefore like to submit that, in a situation in which representatives of administrative research, critical research, and basic research are in close and continuous contact with one another by means of open dialogues, the conditions for the decisive step from a preparadigmatic toward a paradigmatic science are most positive.

Hall, Stuart

Hall (p. 40), in his essay "Ideology and Communication Theory," admits that he is "concerned with a configuration of intellectual work" and that he "believe[s] that paradigms think people as much as people think paradigms." He explains the crisis of the dominant paradigm in terms of two dimensions: the internal and the external.

The internal dimensions have to do with the epistemological and theoretical foundations, as well as with the methodologies and procedures, of the dominant paradigm insofar as it is a set of intellectual procedures, of questions and answers, of theoretical propositions that have organized intellectual work for a very long time on what I would want to call the "internal relations, practices, and effects" of modern mass communication systems.

The external dimension has to do with how the field of communicative institutions and practices is understood in relation to the wider social, political, and economic structures and to developments within the social formation as a whole.

My contention would be that the dominant paradigm in communication is in difficulties on both the internal and the external fronts simultaneously.

In this context Hall (p. 43) views communication as a regional theory.

[C]ommunication is not a self-sustaining discipline. It is a regional theory; it is inextricably bound up with the success, the theoretical effectivity or ineffectivity of the general social theories of the social formation as a whole, because it is within this context that it has to theorize the place of communication in the modern social world.

Now more than ever, modern communications cannot be conceptualized as external to the field of social structures and practices because they are increasingly, internally constitutive of them. Today communicative institutions and relations define and construct the social; they help to constitute the political; they mediate productive economic relations; they have become a "material force" in modern industrial systems; they define the technological itself; they dominate the cultural. They construct and sustain the second-order universes that increasingly are our experience of the cultural and the social world. They are not external to or reflective of — whether directly or indirectly — these relations of the whole social field in which they operate. They help to constitute them, they are internal to their functioning. Our theory must be a theory

of internal, not of external, relations.

As a regional theory, communication theory and research is called upon by Hall (p. 46) to be critical, for that is the only way communication research could repent its sin — of it having been, in its submissiveness to the dominant paradigm, embedded in the relations between power and knowledge. He adds:

[T]his whole theoretical baggage that communication theory and research has carried from its inception as its "guarantee" has not only functioned in relation to work done on and within the capitalist democracies, but has been an intrinsic part of its global mission, its export function, its imperializing thrust — as those who know its homogenizing and hegemonizing effects on research and researchers in the non-American world around the globe will testify. (p. 46)

Hall commends the interrogative character and the oppositional thrust of the critical alternative that he is advancing, as he believes firmly that the relations that hold a dominant theoretical ideology in place cannot be dissolved by a cozy chat between consenting scholars. (p. 47)

Marking the transitions from the dominant to the critical paradigm, stresses Hall (p. 47), is the awareness that no message is already there in reality — that it cannot simply be transposed into the blank minds and consciousness of its receivers. "Meaning is polysemic in its intrinsic nature; it remains inextricably context bound.... It cannot be conceptualized outside the field of power

relations." (pp. 47-48) The meanings that media elicit are therefore ideological, that is, they always have their own specific social, political, and cultural conditions of existence. In the dominant paradigm these conditions have been characterized by subordination. And according to Hall (p. 51) to speak of subordination is to speak of a "field of relations structured by power and difference, that is, always structured into those positions that are in dominance and those that are not."

The critical alternative draws power and justification in the "reality" that those positions are never permanently fixed. (p. 51) Those therefore could be changed. And Hall invites us all to join in this critical enterprise he calls change.

Giddens, Anthony

With the orthodox consensus and its grand demise as backdrop Giddens, in his essay "The Orthodox Consensus and the Emerging Synthesis," finds that "what is occurring in social theory is the emergence of a renewed synthesis concerning what the social sciences are about, what their theoretical components are, and what the implications for empirical analysis can be said to be." (p. 55) Admitting sympathies for the orthodox consensus, and while clearly hospitable to alternative perspectives, Giddens (p. 56) however strongly warns everyone against "a blanket approval of theoretical pluralism" (therefore defying Feyerabend's "anything goes").

Giddens (pp. 56-59) identifies three main traits that he holds to be fundamentally defective in the views of preexisting mainstream

social science. These are: (1) That the highest aspiration of science is the uncovering of laws; (2) That human activity is to be explained in terms of social causation; and (3) That it is possible to discover laws of social life. His three counter arguments are, respectively: (1) That "laws must be interpreted and they must be interpreted in the context of theoretical systems;" and that for the social sciences "the framing of meaning is more fundamental than the uncovering of laws;" (2) That humans, unlike physical or chemical entities, are knowledgeable agents who know a great deal about the conditions of their activity; and (3) That there are two types of generalizations in the social sciences: (a) those that depend on the knowledgeable observance of rules or convention on the part of social actors, which can be empirical; and (b) those that depend upon unintended consequences of purposive action, which can be interpretive.

Giddens' contention is that the social sciences will profit much from an examined synthesis among the orthodox consensus and the newer perspectives. He puts this succinctly as:

All social science depends upon understanding, in specific historical circumstances, the relation between knowledgeable activity in the light of convention, and social reproduction brought about in an unintended fashion. (p. 59)

He states further:

Actors always know what they are doing (under some description or potential description), but the consequences of what they do characteristically escape what

they intend.... It is in the "escape" of social institutions from the purposes of individual actors that the tasks of social science are discovered. (pp. 60-61)

Then Giddens (p. 64) reminds social scientists that their theories, unlike those in the natural science,

... are not just descriptions of an independently given social world, they have come to constitute what that social world is. They have become absorbed into it and in turn have transformed it. Their impact has been massive in transforming the world.

Giddens (pp. 64-65) calls this process a double hermeneutic the implication of which, in a manner of concluding his essay,

... is that social scientists cannot but be alert to the transformative effects that their concepts and theories might have upon what it is they set out to analyze.

Krippendorff, Klaus

In his essay "On the Ethics of Constructing Communication," Krippendorff (pp. 68-71) assails the "naturalistic objectivity" with ontological commitment which he says are based on two unviable premises: (1) That observers shall accept only one reality; and (2) That observers shall not enter their domain of observation. Reworded, he is suggesting "that the key to this existing paradigm lies in the metaphorical grounding of objectivity in the conception of thinglike objects existing outside and independent of scientific observers" (p. 69).

In lieu of this existing paradigm Krippendorff (pp. 76-93)

offers a tentative proposal consisting of five imperatives which "constitute not a collection from which to pick one and not the other, but an integrated whole, a system that hangs together and defines a *paradigm in its own right*. These imperatives are:

1. The aesthetic: CONSTRUCT YOUR OWN REALITY TO SEE.
2. The empirical: INVENT AS MANY ALTERNATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS AS YOU CAN AND ACT TO EXPERIENCE THE CONSTRAINTS ON THEIR VIABILITY.
3. The self-referential: INCLUDE YOURSELF AS A CONSTITUENT OF YOUR OWN CONSTRUCTIONS.
4. The ethical: GRANT OTHERS THAT OCCUR IN YOUR CONSTRUCTIONS THE SAME AUTONOMY YOU PRACTICE IN CONSTRUCTING THEM.
5. The social: IN COMMUNICATING WITH OTHERS, MAINTAIN OR EXPAND THE RANGE OF CHOICES POSSIBLE.

Central to Krippendorff's proposed paradigm is the idea that while everybody has equal rights to construct his own reality, which he himself should be a part of, his constructions have to be constrained by a commitment to (social) complementarity and to social responsibility.

While he asks for cooperation in elaborating the methodological, theoretical, and social consequences of his proposed paradigm he also declares that

Communication is central to all of these worlds, not in the sense of control, which a

positivist ontology naturally favors, but in the sense of dialoguing an ongoing process that respects the autonomy of different reality constructions, enables each participant to interrogate his or her own history and grow beyond it. (p. 94)

Craig, Robert

Craig, in his essay "Communication as a Practical Discipline," thinks that none of the ready-to-hand categories — social science, humanities, arts, professional, or policy — is able to capture the full diversity of the field of communication. He instead proffers that communication is a practical discipline. "A practical discipline might be thought of as a practical art; it might equally be thought of as a methodology." (p. 97)

Taking the art of rhetoric for an exemplar, the practical discipline of communication according to Craig

... would strive to cultivate a dialectic of theory and practice but over the whole, broad range of communicative practices that are now considered worthy of academic study: arts of personal human relations, of cooperation and organization, of work, and of politics and culture production in the public realm.... Out of the dialectic between communication theory and practice cultivated by the discipline of communication would emerge technical schemes or "competencies" for practicing the communication arts and systematic, universalized accounts of the rational principles and values that

undergird them, as well as arguments among those accounts revealing their contradictions and penetrating ever more deeply the inevitable problems and ultimate paradoxes of communication. (pp. 100-101)

Taking methodology for an exemplar, the practical discipline of communication according to Craig would find it necessary, first of all, to detach the idea of reconstructed logic from its strict association with the methodology of empirical scientific inquiry.... Communication theory would be a "methodology" of communication; it would concern itself with middle-range methods or "reconstructed logics" of communication that would have normative status insofar as they could be shown to account for the best communicative practice. (p. 104)

Craig (p. 105) summarizes the important similarities between the rhetoric and the methodology exemplars of the practical discipline of communication.

Both rhetoric and and methodology cultivate a dialectic of theory and practice; both attempt to ground specific practical techniques in more general principles; both offer idealized conceptualizations of practice that are nevertheless judged finally by their usefulness more so than by their formal properties or their coherence with a priori premises; both are concerned with the ends of practice as well as with technical means; and both cultivate an appreciation of the ultimate paradoxes (which Kaplan, 1964, calls "existential dilemmas") that confront practice. Of the two

exemplars, methodology perhaps more naturally expresses the affinity of practical discipline to modern scientific rationality, while rhetoric more naturally reveals the importance of situating contemporary practices within the rich cultural tradition of practical arts.

Craig sees the practical discipline of communication as engaging in the reconstruction of the human sciences. Following Bochner, he recommends "that the communication discipline embrace a pragmatic epistemological pluralism, abandoning any hope for a renewal of broad agreements on fundamental assumptions" (p. 105).

The rest of his essay then outlines the three broad approaches to inquiry that are open to the practical discipline of communication, namely the tripartite scheme (p. 117) of: empiricism, hermeneutics, and critical theory (p. 106). He admits though that the discipline might very roughly be counted as a variety of critical theory in the sense that "it is fundamentally concerned not just to explain or understand communicative practices but to cultivate them, which means to change them, through critical reflection" (p. 106).

THE COMMENTARIES

One hundred four pages of *Rethinking Communication* were devoted to the five essays and one hundred eight pages to the 25 commentaries from distinguished communication scholars, 19 of whom are US-based and the rest are from Ireland, Japan, Poland, FR Germany, Canada, and the Netherlands. Of the essayists, two are from the USA, two are from

England, and one is from Sweden.

Another way to put the commentaries into numbers is to say that of the 25 commentaries 18 are in agreement with the basic contention that the dominant paradigm is inadequate, three (Becker, Carter, and Miller — all from the USA) categorically disagree, and four (Berger, Fiske — both from the USA; Ito, from Japan; and Kepplinger, from FR Germany) though basically disagreeing have shown some hospitality toward the five essays.

While the five essays might be difficult readings the shorter commentaries allow one to eventually comprehend the much longer essays. More importantly, the commentaries are able to highlight the distinctive contributions of each essay, and where applicable, the ideas where two or more essays converge thus expanding the intellectual span of the essays. But the really enlightening part is reading the seven commentaries that, in varying degrees of conviction, disagree with the general tone of the five essays and stand the ground for naturalistic/positivist inquiry thus providing for a truly pluralistic tradition for the social sciences.

However, as the three or so non-Western commentaries have "non-Western" pointed out, a pluralistic methodology may just not be enough. A not too remote insinuation is, maybe, that these Western methodologies (or paradigms) — be they constructivist, critical, hermeneutic, etc. — may still be a function of something else, which could be "culture." Wiberg's (p 33) diagram may seem more meaningful in the sense that a researcher's background may be a dual-configuration of both his

paradigm-orientation and his cultural mould. I wonder what could have been said had they invited as an essayist a *guru* from a Buddhist or Muslim country from Asia or Africa.

As it is, though, all the essays and the commentaries converge to celebrate the human quality of reflecting and of examining oneself. Indeed, just like with Schemant's (p. 211), the book reminds me how much communication has changed from the time I first took a course in 1976 for my bachelor's degree to the present as I labor in my doctoral studies. Back then all I knew were Berlo and Lasswell and Hovland. Today, Krippendorff (p. 141) has made me think: "What if our natural eyes (vision) were as powerful as the microscope, or the telescope, or the x-ray then what we 'see' will be a lot different from what we now 'see'?" Our standard of beauty (if there would be such construction still) will be much radically altered."; or ask: "How would one 'foreknow' if a hospitality (behavior) is genuine welcome or chocolate-coated snare?"

REACTION TO THE ESSAYS (or A Personal Commentary)

While it would seem stimulating to react individually to each essay (and commentary!) the intention had to be abandoned in view of the limited time. The reaction will therefore be to the five essays in general and to the basic idea they articulate.

1. At the outset I take the position, similar to Craig's and Giddens', that I am for a pluralist or pluralistic tradition and methodology so long as rigor — in the context of the humanly possible — is not

sacrificed. That basic concern is non-negotiable. Specialists might have to argue on the minimum requirements of rigor but for as long as they are agreed on the basic need for rigor, knowledge should be in good hands. *For it is the concern for rigor that will unify the different or differing paradigms/methodologies.* A plurality will engender mutual respect among participants and that would be fine. But without a mechanism for standardization or validity-screening this plurality can deteriorate into intellectual entropy, if at all one can still call it intellectual. The point here is the recognition that different areas of human and social life require different ways of looking and seeing; scientists just have to guarantee the validity of their method of looking and the validity of what they see using their method. A pluralist perspective committed to rigor will ensure two things, at least: (1) That something is always viewed or viewable from dissimilar angles; and (2) That a view is guarded against mediocrization or over-particularization induced by unwieldy subjectivism or solipsism.

2. On the issue of responsibility for one's construction, as seriously raised by Krippendorff, there is an important consideration that must be adequately addressed. For while there could be disagreements among the essayists on aspects of methodology, philosophy, epistemology, etc., all of them are of the opinion that science and its fruits ought to be responsible to society. (especially p. 226)

Although I fully agree with the merits of being responsible for one's construction I am at the same time cautious about the possibility that commitment to responsibility could unduly impose a form of limitation to invention (or discovery?) in the sense that it might act as a prior restraint. To give a hypothetical example, prior restraint could discourage what could in the long run be most beneficial to all only because in the short run, perhaps for lack of knowledge or a more sophisticated technology, it was "seen" as harmful or not of much value. One can argue that if in empiricism it is the methodology itself which limits what could be created or discovered (which is a knowledge), in the pluralistic tradition committed to responsibility it is the commitment that could be the limiting factor.

But to be genuinely pluralistic we have to reassert the constructivist assumption that everyone is a scientist. If everyone else is a scientist (a co-equal, a co-responsible) then knowledge(s) could be made to compete freely among themselves. There will be no need to remind everybody of his responsibility since in a free competition all the good and bad things of a knowledge are exposable. The compulsion to safeguard responsibility for one's construction can be seen as a leftover of our fear of or insecurities about the positivist paradigm where the one in control has power

to impose, to coerce, to deceive, to hide. In a truly constructivist and critical paradigm there is no need for it. For to burden a constructor with the responsibility for his construction is to make him wary, or even to stifle him while the rest becomes complacently secure. Let him therefore construct. Then let another deconstruct. Let the thrills of creating be everybody's challenge and let the burden of responsibility be

everybody's business. In that way, everybody truly becomes a fellow scientist and an equal.

3. Finally, I wish to present a simple diagram proposing to

show that the respective strengths of constructivism and positivism can be harnessed toward complementarity.

constructivism	vs	positivism
individualism (particular)	vs	socialism (universal)
subjectivism	vs	objectivism
complementarity		
because society is a contractual construct		

Isang Pagsusuri sa Palisi

(Continued from p. 72)

nakatakdang panahon ng transisyon, posibleng maabot ang kalagayan ng paggamit ng Filipino bilang midyum sa pagtuturo.

Narito ang isang pakikilala sa pagnanais tungo sa ikatatagumpay ng Palisi sa Wika. □

BIBLIOGRAPIYA

- Abueva, Jose V. "Papel ng DFPF sa Yugto ng Transisyon at Transpormasyong Sosyal." *Daluyan*. Bol. 2 Blg. 2-4. 1991.
- Batnag, Aurora E. *Limampung Taon ng Surian ng Wikang Pambansa: Huling Isa't Kalahating Dekada (1970-1987)*. n.p.: Surian ng Wikang Pambansa, 1987.
- Berger, Peter L. and Thomas Luckmann. *The Social Construction of Reality*. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1966.

- Cabulay, Heidi. "Wika ng Batas sa Pagkamit ng Katarungan." *Daluyan*. Bol. 2, Blg. 5 & 6. n.d.
- Canero, Melodee. "Tanggap ang Palisi Pagkatapos ng Tatlong Taon." *Daluyan*. Bol. 2, Blg. 5 & 6. n.d.
- Fordyce, Jack K. and Raymond Weil. *Managing With People: A Manager's Handbook of Organization Development Methods*. 2nd ed. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1979.
- Littlejohn, Stephen W. *Theories of Human Communication*. Third Edition, Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1979.
- Maceda, Teresita Gimenez. "Wala Nang Atrasan sa Ikatlong Taon." *Daluyan*. Bol. 2, Blg. 5 & 6. n.d.
- _____. Ed. *Palisi sa Wika*. Quezon City: UP-ISMED, 1992.
- Roman, Emerlinda. "Pagpatupad ng Palisi sa Wika sa UPIS." *Daluyan*. Bol. 2, Blg. 2-4. 1991.

TO OUR VALUED READERS

*we're doing our best to update
your journals...*

*aghamtao
historical bulletin
journal of history
psse social science information
phil. economic journal
phil. geographical journal
phil. journal of communication
phil. journal of demography
phil. journal of linguistics
phil. journal of psychology
phil. journal of public
administration
phil. political science journal
phil. sociological review
phil. statistician
social work*

thank you for bearing with us!

ISANG PAGSUSURI SA PALISI SA WIKA NG UNIBERSIDAD NG PILIPINAS

Isinumite nina:

Ma. Margarita Baula
Cecilia Bernabe
Karen Bernal
Elma Laguna
Mildred Mangiduyos
Florina Naval
Jowina Sison

kay:

DR. HERMINIA CORAZON M. ALFONSO
Communication 140
Pangalawang Semestre, 1992-1993
Kolehiyo ng Pangmadlang Komunikasyon
Pamantansan ng Pilipinas, Lungsod Quezon

ABSTRAK

Ang papel na ito ay isang pagsusuri sa Palisi sa Wika ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas.

Inilahad ang maikling kasaysayan ng palisi kasama ang kahalagahan nito at kung paano ito ipinatupad sa loob ng itinakdang limang taong panahon ng transisyon. Kaakibat nito ang pagtalakay sa isyu, status at progreso ng palisi sa mga nakaraang taon.

Sinatagat ang katanungan maaabot kaya ang 100% na implementasyon ng Palisi sa Wika sa loob ng itinakdang panahon.

Gumamit ng mga teorya sa pagtalakay ng iba't-ibang aspeto ng usapin sa Palisi sa pagsagot ng katanunganang kaakibat nito. Naglakip ng mga modelo upang lalong maging ganap at malinaw ang pagkalahad ng mga teorya.

Apat na teorya ang ginamit sa pagtalakay ng usapin ng Palisi sa Wika. Ito ay ang mga sumusunod: ang Teorya ng Pag-oorganisa (Theory of Organization), Panlipunang Pagbuo ng Realidad (Social Construction of Reality), Teoryang Panlinang (Field Theory), kaakibat ang Force Field Analysis at ang Maka-alituntuning Pagtalakay sa Komunikasyon (Rules Approach to Communication). Ang teorya ng pag-oorganisa ang nagbibigay linaw sa pagkasunod-sunod ng pagbabalangkas ng Palisi mula sa Konstitusyonal na batayan hanggang sa pagpapatupad nito. Dito makikita ang ebolusyong proseso ng pag-oorganisa ng Palisi sa Wika.

Ang teorya ng panlipunang pagbuo ng realidad ang nagpapaliwanag kung paano mabubuo o di mabubuo sa UP ang realidad ng Filipino bilang midyum ng pagtuturo. Tinuntun nito ang mga hakbang na tatahakín ng mga pagkilos tungo sa katagumpayan o kabiguan ng Palisi.

Ang teoryang panlinang ang nagpapakita ng magkakaibang mga elementong umiina sa "life space" ng UP system at ang kaugnayan nito sa isa't-isa. Ginawang batayan ang konseptong "equilibrium" na siyang pangunahing esensiya ng Force Field Analysis nina Fordyce at Weil. Kailangang positibo ang kanilang uganyan upang ang kanilang puwersa ay mag-ambag tungo sa ikatatagumpay ng Palisi.

Ang maka-alituntuning pagtalakay sa komunikasyon ang nagbibigay ng isang uri ng paraan upang matukoy ang tiyak na status ng Palisi. Ginamit ang modelong ito upang masuri ang pagkilos ayon sa alituntunin ng pagmumod sa isinasagat ng Palisi.

Tinatantiyang hindi magtatagumpay ang pagpapatupad ng Palisi sa loob ng transisyon bunga ng mga bolakid na hindi nalampasan ng mga nagpapatupad nito.

I. PANIMULA

A. Ang Palisi

Nuonang taong 1989 ay isang palisi ang ipinatupad ng Lupong mga Rehente sa UP — ang Palisi sa Wika. Alinsunod sa itinakda ng batas sa wika ng Konstitusyon ng Pilipinas, nagkaroon ng palisi na magpapatupad ng paggamit ng Wikang Filipino bilang midyum ng pagtuturo sa buong unibersidad. Naglaan ang Lupong mga Rehente taong panahon ng transisyon (1989-1994) upang gawing basehan sa pagtuklas ng mga magiging epekto nito, positibo man o negatibo, gayundin upang malaman ang "advantages at disadvantages" ng naturang palisi. Matiblis na ipinaalam ang nasabing palisi sa 22 kolehiyo sa UP Diliman, pati na rin sa UP Baguio, UP Clark Air Base (Pampanga), UP Los Baños, UP Iloilo at UP Tacloban. Ngayon* ay nasa ikaapat na taon na ang palisi at isang taon na lamang ay matatapos na ang inilaang limang taong panahon ng transisyon. Ano na nga iba ang nangyari buhat nang ipatupad ang Palisi sa Wika?

B. Maikling Kasaysayan

Noong Setyembre 10, 1986, tinanghal ng Komisyonang Konstitusyonal ang Filipino bilang pambansang wika. Itinakda ng ating Konstitusyon na:

Ang pambansang wika ng Pilipinas ay Filipino. Habang ito'y nabubuo, patuloy itong pauunlarin at payayamanin batay sa mga umiiral na wika sa Pilipinas at iba pang wika. (Art. XIV, Sek 6)

Kailangan natin ng isang nasyonal na wika bilang linggwa frangka ng mga kultura at sibilisasyong Filipino. Nakapaloob sa wikang ito ang ating pamanang ispirituwal at kultural bilang isang nasyonal na komunikasyon para padaliin ang komunikasyon sa lahat ng mamamayan, palakasin ang ating pagkakaisa bilang isang bansa at itaguyod ang pagkapatay-pantay sa ating lipunan.

Kaya naman noong Mayo 29, 1989, inaprubahan ng Lupong mga Rehente sa UP ang palising pinanday ng kaguruan ng unibersidad na magbibigay ng katuparan sa kautusan ng Konstitusyon. Bilang tagasuporta at tagapamahala sa gawing ito ay itinatag ang Sentro ng Wikang Filipino (SWF). Sa ngayon ay nasa ikaapat na taon na ang pagpapatupad ng palisi.

C. Depinisyon ng Problema

Ngayon ngang nasa ikaapat na taon na ang implementasyon ng Palisi sa Wika, aalamin kung lubusan na (100%) ang implementasyon nito matapos ang limang taong transisyon. Para maging siyentipiko ang pananaliksik, ito ay sistematikong isinasagawa at itinatala at ngayon ay ilalahad para mapuna at maiwasto. Bago makilahok sa isang sitwasyong pangkomunikasyon, natukoy na kung ano ang magiging layunin. Ito nga ang paghahanap ng kasagutan sa mga problemang nakasaad sa introduksiyon. Matapos ito gumagamit ng mga simbolong makakatulong gaya ng pagsasaliksik sa SWF para sa mga babasahin, kopya ng palisi at iba pa. Sa pananaliksik ay maaaring mabuo na rin ang mga persepsyon tungkol sa palisi. Kung

ano man ang katalabasan ng proyekto, ito ay katugunan lamang ng problema.

Ngayon nga ay may iba't-ibang konsepto na umuusbong. Halimbawa, ano ang wika? Ang wika ay mga simbolo na pasalita at pasulat ng isang bansa na siyang nagiging pangunahing instrumento para sa interaksyon ng bawat isa. Ang prosesong ito ay tinatawag na *konstruksyon*. Ito ay nabubuo sa pamamagitan ng mental na proseso pagkatapos ay inilalantad para sa interaksyon ng bawat isa. Ang pagkokonstrak ay base sa lantay na kaalaman, karanasan o kaya'y kahit anong mapagkukunan ng kaalaman gaya ng pagtuklas, interpretasyon o kritisismo. Pagkatapos nito ay ang proseso ng *nagpapalagay*. Halimbawa, sa pagsagot sa problema, malimit tayong nagpapalagay. Sa pagtugon sa problema, malimit tayong nagpapalagay. Halimbawa, sa pagsagot sa problema kung lubusan na ba ang implementasyon ng palisi pagkaraan ng limang taon, ipalagay na kung gaano ito kabilis ngayon (rate) ay siya ring bilis sa susunod na taon. Sa puntong ito makakapagbalangkas na ng tinatawag na *haypotesis*. Maaaring hindi umabot sa 100% ang implementasyon pagkaraan ng limang taon dahil sa mabagal ang paggawa ng mga teksbuk, glosaryo, diksyunaryo at iba pa sa wikang Filipino. Nasabi ito base sa pang-araw-araw na karanasan. Sa apat na taon na implementasyon, halos walang konkretong ebidensiya nito. Ito naman ay maaaring ipaloob sa isang *pag-sisiyasat*. Ito ngayon ang tinatawag na paghahambing sa ibang kinatawan o metaphor. Halimbawa, maihahambing ang palisi sa

*Pangalawang semestre, 1992-1993.

wika sa programang pang-agrariyo, ang CARP na hindi pa kinakikitaan ng positibong resulta. Matapos ang lahat ng ito ay maari nang gumawa ng *conceptual framework*. (Tunghayan ang diagram big. 1) Ang modelong ito ay pag-aangkop sa modelo ng isang research study na ginawa ng The Network Inc., 1979 (Miles and Huberman, 1984). Ang mga arrows ay nagpapakita na maaaring magkaroon ng direktang interaksyon ang mga hugis bilog at parihaba. Kaiba sa dating modelo, ito ay walang arrow na nag-uugnay sa A at C dahil sa paniniwala na hindi magiging epektibo ang palisi kung walang magtuturo, magsusulat at iba pa. Dalawa ang kahalok para sa resulta sapagkat dalawa lang ang maaaring maging resulta nito. Ang paglalagay ng Venn Diagram ay nagpapakita na maaaring mag adopters ang mga policy makers at implementors.

Ngayong nailahad na ang mga hakbang sa pananaliksik, pagtutuuhan ng pansin ang mga problema. Bakit kailangan ang implementasyon ng Palisi sa Wika? Una, nakasaad ito sa ating Konstitusyon na ang pambansang wika ay Filipino. Magkakaroon din ng isang internasyonal na wika, ang Ingles. Ang Palisi sa Wika ay naglalayong, "mapadali ang komunikasyon ng lahat ng mamamayan, palakasin ang pagkakaisa.....at itaguyod ang ikwalidad ng ating lipunan." Ito nga ay sinimulan noong 1989. Ngayong ikapat na taon na, may mga problemang nakita sa implementasyon. Halimbawa, ayon sa sarbey na inihunsad ng Sentro ng Wikang Filipino (SWF), napag-alaman na walang mga teksbuk o mga gamit panturo na ginagamit o kaya'y isang standard na terminong teknikal o salin sa

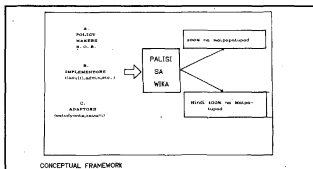


Diagram big. 1

wikang Filipino (Daluyan, Bol. 2, Big. 2-4, 1991). Ayon pa rin sa SWF, hindi buo ang komitment sa implementasyon lalo pa mandin ng mga administrador at fakulti. Kapag sila ay nagtatallumpati ay hindi sila sumusunod sa palisi. Ang mga kolehiyo din ay kulang sa partisipasyon.

Kung gayon, maaabot kaya ang 100% na implementasyon ng palisi sa wika sa loob ng itinakdang limang taong transisyon?

Dagdag pa, ano ang magiging batayan ng tagumpay o kabiguan ng Palisi sa Wika? Ito ang mga problemang sisikaping tugunan.

II. REBYU NG KAUGNAY NA BABASAHIN

Sa bahaging ito ay matatagpuan ang nilalaman at pagbabatikos ng ilang mga babasahin kaugnay ng paksa ng palisi sa wika. Bawat sulatin ay isa-isa at magkakahiwalay na tinalakay.

Ang unang sulatin ay paglalagom ng mga datos sa limampung taon ng Surian ng Wikang Pambansa (Batnag, 1987). Ipinakita nito ang pag-unlad ng wikang Filipino sa loob ng limampung taon. Ang pangaa-

lawang sulatin ay tumatalakay sa pagpapatupad at pagpapaunlad ng palisi sa wika sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas, at kabilang na rito ang University of the Philippines Integrated School (UPIS). Ito ay isang rebyu ni Dr. Emerlinda Roman ng ikalawang taon na implementasyon ng palisi sa wika ng Unibersidad.

Rebyu ng ikatlong taon ng implementasyon ng palisi sa Unibersidad ang tinalakay sa pangatlo at pang-apat na mga sulatin sa magkakaibang perspektibo. Sa isang bahagi ng artikulo ni Teresita Gimenez-Maceda, binatikos ang kakulangan ng komitment at kamalayan sa Palisi sa wika. Ang artikulo ni Melodce Canero ay nagbabanggit ng mga positibong resulta ng implementasyon ng palisi.

Ang panlimang artikulo ay sinulat ng dating Pangulong Jose V. Abueva at tumalakay sa isyu ng pag-uugnay ng wikang Filipino sa Unibersidad at sa sambayanan. May kaugnayan din dito ang huling artikulo tungkol sa paggamit ng wikang Filipino sa mga korte ng Pilipinas. Ito ay isinulat ni Haydee Cabulay sa ikaapat na taon ng implementasyon ng Palisi sa Wika.

A. Limampung Taon ng Surian ng Wikang Pambansa:
Huling Isa't Kalabatang Dekada (1970-1987) ni:
Aurora E. Batnag

Ang librong ito ay isang lahala sa ika-50 taong ng Surian ng Wikang Pambansa. Isinasaad dito na noong Mayo 1987, nilagdaan ang binagong patakaran sa edukasyong bilingwal. Higit pa nitong pinatatatag ang wikang Filipino sa edukasyon. Bukod dito, ito'y habbang sa pagsulong sa intelektwalisasyon ng Filipino - ang wika ay nagiging intelektwalisado kapag palaging ginagamit sa mga diskusyon sa antas na pangkolheyo.

Isinasaad sa libro ang isang katotohanang dapat tanggapin ng sinumang estudyante ng wika, na ang isang buhay na wika ay di sinusupil ng paralisis. Ito'y patuloy na umuunlad habang ginagamit. Ganyan ang Filipino. Tatlo ang proseso ng pagpapayabong at pagpapayaman. Una, ang intelektwalisasyon. Ito ay ang pagpapayaman sa bokabularyo ng wika upang magamit itong kasangkapan sa diskusyong intelektwal o sa matatayog na larangan ng karunungan at kaalaman. Pangalawa, ang leksikulturisasyon. Ito'y nagbibigay diin sa panghihiram ng mga salita sa ibang katutubong wika sa Pilipinas na nagbahayag ng unikong katangiang etniko ng isang partikular na grupong etniko. Pangatlo, ang pagsasagamit ng malikhaing lakas ng Filipino. Ito'y pagsasangkop-Filipino ng mga kaisipan at konseptong krusyal sa karapatan nito na tandisang mula o hango sa teknolohiya o ekspresyong banyaga.

Naging tradisyunal na sa mga Pilipino ang pagtuunan ng pansin

ang intelektwalisasyon na lamang. Kapag lalong malalim ang isang salita o pangungusap, lalong iniisip ng mga tao na ito ang karapat-dapat gamitin bilang wika sa mga paaralan. Nalimit ang pagpapayabong ng wika sa pagpili ng mga salitang Tagalog na hindi ganap na maintindihan ng karamihan na mga Filipino.

B. Pagpapatupad ng Palisi sa Wika sa UPIS
ni : Dr. Emerlinda Roman

Noong una pa lamang tinalakay ng Unibersidad ang Palisi sa Wika, may mga nag-alinlangan at nagpahayag na may kahirapan ang pagpapatupad ng palisi. Ang unang kontensyong nabanggit ay ang hindi pa lubusang pagkaka-intindi ng mga tao sa wikang Filipino; ang pangalawa ay ang kakulangan ng mga kagamitang panturo para sa mga guro.

Sa loob ng dalawang taong pagpapatupad ng palising ito, naging mabilis ang pagsulong sa paggamit ng wikang Filipino. Mapapansing laganap na ang paggamit ng Filipino sa mga dokumentong opisyal tulad ng mga sulat, mga memo, mga artikulo, at iba pa. Mapapansin din na higit na aktibo ang mga mag-aaral sa mga diskusyon sa klase kung ang gamit ay Filipino. Nagiging masagaan ang pakikipag-diskusyon kapag sila'y gumagamit ng wikang nakamihansan nila. Nagiging laganap na ang wikang Filipino pati na rin sa UP Integrated School (UPIS).

"Ang pagbibigay ng kahalagahan sa anumang bagay o programang makabubuti sa pagtuturo ay nararapat upang mapansiling mataas ang pamtatayan ng edukasyon." Kahanga-hanga ang nakikitang pagsisikap ng iba't-ibang departamento ng Unibersidad na mapalaganap ang

palisi sa wika sa nakararami. Maisasalali na rin dito ang pagsisikap ng UPIS na mahasa ang mga mag-aaral sa elementarya at high school sa wikang Filipino upang tuluyang mapaulad ang pambansang wikang maintindihan at magiging gamay ng lahat.

C. Wala Nang Atrasan sa Ikatlong Taon
ni: Terecita Gimenez-Maceda

Sa ikatlong taon ng implementasyon ng Filipino Language Policy (FLP) ay napapansin ang mga maliliit ngunit mahahalagang bagay tulad ng paggamit ng Filipino sa: pangalan ng mga opisina at gusali, opisyal na stationery, pang-araw-araw na komunikasyon at pati na rin sa *UP Newsletter* na siyang tinig ng administrasyon.

Sadya ngang wala nang atrasan sa pagpapalawak ang palisi sa wika. Katunayan ay malaki ang impluwensiya nito kahit sa labas ng Unibersidad. Halimbawa, ang Komisyonong Kongresyunal ay nag-rekomenda ng paggamit ng Filipino bilang pangunahing midyum ng pagturo sa elementarya at haikul sa sistema ng edukasyon. Ang batas sa Komisyon ng Wikang Pambansa ay naaprubahan bilang pagkilala na rin sa kahalagahan ng wikang panturo sa kalidad at pagpabilis ng pagkatuto ng mga mag-aaral.

Samantala, kahit nasa ikatlong taon na ang implementasyon ng palisi sa wika, ay mayroon pa ring ilang taong nakakapansin na kulang sa komitment ang administrasyon man o faculty ng UP Diliman sa implementasyon ng palisi. Halimbawa'y sa mga talumpati at iba pang pormal na okasyon, iilan pa lamang daw ang nagpursigang gumamit ng Filipino bilang midyum ng pagsasalita.

Sabi nga ng may-akda, sila ay "kulang sa kamalayan sa palising dapat pangunahan nilang ipatupad."

Marahil ay aayon din kayo sa may-akda ng artikulo, na sinuman sa administrasyon o sa fakulti ng UP Diliman na naglakda ng limang taong transisyon ay siyang dapat manguna sa pagpapairal ng palisi sa wika. Sila ang dapat manguna sapagkat sila ang nagsimula ng nasabing palisi. Kumbaga, sila ang dapat maging modelo ng lahat.

Mainam nga na ang pangalan ng kanilang mga opisina ay nasa Filipino na di maging sa kanilang mga opisyal na stationery ay mapapansin ang pagpapairal ng palisi. Mas mainam sana kung pati sa kanilang mga talumpati at pakikipansayam sa mga pormal na okasyon ay gamitin din nila ang wikang Filipino.

Marahil ang ilan sa kanila ay hirap o di pa sanay sa paggamit ng Filipino. Siguro ito'y sapagkat kadalasan naman talaga ng ginagamit mula pa noon sa mga pormal na okasyon ay ang wikang Ingles. Kumbaga, nakasanayan na nila ito.

Kaya naman nararapat lamang na ang wikang Filipino ay makasanayan nang gamitin mula pa sa murang edad. Lubos na makakatulong kung ang proporsiyon na gamitin ang wikang Filipino bilang midyum ng pagtuturo sa elementarya at haiskul sa sistema ng edukasyon ay maisakatuparan.

D. Tanggap ang Palisi Pagkatapos ng Tatlong Taon ni: Melodee Canero

"Ayon sa pinakahuling SWF sarbey, tumaa nang halos 85%

ang dami ng mga kursong itinuturo sa Filipino mula 1989."

Base sa premis na ito ay masasabing tanggap na ang palisi pagkatapos ng tatlong taon. Siguro'y dapat magsagawa rin ang iba pang sangay sa UP ng sarbey ukol sa bagay na ito.

Anu-ano pa nga ba ang mga aktibidades sa kasalukuyan para masabing tanggap na nga ang palisi sa unibersidad?

Isa na rito ang planong pagsasanay ng mga guro sa wikang Filipino na isinumite ng mga komite sa iba't-ibang kolehiyo sa sistemang UP, kabilang na ang kolehiyo sa Baguio, Los Banos, Manila, Cebu at Visayas.

May mga babasahin na ring naitunsad tulad ng "Pagkain at Kalayaan" ni Dr. Cecilia Florencio; "Pagplanong Pangwika Tungo sa Modernisasyon" ni Dr. Pamela Constantino at "Wikang Pambansa at ang Kilusang Pambansa-Demokratiko" ni Prof. Monico Atienza.

Nasa imprentahan na rin ngayon ang glosari ng mga Terminong Pang-agrikultura at handa na rin ang glosari ng mga Terminong Pang-sining. Pinapalimbag na rin ang glosaring hinanda ni Dr. Consuelo Paz ng mga termino naman sa Siyensiya ng Panglipunan. Pinoprosose din sa kasalukuyan ang diksiyunaryong Ingles-Filipino ni Dr. Ernesto Constantino at "Gramar ng Wikang Filipino" nina E. Constantino at C. Paz. Tinatapos din ng Sentro ng Wikang Filipino (SWF) ang Monolingwal at Multilingwal na diksiyunaryo para sa taong 1993-1994.

Marami pa kung tutuusin ang mga literaturang isinasagawa. Nakakatuwang isipin na

magkakaroon na ng pagsasalin ng iba't-ibang termino sa iba't-ibang sangay ng pag-aaral. Ngunit isipin din natin na kung matagal para sa mga dalubhasa mismo ang gumawa ng glosari ng mga termino sa iba't-ibang sangay ng pag-aaral, gaano kaya katagal para sa mga estudyante na maabsorb ang mga ito?

E. Papel ng Dalubhasaan ng Filipino at Panitikan ng Panlipunan (DFFPP) sa Yugto ng Transisyon at Transpormasyong Sosyal ni: Dr. Jose Abueva (dating Pangulo ng UP)

Ang Palisi sa Wika na itinaguyod ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas ay nagtataglay ng pambansang saklaw. Hindi ito nalilimit sa Unibersidad lamang, dahil layunin ng administrasyon na tumagap ang palising ito sa sistema ng edukasyon ng Pilipinas at maging sa pamahalaan.

Dalawang mohon ang gustong ipunla ng administrasyon sa kasaysayan: "ang mohon ng transformasyong sosyal at ang mohon ng pagbigay kapangarihan sa sambayanang Filipino". Simula ng maipatupad ang palisi sa wika sa pamamagitan ng Sentro ng Wikang Filipino, nabigyan ng pagkakataong magkaroon ng malayang talakayang gumagamit ng wikang pambansa. Nasimulan din ang dahan-dahang pagtubag at pagwasak ng pader na naghihiwalay ng unibersidad sa sambayanan.

Sa pagpapatupad ng palisi sa wika, malinaw na may malaking pangangailangan sa pagbigay ng prayoridad sa literaturang nakasulat sa mga wikang rehiyonal. Sa proseso ng pagpapayabong sa wikang Filipino, kinakailangang maging makatarungan at demo-

kratiko ito lalo na sa proseso ng pagpapatupad sa unibersidad.

Dapat bigyang galang at konsiderasyon ang papel ng ibang rehiyon sa Pilipinas na may sariling salinwika at umagit din ng pambansang kasaysayan.

Kinakailangang burahin ang maling pag-aakala ng karamihan na ang wikang Filipino ay binubuo lamang ng wikang Tagalog at pakonti-konting salita mula sa ibang salinwika tulad ng Hiligaynon, Cebuano, Waray at iba pa. Napakalaki ng saklaw ng wikang Filipino sa konteksto ng palisi na ipinapatupad ng unibersidad. Marapat na ang unibersidad ang magtuwid sa mga misconception na lagapan sa sambayanan.

E. Wika ng Batas sa Pagkamit ng Katatagan
ni: Heidi Cabulay

Nagkaroon ng isang dayalogo sa pagitan ng UP at mga husgado ng Pilipinas tungkol sa paggamit ng Filipino sa mga korte ng batas noong Pebrero 21, 1992. Paano ay marami sa ating mga kababayan ang hindi marunong mag-Ingles na siyang kadalasang ginagamit sa korte lalo na ng mga abogado. Sabi nga sa artikulo, "Filipino at hindi kailan man Ingles ang mas naititindihang wika ng karaniwang mamamayan."

Gaano kaya katagal ang panahong gugugulin bago maisakatuparan ang balak na proyektong ito? Kung sa loob pa lang ng UP ay tambak na sa mga proyekto ukol sa Filipino Language Policy, mapagtunayan kaya ng pansin ang mga proyekto sa labas ng unibersidad? Posible naman siguro. Iyon nga lang, mas matagal ang panahong kaka-ilanganin para rito at siguradong mangangailangan ng puspusang

pagsisikap at tiyaga ang proyektong ito. Kung para naman sa ikabubuti ng karamihan ang proyekto, matutumbasan ang lahat ng hirap at pagod na gugugulin dito. Para naman ito sa "masang Filipino" na kumakalinga sa "wikang Filipino".

III. TEORETIKONG PAMBALANGKAS

Apat na teorya ang ginamit sa pagtalakay ng usapin ng Palisi sa Wika. Ito ay ang mga sumusunod: ang Teorya ng Pag-oorganisa (Theory of Organizing), Panlipunang Pagbuo ng Realidad (Social Construction of Reality), Teoryang Panlinang (Field Theory), kaakibat din nito ang Force Field Analysis at ang Makalalituntuning Pagtalakay sa Komunikasyon (Rules Approach to Communication).

Ang Teorya ng Pag-oorganisa ang nagbibigay-linaw sa pagkakasunod-sunod ng pagbabalangkas ng palisi mula sa Konstitusyonal na batayan hanggang sa pagpapatupad nito. Dito makikita ang ebolusyong naryong proseso ng pag-oorganisa ng Palisi sa Wika.

Ang Teorya ng Panlipunang Pagbubuo ng Realidad ang magpapaliwanag kung paano mabubuo o di mabubuo sa UP ang realidad ng Filipino bilang midyum ng pagtuturo. Timunton nito ang mga hakbang na tatahakin ng mga pagkilos tungos sa katagumpayan o kabiguan ng palisi.

Ang Teoryang Panlinang ang nagpapakita ng magkakaibang mga elementong umiing sa 'life space' ng UP system at ang kaugnayan nito sa isa't-isa. Kailangang positibo ang kanilang

ugnayan upang ang kanilang anking puwersa ay mag-ambag tungo sa ikatatagumpay ng palisi.

Ang Maka-alituntuning Pagtalakay sa Komunikasyon ang nagbibigay ng isang uri ng paraan upang matukoy ang tiyak na status ng palisi. Ginamit ang modelong ito upang masuri ang pagkilos ayon sa alituntunin ng pagsunod sa isinasaad ng palisi.

Inaasahang lubos na mapapaliwanag ang usapin ng Palisi sa Wika sa paggamit ng apat na teoryang nabanggit.

A. Ang Teorya ng Pag-oorganisa

Isa sa mga teoryang binuo ni Carl Wick ay ang pagtanaw sa komunikasyon bilang instrumento at kabahagi ng proseso ng pag-oorganisa.

Ang proseso ng pag-oorganisa, ayon kay Wick, ay naisasakatuparan sa pamamagitan ng pagkakatatagumpay at pagkakawing-kawing (interlocked) ng mga pag-uugali ng mga miyembro ng organisasyon. Dito pumapasok ang konsepto ng "double interact" - isang aksyong isinasagawa ng isang indibidwal bilang tugon sa naunang ikinikilos ng kanyang kapwa. Ang mga aksyong nabanggit ay pawang pagpapahayag sa "communicative behavior" ng isang tao. Ang lahat ng mga aktibidades na naayon sa pag-oorganisa ay pawang mga "double interacts."

Ang pag-oorganisa ay naglalayong magbigay-linaw sa ating malabong impormasyon (uncertainty) na nakukuha sa ating kapaligiran (environment). Ang kapaligiran, sa puntong ito, ay itinuturing na produkto ng tao at hindi ang mga bagay sa labas ng

kanyang katauhan. Isa sa mga importanteng aspeto ng usaping ito ay ang atensyon ng tao/indibidwal sa mga stimuli. Pinipili nila ang mga bagay at aspetong dapat pagtuunan ng pansin at ang mga pinagtutuunang pansin ito ay siyang kapaligiran ng tao.

Ang ganitong sitwasyon ay nagpapalabo ng mga impormasyong nakukuha sa kapaligiran dahil sa iba't-ibang tao din ang nagbibigay interpretasyon sa iba't-ibang aspeto/anggulon ng ito.

Ang interaksiyon sa pagitan ng mga indibidwal sa grupo ang nagbibigay kalinawan sa mga impormasyong ito. Dito papasok ang kaisipang ang kapaligiran binanggit ay hindi "pre-existent" kundi isinasagawa ng tao sa isang organisasyon. Ang pagsasagawang ito ay patuloy na ginagawa ng mga indibidwal sa kanilang kapaligiran na nababatas sa sarili nilang pag-uugali, paniniwala at karanasan.

Ang ebolusyonaryong proseso ng ito ay nakabatay sa tatlong mahalagang proseso: ang pagsasaakasyon (enactment), pamimili (selection) at pagpa-

panatili (retention). Ang unang proseso ng pagsasaakasyon ay ang pagkilala sa sitwasyon o ang pagtanggap na mayroong malalabong impormasyon mula sa kapaligiran. Ang proseso naman ng pamimili ay inilalarawan bilang proseso ng pagtanggap ng ilang aspeto ng impormasyon at pag-reject sa ilang punto. Ito ay nagbibigay ng kaunting kalinawan sa pamamagitan ng pagbabawas ng pagpipilian ng mga kinalailangang impormasyon. Ang huling bahagi ay ang proseso ng pagpapanatili. Sa puntong ito, tuluyang nagkaroon ng kalinawan ang mga impormasyon sa pamamagitan ng mga desisyon sa kung alin sa mga impormasyon ang pananatilihian para magamit sa iba pang pangangailangan. Ang mga napiling impormasyon ang siyang magbubuo sa lupon ng mga impormasyon kung saan kukilos ang organisasyon. Pagkatapos ng proseso ng pagpapanatili, ang mga miyembro ng organisasyon ay may layang magsagawa ng mga panibagong desisyon. Pwede niyang isagawa ang isang panibagong kapaligiran. Ang mga tanong na "dapat ko bang subukan ang mga ni-reject na impor-

masyon" ay siya nilang pagtuunan ng pansin. Ito ang tunay na esensiya ng organisasyon at pag-oorganisa. Ang bawat miyembro ay patuloy na kukilos at nagtatrabaho sa iba't-ibang proseso sa lahat ng aspeto ng kapaligiran.

Ang pag-alam sa ebolusyonaryong proseso ng pag-oorganisa ay di sapat upang lubos na maunawaan ang pagbibigay kaliwanagan sa malabong impormasyon sa kapaligiran. Ang tuluyang paglutas sa suliranin ay isinasagawa batay sa mga elementong nakapaloob sa tatlong prosesong nabanggit. Ang *assembly rules* ang siyang gumagabay sa pagpili ng mga pamamaraang gagamitin at ang *behavior cycle* naman ay ang siyang gagabay sa grupo sa pagpili ng kahulugan na tatanggapin o ire-reject.

Sa usapin tungkol sa Palisi sa Wika ng Unibersidad, ang ganitong teorya ay angkop para sa pag-alam ng kaganapan ng nasabing palisi sa buong panahon ng transisyon na itinakda ng nagbalangkas sa palisi. (Tung-hayan ang diagram blg. 2)

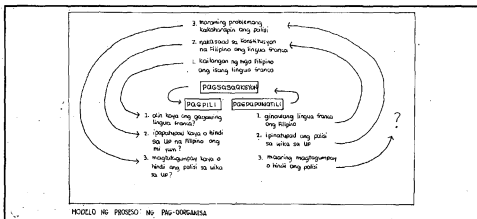


Diagram blg. 2

Ang limang taong transisyon ang siyang kapapalooban ng mga salik na magdedetermina ng 100% implementasyon ng wika. Ang ganitong sitwasyon ay may kaakibat ding mga problema na, batay sa teorya ni Weick, ay siyang mga malalabong impormasyon na siyang masasagap ng indibidwal. Ang mga problemang ito ang ibibigyang-linaw ng interaksyong mamamagitan sa mga miyembro ng organisasyon. Ang interaksyon sa pagitan ng administrasyon at mga kaguruan at estudyante ang siyang magdedetermina ng tunay na problema at ng mga kaukulang solusyon nito. Ito ngayon ang siyang bubuo uli sa kapaligiran ng mga taga-UP.

Ang unang proseso ay ang pagsasaaksyon (enactment) ng pagkilala ng mga mamayang Pilipino sa pangangailangan ng isang pambansang wika. Nagkaroon ng dalawang pagpipilian — ito ay kung isasaad ba bilang batas sa Konstitusyon o hindi (selection). Nagpasiya ang Komisyon ng Konstitusyon na isabatas ang pagkakaroon ng pambansang wika — ang Filipino (retention). Magkakaroon uli ng panibagong proseso sa pag-oorganisa. Sa puntong ito, kikilalanin ng unibersidad ang pagkakaroon sa Konstitusyon ng probisyon tungkol sa wika (enactment). Papasok ang pamimili (selection) sa punto ng pagpapasiya kung ipapatupad ba o hindi ng Lupon ng mga Rehente ang naturang probisyon. At nang ipatupad ng Lupon ang palisi sa wika noong 1989, pumasok sa huling hakbang ng proseso, ang pagpapanatili (retention).

Ang proseso ng pagbubuo (organizing) ay hindi lamang isang siklo (cycle) na paulit-ulit na walang nangyayari, kundi ito ay isang proseso na naghubunga ng

dalawang bagay, ang pag-unlad o di pag-unlad. Sa kasong ito, ang proseso ay naghubunga ng pag-unlad sa tuwing ito ay inuulit.

Ito'y makikita sa susunod na yugto ng ebolusyong proseso. Kaakibat ng pagpapatupad ng Palisi sa Wika ang pagkilala sa iba't-ibang problema na magsusulputan. (Hal., kahirapan sa parte ng mga estudyante at guro na mas gamay sa paggamit ng Ingles; kawalan ng mga teksbuk o glosari sa Filipino, at iba pa) (enactment). Magkakaroon ngayon ng pagpipilian ang mga miyembro sa komunidad ng UP. Ito ay ang pagsunod sa palisi sa kabila ng mga problemang kaakibat nito, o di kaya ay ang di-pagsunod dahil sa mga problema (selection). Ang pagpapanatili (retention) ngayon ay nakasalalay sa magiging resulta sa implementasyon ng programa pagkatapos ng limang taong panahon ng transisyon.

B. Teoryang Panlinang (Field Theory)

Ang Teoryang Panlinang (Field Theory) na binuo ni Kurt Lewin ay nagsasaad na lahat tayo ay nasa loob ng isang "life space", kung saan mayroon tayong dinamikong kaugnayan dito. Tayo ang bumubuo sa life space na ito sa pamamagitan ng paraan ng ating paggalaw dito at ang life space na ito ay nakaka-impluwensya sa bawat isa sa atin. Ang lahat ng tao sa life space na ito ay may sari-sariling peryapsyon o pagtingin sa mga nangyayari; ito ay nakabatay sa kung saan tayo nakatayo. Lahat rin tayo ay may mga minimithi ayon na rin sa life space na kinapapalooban natin. At ang paraan ng pagkuha natin ng mga minimithing ito ay nakikita/naipapahiwatig/nagbibigay-kahulugan sa ating mga kilos.

Ngunit sa lahat ng minimithi ay may mga balakid. Hindi naiiba ang life space na kinapapalooban natin. Mga balakid na gawa na rin ng mga kapwa natin tao, sadya man o hindi, sa kadahilanan may sari-sarili silang mithiin.

Dito papasok ang konseptong "equilibrium" sa pamamaraang Force Field Analysis (Fordyce and Weil, 1979) na kaugnay sa Field Theory. Pinapalagay ng pamamaraan ito na ang anumang sitwasyon ay nasa "equilibrium" kapag ang mga puwersang pambabago sa kondisyon ay katimbang ng mga puwersang pagpapanatili.

Dahil nga sa iba't-ibang layunin ay iba't-iba rin ang mga prayoridad ng tao. Kaya kung minsan ay nagiging pampigil na puwersa ang iba sa layunin ng tao, at ang iba naman ang siyang tumutulak sa lakas tungo sa mithiin. Dito nagkakaroon ng equilibrium sa life space.

Mailalapatin natin ang teorya ni Lewin sa Palisi sa Wika ng UP. Ang maituturing nating life space ay ang buong UP System. Kinapapalooban ito ng iba't-ibang UP yunit (UP Diliman, UPLB, UP Visayas, UP Manila). Kasama dito ang mga estudyante, administrador, atbp. Ngayon, ang wikang Filipino na ipinatupad ng Lupon ng mga Rehente sa pamamagitan ng Sentro ng Wikang Filipino, ay may sariling lugar sa bawat yunit. Halimbawa, ang UP Diliman na medyo positibo ang pagtanggap sa palisi, key sa UP Visayas na nag-aatubili pang tanggapin ang Filipino.

Ang pinakamithiin ng Sentro ng Wikang Filipino (SWF) ay maipatupad ang Palisi sa Wika ng 100% sa may panahon ng transisyon na limang taon.

Ayon pa rin kay Lewin, alam natin ang dapat ng SWF at ng lahat na gustong maipatupad ang palising ito sa UP, ang ilang balakid. Sa partikular na problema nating ito, ang mga balakid ay: ang kabihasnan natin sa Ingles dahil nga wala pa tayong maintuturing na linggwa franka dahil hati-hati tayo sa iba't-ibang rehiyon. Wala pa tayong mga sangguniang gamit na salin talaga sa Tagalog.

Ang mga problemang ito ang magiging gabay natin sa pagkamit ng 100% na paggamit sa wikang Filipino sa UP. Nasabi natin kanina na ang kilos ng tao tungo o hadlang sa mithiing ito ang magsasaad ng tagumpay o kabiguan ng palisi.

Wala tayong mga sangguniang babasahin, bihasa tayo sa Ingles. Dito pumapasok ang trabaho ng SWF. Sa ngayon ay pinapalaganap na nila ang mga sangguniang babasahin na sila ring ang may gawa ayon sa Palisi sa Wika ng UP. Tumutugon rin sa problema ang iba't-ibang kolehiyo sa pagpapasok ng wikang Filipino sa kanilang kurikulum bilang midyum ng pagtuturo.

Dito sana papasok ang equilibrium (tingnan ang diagram blg. 3) na tinatawag ni Fordyce at Weil sa kanilang Force Field Analysis na batay sa Field Theory ni Lewin. May SWF ka na tumutalak sa paggamit ng wikang Filipino kaalinsabay ang ilang sektor na pumipigil sa paglaganap nito, gaya ng mga gumagawa ng librong dayuhan. Dahil sa pag-aantabayana ng bawat kilos ng isa't-isa ay nagkakaroon ng kani-kanilang "checks and balances" kung saan makakamit ang equilibrium. Ngunit makakamit lamang ito kung magiging konstruktibo ang mga pagpupuna sa bawat panig.

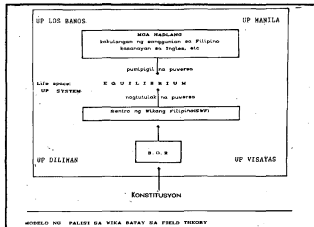


Diagram blg. 3

C. Panlipunang Paghubuo ng Realidad (Social Construction of Reality)

Sina Peter Berger at Thomas Luckmann ay nagpintis ng isang teorya ukol sa paghubuo ng realidad sa lipunan. Isang punto rito ang proseso ng institusyonalisasyon. Sinasabing ito ang nagpapabunga ng kaayusan sa lipunan, na isang pangunahing pangangailangan ng tao. Sa pamamagitan ng pag-aaral ng prosesong ito, matutukoy ang paraan kung paano nabubuo ang realidad sa lipunan.

Unang hakbang ang *habitwalisasyon* (habitualization). Anuman ang gawain ng tao ay nauuwi sa habitwalisasyon kapag ito'y nauulit. Ito'y upang makatipid ang tao sa pag-iisip kung paano niya gagawin ang bawat hakbangin. Sinusundan na lamang niya ang padron ng habitwalisasyon na nabubuo habang paulit-ulit niyang ginagawa ang isang bagay, "eto na naman ako," wika niya sa sarili (tingnan ang diagram blg. 4). Kapag ang pag-uulit na ito'y minasdan ng isa pang tao bukod

sa nauna, magkakaroon ng palitan ng pagwawangis, *resiprokalo na tipipikasyon* kung tawagin (reciprocal typification). Mamasdan ng pangalawa ang klase o wangis ng pagkakasunud-sunod ng paggawa ng nauna at maiintindihan na niya sa hinaharap ang gawaing ito. "O, eto na naman siya," sasabihin ng pangalawa.

Kapag ginaya ng pangalawa ang gawaing ito, magaganap ang tinatawag na *institusyonalisasyon* "in nucleo." Dahil alam na nila ang pagkakasunud-sunod ng paggawa, mas magaan na para sa kanila ang nasabing gawain, kaya tuloy napagtututunan nila ng pansin ang iba pang bagong hakbangin. "Eto na naman tayo," sasabihin nila. Kabisado na nila ang gawain at wala nang pagtatalo at diskusyon pa ukol dito.

Sa pagdating ng panahon kung kailan may pangatlo at higit pa na partido, isang panibagong salin-lahi, halimbawa, na makilahok sa dalawang nauna, mauuwi na sa *kasaysayan ang institusyonalisasyon*. Sasabihin nila "Ganito naman talaga ginagawa

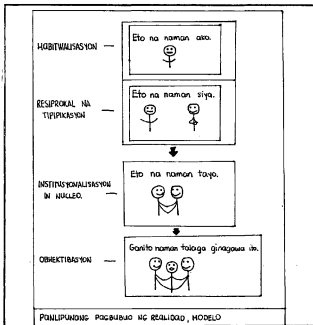


Diagram blg. 4

ito." Kung dati ay nabubuo pa lamang ang proseso, sa puntong ito'y nagiging ganap, ngayon ito obhektibo na (object-ivated); para bang mayroong "life of its own" na kinakaharap ng indibidwal, hiwalay at nagtutulak na katotohanan sa kanyang pagkatao. Babagi ng kamalayan bagamat hindi matuntun sa diwa kung kailan at paano nagsimula.

Kasabay nito, kailangang maging *lehitimo* pa ang *institutionalisadong* gawain, na ngayo'y kawangis na ng tradisyon, upang maipaliwanag at mapangatawiranan ng kasalukuyang salinlahi sa kanilang sarili at susunod sa kanila kung bakit nila ginagawa ito. Nakantuntong ang pundasyon ng lehitimasyon (legitimation) sa wika. *Nagtitining* (sedimentation) sa kamalayan ng mga kasapi ang isang obhektibadong gawain dahil

din sa wika. Humahalo ito sa karanasan ng lahat, nagiging posibilidad sa bawat isa, pinagsasaluhan ng buong lipunan. Nagbibigay rin ang papel sa mga kasapi ng lipunan ang mga institusyonalisadong paggawa. Kung hindi, malabong manatili pa ang mga ito.

Inilunsad ang Palisi sa Wika ng Unibersidad na kung saan sinasabing Filipino ang gagamiting midyum ng pagtuturo sa pamantasan. Itinayang lubos na maipatutupad ito sa loob ng limang taong transisyon. Pang-apat na taon ngayon ng implementasyon at may nalalabi pang isang taon. Masasabing kapag naging ganap ang implementasyon, magiging isang di-matitwalag na realidad na sa pamantasan ang paggamit ng Filipino bilang midyum.

Mabubuo ang realidad na ito kung tutuntunin ang teorya nina Berger at Luckmann. Sa paggamit ng teoryang ito, masusukat din kung magiging ganap na nga bang realidad ang Filipino bilang midyum sa loob ng limang taon. Magsisimula sa habitwalisasyon. Kapag pauli-ulit na ginagamit ang Filipino bilang midyum ng pagtuturo, makakasayan na ito ng mga guro at estudyante at maiiwi na nga sa habitwalisasyon. Maaaring tukuyin nating ang bawat batch ng mga estudyante bilang mga tagaganap ng bahaging ito. Magkakaroon ng institusyonalisasyon "in nucleo" kapag ang dalawang batch ay gumagamit ng Filipino sa pag-aaral bilang midyum. Ang lahat ng ito'y magaganap sa loob ng humigit-kumulang apat o limang taon, dahil ganito katagal bago tuluyang mapalitan ang pinakabatang batch na nagsimula ng habitwalisasyon. Pagkaraan ng limang taon, magsisipasok na sa pamantasan ang panibagong batch na papalit sa pinakaluma. Magkakaroon ng pangatlong partido o isang salinlahi. Masasabing obhektibado na ang palisi, isa nang realidad.

Maaaring hindi mabubura sa alaala kung kailan nagsimula ang gawain ng paggamit ng Filipino bilang midyum ng pagtuturo, dahil nakatala ito sa mga dokumento at sulatin. Ngunit kung tutusin, ang simula ng Filipino mismo ay hindi na maaalala, matutugunan ang sinasabi ng teorya na ang realidad ay hindi na matutukoy kung kailan at paano nagsimula. Lagpasan ang tala ng palisi at tukuyin ang kasaysayan nito. Hindi na nga maipaliwanag kung ano ang tiyak na nagbunsod sa mga gumawa ng palisi, ang ating Konstitusyon, kung bakit Filipino ang midyum at pam-bansang wika.

Saan nga ba nagsimula ang paggamit ng Filipino bilang wika? Hindi na nga matukoy.

Samakatuwid, tamang-tama lang ang limang taong transisyon na ipinalugit sa pagpapatupad ng palisi. Batay sa teorya, magiging isang realidad na nga ito.

Kung pahihintulutan ang isang paglilimi, makikitang hindi naman ganito ang magiging takbo ng mga pangyayari. Unang-una, maaaring sabihin na hindi kayang buwagin ng naipaliwanag na habitwalisasyon o pag-uulit-ulit na paggamit ng Filipino ang isang matibay at naunang realidad na Ingles ang gamit ng pamantasan bilang midyum simula nang ito'y itatag. Kaakibat nito, ang Ingles ay isang realidad sa lipunan mismo na ginagalawan ng mga kasapi ng pamantasan. Maaaring hindi pag-uulit-ulitin ang paggamit ng Filipino. At pananatilihin ang Ingles. Masaring hindi palaging Filipino ang pag-uulit-ulitin, maaaring sa wikang Ingles.

Hindi lamang sa kamalayan nakalagak na Ingles ang ginagamit sa pagtuturo. Kung teknikalidad ang pag-uusapan, mas nakalamang talaga ang Ingles. Ang bulto ng mga aklat at sanggunian ay nasa Ingles, gayundin ang mga silabus at iba pa. Mahirap magkatugma ang mga salin ng mga termino sa iba't-ibang larangan at totoong dahop na dahop ang pamantasan sa mga saling ito. Kaya maaaring hindi maganap ang obhektibasyon at walang realidad na magaganap. Sa madaling salita, maaaring hindi maging 100% ang implementasyon ng palisi.

Makikitang nagtatagumpay ang palisi kung naaayon sa sinasabi ng teorya, ayon sa ginawang paglalapat dito. Subalit batay na rin sa ginamit na teorya,

maari pa ring hindi ito magtagumpay. Gaya ng nasabi, ang paggamit ng Ingles bilang midyum ay isang realidad. Sinasabi ng teorya na ang isang realidad ay binubuo. Hindi gaanong nagpahiwatig ang teorya ng anumang tungkol sa pagbubuwag nito. Maaaring magbuo ng isa pang realidad kaalinsabay ng nauna. Ngunit kung pagsasalungatin ang isang matibay na realidad at isa pang binubuong realidad, alin ang mananatili?

Parehong realidad ang paggamit ng wikang Ingles at Filipino sa ating lipunan. Ang kalamangan lamang ng Ingles ay nauna itong maging midyum ng pagtuturo sa pamantasan. Sa pagsalubong sa realidad na ito ng isa pang binubuong realidad na paggamit ng Filipino bilang midyum, alin ang mananatili?

Matatagpuang may kapaliwanagan ang teorya sa anumang pangyayaring magaganap ukol sa palisi. Ginamit ang teoryang ito sa pagtalakay ng ganitong usapin dahil sa kakayahang ito. Makatutulong na maunawaan kung bakit naganap o hindi ang isang bagay. At minsan pa, mapapantunayan ang kahalagahan ng paggamit ng teorya sa pag-unawa ng mga pangyayari sa buhay.

D. Maka-alituntuning Pagtalakay sa Komunikasyon (Rules Approach to Communication)

Ang maka-alituntuning pagtalakay bilang bahagi ng pag-aaral ng komunikasyon, ay kaakibat ng teorya sa *maka-simbolikong interaksyon* (symbolic interaction). Ang mga alituntunin ang nagbibigay ng hugis at laman sa kahulugan ng mga simbolo sa ugnayan o interaksyon. Kung walang mga alituntunin, hindi

malalaman ng mga tao kung paano, saan at kailan gagamitin ang mga simbolo. Magkakalitugan sa paggamit ng simbolo. Walang komunikasyong magaganap.

Pinagpapalagay ng mga teorya sa alituntunin na ang kilos at asal sa lipunan ay may paraan at kaayusan. Binibigyang-diin ang kaugnayan ng mga kilos ng tao sa kultura, sa sitwasyon na kung saan naganap ang pagkilos. Ang mga alituntunin ang gumagabay sa isang tao kung paano gumalaw sa lipunan. Namimili ang tao sa iba't-ibang paraan ng pagkilos, at nagbibigay ng mga alituntunin sa pagpipilian.

Tatalakayin ang grupo ng *alituntunin na nagtatakda* (rule-governed approach, sa halip na rule-using o rule-following approaches). Ang alituntunin sa pananaw na ito ay nagsasabi kung ano ang tanggap ng lipunan na dapat at hindi dapat na gawain upang makamit ang isang mithiin sa isang sitwasyon. Pinagpapalagay na alam ng tao ang mga alituntunin at may kakayahang siyang sumunod o lumabag kaya. Ipinagpapalagay na ang tao ay kumikilos nang may kamalayan, kadalihan at katuturan.

Si Susan Shimanoff ay gumawa ng isang paglalagom ng mga nasulat ukol sa alituntuning nagtatakda. Ang alituntunin, ayon sa kanya, ay isang sinusundang atas na nagbabadya kung ano ang hinihingi, hinihiling o ipinagbabawal sa isang kalagayan. Kabilang dito ang mga sumusunod na elemento: *una*, ang mga alituntunin ay kinakailangang nasusunod. May mga alituntunin na walang pagpipilian ang tao kungdi ang sundin, ang hindi paghinga sa ilalim ng tubig, halimbawa. Ang mga tao ay may

layang sundin o di sundin ang alituntunin. Kailangan ding may posibilidad ang pagsunod sa alituntunin. Hindi masusundan ang isang imposibleng alituntunin.

Pangalawa, ang alituntunin ay nag-aatas. May mga iniiaatas na kailangang gawin, na kung hindi ay may karampatang kahihinatnan. Mag-aatas ang alituntunin kung ano ang hinihingi, hinihiling, o ipinagbabawal, at may mamasang mangyayari kung hindi masusunod ang atas. Hindi nag-aatas ang alituntunin kung wala namang masamang mangyayari kung hindi ito masusunod.

Pangatlo, ang alituntunin ay kontekstwal. Ibinabagay ng tao sa konteksto ang paggamit ng alituntunin. May mga konteksto na nangangailangang tupdin ang alituntunin at mayroong hindi. Kailangang nakalapat ang alituntunin sa konteksto.

Pang-apat, tinitiyak ng alituntunin ang tumpak na pagkilos. Sinasabi ng alituntunin kung ano ang dapat at di-dapat na gawin. Hindi sinasabi nito kung paano mag-iisip, dadama, o magpapakahulugan ang tao. Ang tamang pagkilos ang pinagtutunayan ng pansin.

May mga alituntunin na lantad at di-lantad. Mapagmamassdan ang paglalapat ng mga lantad na alituntunin. Kailangan munang mahinuha sa mga kilos ng tao ang mga alituntuning sinusunod na hindi lantad. Pinagaaralan ang pagkilos sa pamamagitan ng tatlong batayan: 1) kaya bang kontrolin ang pagkilos, 2) kaya ba itong punahin, 3) base ba ito sa konteksto.

Gumawa si Shimanoff ng modelo ng maka-alituntuning pagkilos, na nagpapakita kung paano tinatanggap ng tao ang mga

alituntunin sa aktwal na pakikipag-ugnayan. Walong uri ng pagkilos ayon sa alituntunin ang tinukoy ni Shimanoff. Apat dito ang ukol sa pagsunod at apat ang ukol sa paglabag sa alituntunin (tingnan sa ibaba ang diagram blg. 5).

Ang *a* ay ang hindi nako-kontrol, hindi napupuna at hindi kontekstwal. Ang *b* ay ang kumilos ng walang kaalam-alam sa tuntunin ngunit nasasakupan nito. Ang *c* ay ang pagkakaalam naman ng tungkol sa alituntunin ngunit hindi namamalayan ang kumilos ukol dito. Ang *d* ay ang may kaalamang pagsunod sa alituntunin o ang may kaalamang paglabag dito. Ang *e* ay ang pagsunod o paglabag na may kasamang paglilimi.

Angkop na ilapat ang nasabing palisi sa wika sa maka-alituntuning pagtalakay sa komunikasyon. Ang alituntunin ng pagtuturo ng Filipino bilang midyum ay isang lantad na alituntuning nagtatakda ng tiyak na pagkilos: ang paggamit ng Filipino bilang midyum ng komunikasyon. Kung gagamitin ang batayan: 1) maaring kontrolin ang pagkilos ayon sa alituntunin. Inatasan ang mga estudyante at guro na Filipino ang dapat gagamiting midyum. Ang pagkilos ay maaring ang paggamit o di-paggamit ng Filipino. 2) maaring punahin ang pagkilos. Pwedeng magkaroon ng masamang kahihinatnan ang di-pagsunod. Pagsasabihan ng guro ang estudyanteng hindi gagamit ng Filipino, o kaya mamasamain ito

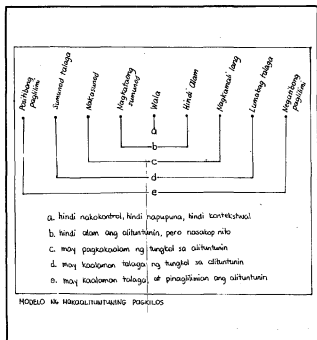


Diagram blg. 5

ng kanyang mga kaklase; o anumang paraan ng pagpapakita ng pagpuna, may kaakibat na magaan o mabigat mang kaparusahan. 3) Kontekstwal ang alituntunin. Sa loob lamang ng silid-aralan tuwirang isasaisip na gagamitin ang Filipino, sa labas nito ay maaaring mag-English o Taglish. Sa mga kursong Ingles ay Ingles talaga ang gagamitin, hindi ito nasasakupan ng alituntunin.

Nakita ngang isang alituntuning nagtatakda ang alituntunin ng palisi. Masari na ngayong tukuyin ang iba't-ibang pagkilos na ukol sa pagsunod o dipagsunod sa alituntunin.

- wala: hindi sa UP naganap, hindi nasasakupan ng alituntunin, walang atas na naipabatid.
- walang alam tungkol sa palisi: nagkataong nag-Filipino sa konteksto, biglang nag-Ingles sa konteksto.
- may pagkakaalam ng tungkol sa palisi: nag-Filipino nang wala sa loob, nag-Ingles nang wala sa loob.
- alam talaga ang tungkol sa palisi: nag-Filipino nang kusang loob, sinadyang mag-Ingles
- may kalamalan talaga at pinagliman ang palisi: nag-Filipino bilang suporta sa pagpapayaman nito, nag-Ingles bilang pagpapakita ng oposisyon.

Maaari na ngang kilalanin ang bawat uri ng pagkilos ukol sa alituntunin. Tiyak na ang nakasunod sa palisi ang mag-aambag sa tagumpay nito. Ang hindi nakasunod ay magsisilbing hadlang. Kayang-kayang sukatin ang dami ng mga nakasunod at dinakasunod kung gagamitin ang modelong ito. Ang pinaka-

mabuting resulta ay ang pinakamadaming sumunod ng may positibong paglilimi. Pipili na lang ng paraan ng pagsusukat upang matanio ang tiyak na status ng implementasyon ng palisi. Magbabalangkas na lang ng metodolohiya kung paano sistematikong mailalap ang modelo sa aktwal na pagganap ng impormasyon ng pagsunod at dipagsunod.

Maaaring puntunan ang bawat kategoriya ng batayan. Pinakamataas ang mula sa punong kaliwa dahil sumusunod at pinakamababa sa punong kanan dahil tumataliwas. Maaari ring puntunan ng positibong bilang ang nasa kaliwa ng gitna at nasa kanan ay negatibo. Kung ibabawas ang negatibo sa positibo, o ang positibo sa negatibo, depende kung alin ang nakararami, magkakaroon ng tiyak na bilang ng kalamangan ang nakahirin.

Sa puntong ito'y nasa ikaapat na taon na ang transisyon ng pagpapatupad ng palisi. Dapat lamang na nasa ikaapat na bahagi ng lima, o walumpung porsiyento na ang pagpapatupad nito. Kung mas mababa dito, maaaring hindi umabot sa 100% target pagkatapos ng limang taon, kung hindi magkukumahog ngayon pa lang. Kung mas mataas naman dito, malamang na magtagumpay at tamang-tama lang ang hinay ng pagpapatupad. Mahalagang malaman ngayon pa lang ang tunay na status ng palisi upang makagawa ng hakbang tungo sa katiyakan ng pagpapatupad nito.

Mainam gamitin ang modelong ito sa usaping tinatalakay dahil nakapagbibigay ng tiyak at nasusukat na sagot. Tamang-tama para sa isang empirikal at metodolohikong pananaliksik. Matutugunan talaga

ang katanungan na kung 100% na ba ang implementasyon ng palisi matapos ang transisyon. Heuristiko ngang matatwag.

IV. KONKLUSYON

Matapos na dumaan sa masusing pagsusuri, masasabing hindi pa 100% ang pagpapatupad ng Palisi sa Wilka ng UP.

Narito ang mga batayang ginamit bago masabi ang bagay na ito:

Batid na ba ng lahat ang tungkol sa Palisi sa Wilka?

Ginagamit ba ang Filipino sa mga talumpati at sa mga opisyal at pang-araw-araw na komunikasyon sa loob ng Unibersidad?

Mayroon bang mga materyales na magagamit ang mga estudyante tulad ng Ingles-Filipino na diksyunaryo at glosari?

Nagkakaroon ba sa bawat kolehiyo ng komite na mamamahala sa pagpapatupad ng palisi?

Mayroon bang komite na nagsasanay sa mga faculty ng Unibersidad?

Naikakalat na ba ang mga salin sa Filipino ng mga sangguniang Ingles?

Kapag natugunan ng apirmado ang mga batayang ito, maaabot ang 100% na implementasyon sa loob ng limang taon. Isang taon na lang ang nalalabi, at ayon sa mga sarbey at mga publikasyong inilabas ng SWF, at sa mga pagmamasiid, masasabing hindi magtagumpay ang pagpapatupad ng palisi sa loob ng itinakdang panahon. Marahil kung magkakaroon ng isang mas masigisang na implementasyon at kung hahabaaan pa ang

(Turn to p.59)

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The Journal of American History, the prestigious quarterly publication of the Organization of American Historians (OAH), is soliciting titles of recently completed works and status reports of ongoing research projects on American history—broadly defined to include popular culture—and on Philippine-American history. These will eventually be published or listed in *Connections*, the OAH's clearinghouse newsletter.

Address all communications to Dr. Bonifacio S. Salamanca, Contributing Editor, *The Journal of American History*, c/o Department of History, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City. ■

SSRC-MACARTHUR FOUNDATION FELLOWSHIPS IN INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

The Council announces two-year dissertation and postdoctoral fellowships for training and research on peace and security in a changing world, under the Committee on International Peace and Security. This program is funded by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. Contingent upon receipt of funding, the Council expects to award approximately seven dissertation and seven postdoctoral fellowships in 1995. The Council especially encourages women, members of minority groups and scholars residing outside the United States to apply.

PSSC Appoints New Executive Director

The Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC) wishes to announce the appointment of Professor Ponciano L. Bennagen, Anthropologist, to the office of Executive Director. He began serving his three-year term on November 1, 1994.

As an anthropologist, Prof. Bennagen was one of the founders of the Ugnayang Pang-Aghamtao (UGAT), the national association of anthropologists. He taught at the University of the Philippines' Department of Anthropology until 1989.

Upon retirement, he joined the community of volunteer development NGOs and POs, serving as Chairman-President of Sentro Para sa Ganap na Pamayanan (SENTRO). □

These fellowships will support innovative and interdisciplinary research on emerging issues on international peace and security. The Committee welcomes applications which:

- Propose interdisciplinary research that seeks to integrate regional and disciplinary expertise with the study of international peace, security and cooperation;
- Engage in issues in international peace and security research from disciplines, fields and perspectives currently under represented in the study of peace and security;
- Contribute to the reformulation of research on issues of international peace and security subsequent to the dramatic changes of the last decade.

Program Scope

For ten years the Social Science Research Council and the MacArthur Foundation have worked together to promote international creativity, innovative

thinking, and imaginative approaches in the field of international peace and security studies. The SSRC-MacArthur Fellowship Program has sought to cultivate within new generations of scholars the ability and imagination to comprehend the essence of new situations, to appreciate the complexity of domestic and international affairs, and to explore previously unimagined and undeveloped connections across disciplines and methods, regions and issues that make possible explanations and understandings of international peace and security commensurate with the challenging circumstances of the times.

Global political transformation, economic restructuring and environmental changes over the past decade have raised serious questions about traditional conceptualizations of national sovereignty and security, about the nature of the state and its domestic and international affairs, and about the problems of global governance. States remain important international actors, but

non-state agents increasingly affect prospects for peace and security. Problems created by state collapse, ethnic and religious conflicts, mass migrations, and weapons proliferation, among others, are undermining the capacity of existing mechanisms to deal with multiple sources of conflict and violence. As societies become more differentiated and complex, the sources of threats to the security of individuals and collectives are multiplying. At the same time, new opportunities that may be opening up for peaceful resolution of some longstanding and emerging inter- and inter-state conflicts need to be exploited.

To address these challenges, research on international peace and security must constantly search for and develop new perspectives and approaches, and apply innovative methods to new and old questions. The SSRC-MacArthur Program particularly invites dissertation and postdoctoral fellowship proposals that would address emerging intellectual challenges by exploring and explicating the relationships between peace and security issues and the ongoing political, economic, social, cultural, environmental and other changes in the global, regional, national and local levels.

Requirements

These fellowships encourage researchers to develop interdisciplinary approaches, both theoretical and applied, to issues of peace and security, develop new theories or apply new methods to longstanding peace and security concerns; formulate new research questions; make contributions that link the study of peace and security to the intellectual trajectory of their own disciplines; apply cultural, historical, and area-based under-

standings and perspectives to issues in international peace and security, and help to seed a concern for international peace and security issues in their own fields.

To achieve these aims, the Fellowship, require Fellows to undertake a substantive training program of twelve months' duration that adds a new competence to the disciplinary knowledge and skills they already have. That training must represent a significant departure from the previous work and demonstrate direct relevance to the proposed research. The Fellowship will not support a simple extension or expansion of an applicant's earlier disciplinary training and research. Fellows are required to seek affiliations with institutions other than their home institutions for the duration of the training.

That application includes a 10-page narrative description of the proposed training and research programs, samples of written work, 3 letters reference, and transcripts. Applications post-marked after the deadline date will not be considered under any circumstance. Applications must be completed in English and typed.

Dissertation Fellowships

These fellowships pay a stipend appropriate for the cost of living in the area where the Fellow will be working. The stipend will be determined by the Council after the award of the fellowship. In no case will the amount exceed \$17,500 per year. The competition is open to graduate students who are finishing course work, examinations, or other requirements for a Ph.D. or its equivalent. Applicants must complete all requirements for the doctoral degree except the dissertation by the spring of 1995.

Successful Dissertation Fellowship applicants must be prepared to extend the duration of their Ph.D. program and to make substantial changes to their dissertation research in order to fulfill the training and research requirements.

Postdoctoral Fellowships

These fellowships pay a stipend appropriate for the Fellow's current salary level and the cost of living in the area where the Fellow will be working. The stipend will be determined by the Council after the award of the fellowship. In no case will the amount be exceeding \$36,000 per year. In most cases, successful applicants will hold a Ph.D. or its equivalent. However, possession of a Ph.D. is not a requirement for lawyers, public servants, journalists, or others who can demonstrate comparable research experience and an ability to contribute to research literature. This competition is designed for researchers in the first ten years of their postdoctoral careers; senior researchers are discouraged from applying.

Eligibility

There are no citizenship, residency, or nationality requirements. The competition is open to researchers in the social and behavioral sciences, the humanities, and the physical and biological sciences. Persons doing the research in nonacademic settings are welcome to apply. Projects must be international in scope, as opposed to purely domestic, but projects focusing on the US as

Turn to page 7

PSSC News (from p. 7)

Research Awards Program

The Philippine Social Science Council (PSSC) announces the opening of its Research Awards Program (RAP) for CY 1995. The Program intends to provide supplementary financial assistance to graduate students presently undertaking their thesis or dissertation research in any of the following fields of social science: Anthropology, Communication, Demography, Economics, Geography, History, Linguistics, Political Science, Psychology, Public Administration, Social Work, Sociology, and Statistics.

Interested applicants are required to submit two copies of the following: Application form (available at the PSSC Secretariat); Proof of approval of dissertation/thesis proposal; copy of the approved proposal; one-page abstract of the approved proposal; and Letter of recommendation from the adviser. All completed applications should be received by PSSC by March 15, 1995. Successful applicants will be notified by the end of May 1995.

Request for information may be forwarded to the Research Awards Program, Project Development and Publication Division, Philippine Social Science Council, Diliman, Quezon City or call at telephone nos. 922-96-21 local 318 and 972-671 (look for Ms. Gigie V. Tuzon). □

Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils (AASSREC)

Symposium on New Strategies for Social Development in Asia and the Pacific 14-15 November 1994

In preparation for the World Summit on Social Development (WSSD) in Copenhagen in March 1995, the Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils (AASSREC) conducted a Special Regional Symposium on New Strategies for Social Development in Asia and the Pacific on 14-15 November 1994 at the Philippine Social Science Center, Quezon City, Philippines. The discussion was held with the end view of generating ideas and opinions on social development from social scientists that can be shared at the Summit in which the AASSREC has been encouraged to contribute a regional paper on the issue.

The Symposium was participated in by six AASSREC member-countries — China, Indonesia, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand, and Vietnam. The Secretary of the Department of Social Welfare and Development, Honorable Corazon Alma de Leon, gave the keynote address wherein she highlighted the consensus forged during the ESCAP Ministerial Meeting on Social Development held on 12-18 October 1994 in Manila.

Most of the papers dealt with the core issues of alleviation and reduction of poverty; expansion of productive employment; and enhancement of social integration, particularly the disadvantaged and marginalized groups (e.g. minor ethnic groups, women, and children). Moreover, the presentors gave a critical appraisal of their country's development efforts in achieving social progress and the various strategies undertaken to achieve these developments.

Towards the end of the two-day discussion, the participants identified their country's priority problem areas and presented their recommendations for a research agenda for the coming years.

To give the regional paper more strength and representation, the AASSREC Secretariat has requested the other member-countries which were not represented in the Symposium to submit their country's priority concerns on social development which they would like to be addressed during the Summit.

OFFICE HOLDERS 1993-1994

GOVERNING COUNCIL

Carmencita T. Aguilar

Chairperson

Ma. Clara V. Ravina

Vice-Chairperson

Ruben F. Trinidad

Secretary (until October 31, 1994)

Ponciano L. Bennagen

Secretary (from November 1, 1994)

Members:

Noemi L. Catalan

Bernardita R. Churchill

Ibarra Gonzalez, S.J.

Gloria M. Santos

Corazon B. Lamug

Patricia B. Luna

Nelia R. Marquez

Corazon M. Raymundo

Felixberto H. Roquia, Jr.

Domingo C. Salita

Patricia A. Sto. Tomas

Victor Valdepeñas

Ma. Concepcion P. Alfiler

Ex-Officio

EXECUTIVE BOARD

Ma. Concepcion P. Alfiler

President

Rolando S. DelaGoza, C.M.

Vice-President

Ruben F. Trinidad

Secretary (until October 31, 1994)

Ponciano L. Bennagen

Secretary (from November 1, 1994)

Shirley C. Advincula

Treasurer

Members:

Clemen C. Aquino

Delia R. Barcelona

Emma S. Castillo

Milagros M. Catabona

Erlinda A. Cordero

Eliseo A. de Guzman

Gonzalo H. Jurado

Telesforo W. Luna

Sabino G. Padilla, Jr.

Ana Maria L. Tabunda

Amarylita T. Torres

Carmencita T. Aguilar

Ex-Officio

Philippine Social Science Council
P.O. Box 205 UP Post Office, Diliman, Quezon City, 3004

May be opened for postal inspection

**SOCIAL SCIENCE
INFORMATION**