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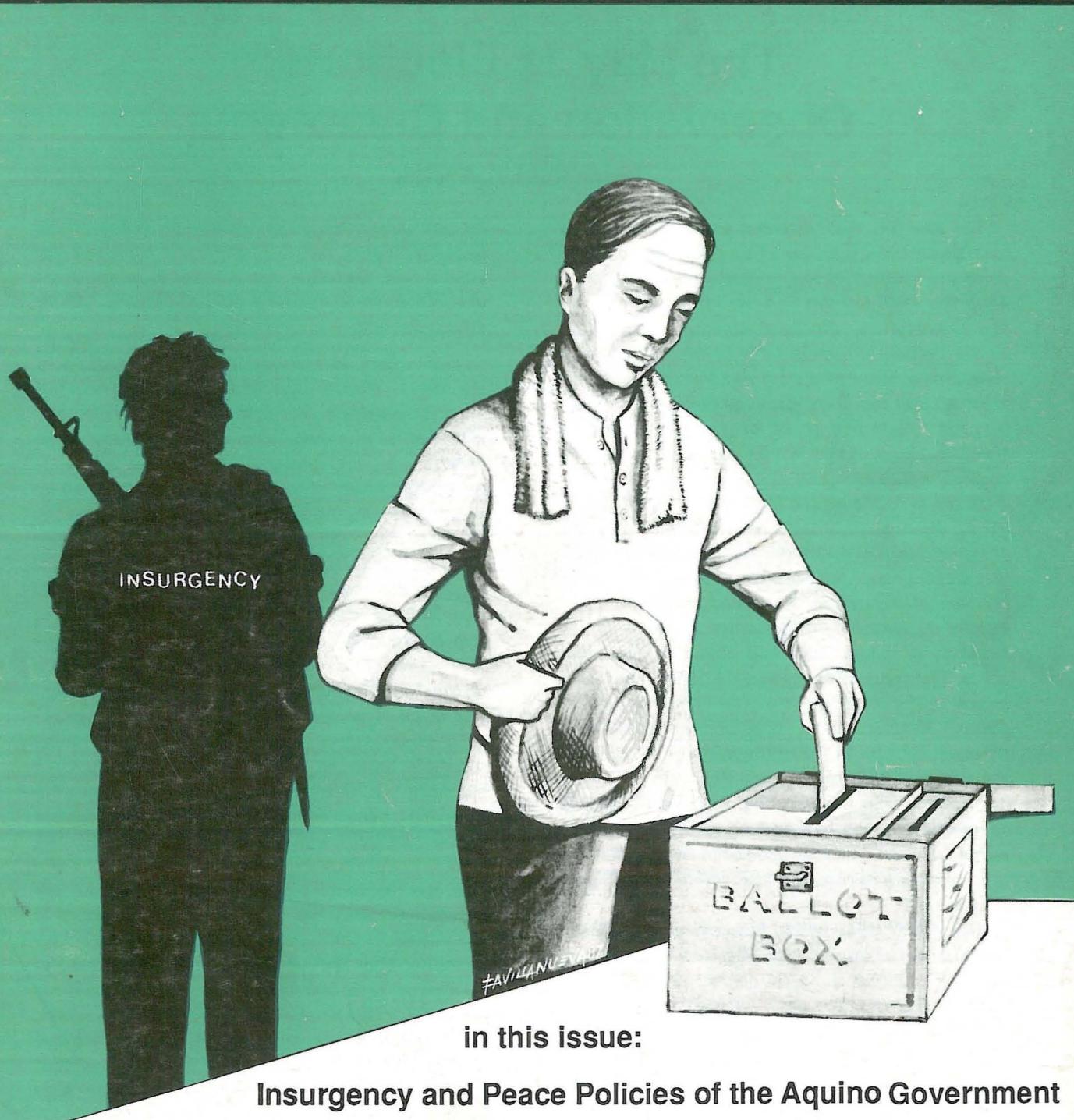
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The May 11 Elections: Observation and Comments

Carmencita T. Aguilar

The May 11, 1987 elections could have been the opening salvo for a revival of true democratic procedures and institutions long missed in the Philippines. After the 1986 Constitution was ratified by the yellow sympathizers, the next expected thing would be the election of a respectable Legislative Assembly in an atmosphere of freedom and free choice. It was expected that the Commission on Elections, the Constitutional body that could safeguard the free exercise of suffrage, would not be inept and unprepared to perform that function.

In the past, the people had been critical of the delay of the election returns whenever this happened. Thus, devices and operations for the so-called "Election Quick Count" had been put up, yet to the dissatisfaction of the people. There had always been suspicions of election manipulations by those in the positions of power who had access to the ballot boxes. The conduct of the May 11 election was quite unique in the sense that it was an "Election Longest Count." Even up to the time of the Congressional inauguration, the COMELEC could not account for the names of the real winners. This was two and a half months after the elections. Even the COMELEC commissioners who had become quite popular with media because of their willingness to explain the election preparations became less visible on TV after the elections.

The NAMFREL, which had gained a prominent status in the February 1986 Presidential Snap Elections by counting up to 65 percent of the election returns which was the basis for the victory of Cory Aquino, tried to duplicate that feat in the May 11 elections. Many people thought that the NAMFREL only added to the electoral confusion. The question raised by people was why NAMFREL stopped after counting 75 percent of the election returns. Why not count all the ballots anyway? There were, on top of it all, accusations and counter accusations on who committed the rampant poll rigging and bal-

lot box tampering. Some critics even considered the so-called "Ferrer factor," referring to the late Local Government Secretary Jaime Ferrer who instructed the Officers-in-Charge of local government units to deliver the victory votes or else...

With regard to party politics, the atmosphere of the May 11 election paid lip service to the encouragement of pluralism and multipartisanship which was intended to veer away from the single party dominance under the Marcos regime or the one-and-a-half party system of the traditional politicians which allowed a more liberal party-changing from either the Nacionalista or the Liberal, the most influential parties of their time. There was even the granting of accreditation to a new political party, the Alliance for New Politics, whose line-up were noted leftists, to give a semblance of democratic tolerance and free interaction. For many politicians who participated in the May 11 election, the effort towards pluralism was not a conscious innovation to have a real multi-party system as part of the redemocratization requirement but rather an attempt to veer away from the stigma of the Marcos name identified with the monolithic KBL party. There was also the desire to create a new political image that could beguile the voters to deliver the votes in their favor. But the best intention was to be able to find new niches with the government party which could guarantee victory at the poll while riding on the band wagon of the yellow charisma. Thus the results were the development of political linkages and the formation of new coalitions with the government-affiliated parties. Of course, there were men who remained loyal to their old parties and presented themselves to the people without disguising their party position and yet, also won seats in the Assembly.

Today, the members of the Lower House of Congress identify their party affiliations as follows:

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Insurgency and Peace Policies of the Aquino Government*

Alex Bello Brillantes, Jr., Ph. D. **

The insurgency and peace policies of President Aquino may be characterized as one that started with an attempt at reconciliation with the rebels but eventually manifested tendencies towards adopting a 180-degree turn to a hardline militarist policy. It was one that was initially in marked contrast to that of her predecessor. This was due to a recognition on the part of the Aquino administration that a total military approach to the insurgency problem is not the answer. She once articulated such a philosophy during an interview for an American television network:

The solution to the insurgency problem cannot be a total military solution. Otherwise, Marcos could have succeeded. (Interview with President Aquino in *60 Minutes* in 1986. Aired in the Philippines by Channel 9 on July 17, 1987)

Thus, aside from releasing political prisoners detained during the Marcos

administration, the Aquino government extended its hand of reconciliation to the three major forces of insurgency in the country then obtaining when she was catapulted to power by what is now referred to as a "people's power" revolution. These groups included the National Democratic Front (NDF), the umbrella organization of underground leftist groups which included the CCP/NPA, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) led by Nur Misuari that is based in Mindanao calling for a separate Moro nation state, and the Cordillera People's Liberation Army (CPLA) led by former priest Conrado Balweg based in the Cordillera mountains. The Aquino government held peace talks and dialogues with these different groups. The following discusses these various peace talks processes implemented by the Aquino administration in its attempts to negotiate with these three fronts of the insurgency.

The Aquino Administration and the NDF

A few months after assuming power, the Aquino administration formally met with representatives of the National Democratic Front, the umbrella organization comprising the Communist Party of the Philippines and 11 other revolutionary organizations. The Government of the Republic of the Philippines was represented by the late Senator Jose Diokno (who was later replaced by his daughter Maris Diokno because of an illness), Ramon Mitra, and Teofisto

Guingona. The NDF was represented by Antonio Zumel, Satur Ocampo, and Carolina Malay Ocampo. The two panels first met on August 5, 1986. They were to meet for six more times before arriving at an agreement. A 60-day ceasefire agreement was reached on November 27, 1986 and was to be in force on December 10, 1986.

Additionally, the agreement stated that the two sides will begin what was described as the "substantive phase" 30 days after the initial signing which was to be on December 27, 1986. This second round of talks was to center on issues like land reform, political and social reforms, and the presence of the US bases in the Philippines.

The implementation of the ceasefire agreement was to be marked by several accusations of violation by both sides. For instance, the military — through Defense Minister Rafael Ileto — insisted that they were to continue patrolling the countryside, including those known to be under NPA control. They added that they would disarm and arrest rebels. Such was vehemently objected to by Zumel and Ocampo. On December 11, 1986, a day after the ceasefire went into effect, almost a hundred fully armed NPA fighters openly displayed their automatic weapons when they, together with local town residents, welcomed the NDF negotiators during their visit to Samal, Bataan. Local and foreign correspondents were present and this was seen as a propaganda attempt on the part of the NDF to show how popular they were among the people. The

* The following are portions from a paper presented at the Third National Conference on Public Administration, Holiday Inn Manila. September 28-30, 1987. This paper is part of a larger project focusing on the policies on rebel returnees of the Aquino administration.

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Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) strongly objected to what it called a brazen display of arms allegedly in violation of the spirit of the ceasefire agreement. Then there were numerous reports of ceasefire violations in terms of continued encounters by both sides in other parts of the country. All these illustrated the fragile nature of the agreement, which to a certain extent explains why the subsequent negotiations between both sides foundered in 1987. The failure of the negotiations was attributed to fundamental differences between both sides. For instance, the NDF rejected the condition of the GRP negotiating panel that all negotiations be conducted within the framework of the newly ratified Philippine Constitution. Then there was also the demand of the NDF for power-sharing with the government which the latter found unacceptable. The breakdown of negotiations led to the unsheathing of the sword of war — the adoption of the

military option — by the Aquino administration.

The Aquino Administration and the MNLF

The negotiations between the Aquino Government and the MNLF under the leadership of Nur Misuari took place within the general context of the continued demand for autonomy by the Muslims as provided for in the Tripoli Agreement of 1976. The Aquino administration chose to negotiate with the MNLF, which it may be noted, is only one major armed group in Mindanao also demanding for autonomy. (The other major group is the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) under the leadership of Hashim Salamat.) A high point of the Government's efforts to negotiate with the MNLF was when President Aquino personally met with Nur Misuari on September 5, 1986 in Mindanao, after a series of preparatory

meetings conducted by her brother-in-law, Butz Aquino.

The Aquino Administration and the CPLA

One major area of difference in the war against the insurgents in comparing the Marcos and the Aquino administrations pertains to the more active and visible role played by the Cordillera People's Liberation Army (CPLA) during the Aquino administration. The CPLA is headed by former priest Conrado Balweg.

Like the reconciliation approach to the MNLF, the Aquino administration chose to negotiate with one group among many groups in the Cordilleras demanding autonomy for the area. Other groups include among others, the Cordillera People's Alliance, the Cordillera Bodong Association, and the Cordillera Broad Coalition. President Aquino made extra effort to personally meet with Balweg, the leader of the CPLA, in the Cordilleras on September 13, 1986. Subsequent meetings between the President and Balweg occurred in Manila. Such meetings have been interpreted by some observers to be the beginning of Balweg's cooptation to the Aquino administration. Such has been believed to be one of the possible reasons behind the Balweg ambush allegedly by the NPA (specifically the Cordillera People's Democratic Front (CPDF) which is part of the NDF) on June 21, 1987. Balweg's efforts, however, seemed to have been fruitful because on July 15, 1987, President Aquino issued Executive Order 220 establishing a Cordillera Administrative Region. The CPLA has tried to be recognized as the areas's Regional Security Force (RSF) which is provided for in the EO.

The negotiations with the CPLA have been relatively more "successful" when compared to the negotiations with the MNLF and the NDF, the two other

insurgency fronts being handled by the Aquino administration. "Success" here may be considered in terms of arriving at the implementation of some concrete administrative agreements between both parties. However, this is not to place less importance on the continuing struggle being waged by the NPA/CPDF against the Aquino government in the area.

The Aquino Administration's Integrated Approach to Peace

As mentioned earlier, the Aquino administration's approach to the insurgency problem started by extending the hand of reconciliation to the insurgents. This she did by releasing political prisoners held under the Marcos administration, at the same time calling for negotiations between the government and personally went to the home bases of the latter two to negotiate with their leaders. It is interesting to note that she never personally met with the NDF leaders/ negotiators.

The Aquino administration's approach to the insurgency is basically contained in her attempt to come up with an integrated approach to insurgency. Thus on December 24, 1986, she signed Executive Order Number 30 constituting the National Reconciliation and Development Program (NRDP). Specifically, the NRDP was established to "coordinate and integrate the programs, projects and efforts of the government entities, non-government organizations and the private sector concerning national reconciliation as envisioned in the Philippine Development Plan." An inter-agency council, the National Reconciliation and Development Council (NRDC) was created. Specifically, the NRDP was an inter-agency program under the leadership of the National Economic and Development Authority. It is composed of two basic components:

1. Countryside Development —

refers to the process of effecting needed social, political and economic reforms, especially in depressed communities and neglected areas of the country with beneficiary communities playing a vital role.

2. National Reconciliation — is concerned with giving a rebel returner access to regular, existing government services and assistance to facilitate his return to a productive community life. (*National Reconciliation and Development Program* published by the National Reconciliation and Development Council 1987:1)

The NRDP provides a wide range of services from legal assistance to assistance in placement/deployment to the rebels in the general effort to integrate them into society. Being a new program, it is still quite early to pass judgement on its success or failure. However, Colonel Honesto Isleta, spokesman of the Armed Forces of the Philippines said that there are some 3,000 rebels who have now come down from the hills and participated in the NRDP (Interview, September 21, 1987). The newspapers however, reported lower estimates. The *Manila Chronicle*, for instance reported that by mid-August 1987, there were some 2,093 confirmed New People's Army regulars who have participated in the Government's National Reconciliation and Development Program. There have been some 1,468 applicants for amnesty of which 495 have been granted. (Sicam in *Manila Chronicle*, August 15, 1987.)

On August 11, 1987, the Aquino administration promulgated Administrative Order Number 30 "Defining the Systematic Approach and the Administrative Framework for the Government's Peace Efforts." Specifically, it created the Office of the Peace Commissioner that was charged with the res-

ponsibility of coordinating, and integrating all negotiations with armed groups, be they the NDF, the MNLF and other groups in Mindanao such as the MILF, and the CPLA and other groups in the Cordilleras.

Dr. Alfredo Bengzon, Minister of Health, was appointed by President Aquino as the Peace Commissioner. Bengzon outlined the philosophy of the approach to peace of the Aquino government:

The road to peace is not only bumpy but hazy . . . the quest for peace will be with us for a long time, beyond the life of this Administration. What we're trying to develop is a systematized, organized, well thought-out, well-directed and well-disciplined program that should produce results.

. . . This means that the negotiations are only part of the entire peace process. Meeting them face to face is important . . . But these activities cannot and should not be equated with the peace process. They're just a part. And therefore, what I call the development front — making Government work, just improving the bureaucracy, and making the wheels of justice turn would be a major contribution: (Interview by Paulynn Sicam in *Manila Chronicle*, August 16, 1987)

He then proceeded to identify what he said he lined up as four activities for peace:

There's a portion that says negotiation. There are also portions that say program implementation and policy formulation. Then of course, the involvement of the private sector. So I'm saying you ought not to be dialoguing without knowing the broad framework against which or from which you are carrying out your position. (ibid)

Bengzon's approach to peace may therefore be characterized as a pragmatic but wholistic one: one that says that there should be an efficient administrative machinery to implement the peace process but not losing sight of its role in the solution of the entire problem, i.e., in terms of contributing towards the solution of the roots of insurgency by providing basic services to the people. Whether the Bengzon approach to peace and insurgency will be effective still remains to be seen.

Unsheathing the Sword of War

When negotiations with the National Democratic Front broke down, the Aquino administration decided to unsheathe the sword of war in its efforts to suppress the continuing insurgency of the left which, in spite of its declared efforts at reconciliation with the rebels, continued to grow. Estimates of the rebels strength ranged from a low of 20,000 to a high of 30,000.

AFP Spokesman Col. Honest Isleta estimated that the current strength of the NPA is between 20,000 to 21,000, out of which some 18,000 are known by name. Defense Minister Rafael Illeto notes that the communist threat is greater now as compared to 1972 when Marcos imposed martial law: then, there were only some 3,000 NPA regulars as compared to the 23,000 today. However, he ruled out the imposition of martial law declaring that the military "can lick" the NPA without resorting to legal shortcuts. (As reported by Vic Agustin in *Inquirer*, August 22, 1986)

Deposed President Marcos was recently asked to compare the insurgency problem under his regime to that of President Aquino. Marcos declared that there are more insurgents now than there were during his time. He cited US Undersecretary of State Richard Armitage's statements allegedly confirming that "there were only 12,000

armed insurgents during my time compared to more than 30,000 today." (As quoted by Felix Alegre in *Star*, September 17, 1987)

It was within the context of the apparent failure of the policy of negotiation of the Aquino government to arrest the continued growth of the insurgency that it decided to pursue the military policy. Aquino, however, was careful to emphasize that the efforts at negotiation and reconciliation, and the accompanying programs of economic development were not to be shelved in favor of militarism. In her September 17, 1987 statement accepting the resignation of Vice President Salvador Laurel as Secretary of Foreign Affairs due to fundamental differences in handling the insurgency, Aquino reiterated her policy thus:

This is my (insurgency) policy: it is a combination of military offensive, respect for democratic processes, and support for economic programs that will uplift our people. (As quoted in *Malaya*, September 17, 1987)

According to Colonel Isleta, the turning point for President Aquino, i.e., when she decided to "unsheathe the sword of war" — came after the bombing of the PMA grandstand in March 1987 where she was supposed to address the 1987 graduates of the PMA a few days later. Indeed, it was during that occasion that the President remarked to the graduates of the PMA:

I told you when we were discussing the peace initiatives that when they fail, as we feared they would, and when it becomes necessary to take up the sword of war, that I want a string of honorable military victories to follow *my proclamation of war*. Victories of which we can all be proud. . . I want these victories. (Speech of President Aquino, March 23, 1987)

It was also during this occasion that Aquino recognized that the threat of insurgency originated from both the left and the right. She likewise recognized that solving the problem of insurgency does not necessarily mean an all-out military solution.

The insurgency of the Communists and the treachery of the Right, loyalist and others, may have deep rooted causes that may take a long time to remove. Economic development will probably cure both sicknesses. (ibid)

She then emphasized the role of Government in providing social services to the people:

Government efficiency in the delivery of basic services, particularly speedy justice, should speed the cure. (ibid)

Aquino declared that such speedy delivery of social services will have to wait as the Government takes care of the peace and order problem first. Total solution to the insurgency problem, read in terms of economic development, will have to be given lower priority than the military solution:

But the answer to the terrorism of the Left and the Right need not wait on total solutions. To a terrorist act, the immediate answer is *not* social and economic reforms, but police and military action. (ibid; underscoring supplied)

The President equated general insurgency, both of the left and of the right, to terrorism, which she said will be met by military action.

Thus the President declared war against the insurgents. It must be noted however that this was a war against the insurgents of the left. As late as Sep-

tember 16, 1987, President Aquino reiterated her policy of was against the leftist insurgency:

I tried and tried very hard and even as I explored the path of a negotiated insurgency solution, I had made it clear that if negotiations collapsed, I would not hesitate to take up the sword of war.

The hardline policy of President Aquino has been repeated on numerous occasions by her Defense Secretary Rafael Illeto, and the Chief of Staff, General Fidel Ramos. This in spite of the extension of the deadline for amnesty by the Aquino Government to February 1988.

On July 1977, AFP Vice Chief of Staff General Renato de Villa revealed that General Ramos issued the necessary orders to conduct an "all-out offensive" and that all military units have been ordered to "shift to high gear" in their drive against the NPA. He declared that

basic counterinsurgency doctrine and tactics demand that we take the initiative to bring the fight over to the enemy. (*Bulletin Today*, July 19, 1987)

General Fidel Ramos declared on August 17, 1987:

The will to fight (of the AFP) and especially the will to win, has been intensified and reinforced with full military operations against pinpointed CPP/NPA lairs. (*Bulletin Today*, August 17, 1987 as cited in *Trend Focus* 1:5, August 24-30, 1987, p. 5)

Secretary Illeto articulated the same hardline policy that the AFP has to "maintain the conflict" if it is to defeat the 18-year-old insurgency in the Philippines. He added,

We will continue with what we're doing now. We cannot just have a false sense of peace when there's really conflict going on. (Quoted by Vic Agustin in *Inquirer*, August 22, 1987)

However, Secretary Illeto emphasized that in order to be able to defeat the leftist insurgency, the Armed Forces has to first get its act together, lest it self-destruct as a result of the various factions dividing it today. He was referring to the various coup attempts of elements in the military that weakened not only its physical capability, but also the morale of its soldiers. According to Illeto, a fractious Armed Forces of the Philippines is definitely handicapped in fighting the insurgency of the left. He therefore called for unity among the various factions of the Armed Forces of the Philippines — which in this paper is a call for unity with insurgents of the right — if they were to defeat the insurgency of the left:

Unless we are able to rectify the situation and reunite soon enough, this nation is in grave danger... The most serious threat for the moment is from within (the AFP itself)... (*Bulletin Today*, September 16, 1987).

Illeto assailed the coup attempts of those from the military itself and said that this was a major source of government instability. He declared that there was no justification whatsoever for the military to grab power from the civilian authorities.

Such an idea assails the very reason for our existence, makes a mockery of the people's sovereign will, and desecrates the soldier's oath. (*Bulletin Today*, September 16, 1987)

It is within the context of the above developments within the military that

the following will discuss what may be referred to as the insurgency from the right.

The Insurgency from the Right

The various attempts of some factions of the military to overthrow the government in an extra-constitutional manner are manifestations of insurgency. These sectors of the military, often described as "disgruntled and misguided elements" have in fact attempted to overthrow the government of President Aquino in five coup attempts. These are:

1. On July 6 and 7, 1987, officers and soldiers loyal to deposed President Marcos supported the "inauguration" of former Senator Arturo Tolentino as Acting President of the Philippines, blatantly displaying opposition to the duly constituted government of President Aquino. When ordered to attack the soldiers supporting Tolentino and his group, members of the Reform the Armed Forces Movement led by Colonel Honasan were reported to have said that "we don't shoot soldiers who are anti-communist."

2. On November 22 and 23, 1987, Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile was fired as Defense Minister by President Aquino. The papers reported another attempted coup by the Honosan-led RAM Group. However, the attempt was nipped in the bud.

3. On January 27 to 29, 1987, officers and men loyal to deposed President Marcos led by Colonels Canlas and Abadilla seized the premises of Channel 7. They later surrendered to General Ramos and were placed under arrest. Loyalist General Zumel who was also identified as one of the leaders of the group, however, remains at large and is now reported to be the Chief of Staff of the shadow army composed of AWOL officers and men still loyal to Marcos.

4. On April 18, 1987, there was another attempt that may be classified

as a coup try in Fort Bonifacio. It was led by a certain T/Sgt. Ernesto Librado.

5. Finally, the most bloody and violent coup attempt was mounted by officers and men under the leadership of Colonel Gregorio Honasan on August 28, 1987. They attacked Malacanang Palace and seized portions of the GHQ in Camp Aguinaldo and the premises of Channel 4 and nearby Camelot Hotel. Honasan was able to escape but many of his followers (who later claimed to have been misled and misinformed by Honasan) later surrendered to the Government. Honasan was reported to have established his own junta.

All the above attempts by segments of the military certainly contribute to the increasing instability of the Government of President Aquino. These are certainly manifestations of insurgency of the right.

Other Manifestations of Insurgency from the Right

The other manifestations of insurgency pertain to the many human rights violations of certain sectors in the military. Although there is no outright attempt to overthrow the government (one primary criterion in defining insurgency), there is the element of contributing to the deterioration of the support of the Government among the people by alienating them through human rights violations.

Then there is the vigilante movement, most prominent of which are the Alsa Masa and the NAKASAKA. They have also been reported to be summarily executing citizens suspected of being communists. The rise of the vigilante movement has been interpreted by many sectors in Filipino society to be part of the Low Intensity Conflict of the US Government as applied to the Philippine counter-insurgency campaign.

It is therefore within this context of the above developments that we can argue that the insurgency problem under the Aquino administration has adopted a more complicated nature. The next section will attempt to focus on a specific area of the war against the leftist insurgency in order to understand

- 1) the shift in the insurgency policy of the Aquino government from one of negotiation and reconciliation to a hard-line militarist policy; and concomitantly,
- 2) the increasing similarities in the insurgency approaches of the Marcos and the Aquino governments.

A look into the continued role of the United States in the insurgency policy may help partially understand such.

II

The Role of the US: The LIC Imperative

The Low Intensity Conflict of the United States in fighting wars of insurgency is not really new. It is consistent with the many wars against insurgency supported by the United States in various parts of the world, specifically in Latin America, in Vietnam and even in the Philippines. Counterinsurgency meant counterinsurgency against the left, i.e., the communists believed to be supported by the rival of the United States in the global scheme, the Soviet Union. To a certain extent, the United States has been involved in the local counterinsurgency efforts of its client states (capitalist, pro-American states) in its general efforts to contain the expansion of communism throughout the world. This has been the basic ideology of all modern Presidents of the United States, from Eisenhower, Kennedy and

Johnson to Nixon, Carter and Reagan. This doctrine can likewise explain their involvement in wars in Latin America and in Vietnam, and now in the Philippines.

It was not until after the Vietnam debacle, however, that involvement in counterinsurgency efforts of American client states began to adopt a new approach. Thus the Low Intensity Conflict (LIC) was conceptualized, focusing on the use of indigenous resources, i.e., local citizenry, "to fight the communists." The involvement of the United States took on a slightly (but not significantly) different form, that of providing material to the client state in its war against the leftist insurgencies.

Low Intensity Conflict has been defined as

A limited political-military struggle to achieve political, social, economic or psychological objectives. It is often protracted and ranges from diplomatic, economic, and psycho-social pressures through terrorism and insurgency. (US Army Training and Doctrine Command, Virginia quoted by Barry 1985:12)

US involvement in the counterinsurgency efforts of its client states will not necessarily diminish, but its form may change. The US Army Manual recognizes this:

Low intensity conflict represents the most likely form of conflict the U.S. Army will be involved in for the remainder of the century. (US Army Manual as Quoted by Barry 1987:1)

In 1969, US President Richard Nixon declared what is now known as the Nixon doctrine: reduction of direct American involvement in the counterinsurgency efforts of the United States allies (some prefer to use the more accurate term "client states"). He defined

the role of the US primarily in terms of providing military and economic support to the country. According to Nixon,

In cases involving other types of aggression, we shall furnish military and economic assistance.

The LIC doctrine comprises three major categories: counterinsurgency, assisting counterinsurgency, and counterterrorism (*ibid*). Philippine experience with LIC falls squarely under the second category, that of American support in the counterinsurgency efforts.

It is within the above context that the United States continued to aid the Marcos regime in its counterinsurgency efforts. This is also the same reason why the United States will continue its aid to the Aquino administration, as long as its efforts will be directed to the leftist insurgency. Bello and Rivera documented in their book *Logistics of Repression* (1976) how United States aid to the Marcos government quadrupled especially after the imposition of martial law in 1972. It will be remembered that martial law was imposed specifically to quell the insurgency of the left. In 1987, the US embassy justified the doubling of US military aid to the Aquino regime administration to \$100 million to

enable it to fight the burgeoning revolutionary movement and other threats. . . US security assistance is designed to ensure that the Armed Forces of the Philippines has the military wherewithal to defend Philippine democracy against threats to peace and order. . . US confidence in the leadership of President Aquino and her military advisers has been central to rapid increases in military assistance levels.

This is all part of the broader attempt

of the United States to contain the spread of "communism" throughout the world. There have likewise been observations that the rise of the various vigilante movements (and the alleged support they receive from various US instrumentalities such as the CIA) has likewise been said to be an integral component of LIC. To a certain extent therefore, US policy toward the general insurgency movement in the Philippines has exhibited a double standard: one that supports government efforts to quell the insurgency of the left, and one that supports insurgency of the right to fight insurgency of the left. Then, there is the concern of the United States that the leftist insurgents have strengthened their linkages with the Soviet Union, the United States' rival at the international level. Some quarters have cited such alleged Soviet linkages as more reason to give aid to the Armed Forces of the Philippines in its war against the leftist insurgency.

The Aquino administration's insurgency policies therefore have to be disaggregated at several levels. There is the long term approach which is the implementation of the rebel returnee program through the National Reconciliation and Development Program. Then there are the short - term approaches: the negotiation approach which failed, and the hardline approach which is currently being implemented by the administration.

III

Concluding Remarks

How does one therefore make sense of the 180-degree turn of policy of the Aquino Government from a policy based on national reconciliation and dialogue, to one based on an all-out effort to wipe out the insurgents, sounding exactly the same as her dictator-predecessor? Indeed, one viewing the Aquino administration's hardline poli-

cies towards the leftist insurgency, will be reminded of the previous government's approach.

In viewing the Marcos and the Aquino administrations' insurgency and peace policies, the role of the United States cannot be ignored. This is so because of the military assistance the Philippines received (regardless of whether it was Marcos or Aquino) in order to fight the leftist insurgencies. In other words, one way by which this can be better understood will be to locate the Philippines — and its supposedly internal policy on insurgency — within the broader context of the international state system dominated by the security interests of the United States.

To a certain extent, the similarity in the policies of the Marcos and the Aquino administrations in their policies against the leftist insurgency is largely a result of the imperatives of the Low Intensity Conflict of the United States, which is its broad approach in its attempts at containing the growth of communism on a global scale. Such an imperative can partly explain why the Aquino administration's efforts to negotiate with the other insurgency front, notably the CPLA, may have succeeded: a partnership between the Aquino administration and the CPLA was developed against the "common enemy," the leftist insurgents namely the NPA.

To summarize, the following are the main points raised in this article:

1. There was an initially marked difference between the insurgency and peace policies of Marcos and Aquino, the latter being initially more reconciliatory and open to dialogue with the leftist insurgents.

2. However, after a few months in power grappling with the insurgency problem, the Aquino government found itself implementing the hardline approach to the insurgency problem, much like its dictator-predecessor, or as

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Four Views on the May Elections

Last 29 May 1987, the Philippine Social Science Council sponsored a forum on "The Significance of the Outcome and Conduct of the May 11 Elections to Philippine Democracy and Development." The forum brought together representatives of the major political parties, social scientists, and journalists, to collectively reflect on the significance of the elections to national recovery and the restoration of democratic processes.

Four speakers shared their views during the forum. The first speaker was Dr. Manuel A. Caoili of the University of the Philippines College of Public Administration, and a member of the PSSC Executive Board. He was followed by Senator Joey Lina of the Lakas ng Bayan. The third speaker was Mr. Louie G. Gamit, Head of the Education Department of the Partido ng Bayan, one of the affiliates of the Alliance for New Politics. The last speaker was Dr. Amando Doronila, Editor of *The Manila Chronicle*.

Atty. Homobono Adaza of the Grand Alliance for Democracy had also been invited to the forum. Although he had agreed to speak at the forum, he was unable to do so as he had to attend an emergency meeting of the GAD. A letter to Atty. Adaza asking for his paper received no response.

Five guide questions served as the focus of the speakers' discussions. The questions answered by the speakers are as follows:

1. How would you interpret the outcome and describe the conduct of the May 11 elections?
2. What are the implications of the outcome of the May elections on the direction of government policy in the next five years?
3. If we want to encourage the development of issue-oriented politics, what changes need to be made in our electoral system?
4. Why did the people vote the way they did, and does this indicate a higher level of political maturity?

5. Do the May elections indicate the emergence of a new political party system or a return to the old one?

Dr. Manuel A. Caoili
UP College of Public Administration

When we considered the possibility that we shall have some intensive discussions and dialogues on important themes that are relevant to Philippine society, I thought that there must be a way by which speakers and participants may contribute together their reflections on events which may seemingly appear as insignificant in the history of our country. The main problem that we are having among Third World states is that our leaders and peoples are trying to compress in a few decades, in a short countable number of years, the economic and social developmental experiences that the Western countries journeyed through in many decades or a hundred years or more.

On the issue of political participation and political development, we should still be able to come up with viable democratic processes. In Philippine parlance, we should indicate what would seem to be the middle point of view: whether the middle point of view is dead center or dynamic enough to try to integrate progressive ideas that the conservative forces had in the history of liberal democracies. In the history of England, for instance, a great leap forward in social legislation was undertaken during the time of Benjamin Disraeli as Prime Minister. Disraeli was often referred to as the Red Tory. He was progressive in that he recognized solutions to the social problems England then had. He was, of course, a contemporary of Charles Dickens. Disraeli responded to the problems which Dickens portrayed in his novels, the problems that the mass society faced in England at that time. In fact, if we look at the so-called conservative parties in Western Europe and England, there are already generally accepted norms of social policies. The conservative parties take for granted the basic

issues of social legislation. Of course, there has been some retrenchment in the medical care program; there have been lots of privatization going on there. To what extent they shall be able to dismantle the programs that they have, as far as social legislation is concerned, without destroying the stability and viability of the social system, remains to be seen.

I will now return to the Philippine situation. What kind of government do we have in this country from the policy point of view? Is it a centrist government that is willing enough to accept radical land reform legislation? We must remember that the Philippine revolution of 1896 was actually an accumulation of the social grievances of the dispossessed Filipinos. What happened actually was during the American regime, there was a very unique marriage that was created between the self-interest of the Filipino elites and the imperial interest of the American government which came into being in this country. My role in this discussion would be to give some broad perspectives and I thought that we would have more politicians in the audience who were not lucky enough to win!

What is the role of elections in this country? Elections in this country are vehicles by which the different sectors of society participate in deciding who will govern us. Essentially, it is an elite enterprise especially during the early part of our electoral history. In 1902, the first Philippine elections were held for local governments. In 1907, there were elections for the Philippine Assembly. I have very precise figures here: there were 104,996 voters or just 1.1 percent of the total population at that time. Now, you can imagine the kind of mass participation that we have developed in Philippine elections. We must look at the great possibility that out of the social dynamism we can have in electoral exercises, there can be a reservoir of popular energies and resources that can be used for political discussion in shaping the very policies that shall make our country viable and stable. These policies will enable our country to catch up in terms of economic development and at the same time enable the different social sectors in the country to participate in the fruits of economic and social development.

Elections, from a comparative perspective, would have the function of translating mass politics into the policy-making processes of government. In the history of elections in liberal democracies, there had always been cheating and corruption. As late as the Kennedy-Nixon elections in the 1960s, there was great reason to speculate that the small margin of

victory of President Kennedy must have been based on some irregularity. This possibility has not been looked into in the US government. In any society, there are always cover-ups, there are ways and means by which political myths are preserved to make society much more stable. In England, for example, you have the rotten boroughs as a result of the great mass movement from the rural areas to the industrial areas. There were depopulated areas, and the barons, the lords, together with their allies in government just raided underpopulated parliamentary districts. They were called rotten boroughs because they were rotten in the first place.

In Philippine political knowledge, we are familiar with bossism and political manipulation emanating from Tammany Hall in New York City. Even as late as the 1960s, there was the Chicago machine of Mayor Daley. These not only controlled city politics in those areas but also participated in the manipulation of results, the cajoling of voters for or against certain candidates for the national and presidential elections of that country.

The Philippine electoral case has become much more legendary among us, probably because of the great innovativeness and adaptability of the Filipinos. For the stakes in Philippine elections, there seems to be an absence of formal concession, almost always to the winners. It would seem that Filipinos are generally bad losers. I do not know if this is a function of our socialization. You can observe this kind of behavior in civic groups, in fraternities, and in all these things elections are always heated events. These can, after the results are known, divide fraternities temporarily and sometimes even permanently. Organizational studies show that those who do not get elected in positions, even in social welfare organizations, cease to become active members. And, of course, we have the very clear example of rioting and fighting after basketball games. Is this part of the Filipino culture — or is it prevalent world-wide?

Now, we must look at the elections as ways by which we can elect into government persons whom we hope will sponsor policies and will have influence in the appointment of technocrats who may be sympathetic to certain values such as welfare legislation and so forth. We must also look at the issue of politics.

Politics is generally defined as the study of influence and the influential. It refers actually to power, power per se, and, of course, it refers to the powerful. Any discussion of politics should also include how the powerless or the masses may derive



Dr. Manuel A. Caoili

resources resulting from policy changes debated upon during elections. In other words, elections must always refer to the institution of politics. Without consideration of what politics is in terms of policy outputs, in terms of decisions that may promote more progressive taxes, or in terms of policy outputs that would increase specific taxes that are essentially shiftable to the lower-income sectors because of the nature of the consumption patterns, elections will be meaningless. Elections must have a direct connection with the quality of decisions, with the nature of policies we will have in Philippine society. We have examples such as the tax system, provision of welfare, and other benefits for the economically powerless. Can these be achieved through elections?

I think that the political system must be made functional and dynamic to serve as the legitimate arena for social combat. Politics is also defined as the art of compromise, the alternative for militant combat, violent combat; of social combat, through the organization of legislative councils to assign who gets what, when and how as far as public resources are concerned. Elections in the political system must be able to take off the heat from the riots and demonstrations in the street, all these activities which can be dysfunctional for the viability of the political



Senator Joey Lina

system, and transfer all the social sectors in violent combat and confrontation in the urban slums and in the countryside into the representative councils.

In Western European democracies, they have achieved this kind of social and political adjustment. For instance, in France, they have a strong Communist Party which explains why the Communist Party does not go underground there. The same is true in Italy. In fact, in Italy certain bit southern city governments are controlled by the Communist Party and this is taken as part and parcel of the liberal democratic tradition of the Italians.

I saw a film on a family care visitors program that they have in Naples. Naples is a Communist Party-controlled city. In health delivery, they try as much as possible to give a comprehensive treatment of health care, including reassurance for notables in the community that certain programs are acceptable in the context of the religious situation that they have there in Italy. So there are at least three members of the visitors program. And who are the members of the program? Of course, the essential visitor is the health officer who may be a doctor or a nurse, depending on the size of the neighborhood and the kind of problems they have there. They also have the secretary of the Communist Party local. There is a countervailing force; the third member is the curate. You can thus imagine the kind of social situation

which they have in that country. It is a liberal democracy. These are such kind of situations because of the existence of alternative parties in Western Europe. It is a known fact that Western European governments were able to develop much more progressive legislation, even under the regime of conservative parties, because there is always an alternative party that can challenge the government. They are the parties outside of government. They have a shadow cabinet in the local government and up to the national level. They are willing and ready, professionally and organizationally, to achieve power if given the opportunity. This is because of the liberal and social democratic tradition that they have there.

In the Philippines, we don't have such kind of tradition. In fact, before the elections I was so confident that we would have a party system of sorts. We would be able to have proportional party representation in the Philippine Congress, in the Senate and the House of Representatives. It would seem that the electoral exercise of 1946 had been much more innovative than the kind of elections that we had on 11 May 1987. In 1946, the progressive Democratic Alliance was able to come up with six members in the House of Representatives and with ideological allies in the Senate. This has been the absent quality in recent Philippine politics. We have two parties; but we have one party in this country which has the tendency to abuse power. While we subscribe to a common economic democracy, as much as possible, we still proscribe the rights, capacities of left parties. Progressive legislation can be achieved in this country through the legislative processes at the local government level, especially at the national legislature. But this is a big problem. Now we are again suffering the traditional kind of politics that we have; the patrons are there, and so forth and so on. And to what extent can we achieve legislation to help redress and prevent social inequalities? It would depend on the quality of the liberal members of the legislature that we have and, of course, more work would now have to be done in the parliament of the streets.

The Socialist Party was in the past nearly able to get the governorship of Pampanga. Most of the big towns in Pampanga elected Socialist local officials in 1940 and this included San Fernando. It would have been a great leap forward in the political development of this country if only the establishment recognized the constructive role in the performance of these parties and, an unwritten rule that they should not be repressed while they are in power.

Senator Joey Lina Laban

Outcome and Conduct of the Elections

In terms of conduct, the perception and conclusions of the media, independent electoral organizations, international observers, military, and the general public are unanimous that the May 11 elections were conducted in a relatively peaceful, free and orderly manner. Except for some administrative shortcomings and isolated cases of alleged fraud and terrorism at the local level, the elections could be adjudged to have been reflective of the people's will. The elections were the most meaningful in recent memory. The acid test of this conclusion is the waning support for some quarters who allege that the May 11 exercise was massively fraudulent and that the elections were a failure.

In terms of outcome, 22 Administration candidates as against two from the opposition were elected to the Senate, with a majority of pro-Administration winners in the contest for representative seats.

The outcome is a clear and unequivocal expression of the people's support for the present Administration, including President Aquino's handling of the presidency. The results confirm the various surveys which indicate massive public acceptability of the present administration. The outcome is an emphatic rejection by an overwhelming majority of our people of the remaining vestiges of the past regime, and other extremist positions.

The Filipino people also want new faces and new leaders. This is one reason why relatively unknown candidates won over veteran politicians. Also, the country is still riding on the crest of the momentum for change and the final return to normalcy via the peaceful and democratic path, such as elections. The military vote, however, emphasized the need for the government to further address the grievances of the military sector and the need for measures to reintegrate this sector into the civilian mainstream.

Implications on the Direction of Government Policy

Our expectation is that in the formulation of policies, present directions set by President Aquino will be met by-and-large with approval or confirmation. An analogy is that the executive and legislative

branches are in the same channel and that it becomes a matter of fine-tuning. As such, we can expect legislative support for agrarian reform and agro-based industrial development, highest priority for education, and more independent foreign policy. Another expectation is that there will be more cooperation in the government, and less divisiveness and obstructionism.

By no means, however, should we view the landslide outcome as an indication of a Congress beholden to the executive branch because the legislators are, in the final analysis, accountable to their constituencies, and not to the President.

Development of Issue-Oriented Politics

If we want to develop issue-oriented politics, we must introduce institutional changes that will encourage both a public appreciation of issue-oriented politics and a mode of election campaign, or even a mode of public service, that consciously emphasizes issue-orientation. My initial proposals include the following:

1. Institutionalize Comelec-sponsored type of fora or symposia which zero in on issues while allowing citizen participation. I understand that the NAM-FREL chapters staged "Candidates' Forum" which was impartial and allowed candidates a good opportunity to ventilate their platform, while answering questions from the citizens themselves.
2. Minimize or de-emphasize the role of money as a factor in elections through stricter limitations on campaign propaganda, including media placements, and through the use of community billboards instead of individual posters, with a mandatory inclusion of program of government in billboard placements.
3. Media should be encouraged to project more issues espoused by candidates and to present these on a layman's level.
4. The school curriculum should include and highlight a module on suffrage. Such a module should emphasize that the right of suffrage is also a responsibility to the community, such that they should scrutinize the candidates on the basis of their platform. The module should likewise downplay patronage as the reason for voting for a candidate.
5. Regular consultation by government officials will help develop the habit of issue-orientation as the

citizenry will feel part of the decision-making process, and that their views do indeed matter.

Voting Pattern and Level of Political Maturity

The Administration slate won because basically we had good products — and we were "Cory's choices." The OICs and congressional candidates provided an effective distribution and promotion system. The electorate considered their vote important — as indicated by the 90 percent voter turn-out.

The activities of the people during the campaign period and election day, on the whole, reflect a higher level of political maturity. The standards which I used included interest in the exercise and issue orientation.

The electorate showed tremendous interest, as reflected in the record turn-out, and the very high fill-up rate of the ballot which is estimated at 18 names or 75 percent. Also, May 11 was the hottest day in recent years with a 38.4°C reading, but the people still lined up to vote.

As far as issue-orientation is concerned, we need more improvement in order to say that the electorate has reached a high level of political maturity. I must also add that voters were not taken in by the packaging of the products; in some instances there was false advertising for both Administration and opposition candidates.

On the whole, we can safely conclude that the electorate moved forward in terms of political maturity.

Emergence of a Multi-Party System

It is still too close to the February Revolution and the past elections to be definite about the emergence of a new party system. However, I venture to say that a new era is in the offing. Realignments of political forces are ongoing but will probably not yet be on an ideological basis, but based more on personalities.

In the near future, we will see more of coalition politics. This is because the Constitution allows for a multi-party system. In addition, the fact that no political party dominated the senatorial or congressional races such that no party can secure outright the speakership or Senate presidency are clear indicators of the trend towards coalition politics which will usher in cooperation based on programs. Otherwise, the situation in Congress will be too chaotic, at the expense of urgent legislation.



Mr. Louie G. Gamit

**Louie G. Gamit
Partido ng Bayan**

Outcome and Conduct of the Elections

The Partido ng Bayan (PnB) has accepted the fact that its candidates lost in the elections. But we have not succumbed to fraud and terrorism and other institutional attacks and violence that were done against us. Perhaps it is not only the May 11 Elections that I should describe as particular to the case of the Alliance for New Politics (ANP), because even before the political parties and mass organizations of the Alliance registered (as political parties), we were already undergoing institutional attacks.

A case in point is the Partido ng Bayan's application for accreditation before the Commission on Elections (Comelec). So many things were done to prevent our being registered. In fact, so many issues were raised — both legal and moral issues — before we were accepted and accredited as an electoral political party. Our organizers likewise experienced harassment. Twenty of our companions to date have been killed, and there are others who are still missing. We also had to work for the release of our people who had been imprisoned.



Dr. Armando Doronila

Secondly, we experienced during the campaign period the government's use of various institutions against us. The administration ignored the ANP. Its candidates mentioned only the Grand Alliance for Democracy (GAD) candidates and completely ignored us. The administration did not even mention the names of the political parties and organizations involved in the Alliance, nor the Alliance's candidates. Whatever criticisms and statements released by the ANP candidates elicited no response from the government. Instead, the administration's response was made through government institutions such as the Comelec. In the case of the Comelec, we have not received any reply from them as to why they did not group together the ANP candidates. They placed four candidates under the PnB, two under BAYAN, and classified Joe Burgos as an independent candidate. The reason given by Comelec is that PnB, BAYAN, and other affiliated organizations were already registered as political parties and people's organizations, so the Alliance could not be accredited. But the Comelec recognized the Laban as well as the Grand Alliance for Democracy, the affiliates of which are also recognized by the electoral commission.

The militarization in the countryside succeeded in disenfranchising voters especially in the ANP

bailiwicks. These are in provinces and regions such as Northern Luzon, Cagayan, and Kalinga-Apayao, where several of our workers were killed. This situation was also true for Samar. Whenever our candidates would conduct campaign sorties, the military would simultaneously conduct mass meetings or barangay meetings to prevent the people from attending our own meetings. There were also several instances of voting precincts being deliberately located in areas where the ANP voters had to walk nine hours to reach the place, and then to spend the night there before they could go back to their homes the following day. Consequently, many people decided not to go to the polls.

Another case is the National Citizens' Movement for Free Elections (Namfrel) which released early reports of a landslide in order to condition the minds of the people of the administration's overwhelming victory. When the people's minds had been conditioned, even our own pollwatchers — and this we have to admit as a weakness of the ANP workers — were psyched out. Their morale weakened, and because we had no funds, and many of them had to go hungry, they gave up and waited instead for protests to come from the people. We accept that this was a weakness on our part.

The results of the senatorial election was 22-2 in favor of the administration. One question that has been raised by several quarters is that why the Namfrel stopped its tally halfway through. After tallying 70 percent of the vote, they claimed that the remaining 30 percent would not be enough to swing the results either way, so they stopped the counting and let Comelec do the job alone. Was it because the Namfrel was afraid that their results and that of the Comelec would not tally?

Implications on the Direction of Government Policy

With regard to the implications of the election, this resulted in the consolidation of the present government, and the new politics was subsequently shut out. This consolidation indicates the return to elite rule and the old political and economic systems.

Development of Issue-Oriented Politics

Issue-oriented politics was exactly what the ANP initiated. The very reason why PnB entered electoral politics was to introduce to the people what new politics means. The entire history of Philippine politics

is an exercise in futility, and this recent election was not different from the others in the past. To encourage issue-oriented politics, those in power must take the initiative. What the Aquino administration should have done was to present a political platform, rather than choosing "Cory candidates" for reasons that were not explained.

An issue that could have been discussed is where Cory stands regarding the U.S. bases. Her position is to keep her options open, so that there is actually no issue that the people could discuss or question. And yet the current dispensation could have demonstrated how to conduct an issue-oriented election, but failed to do this. The traditional opposition went along with this and decided to take advantage of the lack of education and the powerlessness of the people. Those who had the resources refused to initiate an issue-oriented campaign, which ANP tried to do. The ANP therefore poses a challenge to congress that it be sincere in initiating an issue-oriented political exercise.

Some electoral reforms are also possible. One is to strictly implement a ceiling on campaign expenses. Another is to have common billboards and posters for all candidates. A third is to provide a subsidy for minority political parties and candidates. These reforms could solve the problems which have become systemic. Reforms are in fact insufficient. There is a need for an overhauling of the system.

Voting Pattern and Level of Political Maturity

The results of the election do not mean that the people rejected new politics. The ANP can boast that among the political parties, it alone brought the issues before the people. The ANP challenged people to think and to analyze issues. We don't even ask for votes, because what we want is to raise the consciousness of the people and for them to think of the problems which were not discussed during the campaign, such as land reform, the U.S. bases, and others. What Laban wanted was for its candidates to win, and then tackle the issues later when their position had been consolidated.

We don't think the people rejected new politics. You have to consider the institutional attacks. There was also the meddling of the Church in politics. The very same person who proclaimed that the Church should not meddle in politics was the one who was the most vocal in campaigning for certain candidates. And he did not even campaign on issues, as can be seen from the statements he made. He called the ANP

candidates "lepers," so the people should not vote for them. I think that the Catholic Church has a role in elections, and that is to awaken the consciousness of the people so that they may vote with open minds. This is the moral obligation of the Church, but instead the institutional Church campaigned against the ANP.

Does this indicate a higher level of maturity? The low level of political maturity of Filipinos was exploited by the traditional politicians. Instead of raising the consciousness of the people, they encouraged stupidity. If we relate this to the conduct of the elections, issues were altogether disregarded. One side says, "Vote for me because Cory chose me." The other side says, "Vote for me and I'll bring back Marcos." The administration replies "You see, they will bring back Marcos. That's enough reason for you to vote for us." Both camps exploited rather than eliminated the problem of Marcos.

On the side of the administration, it banked on the popularity of Cory. The opposition claimed that "if some of our candidates win, then there will be true democracy because the other side will be represented." This actually became the only issue. Basically, the anti-fascist sentiment of the people was quite strong and their hatred for Marcos was stronger than their approval of the Aquino administration. If their alternative was Marcos, then they would rather have Cory.

The ANP tried to introduce real issues; but what it failed to anticipate was that money would be very decisive, particularly during the last days of the campaign. It was not only the voters but also the poll-watchers and even the school teachers. I would like to reiterate that we are not basing this on actual figures but rather on trends that we observed.

Emergence of a New Party System

Yes, it was a new election after more than a decade of Martial Law. For us, this is something new because we have always boycotted the previous elections. Was there a new issue that emerged in the elections? None. The only thing new was the ANP. Yes, there are new politicians emerging, but under the old political system. We are regressing to the old politics — personalities, money, intimidation, harassment, goons, guns. The new thing here is the institutionalization of a new regime.

Our Alliance is not just concerned with raising electoral issues. New politics will itself be a cause that

we will be fighting for, with or without elections.

The elections have taken place and we do not dispute the results. But we will continue the fight for new politics.

Amando Doronila
The Manila Chronicle

Outcome and Conduct of the May Elections

The elections were conducted and played out according to the rules of the elite-dominated traditional politics — with some modifications. There was no well-defined two-party system this time. The collapse of the Marcos regime made way for the disintegration of the KBL which was essentially a sanctuary for the deserters of the old Liberal and Nacionalista parties. In place of the two party system, coalitions developed. Additionally, an ideological dimension was introduced by the entry of the Partido Bayan and cause-oriented groups into electoral participation. Their entry raised hopes that it could start the shift from personality-oriented politics to issue-oriented politics.

In fact, there was clear differentiation in style between that taken by the conservative opposition (GAD and KBL) and by the Government Laban coalition and that by the PNB. Traditional tactics dominated the approach of both the conservative coalition and the Government coalition, a regression into the ways of old politics. The Left emphasized issues. The opposition and Laban relied heavily on old local political structures — the traditional political families, the OICs on the part of the Government coalition. They also had ample financial resources, something the Left was deficient of.

There was cheating but not in the magnitude alleged by GAD. In any case, cheating, according to independent reports, came from both sides, and tended to cancel each other.

The outcome shows clear majorities for the government in both the Senate and the House. Giving allowance to cheating, the results reflect popular will, especially about majorities. The Cory factor was important in winning the majorities.

But the majorities were shaky and built on shifting sand. There is no party system as such upon which to build a consistent base for legislative support^{*} of executive programs. There are only factions within coalitions. Failure of the Left to win a significant number of seats in the House

raises many questions. One of these is prospects for a multi-party system. The outcome also shows the marginalization of the extreme right and the continuing rejection of the Marcos legacy.

Implications on the Direction of Government Policy

Direction is likely to be erratic. Since party formation is in flux, policy initiatives by the Executive cannot be pushed through Congress on the basis of programmatic content. Factions will react to controversial legislation partly on the basis of ideological tendency and partly on personal considerations.

Since factions have no ideological definition, although there are elements within them that show political tendencies, legislative proposals from the Executive would be caught up in this confusion.

In short, a stable executive-legislative relationship is not to be expected until factions are realigned into main political tendencies. What realignment will take place is not clear at this stage. The Executive will have to play the game by ear, with ad hoc relations and patronage playing an important role in holding a majority to pass bills. Delays in the legislative process because of the fracturisation of the legislature into factions are foreseen. There is danger that key reform legislation will sink into the legislative bog, causing paralysis or stalemate in executive-legislative relations. Since the President is inexperienced in congressional politics and has a distaste to

use power, she will have problems in her relationship with Congress. Programmes will be addressed to hold the Centre and therefore will be mainly reformist and nonredistributive because they might alienate certain allies from the Centre.

Development of Issue-Oriented Politics

Change in the electoral system has a limited effect. We may formulate ways to give parties equal time in broadcast media where issues can be raised. But the changes have to be made on a broader scale and this involves the entire political culture that fosters personalism rather than attention to issues. The media mirror this culture. Media trivialize events. They are not, in their opinion pages, by and large issue oriented. They are trivia, gossip, and personality oriented. One has to change the political culture and the changes will have a spin-off effect on the level of the electoral system. Our politicians, like water, seek their own level. They know the methods that win and they are using them.

Voting Pattern and Level of Political Maturity

I do not want to use the term political maturity. It is misleading and is an insult to our electorate. The way they voted indicates there is maturity provided it is seen in the context of what the conservative tra-

(Continued on page 43)



Self - Reliance Activities of Non - Governmental Organizations

I. BACKGROUND

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), whether locally or abroad, have figured significantly in development work. In the field of population, for instance, NGOs have been the trail blazers. Their specific contribution has been in innovation. NGOs have developed and tested models of communication and training and service delivery schemes in population and family planning (FP).

Today, NGOs are faced with the reality of funding constraints. Funds are more difficult to come by since there are more competitors for the money that is available. Thus, a new kind of thinking has emerged among them. The need to be self-reliant has re-directed the goals and activities of NGOs. The year 1987 can be said to be a turning point among NGOs as pronouncements of stronger private sector involvement in development activities have been made by the present government administration.

Although not many NGOs have begun to implement self-reliance activities, the desire to work in this direction is clearly evident among a majority. Some have very defined concepts of what self-reliance means for their organization, others have not. Whatever concept they hold, these NGOs share a common interest — the need for more autonomy in decision-making and in pursuing their thrusts and for self-sufficiency in funding its basic operations.

Because the concern for self-reliance among NGOs runs high, a workshop has been organized by the Enterprise Program of USAID. The workshop hopes to help participating

NGOs develop plans for self-reliance through:

1. Identification and development of managerial and organizational concepts necessary for improvement of organizational effectiveness and efficiency.
2. Sharing of relevant and organizational experience with regard to self-reliance.
3. Self-assessment by individual participants of the managerial experiences, skills and attitudes they possess which will facilitate organizational improvement and progress towards self-reliance.
4. Initiation of internal assessment of participating organizations' experience, assets and potential means of generating income.

To complement this workshop, a survey has been undertaken among NGOs involved in development work to determine what they have done towards self-reliance.

II. OBJECTIVE OF THE SURVEY

In March 1987, the Population Center Foundation (PCF) conducted a survey on the self-reliance and family planning activities of NGOs nationwide.

The objectives of this survey were:

1. To identify the concept of self-reliance held by NGOs.
2. To determine what activities NGOs have undertaken to achieve self-reliance.
3. To identify problems encountered in these activities with the end in view of assessing needs for technical or other assistance.

The Population Center Foundation (PCF) is a private, grant-making institution established in 1972 to increase the involvement of the private sector in the country's effort to bring about timely and effective solutions to the population problem.

To implement and support the National Population Program, the Foundation stimulates alternative means toward national population goals; supports the development of new schemes that more fully integrate population with such fields as nutrition, human settlements, environment, and social welfare; and secures the increasing participation of the private sector in all these areas.

III. METHODOLOGY

A total of 123 private institutions involved in development work (not limited to population and FP) were sent questionnaires. The agencies were chosen from directories of NGOs.

Two self-administered questionnaires were sent; one on the self-reliance activities of the agencies and the other on the FP activities in 1986/1987. The latter serves as an update for NGOs involved in population work. Follow-ups were made to all the surveyed agencies.

Thirty-five of the 123 agencies (28%) responded to the survey. These include academic institutions, professional associations, medical institutions, training agencies, financing institutions, and agencies involved in humanitarian and community work. (Please refer to Appendix for the list of agencies).

IV. SURVEY FINDINGS

A. Concept of Self-Reliance

The NGOs' understanding of self-reliance has two levels, one for the organization and one for the community or target beneficiaries.

1. For the NGO

Self-reliance for the organization can mean either of the following:

- ability to operate its own resources without external funding assistance (15 NGOs)
- ability to operate with external funding assistance but with a sense of autonomy in decision-making and in the implementation of projects (9 NGOs),
- ability to pay for/recover overhead costs of one's own operations by means of income-generating projects (IGPs) or cost saving schemes (5 NGOs),
- ability to operate without being tied to one funding source (1 NGO).

2. For the Target Beneficiaries of the NGOs

For the community, the concept of self-reliance can be summed up as the ability to sustain the development and income generating activities initiated by the NGOs or donor agencies. This means that technical and managerial skills have been transferred to the community, development activities are ongoing, the community has been organized, and the people have the confidence and ability to make decisions, and solve their own problems.

3. Relationship to Income Generating Projects

When asked whether their concept of self-reliance is in any way tied to the idea of income generating (IG) projects, a significant majority (27 out of 35) of the respondents gave affirmative responses. An IG program is viewed as the key to agency survival as it "aims to strengthen the resource base and financial capability of any organization."

B. Importance of Self-Reliance Among NGOs

All of the NGOs were in agreement that the attainment of self-reliance is important. This self-reliance is valued because there is no guarantee of unlimited funding assistance from donor agencies. The volume of money made available to NGOs is seen as having a volatile nature.

Another important reason self-reliance is valued is because the requirements imposed by donor agencies are perceived to stifle an organization's leverage in its activities. There is, therefore, necessity to gain autonomy in the NGOs' activities and programs and to operate without any "strings attached," so to speak.

Furthermore, it is believed that if self-reliance becomes a norm among NGOs, funds allotted by donor agencies for them can be poured to other development concerns, thereby, benefitting more people.

C. NGO's Self-Reliance Activities

Of the 35 agencies which responded, 29 admitted having attempted at self-reliance activities.

1. What have NGOs done to attain self-reliance for their organization? Responses fall into eight categories. These are:

- implementation of IG projects/schemes (18 NGOs)
- collection of membership dues, or pledges from donors or contributors (9 NGOs)
- charging of fees for services rendered, e.g. training, medical services (8 NGOs)
- implementation of cost-saving measures (5 NGOs)
- reorganization/redirection of goals (3 NGOs)
- building of a trust fund (2 NGOs)
- diversification of funding sources and improvement of linkages with other funding agencies (1 NGO)
- conduct of research i.e. to determine feasible investments (1 NGO)

2. What have NGOs done to attain self-reliance for their target beneficiaries/communities?

On the community level, NGOs cited:

- implementation of livelihood programs (6)
- conduct of education/training programs (6)
- conduct of community organization activities (5)

The latter serves as a social preparation method to make the community value self-reliance.

D. Problems Encountered by NGOs in implementing Self-Reliance Activities

1. In the planning stage, several problems have been encountered

One is the scarcity of funds which, in turn limits the activities/coverage of proposed projects. It was noted that the planning phase can be very expensive.

Second is the lack of planning and managerial skills among NGO staff and beneficiaries. Concerns such as what activities to venture into, how to predict product sales, how to determine strategies, and problems of coordination with field staff surfaced.

Attitudinal problem is a third concern. Some NGOs cited the uncooperativeness of beneficiaries and other agencies as well as the attitude of dependency that has been cultivated in the community. They also noted that people have been used to top-down planning which tended to limit their participation in the planning process.

Other problems mentioned were conflict of perceptions/understanding of project concept and strategies which delay the planning process.

2. In the Implementation Stage

The implementation phase also has its share of problems.

NGOs see funding constraints as a major problem. Delays in subsidy payments, budget adjustments due to devaluation and fluctuating interest rates were among those mentioned.

There is the expressed difficulty in marketing the products and services of the NGOs. This is evidenced by the fact that products marketed by them cannot be sold. Furthermore, training programs they offer for a fee do not have enough participants.

Other problems observed are attitudinal in nature. Unfavorable work attitudes, lack of sup-

port from agencies, and the '*ningas cogon*' (a Filipino phrase meaning interest in an activity is not sustained) attitude of beneficiaries were mentioned.

In the implementation process, NGOs mentioned the lack of trained staff to carry on self-reliance activities. Implementation of self-reliance activities was perceived to be very slow.

Finally, the readiness of the community to be self-reliant came into question. This problem was seen to be related to the failure of development agencies to make the community value self-reliance.

E. NGOs who have not undertaken self-reliance activities

Of the six agencies who have not undertaken self-reliance activities, five stated their willingness to pursue self-reliance.

Such activities include:

1. implementation of IG projects (e.g. sale of products, conduct of trainings, formulation of cooperatives).
2. building a community fund to be managed by the people for development activities.
3. conduct of community organizing activities.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The need for NGOs to be self-reliant has been validated by this survey. The concepts of self-reliance which NGOs hold, however, differ from one another. The concepts vary from the ability to operate on its own without external funding to the ability to operate with external funding but with autonomy in decision-making.

Practically all said that the self-reliance concept is linked to the IGP concept.

Problems, whether for the organization or the community, concern funding, the need to strengthen abilities, need for planning and managerial skills and the need for attitudinal change.

Almost all are open to sharing their experiences at self-reliance with other NGOs.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

The results of this survey indicate that:

1. There is a need to organize activities for sharing of experiences on self-reliance among NGOs;
2. The lack of planning, managerial and other skills of NGO staff and beneficiaries regarding self-reliance must be addressed;
3. Documentation of self-reliance activities of NGOs is a must if they are to grow in this respect; and,

(Continued on page 44)

Societal Resilience: Highlights of a Roundtable Discussion

Last 13 June 1987, the PSSC held a roundtable discussion on Societal Resilience. The roundtable was in preparation for the Seventh Biennial Conference of the Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils (AASSREC) held in Seoul, Korea last August 1987. One of the symposia conducted within the conference was Societal Resilience; The Asia-Pacific Experience. The roundtable brought together members of the PSSC Social Issues Committee with five other social scientists who tackled the concept of societal resilience from different disciplinary perspectives. The paper readers at the discussion were: Dr. Patricia B. Licuanan (psychology), Dr. Cynthia B. Bautista (sociology), Dr. Belinda Aquino (political science), Dr. Milagros Guerrero (history) and Dr. Manuel F. Montes (economics).

The following are the highlights of the roundtable discussion.

Dr. Milagros C. Guerrero
Department of History
University of the Philippines

Dr. Guerrero presented a concept of societal resilience in terms of "frontiers" within the context of Philippine history. She noted that Filipinos have endured and survived during the centuries of colonization because they developed a variety of responses to oppression and exploitation. One type of response is migration to the "frontier" areas to escape the claims of

the state. A second response is the inward-looking revitalization of messianic movements of the peasantry partly brought about by the failure of the state to meet their demands, and partly by their inability to overcome overwhelming problems.

Dr. Guerrero pointed out, however, that periods of resilience and quiescence were broken by violent social upheavals. In the modern period, she noted that the frontiers have closed, and that our political frontiers are also closing. The "Cory restoration" is viewed by people as a revolution because they would rather have peaceful change than the radical revolution that the country really needs. Dr. Guerrero made a final

comment on the dichotomy of present-day Filipino society: of the powerless who think of the nation in terms of "people," and the power-holders who think in terms of "state" and thereby entrench themselves in power. The refusal of the power-holders to heed the legitimate demands of the people will further "close the frontiers of our resiliency."

Dr. Manuel F. Montes
School of Economics
University of the Philippines

Dr. Montes examined Filipino resiliency in reference to the four serious economic crises of the post-indepen-



From left to right: Dr. Allen Tan, Dr. Patricia B. Licuanan, Dr. Milagros Guerrero.



From left to right: Mrs. Lorna Makil, Dr. Cynthia Bautista, Dr. Sylvia Guerrero, Dr. Manuel Montes, Dean Leslie Bauzon, Prof. Segundo Romero.

dence era, namely in 1949, in 1962, in 1970, and in 1983. Each of these crises was brought about by a problem of balance of payments and was characterized by inflation, massive unemployment, recession, and impoverishment. In the crises of 1970 and 1983, the hard times resulted in a quantum leap in political involvement for many Filipinos.

In the periods of crisis, Filipinos relied on certain institutions to cope with the loss of jobs and the high cost of living. The extended family system and labor earnings from abroad were especially helpful. To alleviate food shortage, the non-urbanized areas have supported the subsistence requirements of the population. Dr. Montes pointed out, however, that the capacity of the economy to recover was viewed only in terms of the balance of payments problem, and not long-term development. He posed the question whether the trend in the past crises was to present solutions that engender the succeeding crisis. Thus, the current responses of expenditure cutback, inflation, and devaluation might be setting the stage for the next economic crisis.

**Dr. Belinda Aquino
College of Public Administration
University of the Philippines**

Dr. Aquino presented an analysis of the basic features of the Philippine political system that account for its stability despite various challenges against it. In Latin America, Africa and the Asia-Pacific region, power struggles in the form of coups d'état, independence movements and "structural" social revolutions are manifestations of violence that mark the contemporary political process. She noted, however, that a revolution or political change can be achieved peacefully as in the case of the 1986 "Philippine Revolution," indicating the resilience of the Philippine political system.

According to Dr. Aquino, this resiliency is based on a set of values and cultural norms, generally termed as a patron-client system of authority relationships. Dr. Aquino pointed out that this is basically a conservative system in which the majority is controlled by an elite power structure. She raised the question of whether this passivity and acceptance as a concept of resilience is

sufficient, as while this would provide security and stability, it would also lead to decay and reaction. She suggested that social scientists should be concerned with the ability of the system to reform and transform itself through formulations which need not be Marxist or fascist, but rather a fusion of various ideologies and practical guides for political action.

**Dr. Cynthia Rose B. Bautista
Department of Sociology
University of the Philippines**

Dr. Bautista's discussion focused on three points: the definition of the concept of resilience; two sociological models representing two perspectives; and the creative potential of the concept. The general definition of societal resilience is the capacity of a society to adapt to the changing demands of modernization, political crises, and other obstacles. She pointed out that this definition is too general to be useful, unless societal resilience is to be viewed at varying levels. One way of delimiting the concept is to determine if a society can maintain social order and avoid prolonged internal conflict in the face of processes which tend to undermine basic structures and institutions.

She qualified this definition by a discussion of two sociological models, namely the conflict and the consensus models. The consensus model asserts that social order is based on common values which are the products of collective experience and out of which consensus is formed. The conflict model on the other hand recognizes that different groups have contradictory interests, but social order is maintained because the interests of dominant social groups prevail through the use of coercive powers or a powerful ideological machinery.

The second model may regard social resilience as serving only the interests of the elite with the acquiescence of the

(Continued on page 45)

Directory of Funding Agencies

Local

Asian Institute of Management Scientific Research Foundation, Inc.

A.I.M. Bldg., Paseo de Roxas, Makati, Metro Manila
Washington Z. Sycip, Chairman

Objectives:

Promote, encourage, sponsor and/or initiate scientific research and development in the fields of industry, agriculture, biological and physical sciences, engineering and/or social sciences and humanities

Gregorio Araneta Social Development Foundation, Inc.

13 Kapiligan Street, Q.C.
P.O. Box 772, Manila
Ernesto S. Martinez, Chairman

Objectives:

Undertake and assist research and manpower development projects on the social sciences and humanities pertinent to Philippine socio-economic conditions and problems that would promote economic and political democracy in the Philippines

De La Salle Brothers Science Foundation, Inc.

De La Salle Greenhills
Mandaluyong, Metro Manila
P.O. Box 560 Greenhills
Metro Manila
Bro. Victor Franco, FSC, Chairman

Objectives:

Promote basic and applied research in the biological, physical and/or social sciences and humanities

Economic Development Foundation, Inc.

8th Floor, Bankmer Bldg.
Ayala Avenue, Makati,
Metro Manila
Cesar Buenaventura, Chairman

Objectives:

Provide the private and public sector with professional management, research, consultancy and training services

Filipinas Foundation, Inc.

4th Floor, MSE Building
Ayala Avenue, Makati
Metro Manila
Jaime Zobel de Ayala, Chairman

Objectives:

Operate as a private science and research foundation for the good of mankind

Southeast Asian Science Foundation, Inc. (SEASFI)

Pearl Drive, Bo. Oranbo
Pasig, Metro Manila
Enrique P. Esteban, Chairman

Objectives:

Promote activities contributing to genuine economic development and scientific program

Foreign

Asia Foundation

Southway Condominium,
Yakal Cor. Mayapis Street, Makati
Metro Manila
Thomas W. Soever, Jr., Assistant Representative

Association for Promotion of International Cooperation

Dai 23 Mori Bldg., 1-23-7
Toranomon, Minato-ku, Tokyo
105
Tatsuo Shoda, Chairman

Major Programs:

1. provision of information on international cooperation
 2. lectures and meetings
 3. grants to Japanese scholars and institutions
- Screening date available on request

Association of International Education, Japan

4-5-29 Komaba, Meguro, Ku,
Tokyo, 153
Shigeto Kawano, Chairman

Major Programs:

Granting of scholarships to foreign students

Canada's Mission Administered Fund (MAF) Program

MAF Program, Canadian Embassy,
9th Floor, Allied Bank Centre,
Ayala Avenue, Makati, Metro Manila

Major Programs:

Projects eligible for support must be within the general categories of economic, social and human resource development. Priority is given to projects focusing on food production, income-generation and savings mobilization, human resource development, health and nutrition, community building and women in development

Canadian International Development Agency

Canadian Embassy, 9th Floor,
Allied Bank Building
No. 6754 Ayala Avenue, Makati,
Metro Manila
Mr. Jim Carnichael, First
Secretary (Development)

Centre for Study of Social Systems

Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Mehrauli Road, New
Delhi 110057

Commemorative Association for the Japan World Exposition (1970).

23-17 Ogawa Oazayamada,
Suita-shi, Osaka-fu, 565
Yoshishige Ashihara, President

Major Programs:

1. projects contributing to international cultural exchange and friendship
2. projects relating to international cooperation in the scholarly and educational fields
3. international projects concerning the education and development of youth, medicine, health, hygiene and social welfare, the conservation of nature and preservation of the human environment

Applications must be submitted in September and October of the preceding year

Ford Foundation

Doña Narcisa Building
Paseo de Roxas,
Makati, Metro Manila

Foundation for Advancement of International Science (FAIS)

3F-Maruzen Tsukuba Bldg.
3-9-1 Amakubo, Sakura
Mura, Ni hari-gun, Ibaragi
305
Toshio Doko, President

Major Programs:

1. international conferences, symposia and seminars
2. exchange of researchers

Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Foundation
Teza Towers, Legaspi Village,
Makati, Metro Manila
Helmut Kurth, Chairman

Major Programs:

Trade unions, cooperatives, development communication

Friedrich Naumann Foundation
Metrobank Plaza, 10th Floor
Gil Puyat Avenue, Makati
Metro Manila
Lilli Lobsack-Fullgarf, Chairman

Major Programs:

Press issues, cooperatives, legal education

Honda Foundation
2-6-20 Yaesu Chuo-ku,
Tokyo 104
Takezo Shimoda, President

Major Programs:

1. exchange programs
2. symposia on the present and future of civilization

Institute of Developing Economies
42-Ichigaya-Hommura-cho,
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo, 162
Miyuhei Shinohara, Chairman

Major Programs:

1. promotion of international joint research projects
2. visiting research fellowships
3. research overseas

Institute for Social Science Research in Developing Countries

Badhuisweg 251, P.O. Box 90734,
2509 LS Den Haag,
Netherlands

International Social Science Council (ISSC)
1 rue Mollis, F-75015
Paris, France

Japan International Cooperation Agency
Shinjuku Mitsui Building
2-1 Niski Shinjuku, Shinjuku-ku,
Tokyo, 160
Keisuke Arita, President

Major Programs:

Training of participants from developing countries who are invited by the Japanese government to study technology in various fields

Japan Society for the Promotion of Science
Yamato Bldg., 5-3-1 Kojimachi,
Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo,
102
Isao Amagi, Director-General

Major Programs:

1. invitation of foreign scholars
2. fellowships and travel grants for study abroad
3. grants for international joint research projects
4. grants for international research workshop
5. administration of bilateral programs for scientific cooperation and exchange under agreement with foreign academic institutions

Screening dates available on request

Konrad Adenauer Foundation
1839 Dr. A. Vasquez St.
Malate, Metro Manila
Eckhard Hoffer, Chairman

Major Programs:

mass media, adult labor and development education

National Institute for Research Advancement (NIRA)
37th Floor, Shinjuku Mitsui Bldg.
No. 1-1, Nishi-Shinjuku 2-chome,
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo, 160 Japan

Social Science Research Council (SSRC)
No. 605 Third Avenue, New York,
N.Y., 10158

The International House of Japan, Inc.
5-11-16 Roppongi Minatoku,
Tokyo, 106
Shigeharu Matsumoto, Chairman

Objectives:

1. promotion and sponsorship of international cooperation and interchange of intellectual leaders, creative artists, etc.
2. conduct and sponsorship of lectures, conferences, seminars, etc.
3. development and maintenance of a library of works related to intercultural relations
4. maintenance of facilities of International House of Japan
5. fellowship of researchers in the social sciences

The Iwatani Naoji Foundation
TBR Building, 712, 2-10-2
Nagata-cho, Chiyoda-ku
Tokyo, 100
Daisuke Nishiyama, Chairman

Major Programs:

Research grants in the natural sciences

The Toyota Foundation
Shinjuku Mitsui Building
2-1-1 Nishishinjuku
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo, 160
Eiji Toyoda, Chairman

Major Programs:

1. research projects on the developing countries (especially Southeast Asia) in the fields of culture, social welfare and development
2. translation- Publication Program on the culture of Southeast Asia
3. Publication of Japanese- Southeast Asian language dictionaries
4. International Fellowship Program for Japanese Social Scientists

UNESCO
7 place de Fontenoy
75700 Paris, France

United Nations University
29th Floor, Toho Seimei Bldg.
15-1 Shibuya 2-chome Shibuya-ku,
Tokyo, 150
Japan

Major Programs:

Research on pressing global problems of human survival, development and welfare

United Nations Programme for Population Activities
NEDA sa Makati, No. 106 Amorsolo St.
Legaspi Village, Makati, Metro Manila

U.S. Agency for International Development
Ramon Magsaysay Center
No. 1680 Roxas Boulevard
Metro Manila

**Reprints of Social
Survey Research
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The Tasadays: More Than an Academic Controversy

The academic community of social scientists is currently embroiled in a controversy on whether the Tasadays are an authentic stone-age tribe or a hoax created by former Presidential Assistance for National Minorities (PANAMIN) head Manuel Elizalde and his associates. The controversy was brought to national attention when Rep. Gregorio Andolana of North Cotabato filed a resolution urging the Congressional committee on national cultural communities to investigate the controversy.

The Tasaday controversy actually began in 1971 when Manuel Elizalde announced that he had discovered a cave-dwelling people in the forests of South Cotabato. The Tasadays were studied by researchers Carlos Fernandez, Jesus Peralta, and David Baradas. The Tasadays, who then numbered 25, were hunters-food gatherers without knowledge of the use of metal or of man-made dwellings. The existence of a paleolithic group which had retained its original cultural identity well into the late 20th century was a cause for excitement in the international press. An issue of the *National Geographic* featured the Tasadays, and the authoritative *Encyclopedia Britannica* included among its entries a description of the Tasaday culture. American journalist John Nance in a series of books and articles portrayed them as the last of a peace-loving people. Textbooks on culture and history included discussions on the Tasaday.

The Tasaday's authenticity began to be questioned soon after the alleged discovery. Dr. Zeus Salazar, an ethnologist and a historian, pointed out in

an article written in 1972 that a linguistic analysis of the Tasaday language indicated that the people knew how to use metal tools and had words for objects and implements which cave-dwellers would not know, but house dwellers would. His conclusion was that the Tasadays were not authentic cave-dwellers with a pre-historic culture.

The discrepancies pointed out by Dr. Salazar challenged the PANAMIN's position, and posed several questions to scholars. However, the Marcos regime's repressive policies precluded any further thorough investigation of the Tasadays. In the wake of the Aquino assassination in 1983, the Marcos government began to lose its hold on the people. Soon after, Elizalde fled overseas, reportedly taking with him an enormous amount of money and several women from ethnic tribal groups.

Under the new Aquino administration, the controversy came out into the open in the "1986 International Conference on the Tasaday Controversy and Other Urgent Anthropological Issues" sponsored by the Anthropological Association of the Philippines (UGAT) and the University of the Philippines Department of Anthropology. Representatives of both sides of the controversy presented their papers. Dr. Christian Adler, a German ethnologist, said that the primary forest territory where the Tasaday foraged was too limited to support a hunting-food gathering life, and that the small Tasaday population was not sufficient to ensure genetic continuity. Walter Unger and Jay Ullal of the German *Stern* magazine

and journalists Joey Lozano and Oswald Iten also expressed their doubts on the authenticity based on their experiences during visits to the cave sites. These observers indicated that Elizalde, Nance, and a few other anthropologists had conspired to create a stone-age people, possibly from motives that suited their purposes. John Nance and anthropologists Jesus Peralta and Carlos Fernandez stood by their claim that they had discovered a paleolithic culture but the Tasaday had since then undergone a massive culture change because of their contact with modern age visitors. A TV documentary produced by the American Broadcasting Corporation which reported that the Tasaday had been promised monetary rewards in exchange for posing as cave people was shown during the conference. On the last day of the conference, Salazar presented six tribal Filipinos who claimed that they were relatives of the Tasaday who, according to them, had been misled and bribed by Elizalde and Nance.

The atmosphere during the conference was palpably tense as speakers defended their reputations and motives in the face of accusations of conspiracies, hidden agenda, and financial profits. The participants could not agree on a definitive statement about the authenticity of the Tasaday; the assembly had been virtually polarized. Nevertheless, a resolution was presented to President Aquino calling for the formation of a presidential commission to investigate the controversy.

Two articles published in earlier issues of the *PSSC Social Science Information*

(Continued on page 34)

pssc activities

Three-Country Meeting

The last of a series of consultative country meetings was held in Cheng Mai Thailand last May. This completes a cycle of meetings among the Philippine Social Science Council, the Social Science Association of Thailand, and the Yaya-san Ilmu-Ilmu Sosyal of Indonesia.

Representing PSSC at the meeting were Dr. Patricia B. Licuanan, Dr. Cynthia Rose B. Bautista, and Prof. Ruben F. Trinidad.

Each association presented a country paper which discussed the broad issues of relevance of the social sciences, trends in indigenization, and the relationship of social science and government.

After the presentation of country papers, two sub-committees were formed to plan the joint activities for the next two years. The Organizational Subcommittee proposed to maintain contact among the three country members by holding a Forum every two years to discuss common interests and to present updates on researches. The Subcommittee also suggested that neighboring countries in Southeast Asia be invited. It was decided that the Forum would be called *The Consultative Forum of Southeast Asian Social Science Associations*.

The Program Subcommittee formulated three programs for the Forum:

1. To prepare a directory of social scientists and social science institutions, which would include an inventory of existing research across countries and disciplines.
2. To hold seminars and workshops organized around the clarification of concepts.
3. To tackle at the Forum the following topics: folk culture and its preservation, ethnic relations, and religion and development.



Dr. Patricia B. Licuanan presents the Chairman's report at the PSSC Mid year Meeting. Also in photo are Dr. Cynthia B. Bautista and Prof. Ruben F. Trinidad.

The following were also resolved during the meeting:

1. PSSC would serve as the Secretariat for the first Forum (May 1987-May 1989)
2. The activities of the Forum should concentrate on the coordination and organization of research.
3. The Forum should promote cooperation in research which would lead to comparative studies in the following areas: folk culture, ethnic relations, religion and development and problems of poverty in traditional societies.

PSSC Midyear Meeting

The PSSC held its Midyear Council Meeting last 11 July 1987 at the PSSCenter Seminar Room. The meeting was attended by members of the Executive Board, and representatives of Regular and Associate members. Also present were representatives from the research centers in the regions which are members of the PSSC Research Network.

The meeting started with the Chairman's report, presented by Dr. Patricia B. Licuanan, which outlined the Council's achievements and thrusts in the areas of advocacy, institutional development, research, information dissemination, and collaboration and linkage.

A workshop discussion on "Strengthening PSSC Membership" followed the Chairman's report. The body was randomly divided into three discussion groups, and the rapporteurs later presented the group reports. The group discussion tackled PSSC's role as an umbrella organization. Several functions and roles which the PSSC could perform were suggested, namely: perform brokerage functions; provide secretariat assistance; provide office space for researchers from the regions; facilitate social science participation in decision-making; and serve as a clearinghouse for foreign researchers.

Other suggestions touched on the structure of the PSSC Board, conference and travel grants, improving social science information dissemination, and

monitoring and coordination of members' activities.

The group reports were later consolidated and submitted to the PSSC Executive Board.

Aguilar in PSSC Board

Professor Carmencita T. Aguilar is the new political science representative to the PSSC Executive Board. She also chairs the Social Issues Committee of the PSSC. Prof. Aguilar succeeds Prof. Segundo E. Romero, who resigned from the Board last June to go to the United States for a one-year doctoral enrichment fellowship.

Prof. Aguilar is the Vice-President of the Philippine Political Science Association and a faculty member of the UP Department of Political Science.

PSSC Participation in the UNCOP

The Philippine Social Science Council was requested by the UNESCO Commission of the Philippines (UNCOP) to formulate the UNCOP Social Science Program. The request was coursé through PSSC Executive Director Ruben F. Trinidad, one of the Commissioners of the UNCOP and a member of its Social Science Committee.

An UNCOP Task Force was convened to coordinate this project. Members of the Task Force were Dr. Cynthia B. Bautista, Prof. Ponciano L. Bennagen, Dr. Pilar Ramos Jimenez, Prof. Segundo E. Romero, and Prof. Ruben F. Trinidad.

The Task Force decided that PSSC would submit a Medium Term Plan (1988-1992) with the theme "Empowering the Social Sciences for Philippine National Development." The committees on social issues, institutional development, research, and publications spearheaded the formulation of the Plan. These committees met to dis-

cuss their respective programs and projects which would be incorporated into the Plan.

The programs included in the Plan are the following:

Social Issues Program

Monthly Symposia Series
Speakers Bureau Project

Research and Training Program

Measuring the Public Pulse
Filipino Social Scientists Perspectives on People's Empowerment Since the February Revolution
Training Projects
Discretionary Research Awards Program
Strengthening Philippine Social Science Graduate Programs

Collaboration and Linkage

Research Consortia Program
Philippine Social Science Information Network

Three Country Program

Monthly Calendar of Activities

Documentation of Lectures, Symposia, etc.

Publishing House

Dissemination of ideas on Contemporary Social Issues

Special Programs

Second National Social Science Congress

Resources for People Program

RMAF Awardee Lectures at PSSC

Fr. Richard William Timm, recipient of the 1987 Ramon Magsaysay Award for International Understanding, shared his experiences in rural work in Bangladesh in a lecture last 2 September at the PSSCenter.

In his lecture, Fr. Timm discussed the power structures at the village level, social injustice, women's rights, and organizing the rural poor so that they may take part in the development process.

An open forum followed, wherein issues and problems common to both



Fr. Timm discusses rural development in Bangladesh

the Philippines and Bangladesh were further discussed. Some of these issues were land reform, agrarian cooperatives, problems encountered in rural organization, and communal tensions.

Fr. Timm's insights were gleaned from his 35 years in Bangladesh: When he first arrived in Bangladesh in 1952, his original interests were parasitology and biology. While teaching biological sciences, languages, and inductive logic, he also conducted research in nematology. When cyclones devastated Bangladesh in 1970, Fr. Timm became involved in emergency relief work, where he encountered communal conflicts and rural power struggle. This involvement revealed to Fr. Timm the plight of Bangladeshi villagers. Since then, he has devoted himself fully to rehabilitation, rural development, and the reduction of communal tensions and social injustices.

Study on the US Bases

With the upcoming review of the RP-US Military Bases Agreement, there is a need for relevant and nationalist-oriented information on the bases to be made available to policy-makers and the Filipino people in general.

The Social Issues Committee finalized a proposal for "A Comprehensive Study on the United States Military Facilities." The study will focus on the following aspects:

1. the various alternative economic and political scenarios if the RP-US bases agreement is not renewed in 1991;
2. the level of awareness of Filipinos on the bases issue;
3. the economic impact of US bases at the macro- and micro-economic levels; and
4. the socio-psychological and moral impact of the presence of the military bases on the lives of Filipinos residing in the vicinity.

The proposal has been submitted to NEDA for funding.

Second National Social Science Congress

Preparations are now underway for the Second National Social Science Congress which will be held in November 1988. The Congress will be co-sponsored by the Philippine Social Science Council, the Pi Gamma Mu International Honor Society, and the Social Science Division of the Philippine National Science Society (formerly National Research Council of the Philippines).

The theme for the Congress is "Social Sciences and Economic Recovery."

A series of roundtable discussions on specific issues affecting economic recovery will be convened by PSSC member associations and other participating organizations. Highlights of the roundtable discussions will then be presented during the three-day Congress in November 1988. The topics of the roundtable discussions, proposed dates, and the coordinators and convenor associations are as follows:

1. Perspectives and strategies for Economic Recovery
January 1988.

Coordinator: Dr. Manuel Intes,
UP School of Economics

Convenor Associations: Philippine Economic Society; Philippine National Historical Society; Philippine Historical Association; Philippine Statistical Association

2. People's Power and the Continuing Revolution
February 1988

Coordinators: Dr. Angelito Manalili, UP College of Social Work and Community Development, and Mrs. Tina Liamzon, PHILDHHRA

Convenor Associations: Philippine Sociological Society; Philippine Association of Social Workers; UP College of Social Work and Community Development

3. Privatization and Socialization of Economic Sectors
February 1988

Coordinator: Prof. Leonor Briones, UP College of Public Administration

Convenor Associations: Philippine Economic Society; Philippine National Historical Society; Philippine Historical Association; Philippine Statistical Association

4. The Environment In Development
March 1988

Coordinator: Dr. Corazon M. Raymundo, UP Population Institute

Convenor Associations: Philippine Geographical Society; Philippine Population Association; UP Los Baños Institute of Environmental Science and Management

5. Indigenous Communities and Regionalization
April 1988

Coordinators: Prof. Carolyn I. Sobritchea, UP Asian Center and Dr. Erlinda Burton, Xavier University

Convenor Associations: Philippines Communication Society; Linguistic Society of the Philippines; Xavier University, Philippine Geographical Society

6. Language, Education, and Democratization
May 1988

Coordinator: Bro Andrew B. Gonzales

Iez, De La Salle University

Convenor Associations: Linguistic Society of the Philippines; Pambansang Samahan ng Sikolohiyang Pilipino; Ugnayang Pang-Aghamtao

7. Bureaucracy and Public Accountability
May 1988

Coordinator: Dr. Ledivina V. Cariño, UP College of Public Administration

Convenor Associations: Philippine Society for Public Administration; Philippine Sociological Society; Psychological Association of the Philippines

8. Agrarian Reform

June 1988

Coordinators: Dr. Luzviminda Corista, UPLB Agrarian Reform Institute, and Dean Leslie E. Bauzon, UP College of Social Sciences and Philosophy

Convenor Associations: Philippine National Historical Society; Phil. Historical Association, Phil. National Science Society

9. Church-State Relations

July 1988

Coordinators: Marie Bolasao and Roland Yu, St. Scholastica's College

Convenor Associations: Philippine National Historical Society; Philippine Historical Association, PNSS

10. Human Rights and Economic Recovery

August 1988

Coordinator: Dr. Reynaldo Ty, UP College of Social Sciences and Philosophy

Convenor Association: Pi Gamma Mu Honor Society, PNSS

11. Civilian-Military Relations

September 1988

Coordinator: Dr. Emmanuel Lallana, UP College of Social Sciences and Philosophy

Convenor Associations: Philippine Political Science Association; Philip-

pine National Historical Society; Philippine Historical Association

12. Clark-Subic Bases

Ocrober 1988

Coordinator: Dr. Wilfrido V. Villacorta, De La Salle University

Convenor Associations: Philippine National Historical Society; Philippine Historical Association; Philippine Political Science Association

Survey of Social Science

Degree Programs

The PSSC is conducting a survey of social science graduate programs as a move toward strengthening these programs in provincial universities. The survey would consolidate baseline data on the state of graduate education in the country and facilitate the assessment of the quality of graduate instruction and research in many institutions. Alternative schemes for the upgrading and enhancement of social science graduate education may then be explored and eventually implemented.

The following are the specific objectives of the survey:

1. To determine the nature of existing social science graduate programs in institutions in the country.
2. To assess the teaching and research capabilities of the institutions with graduate programs and determine the enrollment profiles of these programs.
3. To find out existing collaborative research and graduate programs in the region, and determine their sources of support
4. To determine the extent of the drain of graduate faculty resources in provincial universities.

The study will be composed of three modules. Module I which is currently underway consists of a review of secondary materials, a classification of schools based on the available data, research instrument development, data-gathering, and analysis of data. The

output of Module I shall be an inventory of institutions; university, faculty and graduate student profiles; and a classification of universities according to standard of teaching, social research capabilities, existence of graduate programs and other available criteria. Module II shall consist of a qualitative analysis of the competence of social science teachers, determining the orientation of social science courses and programs vis-a-vis the university's goals, identifying the nature of research activities and assessing existing research or teaching programs. Module III shall provide a comprehensive assessment of social science graduate education that shall be the basis for options and alternative schemes that are to be explored

in Module III. Apart from the formulation of these schemes, Module III shall also identify existing graduate education enhancement programs being implemented by local and international agencies. Exchange programs for teaching and research, graduate training assistantships, as well as exchange fellowships will also be appraised.

The project team is composed of Dr. Cynthia B. Bautista, Dr. Corazon M. Raymundo and Dr. Roberto C. Salazar, with the assistance of the PSSC secretariat. The PSSC Research Network provides the nationwide personnel support through the fielding of their research staff for primary data-gathering. The project is expected to end in April 1988. ■

The Philippine Socience Council,
the Philippine National Science Society,
and the
**Pi Gamma Mu International Honor Society
in Social Science**

cordially invite

all friends and patrons to a fund-raising project for the
National Social Science Congress II

*The Nutcracker
A Christmas fairy tale by Tchaikowsky*

The Sugar Plum Fairy, a Nutcracker Prince, the Candyland Palace, dancing toys and other magical characters are transported to a colorful Hispanic Philippine setting in this adaptation of a favorite ballet classic. This version of the Nutcracker is sure to please all those who love the familiar Christmas fairy tale danced to the famous music of Tchaikowsky.

Sponsors' night on December 11 at the Cultural Center of the Philippines Main Theater.

Ticikets are available from the PSSC. Please call tel. no. 922-9621 local 307, 324, or 319.

announcements

NAST Scientist Awards

Outstanding scientists in various fields were awarded by the National Academy of Science and Technology (NAST) last 17 July 1987 during the closing ceremonies of the National Science and Technology Week.

University of the Philippines School of Economics Dean Jose E. Encarnacion, Jr. was named National Scientist. Prof. Ruperto P. Alonzo, Dr. Dante Canlas and Dr. Manuel Montes, also from the UPSE, were among the ten young scientists who were also awarded by the NAST.

Dr. Encarnacion is one of the most distinguished economists in the Philippines. He was a recipient of the TOYM Award in 1963, and the UP Distinguished Scholar Award in 1968. He is a founding member of the Philippine Economic Society and the East Asia Economic Association. In recognition of his achievements, he has a biographical listing in the following: *International Directory of Distinguished Leadership, Who's Who in the World, Men of Achievement, and International Who's Who in Education*. His researches deal with economic theory and philosophy, development models, and econometrics.

Prof. Ruperto P. Alonzo is the Chairman of the Department of Economics of the UPSE, and Editor of the *Philippine Economic Journal*. His major fields of interest include public finance and the economics of human resources. Most of Prof. Alonso's published articles and other papers have been in the areas of shadow pricing, labor markets and manpower planning, and development issues in general. Prof. Alonso is currently serving his second year as the discipline representative for economics in the Executive Board of the PSSC.

Dr. Dante B. Canlas is associate professor at the UP School of Econo-

mics. He finished his bachelor of science degree in Mathematics, and his MA and Ph. D. in Economics at the University of the Philippines. Dr. Canlas has done several researches on various aspects of the Philippine economy, notably manpower resources, marketing policy, and economic development. At present, he is the Director of the Economics Research Center of the UPSE and a co-editor of the *Philippine Review of Economics and Business*.

Dr. Manuel F. Montes, an associate professor at the UPSE, obtained his Ph.D. in economics from the Stanford University in 1981. He served as Associate Director for Research of the UPSE from 1982 to 1984, and was part of a team of specialists of the government working on the Philippine statistical system and economic reform. The research output of Dr. Montes includes published articles and working papers. With other economists, he coauthored *An Analysis of Philippine Economic Crisis* (UP Press, 1984), and *Economic Recovery and Long-Term Growth: Agenda for Reform* (Philippine Institute for Development Studies, 1986).

Salazar New DLSU-RC Director

The De La Salle University announces the appointment of Dr. Roberto Salazar as the Executive Director of the DLSU Research Center, effective 17 August.

Dr. Salazar joined DLSU in 1977 as an instructor at the Behavioral Sciences Department. He has also previously worked with the Research Center as project director and research associate on several research projects, particularly the Participatory Upland Management Program (PUMP).

Dr. Salazar obtained his Ph. D. in Cultural Anthropology from the Ohio State University where he was a Ful-

bright-Hays scholar from 1981 to 1985.

Castillo Appointed Commissioner

Dr. Gelia C. Castillo, noted sociologist and Professor of the UP Los Baños Department of Agricultural Education and Rural Studies, was appointed Commissioner of the National Commission on Women. Her appointment is effective 31 June 1987.

Dr. Castillo was also appointed by the Governing Body of the International Labor Organization as member of the Board of the International Institute for Labour Studies. Her appointment as ILO Board Member will be up to June 1990.

CSWCD Researches

Two research projects have recently been completed by the UP College of Social Work and Community Development.

"Status of ERDA's Operasyon: Balik Paaralan: Project Beneficiaries of SY 1979-1985" is a research project conducted by Dr. Romeo C. Quieta.

The research examines the present status of children who dropped out from school and were assisted by the Operasyon Balik-Paaralan Project of the Educational Research and Development Assistance (ERDA). The project provides a situationer of ERDA's program recipients or graduates particularly on their social, educational, and economic conditions.

Another project "Child Labor in the Garments Industry," comprises phase one of an over-all research program being undertaken by CSWCD. The program, "A National Study of the Labor Participation of Filipino Children," is coordinated by the over-all program coordinator, Dr. Amaryllis Torres.

The project, supervised by Prof. Ma. Corazon J. Veneracion and Prof. Rosario del Rosario, focuses on the child workers in Taytay, Rizal, and Bulacan. It describes the working conditions of garment factories' child workers, identifies the supply and demand factors affecting child labor, and measures the extent of consciousness of child workers, parents, employers, government organizations, and non-government organizations regarding child labor.

The research program is sponsored by the Department of Science and Technology and the University of the Philippines.

PES Convention

The Philippine Economic Society announces its Silver Jubilee Convention on 10 December 1987 at the Manila Hotel. All members are invited to participate in this convention. For more details, members may get in touch with

the office of Mr. Ramon B. Cardenas, 6th floor, ADC Bldg., Ayala Avenue, Makati. Or call tel. no. 810-0306.

Program details will be announced shortly.

Conference on Local History

The Philippine National Historical Society announces the holding of the 9th National Conference on Local History in mid-December. Dr. Teresita R. Maquiso, Dean of College of Arts and Sciences of the Central Luzon State University (CLSU) will serve as the conference chairman. The theme of the conference is Insurgency and Agrarian Reform. The conference will be held at CLSU, Muñoz, Nueva Ecija.

Forum on People Power

The Center for Integrative and Development Studies of the University of the Philippines held a forum on

'The February Revolution and People Power' last 11 September 1987. The forum was the venue for the presentation of the results of a research funded by the CIDS. Prof. Carmencita T. Aguilar of the UP Department of Political Science is the project leader. Other members of the research team are: Dr. Ma. Serena Diokno, Mr. Dante Ambrosio, and Mr. Enrico Azicante, all of the UP Department of History; Mrs. Carol Anonuevo of the UP Department of Sociology; and Mr. Joseph Gerard Reyes of the UP College of Engineering.

Prof. Aguilar started the forum by discussing the "Historical Roots and Contemporary Meaning of People Power." The labor movement was analyzed by Mr. Ambrosio, while Dr. Diokno outlined the role of cause-oriented groups. Religious activism was discussed by Mr. Reyes. Mr. Azicante focused on the politicization of the military. Mrs. Anonuevo discussed the other forces intertwined with people power, specifically American intervention and the role of the media.

The Tasadays

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mation illustrate this disagreement. An article by Dr. Michael L. Tan (Vol. 14 No. 2, July-September 1986) represents the view of most U.P. scholars that the Tasaday hoax has undermined the integrity of anthropological research and has contributed to the continuing state of exploitation of Philippine ethnic minorities. On the other hand, an article by Dr. Ma. Elena Lopez (Vol. 14 No. 3, October-December 1986) takes the position that the conference failed to prove that the Tasadays are a hoax. She noted that several factors diminished the validity of the conference as a fact-finding forum, among them: the lack of scholarly evidence on Tasaday culture; the personal attacks aired against pro-Tasaday scholars; the

sensationalized presentation of the Tasadays' personal testimonies; and the presence during the conference of a large number of foreign observers and journalists.

The Congressional probe hearings have so far presented the statements of scholars who conclude that the Tasadays are fake. Some congressmen in the panel are known to be against the investigation. They have in several instances attempted to discredit the academic credentials of their witnesses, notably Dr. Zeus Salazar, chairman of the UP Department of History, and Prof. Jerome B. Bailen, chairman of the UP Department of Anthropology and the 1986 International Conference.

Several newspapers reported that the Encyclopedia Britannica has deleted the entry on the Tasaday in the 1987 edition, but according to an Encyclopedia

Britannica representative in the Philippines, the entry has been retained with an additional explanation of the current controversy. According to some sources, however, the 1988 edition of the encyclopedia would not include the Tasaday entry.

The efforts of some parties to whitewash the investigation and in the process exonerate Elizalde (who has been accused of crimes ranging from malversation to abduction) is a matter of serious concern for social scientists. If the government refuses to pay heed to the controversy and its implications, or take action that would serve truth and justice, the consequence would be the further debasement of the tribal minorities and Filipino scholarship. — mba

new publications

Writers and Their Milieu

Launched last 12 August by the De La Salle University Press and the Department of Literature, *Writers and Their Milieu* is the second volume by Doreen G. Fernandez and Edilberto Edilberto N. Alegre and Doreen G. Fernandez on Philippine writing in *Engter and His Milieu*; the book contains transcriptions of interviews with Filipino writers.

Writers and Their Milieu covers the second-generation writers, namely: Nick Joaquin, Carlos A. Angeles, Francisco Arcellana, E. Aguilar Cruz, Ricaredo Demetillo, N.V.M. Gonzalez, Wilfrido Ma. Guerrero, Sinai C. Hamada, Dominador I. Illo, Pacita Pastrana Jacinto, Serafin Lanot, Armando Malay, Narciso G. Reyes, Trinidad Tarrosa Subido, Renato Tayag, Edilberto K. Tiempo, Edith L. Tiempo, Manuel A. Viray, and Rafael Zulueta Da Costa.

The Political of Plunder and Dictatorship and Martial Law

The University of the Philippines College of Public Administration and Great Books Publishers recently announced the publication of two books on contemporary Philippine dynamics and politics.

The first book is *The Politics of Plunder: The Philippines Under Marcos* by Belinda Aquino. Dr. Aquino's book is a major contribution to the understanding of the uses of political power and the greed factor in public life and contemporary Philippine society in general. It was recently serialized in the *Inquirer*. Dr. Aquino's research is based on some 2,300 pages of documents retrieved from the plane carrying Marcos personal possessions when

he fled to Hawaii. Dr. Aquino is based at the University of Hawaii where she directs the Philippine Studies Center and teaches Political Science. She was recently a visiting professor at the UP College of Public Administration. She also wrote a regular column for the *Inquirer*.

The second book is *Dictatorship and Martial Law: Philippine Authoritarianism in 1972* by Alex Bello Brillantes, Jr. The book makes a rich contribution to the scholarly literature on dictatorship and authoritarianism. The book is based on Dr. Brillantes' doctoral dissertation at the University of Hawaii. It was recently serialized in the *Manila Chronicle*, which said that the book is "timely reading" considering the many speculations that President Aquino is considering using her emergency powers to cope with the current crisis. Dr. Brillantes is Assistant Professor at the University of the Philippines College of Public Administration and Director of its Publications Office. He is also the Editor-in-Chief of the *Philippine Journal of Public Administration* and a special lecturer at the De La Salle University.

The books are available at the Philippine Social Science Council and in bookstores throughout Metro Manila.

DLSU Diamond Years

The Diamond Years: 1911-1986 was launched last 23 April at the De la Salle Marian Quadrangle. The 850-page volume contains names and photographs of DLSU graduates, memorable photographs documenting the seventy-five years of La Salle in the Philippines, and selected vignettes.

Reservations for the book (P500 per

copy) may be placed through Josefina Alburo at the Diamond Jubilee Office, DLSU.

Teacher Preparation Package on Bilingual Education

The INNOTECH recently released a 190-page volume entitled *Teacher Preparation Package on Bilingual Education*.

The book discusses several topics, among them: bilingual education strategies, the role of the local language in second language teaching; competencies needed for bilingual education; guidelines for using English and Filipino as media of instruction; principles underlying the preparation of the English Communication Arts materials; maximizing pupil participation in communication arts; and word borrowing from English.

This volume was developed by the Philippine Normal College under a project on Nontraditional Roles of Teachers (Project NTR), a five-year research and development project of the SEAMEO Regional INNOTECH Center. The project aims to develop models to prepare teachers for alternative educational programs for mass primary education. The International Development Research Centre funded the project, which was participated in by Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand.

For inquiries, contact:
SEAMEO Regional INNOTECH
Center
Commonwealth Avenue
Diliman, Quezon City
Tel. No. 982591, 982592

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profiles

The Philippine Population Association

Realizing the need for a national professional organization, several luminaries in the field of demography and population research initiated the establishment of the Philippine Population Association, Inc. (PPA). Although establishing an association for population had been planned for some time, the plan had not gotten off the ground, partly because several members of the demographic community were based abroad. Last year, however, the move to establish the association gained momentum. Starting mid-1986, researchers and academics from Metro Manila and the different regions held a series of organizational meetings to hammer out the Articles of Incorporation and the By-Laws of the PPA.

During one of these meetings, the following members of the Board of Directors and officers were elected:

President	:	Dr. Mercedes B. Concepcion (UP Population Institute)
Vice-President	:	Fr. Wilhelm Flieger (University of San Carlos)
Secretary	:	Dr. Luisa Engracia (National Statistics Office)
Treasurer	:	Prof. Eliseo A. de Guzman (UP Population Inst.)

Other members of the Board are:

Dr. Fe Cases (UP Baguio)
Dr. Lita J. Domingo (UP Population Inst.)
Fr. Francis C. Madigan (Xavier University)
Dr. Hector B. Morada (National Statistics Office)
Dr. Corazon M. Raymundo (UP Population Inst.)
Dr. Zelda C. Zablan (UP Population Inst.)

It is a set policy of the PPA that in the election of its Board of Directors, geographic representation will be taken into account as much as possible. This policy, which is stated in the PPA's by-laws, is intended to decentralize the Association's leadership and to encourage regional participation.

The goals of the PPA encompass the broad areas of research, publication, and collaboration. Specifically, the PPA's objectives are:

1. To promote, encourage, and support the objective study of population and other population-related phenomena,
2. To establish and promote closer association with similar professional organizations, national and international, in the interest of mutual enlightenment and collaborative inquiry, and
3. To publish a journal on population and population-related research and other activities.

The By-Laws of the Association allow for six categories of members, namely:

1. Charter Members: those members who signed the Articles of Incorporation of the PPA;
2. Regular Members: those actively involved in teaching or research in population and related fields;
3. Associate Members: other professionals who are interested or are engaged in population and population-related activities;
4. Affiliate Members: students who are engaged in population and related research activities and studies;
5. Honorary Members: individuals who extend or have extended support in the fulfillment of the objectives and functions of the Association; and

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The Philippine Population Association will soon be a Regular Member of the PSSC. The Editor thanks Dr. Mercedes B. Concepcion and Prof. Eliseo A. de Guzman for the materials used for this article.

The Philippines Communication Society



Several organizations for specific groups of media practitioners have existed for some time, although there was no association for all media and communication professionals. Thus, although there were associations for journalists, broadcasters, educators, and advertisers, there was still a need for an association which would encompass all the different sectors of the media industry.

To fill the gap, the Philippines Communication Society was founded last 22 May 1987. The PCS was envisioned to pool together media and communication professionals whose primary objective is to promote the use of communication as a professional discipline in the social sciences and as a resource in national development. More specifically, the objectives of the PCS are:

1. To serve as a forum for interaction and sharing of ideas among communication practitioners, researchers, teachers, and learners.
2. To promote communication research and its applications in policy formulation and development planning.
3. To promote ethical practices within the profession.
4. To encourage professional growth through continuing education.
5. To assist in the dissemination and exchange of information among communicators and with other social scientists.
6. To promote self-reliance through the use of indigenous communication resources.

The process of founding the PCS involved several months of planning. Early in the year, the Philippine Social Science Council invited prominent media and communication professionals to a series of meetings to thresh out the plans for organizing a professional association for communicators. After a number of planning sessions, the PCS held its First General Assembly last 10 July at the PSSCenter.

During the assembly, 15 Board Members of the PCS were elected. The Board then met to elect among themselves the officers of the Society. The following are the officers of the PCS:

President	:	Dr. Florangel Rosario-Braida
Vice-President	:	Prof. Raul R. Ingles
Secretary	:	Fr. Ibarra Gonzalez
Treasurer	:	Dean Georgina R. Encanto
Public Affairs Officer	:	Dr. Pacifico Aprieto
Auditor	:	Dr. Felix Librero

Other members of the Board are: Dr. Delia R. Barcelona, Dr. Doreen Fernandez, Dr. Juan Jamias, Fr. Cornelio Lagerway, Dr. Benjamin V. Lozare, Dr. Nora C. Quebral, Dr. Nicanor G. Tiongson, Dr. Ofelia Valdecañas, and Ms. Alice C. Villadolid.

The first major activity of the PCS was its first seminar held last 26 September. The seminar aimed to formulate recommendations for legislative action on communication issues. Dr. Benjamin V. Lozare, Director of the Philippine Information Agency,

(Continued on page 43)

The Philippines Communication Society is also a future Regular Member of the PSSC. The PSSC is a non-governmental organization of social scientists.

newsbriefs

PSS Annual Conference

The Philippine Sociological Society (PSS) held its Annual Conference last 9-10 April at the Central Philippine University, Iloilo City. The conference focused on a survey by Dr. Cynthia B. Bautista on the status and problems of teaching sociology.

Several needs pertaining to the discipline of sociology were identified during the conference. Some of these are:

1. the need to strengthen sociological associations in the regions, whose officers shall comprise the PSS Board;
2. the need for networking;
3. the need of regional groups for training assistance; and
4. the need to standardize the teaching of sociology.

9th UGAT Annual Conference

The Ugnayang Pang-Aghamtao (UGAT) held its 9th annual national conference from 9-11 April at the Xavier University, Cagayan de Oro City. This year's theme was "Culture Change and National Development."

Papers on the following general topics were presented during the three-day conference: "Concepts, Theories/Models of Culture Change, Implications on National Development;" "Development and Intervention Programs: Coping with Change;" "Political Ideology and Change: Their Implications on National Development;" and "Territoriality, Custom Law, and Development."

A business meeting was conducted after the conference, during which the following set of officers was elected:

President: Erlinda Burton
Vice President for Internal Affairs:
Rudy Rodil

Vice President for External Affairs:
Mary Contancy Barrameda
Secretary: Numer Escalante
Treasurer: Mary Jane Calderon
Board Members: Carolyn I. Sobritchea,
Jamil Kamlian, Elisa Paqueo, John
McAndrew, Lerma Yambot, Noel
Mondejar, Heidi Gloria, Artemia
Ferrer, Jojo Versales

Linguistic Society of the Philippines Conference

"Meeting the Language Needs of Filipinos in the Twenty-First Century" was the theme of the annual meeting/conference of the Linguistic Society of the Philippines. The conference was held last 3 May at the Philippine Normal College. Two papers were presented in the morning by Dr. Nelly Cubar and Dr. Nieves Epistola. A panel discussion followed in the afternoon, conducted by Dr. Richard Benton, Dr. Edilberto Dagat, Ms. Nanette Fernandez, Dr. Fe Otanes, and Dr. Ponciano Pineda. Dr. Ma. Lourdes Bautista served as moderator, while Dr. Bonifacio P. Sibayan handled the integration.

DEVSTAT: Fourth National Convention

The Fourth National Convention on Statistics was held at the Philippine Social Science Center last 15 June 1987. The convention was sponsored by the National Economic and Development Authority and the Philippine Statistical Association. As with the three previous conventions, the Fourth Convention on DEVSTAT (Development Statistics) is based on the dictum that the growth and direction of statistics are dictated by the demands of development in terms of planning and policy formulation.

Dr. Isidoro P. David, president of the

PSA gave the opening remarks, while Dr. Filologo Pante, Jr., Deputy Director General of NEDA, introduced the keynote speaker. The keynote address was delivered by Senator Vicente Paterno.

Several sessions on different topics were conducted simultaneously after the opening ceremonies.

PSA Holds Annual Conference

The Philippine Statistical Association held its Annual Conference last 14 August 1987. The conference, with the theme "Research in Agricultural Statistics Towards Nation Building," was held at the College of Forestry Auditorium, University of the Philippines at Los Baños. Dr. Raul P. de Guzman, Chancellor of UPLB, delivered the keynote address.

Three papers were presented during the conference. The first paper on "Sample Size Determination in Post Harvest Experiments" was presented by Dr. Mariano B. de Ramos, of the UPLB Division of Statistics and Statistical Laboratory. Dr. Burton T. Oñate, also of UPLB, served as discussant. Dr. Santiago M. Alviar of the UPLB Division of Computer Science and Computer Laboratory discussed "Trends in Statistical Computing," with Dr. Jose S. Victoria as discussant. The third paper focused on "The Use of Farm Parcel Approach in Rice and Corn Surveys" by Director Generoso G. de Guzman of the BAS. Mrs. Nelia Marquez, Deputy Administrator of the National Statistics Office, served as the discussant.

PAP Convention

The 24th Convention of the Psychological Association of the Philippines was held from 18-20 August at the Phil-Am Life Insurance Company. The con-

vention revolved around the theme "Maintaining Psychological Relevance in Philippine Society." Several papers on the following general subjects were presented: The Emerging Roles of Women in Contemporary Philippine Society; Psychology in Politics; and Psychology in Rural Life. A panel discussion on Private and Public Sector Roles in Economic Development were conducted. Free papers on various subjects were also presented on the last day of the convention.

Conference on Local History Held

The Philippine National Historical Society held its 8th National Conference on Local History from 18-20 September 1987 at the Mindanao State University in General Santos City. The theme of the conference was "Mindanao Issues in Historical Perspective."

The Conference Chairman was Dean Vicente A. Espinosa of the College of Arts and Sciences, MSU-General Santos City, while Mrs. Alabrella K. Rivera, Social Science Coordinator of DECS South Cotabato, served as co-chairman of the conference.

Close to 300 delegates, mostly from Mindanao including Tawi-Tawi, attended the conference.

The conference was co-sponsored by the following institutions: MSU-General Santos City, City Government of General Santos, Provincial Government of South Cotabato, DECS South Cotabato, South Cotabato Historical Association, National Historical Institute, Mayors League of South Cotabato, and Dole Philippines, Inc.

Lecture Series on Social Sciences and Health

The Committee for Research and Training in Tropical Diseases held a series of lectures on social sciences and

health. The Committee is chaired by Dr. Luzviminda Valencia of the UP College of Social Sciences and Philosophy. A total of ten lecture series were presented over a period of three months. The following lectures were held:

26 March 1987

"Leprosy: Nature and Causes" by Dr. Adelwisa Ortega

"Leprosy Control Program" by Dr. Marcial Carrilo

15 April 1987

"The UNDP/World Bank/WHO Special Programme for Research and Training in Tropical Diseases: Funding Perspectives" by Dr. Akira Shira

22 April 1987

"The Research Institute for Tropical Medicine (RITM): Goals and Directions" by Dr. Marge Bailon

"Malaria: Nature, Causes and Control" by Prof. Maria Salazar

24 April 1987

"Schistosomiasis and Filariasis for the Layman" by Prof. Ruben Umali

29 April 1987

"Epidemiology of the Four Tropical Diseases in the Philippines" by Dr. Jane Baltazar

"Vector Behavior" by Prof. Lillian de Las Llagas

27 May 1987

"Philosophy and Medicine" by Prof. Leonardo de Castro

"The Importance of History to Tropical Diseases Research" by Prof. Isagani Medina and Mr. Enrico Azicante

27 May 1987

"Political Science and Health" by Dr. Emmanuel Lallana

"Health Economics" by Dr. Alejandro Herrin

3 June 1987

"The Use of Geographic Methods in Tropical Disease Research" by Prof. Telesforo Luna

"The Use of Demographic Methods in

Tropical Disease Research" by Dr. Zelda C. Zablan

10 June 1987

"Conceptualization of Research" by Dr. Cynthia B. Bautista

"Collective Indigenous Research

Methods" by Dr. Virgilio Enriquez, Prof. Rogelia Pe-Pua, and Prof. Eufracio Abaya

17 June 1987

"Community Participation" by Prof. Corazon Veneracion

"Health Education" by Mrs. Leonor Zamora

Conference on Labor's Vision of Economic Recovery

Labor leaders, economists, and scholars attended the "Second National Conference on Labor's Vision for Economic Recovery" held at the U.P. Institute of Industrial Relations from April 6 to 8.

The conference, co-sponsored by the Labor Advisory and Consultative Council (LACC), Labor Educators Association of the Philippines (LEAP), Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), and the UP Institute of Industrial Relations.

The following topics were discussed during the three-day conference: the present economic recovery program of the government; assessment of the results of the First National Conference on Labor's Vision of Economic Recovery; how the Congress can be mobilized in support of labor's vision of economic development; the new labor relations policy and its implications on economic recovery; the labor and economic situation in selected regions; and labor's role in economic policy formulation and implementation.

Four workshop discussions were held on the above and other related issues. Each workshop group formulated concrete proposals and plans on the labor and economic situation in selected regions, and labor strategies to influence decision-makers to accept labor's vision

of economic recovery and popularize labor's vision of economic development. These proposals were presented to Labor Secretary Franklin Drilon, who gave the closing remarks on the last day of the conference.

Dan Sibal Memorial Lectures

The U.P. Department of Political Science and the Third World Studies Center co-sponsored the Dan Sibal Memorial Lectures on Expanding the Limits of Democratic Space. The series of weekly lectures held last July are in commemoration of Dan Sibal, UP Political Science instructor who was slain in an ambush last June 11.

The following lectures were presented:

July 10 — The Aquino Government and the Democratic Space

"People Power Project from EDSA and Beyond" by Prof. Randolph S. David

"Presidential Popularity and Progressive Politics" by Prof. Felipe Miranda

July 17 — Issues in Popular Participation

"Dilemma of the Above-Ground Opposition: The Case of the Philippine Student Movement" by Mr. P.N. Abinales

"Prospects of Popular Participation." by Dr. Emmanuel Lallana

"Reading May 11: The Future of Left Electoral Politics" by Prof. Alexander R. Magno

July 24 — Strategies and Tactics in Exploring the Limits of Democratic Space by Dr. Francisco Nemenzo and Prof. Temario Rivera

A lecture series is also being held by the UP Los Banos in the memory of Sibal and Jessica Sales, former instructors at UPLB. Jessica Sales disappeared in the 70's and has not been found since.

The series, which started last 18 August and will run up to January, focuses on the theme "Strengthening Philippine Institutions: The Search for

Alternative Directions." Prof. Randolph S. David, Director of the UP Third World Studies Center, presented the first lecture last August on "The Intelligentia in Social Upheaval."

The lecture series is jointly sponsored by the Department of Social Sciences, the Sociology Society, and the Office of the Chancellor.

DLSU Lectures

The Second Lorenzo M. Tañada Professorial Chair Lecture was held at the DLSU last 17 June 1987. Dr. Milagros Guerrero of the UP Department of History presented a lecture on "The Fear of Independence: The Re-examination of the Independence Issue, 1938-1941." The lecture was sponsored by the History Department of De La Salle University.

Last August 19, Dr. Wilfrido V. Villacorta, Vice President for External Affairs, gave a professorial lecture on "Ang Kalagayan ng Nasionalismo Pagkatapos ng Rebolusyon sa EDSA." The lecture was in commemoration of the birth anniversary of Manuel L. Quezon.

Rizal Collection at DLSU

The Lorenzo Lopez-Rizal Collection was turned over to the De La Salle University last 19 June 1987, in commemoration of the 126th birth anniversary of Dr. Jose Rizal, and in memory of Rizal's nephew, Lorenzo Lopez-Rizal. The collection is on loan to the DLSU, and is housed at the 4th floor of the University Library.

Among the items included in this collection are the flute used by Rizal, two of his paintings, and plaques and certificates of awards from the Ateneo Municipal.

After the turn-over ceremonies, Prof. Alex Lamadrid of the History and Area

Studies Department presented a lecture on "Ang Pag-aaral kay Rizal sa Unyon Sobret." The lecture also commemorated the centennial of Rizal's *Noli Me Tangere*.

DLSU History and Area Studies Week

The History and Area Studies Week was celebrated by the De La Salle University from August 3 to 8. Sponsored by the History and Area Studies Department, the celebration's theme focused on "Regional and Ethnic Thrusts in Philippine History."

The following lectures were presented during the week:

"The Chinese in the Philippines: Changing Values and Attitudes"

by Mrs. Teresita Ang See

"The Challenges and Prospects of Local History Writing"

by Dr. Florentino Hornedo

"Deconstructing America: America Through the Eyes of Filipino Writers"

by Dr. Isagani Cruz

"Problems in Contemporary Japan-Philippine Relations"

by Mr. Leopoldo J. Martinez
"Seminar on Thesis Writing in History for History Majors"

by Dr. Carmelita C. Corpuz

An exhibit on Philippine Nationalism and Evolution of the Filipino Flag, and a photo exhibit on Filipino-Chinese Heritage in the Philippines were also held.

Symposium on Foreign Debt

"The Debt Trap: How to Get Out of It" was the focus of a symposium sponsored by the International Studies Institute of the Philippines and the UP College of Public Administration held last 24 August at the Malcolm Hall Theater, UP College of Law. The speakers who discussed the different aspects

of the foreign debt issue were Prof. Leonor M. Briones of the UP College of Public Administration, Prof. Raphael P.M. Lotilla of the UP College of Law, and Sen. Teofisto Guingona. The discussants at this symposium were Prof. Merlin Magallana of the UP College of Law, Dr. Agustin Kintanar, UP Vice-President for Administrative Affairs, and Sen. Alberto Romulo.

INNOTECH Training

The 45th INNOTECH Three-Month Course on Educational Planning and Management, Innovation and Technology started last 21 September.

During the course, the participants learn the basic skills and concepts of the systems approach to educational planning and decision-making largely

through self-instructional modules and independent study supplemented by tutorials, seminars, discussions, brainstorming sessions, simulations, and consultations with their advisers. The course has been modified through the years to incorporate new ideas gained from the trainees themselves, visiting experts, and relevant literature.

The course participants develop project proposals designed to solve educational on-the-job problems. Some of these proposals have been successfully implemented in the participants' countries.

Ateneo Public Forum

The Philippine economy was examined by Henry M. Shwalbenberg,

S.J., a visiting lecturer from Columbia University. The lecture was held last 25 September under the sponsorship of the Ateneo University Public Forum. Fr. Shwalbenberg's lecture was entitled "Conflicts Among, Landowners, Capital, and Labor Amid Urban Unrest, Urban-Rural Wage Gap, and Protectionism in the Philippines: 1946-1972." His lecture focused on "neo-classical political economy," a theory with application to problems of trade and development as pioneered at Columbia University. The theory could be used to explain the significant economic and political problems faced by the Philippines in the period following independence. Rising urban unrest combined with increasing rural-urban equality and protectionism are seen as resulting from the political contests among landowners, capitalists, and labor. ■

New Publications

(Continued from page 35)

Philippine Humanitarian Services

Launched last May 14, *Philippine Humanitarian Services: Heritage and Challenge* traces the development of humanitarian services and selected institutions involved in this endeavor.

Co-authored by the Philippines' forerunner of professional social work, Dr. Josefa Jara Martinez, and UP College of Social Work and Community Development Professor Esther C. Viloria, the book is addressed to students, human service practitioners, volunteers, and laymen interested in people-oriented activities.

Its retrospective and prospective style recounts the history of agencies and organizations that evolved during the American colonial era and the subsequent post-Independence period. The book features the people, events, and

factors that led to these organizations' establishment, and the administration of social welfare and civic activities toward social and economic development. A current review by the authors likewise identifies the pervasive social conditions which pose continuing challenges to development workers.

Part of the royalties from the book's sales will go to the establishment of a Josefa Jara Martinez Professorial Chair. The book is available from the PSSC Central Subscription Service and other major bookstores.

Usug, Kulam, Pasma: Traditional Concepts of Health and Illness in the Philippines

The inadequacies of the "western" medical system have revived interest in traditional medical beliefs and practices and the possibilities of strengthening these elements as part of an alternative health care system.

Usug, Kulam Pasma by Michael L. Tan reviews traditional concepts of health and illness in the Philippines, dividing the discussion into three main categories: (a) mystical (e.g. usug, soul loss, bangungot or nightmare death syndrome); (b) personalistic (e.g. kulam or sorcery); and (c) naturalistic (e.g. pasma or hot/cold interactions). The author emphasizes that an understanding of these concepts is necessary before one can comprehend traditional medical practices.

The book reviews ethnographic and historical reports, as well as primary data collected over the last three years on different ethnic groups in the Philippines. The author warns against the tendency to merely describe such beliefs as quaint superstitions. Instead, he shows the linkages among these beliefs and demonstrates how these support a distinct medical ideology. The concepts are also discussed in terms of a world view that continues to evolve, shaped by social and historical forces. ■

Insurgency

(Cont'd from page 9)

some quarters argue, even worse.

3. Insurgency from the right is worse in the Aquino government than it was during the Marcos administration. During Marcos' regime, there were hardly any attempts at coup d'état (at least these were not reported in the controlled press) until of course the coup led by Defense Minister Enrile and General Ramos which resulted in Marcos' ouster.

Under the Aquino government, the insurgency from the right is more pronounced, and visible. There has been open defiance to the authority of the Commander-in-Chief and the Chief of Staff who were perceived to be coddling leftist insurgents, primarily manifested by negotiating with them. Such a situation of open rebellion (a manifestation of rightist insurgency as used in this paper) by elements in the military has led many sectors to openly charge that the Aquino administration is not able to control its very armed forces. Such a situation has led to a perceived weakness of the government.

4. One way by which we can reconcile the basically hardline approach of both Marcos and Aquino governments to the insurgency of the left will be to locate their strategies within the context of the United States' Low Intensity Conflict. Essentially, this strategy involves making the people fight the communists by themselves. Consequently, this is rewarded by Washington with more military aid.

APPENDIX

A Chronology of Significant Events During the First Nineteen Months of the Aquino Administration

1986

February 22-25 — "People's Power"

revolution in the Philippines that resulted in the ouster of Marcos and the assumption of Aquino to the Presidency

July 6-7 - Manila Hotel incident.
Attempted coup by officers and men
loyal to Marcos.

August 5 - Beginning of formal cease-fire talks and negotiations between the GRP and the NDF

September 5 — President Aquino meets with Nur Misuari in Mindanao

September 13 — President Aquino
meets with Conrado Balweg in the
Cordilleras

October 21 — Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile suggests to President Aquino that a deadline for the peace talks be set.

November 11 – NDF offers a 100-day Ceasefire with the GRP

November 22-23 — Defense Minister Enrile is fired by Aquino. Reports of another attempted coup code named "God Save the Queen."

November 27 — Ceasefire Agreement between the GRP and the NDF is reached.

December 10 — Beginning of 60-Day Ceasefire between the Government of the Philippines and the National Democratic Front (up to February 1987)

December 24 — EO 103 signed by President Aquino "Constituting the National Reconciliation and Development Program as a Priority Program of Government and for other Purposes"

1987

January 27-29 — Attempted coup by rightist elements in the military loyal to deposed President Marcos. They seize the premises of Channel 7.

February 28 — Granting amnesty in favor of persons, who in the furtherance of their political beliefs, may have committed acts penalized by existing laws. (Grants amnesty up to)

to six months, i.e., up to August 1987).

April 18 — Another coup attempt is discovered in Fort Bonifacio.

June 21 - CPLA head Conrado Balweg is ambushed. The NPA is held responsible.

July 15 — President Aquino signs EO 220 proclaiming the Cordillera Administrative Region.

August 11 — Administrative Order No. 30 is issued creating the Office of the Peace Commissioner.

Amending Proclamation No. 80 dated February 28, 1987, by extending the deadline for the filing of applications for amnesty under said proclamation (Extends amnesty to February 29, 1988).

March 18 — Bombing of the PMA Gransstand where President Aquino was supposed to address the PMA graduates results in the death of four people.

August 28 - Attempted coup led by Colonel Gregorio Honasan. They attack Malacanang, Camp Aguinaldo, Channel Four and Camelot Hotel

Profiles (Continued from page 37)

The Philippine Population Association

6. Institutional Members: organizations which are supportive of the objectives of the Association and contribute to the finances of the Association.

A General Assembly of all members of good standing shall be held every two years for the purpose of setting major policies and of electing the members of the Board of Directors. The Assembly is the highest policy-making body of the Association.

Planning sessions will be undertaken by the Association to map out its future activities pending SEC approval of its incorporation papers. In line with the Association's objectives, activities in research, publication, and collaboration will be of priority. The PPA is also looking into the possibility of conducting a membership drive to encompass Metro Manila as well as the regions in order to increase the membership which initially numbers 30 individuals.

As the Philippine Population Association plans for the future, it is set to take its rightful place as a new, dynamic member of the social science community.

Four Views on the Elections (Continued from page 18)

dition means by maturity.

If maturity means holding polls without excessive violence and cheating and without succumbing to vote buying or patronage, then that is a very narrow definition of maturity. This means that despite attempts by the elite to corrupt the electorate, they vote the way they want; but this does not tell us very much about the political awareness of our people.

The better term would be level of political consciousness. The election outcome indicates that the level of consciousness is rather low — at least not enough to enable the Left to mobilize political support in the sense that people are prepared to break away from the blandishment of traditional politics or vote-buying to express political conviction through the ballot. From the perspective of political consciousness, we are given a clearer picture that for politics of issues to succeed, a lot of hard work is needed to impress upon the poor and the disadvantaged that elite dominated politics is detrimental to their interests, is exploitative and perpetuates the inequitable distribution of resources and political power.

Emergence of a New Party System

I am afraid the cause of multi-party system has been set back by the outcome of the polls. The isolation of the Left from electoral processes and from parliamentary participation are evidence of the reality that we are not yet ready for politics of issues or even a party system based on clear ideological divisions.

While it may be true that there is potential for realignment of existing coalitions according to political tendencies of their factional components, the realignment may form into a two-party system rather than a multi-party one. The conservatives are now grouped around the GAD, KBL and the Nacionalista Party conservative wing. There are also conservative individuals in Laban and in its allies — the Liberal Party (Salonga wing), the PDP Laban, Lakas ng Bayan, Bansai, and the regional groups passing off as parties. But the tendencies of the Centre and Centre-Left are also pronounced among the Government coalition partners, giving rise to the possibility that the Government coalition could be the basis for the Centre and Centre-Left configuration.

The Philippines Communication Society

discussed "The Philippine Communication Situation: Needs, Opportunities, and Prospects."

With regard to future activities, the following activities are being planned by the PCS:

1. PCS Kapihan
2. Peace Congress (in early 1988)
3. Publication of occasional papers
4. UNESCO-AIJ-PCS Conference on Democratization of Communication
5. International Congress on Communication and Arts (in 1988)
6. Co-sponsoring a roundtable discussion on indigenous communities and media for the National Social Science Congress II

Although newly-established, the PCS is already in high gear, and these plans and other activities will greatly contribute to the development of the discipline of communication, and the social sciences in general.

Self-Reliance Activities

(Continued from page 21)

4. The funding problem must be addressed. Donor agencies should encourage and fund more self-reliant types of projects/activities. The long-term benefits of these activities mean more money channeled to other development efforts.

Appendix

NGO Respondents to the Self-Reliance Survey

1. Advance Family Planning Technology Clinic of the Children's Medical Center Philippines, Inc.
2. Ateneo de Manila University Center for Community Services
3. Ateneo de Naga Research and Service Center – Social Integration Office
4. Catholic Educational Association of the Philippines (CEAP)
5. Cebu Doctor's College of Medicine (CDCM)
6. Cebu Institute of Medicine (CIM)
7. Christian Children's Fund, Inc. (CCF)
8. Communication Foundation for Asia (CFA)
9. Development Concept, Inc. – Center of Alternatives
10. Educational Research and Development Assistance Foundation, Inc. (ERDA)
11. Employers' Confederation of the Philippines (ECOP)
12. Iglesia Ni Cristo-Christian Medical, Dental and Paramedical Association (INC-CMDPA)
13. Institute of Maternal and Child Health (IMCH)
14. Institute of Social Studies and Action (ISSA)
15. International Institute of Rural Reconstruction (IIRR)
16. Integrated Maternal Child Care Services and Development, Inc. (IMCCSDI)
17. International Social Research and Development Foundation (ISRDF), Inc.
18. Jose Antonio Delgado Memorial Foundation, Inc. JADMFI – The Ala Ala Foundation
19. Kabalikat ng Pamilyang Pilipino, Inc.
20. Lorna Community Development Foundation, Inc.
21. Manila Central University – Natural Family Planning Program (MCU)
22. Negros Economic Development Foundation (NEDF), Inc.
23. Neighbors Population and Development Services, Inc.
24. Notre Dame Educational Association
25. Occupational Health Nurses Association of the Philippines (OHNAP)
26. Parañaque Development Foundation, Inc.

27. Philippine Association for the Study of Sterilization, Inc. (PASS)
28. Philippine Association of the Deaf, Inc.
29. Philippine Business for Social Progress (PBSP)
30. Philippine Medical Women's Association (PMWA)
31. Philippine Social Science Council, Inc. (PSSC)
32. Save the Children Federation (SCF), Iloilo Field Office
33. Small Enterprises Research and Development Foundation (SERDEF)
34. Women in Finance and Entrepreneurship, Inc. (WIFE)
35. Young Women's Christian Association of Manila (YWCA)

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We are doing our best to update our journals.

Thank you for bearing with us.

Aghamtao

Historical Bulletin

Journal of History

Philippine Economic Journal

Phil. Geographical Journal

Phil. Journal of Linguistics

Phil. Journal of Psychology

Phil. Journal of Public Ad.

Phil. Political Science Journal

Phil. Sociological Review

Phil. Statistician

Social Work

Societal Resilience

(Continued from page 23)

masses. What is therefore referred to as societal resilience actually reflects the coping strategies of the masses within parameters broadly defined by dominant groups. Examples of these strategies are the thriving informal markets of the poor, and the search for overseas employment. This type of societal resilience has a negative effect, however, because it develops a culture of survivors who are willing to be subjected to indignities in exchange for mere survival. Dr. Bautista pointed out that this also enhances a tendency to passivity and a culture which ignores the development of the Filipino soul.

The third point of Dr. Bautista's paper is that the negative elements of societal resilience can be offset by the creative potential of the concept. As an example, she cited the repression of the Marcos years which forced many groups with varying ideologies to creatively develop new programs and ideas about change. Flexibility of strategies is important if the goal is to develop critical consciousness among the members of society, and the values of national sovereignty, justice, and popular empowerment. In closing, she expressed the hope that the negative effects of crass materialism and the survivor culture will be minimized if Filipinos will imbibe this value of flexibility.

Dr. Patricia B. Licuanan
Vice President for Academic Affairs
Ateneo de Manila University

Dr. Licuanan's paper was a combined quantitative and qualitative assessment of Filipino resiliency during a period of intense crisis and transition. She first presented the statistical data from a survey conducted by the Bishops-Businessmen's Conference on how the

Filipinos perceive their personal situation and the national conditions. Indicators such as the quality of life, perceived socio-economic status, and types of family expenditure suggest an increase in the hope and optimism of the respondents between 1983 and 1985.

A second survey of the BBC measured responses of Filipinos to the Marcos and Aquino administrations. The survey took into consideration respondents' assessment of the political institutions (such as the presidency, the legislature, the military, and political exercises such as elections or plebiscites) as well as aspirations of the people. The data showed a significant increase in favorable responses from the Marcos era to the present administration. These statistical data indicate that Filipinos on the whole have coped with enormous economic and political problems through psychological resources such as optimism.

On the other hand, Dr. Licuanan pro-

vided a qualitative analysis of the Filipino psychology which complemented the statistical data. She explained that the EDSA experience confirms much of the thesis of Reynaldo Ileto's *Pasyon and Revolution*, wherein Filipino Christianity can be a vehicle for social change through non-violent means. The concepts and emotions of the Roman Catholic religion find a resonance in the Filipinos' values and inner integrity. She pointed out that while this type of Christianity which has shaped the consciousness of the majority of the Filipinos can be conservative, it could also be a means of liberation. Dr. Licuanan closed with the reminder that the Exodus was not followed at once by the Promised Land. Filipinos must likewise have to struggle through their own forty years in the wilderness and test the resiliency of their spirit in order to form a unity of consciousness and direction. ■

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editorial

(Continued from page 2)

PDP-Laban	-	43 seats
Laban	-	33 seats
LP Salonga Wing	-	9 seats
Unido	-	14 seats

Unido affiliated winners:

Unido-LB-Salonga	-	1 seat
Unido-CCA-LB	-	4 seats
Unido-CCA	-	2 seats
Unido-Laban-NP	-	1 seat
Unido-KBL-UPP	-	1 seat
Unido-PDP-LB	-	3 seats
Unido-Laban	-	4 seats
Independents	-	21 seats
KBL	-	7 seats
GAD	-	1 seat

GAD affiliated:

KBL-GAD	-	1 seat
NP-GAD	-	6 seats
NP-KBL-GAD	-	1 seat

KBL affiliated:

NP-KBL	-	1 seat
UPP-KBL	-	1 seat
PnB	-	2 seats
NP-Laurel	-	1 seat
Panaghiusa	-	1 seat
Kabaka	-	1 seat
Kaiba	-	1 seat
Laban-Panaghiusa	-	1 seat
Magdalo	-	1 seat
INA	-	1 seat
NP Magdalo	-	1 seat
LP-SW	-	1 seat
Bagong Lakas	-	1 seat
NUCD	-	1 seat
LP	-	7 seats
NP	-	3 seats
Laban-LP	-	3 seats
Laban-LP-Salonga	-	1 seat

Total 184

Not included in the above are the recently sworn members and those appointed under the party list.

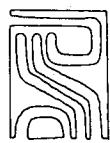
All those who are attending the Congressional sessions number 196.

The members of the Upper House of 24 Senators are distributed as follows:

LABAN-PDP-UNIDO	-	22 seats
GAD	-	2 seats

From the electoral results in the Lower House of Congress, it is easy to see that the people's choices were not solely influenced by the yellow charisma and its irresistible appeal. The traditional politicians have retained their political clout over their constituency regardless of obstacles to dissuade them from getting the votes. It is a fact, though, that the government party coalitions have introduced new names and new personalities in the political scene who must really prove their worth as Legislators and decision-makers during the crucial first term of Congress under Cory Aquino' government. The decisions that they will have to make will not only mean their rise or their fall but the future of the Philippines in its recovery programs in terms of economic wisdom and political will. The effectiveness and the efficiency of the Aquino government will also be their responsibility. But the loose nature of the political coalitions which had resulted from the congressional election is something to guard against. The legislative efforts shall be made fruitful rather than divisive and misleading. The outcome of the forthcoming local election may follow the trend of the congressional election if the members of the government coalition parties don't show their sense of responsibility — that is, the voters will vote for the traditional politicians whose service to the nation had been tested rather than some political neophytes who may not be equal to the task. The government will also have to accept the fact that the Alliance for New Politics will be perennial participants in electoral exercises in the future. While in the May 11 election the people were not quite ready for their political participation in the local elections, they may have better opportunities to win, especially in remote regions.

Finally, it is hoped that for the coming local elections, there would be a faster way of counting the election returns. If NAMFREL will still be there, then it should count the total election returns and not only a portion of it. It is also hoped that the Comelec has learned a lesson and would be more prepared for a clean, honest and free local elections early next year.



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