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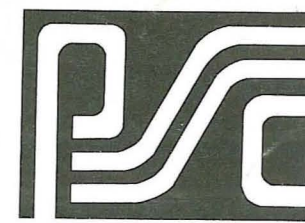
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"Ano nga ba ang nasyonalismo at
 damdaming makabayan kundi pagmamahal
 sa kapwa taong una sa lahat ay kalahi't
 kadugo sa iisang bayan."

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July - September 1992
Vol. 20, No. 3

Contents

Editorial

- 3 Nasyonalismo: Sa Likod ng mga Talumpati at
Palipad Hangin

□ Milagros C. Guerrero, Ph. D.

Main Features

- 7 Filipino Historians and Philippine Nationalism

□ Bonifacio S. Salamanca, Ph. D.

- 12 Mabini's Plan For a Societal Change

□ Judith B. Barroquillo

- 18 Pananaw ni Rizal sa Mabuting Lipunan

□ Noel Teodoro, Ph. D.

Regulars

- 23 PSSC News

- 27 New Books Available at the CSS

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Editorial

■ Milagros C. Guerrero, Ph.D.

Nasyonalismo: Sa Likod ng mga Talumpati at Palipad Hangin

“
Ang realidad ng pulitikang pangdaigdig ay nagbabadya na hindi tayo kasing importante sa bisyon ng Estados Unidos. Tayo-tayo na lamang. At malilining ang tunay na kalaban ng bayan, yaong hindi makabayan.
 ”

Noong nakaraang ika-7 ng Hulyo ng taong ito ay ginunita natin ang ika-isang daang taong anibersaryo ng pagkatatag ng Katipunan. Mula Tutuban hanggang Mindanao, nagpaligsahan ang maraming opisyal ng pamahalaan sa pagdakila kay Andres Bonifacio at pagbibigay halaga, bagamat patianod lamang, sa Himagsikan ng 1896. Sa ilang lugar sa akademya, nabuhay na muli ang debateng hindi na natapos-tapos: Sino daw ang dapat na tanghaling bayaning pambansa, si Rizal ba o si Bonifacio? Si Rizal, anang isang grupo; si Bonifacio, turing naman ng isa pa. Samantala, sa isang bansang nagdaranas ng ibayong pagsubok, ang mga ito'y bahagya nang napansin. Bukod dito, sa estado ng mga identidad at kamalayang pangkasaysayan ng mga Pilipino, higit na maukilkil sa kamalayan ng balana ang imahen nina Gretchen Barretto, Robin Padilla at Richard Gomez.

Bahagi ang pagdiriwang na nabanggit sa higit na malaking paggunita sa mga mahahalagang pangyayari sa ating bayan noong pinakahuling dekada ng nakaraang siglo. Sa maikling panahong ito, lumakas ang kaisipan at kilusang makabayan, yumabong ito sa himagsikang nagsimula noong 1896, nagpatuloy sa pag-unlad sa Digmaang Pilipino-Amerikano noong 1898-1902, at bagama't nagapi ng higit na malakas na puwersa ng Amerika at ng pagkakanulo ng mga nakipagsabwatang mga lider Pilipino sa bagong kapangyarihan ay nagpatuloy pa rin sa mga unang dekada ng kasalukuyang daantaon.

Tungo sa paggunita sa mga pangyayaring ito, tinagurian ang kasalukuyang dekada na “Dekada ng Nasyonalismo” ng nakaraang rehimeng Marcos. Bagamat walang kalatoy-latoy ang ipinakitang interes ng administrasyong Aquino, hindi naman ito pinatay at ngayon nga, sa pagsisimula ng pamahalaang Ramos, patuloy ang malaki't maliit na balakin

tungo sa pagdiriwang ng importanteng dekada sa loob at labas ng pamahalaan at akademya.

Ngunit ano nga ba ang dapat na gunitain sa kasaysayan ng ating himagsikan, sa partikular, at sa kasaysayan ng nasyonalismo? Magkakasya na lamang ba tayo sa pagpapakawala ng mga bukambibig (o *platitudes*) tungkol sa ating mga bayani, at isampid natin sa ating kadakilaan bilang isang lahi ang kanilang kadakilaan na para bang isa itong mitikong magandang sakit na madaling ihawa sa marami. Sapat na ba 'yong mabanggit, sa isang talumpati o papel pangkumperensya, ang pamana't mga aral na iniwan ng ating mga bayani't mga rebolusyonaryo, mga palasak na kasabihang nababanggit taon-taon tuwing sumasapit ang mga pista opisyal na itinatakda sa kalendaryo? Bakit ang mga ito'y tila isang dagliang dapyo ng malamig na hanging hindi makapagbawa at makaginhawa sa bigat ng ating mga dalahin bilang isang bansa?

Tingnan natin ang katotohanan sa likod ng mga naggagandahang talumpati't palipad hangin tungkol sa pagmamahal sa bayan.

Ang nasyonalismong aprobadong ng pamahalaan at ng mga nangungunang institusyon ay tiwalag sa kasaysayan at hindi nakauugat sa karanasan ng mga Pilipino. Kinakailangan ang malalim na pagsusuri upang maliwanagan na ang mga kilusan at mga taong nagnais na makamit ang kalayaan (isang bagay na *abstract* at hindi halos naging bahagi ng loob ng mga Pilipino) noong magtatapos ang nakaraang siglo ay siya ring naging dahilan ng pagkaapi ng maraming mga Pilipino at pagkawala ng kalayaang inaadhika. At ito'y nagpapatuloy sa kasalukuyan.

Kapupulutan ng maraming halimbawa ang ating kasaysayan. Noong 1899, ang mga maykaya at nakauungos sa buhay na bumubuo ng Kongreso ng Malolos ay nagpalutang ng tinatawag na *National Loan Bill* na nagbibigay ng kapangyarihan sa pamahalaan na umutang sa halagang 40 milyong piso. Babayaran ito sa loob ng 40 taon habang ang suskritur/inbestor ay kikita ng anim na porsiyentong interes tuwing ika-anim na buwan. Ang nakasangla sa pautang na ito ay ang mga ari-arian ng bayan. At sino ang magpapatang at magiging administrador ng milyun-milyong piso? Walang iba kundi ang mga mayayamang kapitalistang mga kasapi mismo ng Kongreso. Dadalawampu't apat na katao lamang ang mga ito na bumuo ng isang permanenteng lupon ng nagpapatang. Huwag na nating banggitin pa ang mga pangalan ng mga nangaunang buwaya sa katihan! Tanging si Apolinario Mabini lamang ang nakasilip sa buktot na pakana ng mga ito. Kung hindi makapagbayad ang pamahalaan ni Aguinaldo, ang mga *ilustrado-kasike-prinsipalya* (sa totoo'y iisang uri lamang ito) at ang kanilang mga anak at mga apo ang magmamana ng kayamanan ng buong bansa sapagka't sa kanila mapapapunta ang sedula o buwis na personal ng pinakamaliit na mamamayan. Sa kabutihang palad ay hindi naisabatas ang *bill* na ito at hindi natuloy ang pagiging isang gatasang pangbansa ang Kongreso ng Malolos. Ngunit kung babasahin ang mga talumpati ng mga lider kongreso tungkol sa kanilang kampanya para sa kalayaan ng mga panahong iyon, sino ang makapagsasabi na sila mismo ang nais gumahasa sa bayan?

At ang nakaambang panganib sa mga mamamayang Pilipino ay hindi natuloy. Ang pagsubok sa bayan ay tila walang katapusan sapagkat ang mga pinunong bukambibig ang pagmamahal sa bayan ay kinandili at inaruga ng mga Amerikano. (Mangyari pa, ang mga maliliit na mamamayan na nagpatuloy ng kanilang pakikilabang rebolusyonaryo ay binansagang mga "panatiko" at "tulisan.") Ang sabi nga ng historyador na si Norman Owen, kung wala ang mga lider na ito, tiyak na lilikha ang mga Kano ng isang uring makikipagtu lungsa sa kanila. Kaya nga, sa panahong 1900-1941 nagkaroon ang bansa ng isang lideratong talusira at dalawa ang mukha. Totoong hindi nabawasan ang maigting na nasyonalismo ng mga Pilipino. Sinamantala ito ng ilang kinikilalang lider ng bayan, kasama na si Manule L. Quezon, ang paulit-ulit na kumandidato at kumampanya sa platapormang makabayan ng "kumpleto at tiyak na kalayaan!" gayung lingid sa kaalaman ng bayan, ang kanilang tunay na posisyon ay ang pagpapatuloy ng estadong kolonyal ng Pilipinas ng walang taning na panahong hangganan!

Ang lideratong ito'y wala halos tigil sa kahihingi ng kalayaan sa pamamagitan ng mga misyong pang-independensya habang hindi rin naman ito gumugol ng panahon upang makahanap ng sistemang pangkabuhayan na hahango sa kahirapan idinulot ng "malayang kalakalan" (*free trade*). Ang sistemang ito na umiinog sa pagluluwas ng iilang produktong hilaw ng bansa sa iisang pamilyahan (*Estados Unidos*) ay nakatulong ng malaki sa di mapigilang transpormasyon sa pagkapesante ng malaking bilang ng dating mga malalayang magsasaka. Ang kapalaran ng mga ito'y hawak ng napakaliit na minorya sa lipunan. Ang di makatarungang pamamalakad sa lupa na dinanas ng mga magsasaka sa panahon ng mga Kastila ay nagpatuloy at tumindi sa ibayong pagmamalupit at pang-iinis ng mga "mayroon" sa mga "wala." Noong huling hati ng ikatlong dekada ng siglong ito, sa harap ng pagoorganisa ng uring magsasaka, napilitang maghandog ang Pangulong Quezon ng isang program ng katarungang panlipunan (*social justice*) upang maibsan di-umano ang paghihirap ng nakararami sa lipunan. Noon, kabikabila ang papuri sa kanya dahil dito; ngunit ngayon, ang isang malalimang pagsusuri sa programa'y makapagpapatunay na ito'y hungkag, walang laman, sapagka't hindi tapat at pabalat bunga lamang sa implementasyon. Inalis nito ang ano mang lakas at kapangyarihang mayroon ang mga opisyal ng pamahalaan, sa ehekutibo at lehislatura, na para-parang nagmamay-ari ng malalaking lupain. Ang kapalarang sinapit ng programa ni Quezon ay siya ring naging kapalaran ng sumusunod na mga pagtatangka sa reформа sa lupa pagkatapos ng ikalawang digmaang pandaigdig. Ngunit basahin ang mga talumpati sa tuwing sasapit ang kaarawan ni Rizal o ng anibersaryo ng Pagbabalikwas sa Balintawak at walang salang iindayog ang imahinasyon sa kalayaang halos abot-kamay na bago pumutok ang digmaan noong 1941. Mababanaag sa nakaraang kasaysayan na hindi pa pumuputok ang Bulkang Pinatubo'y abut-abot na ang paghihirap ng mga tao.

At kung nakaligtas man ang bayan sa *National Loan Bill* noong magtatapos ang nakaraang siglo, hindi naman ito nakaalpas sa pangungurakot ng rehimeng Marcos at itong bandang huli, sa di maitatangging malakihan at karumaldumal na pagnanakaw ng salapi ng bayan sa pamamagitan ng tinaguriang *behest loans*. Samantala, hindi lamang ang Gitnang Luzon ang nalunod sa lahar; ang mga buhay at panaginip ng libu-libong mga mamamayan ay kasamang natangay nito. Ang loob ng marami'y hindi matahimik sa kabila ng pagpapasa ng

batas na magtatakda ng 10 bilyong piso dahil sa mga ulat na mismong mga opisyal na lokal at panglalawigan ang nagsasamantala sa kanilang mga kababayan sa Gitnang Luzon. Samantala, maraming lugar sa bansa ang maaaring dumanas ng kapalaran ng Gitnang Luzon kahit na walang bulkan sa mga lugar na ito. Ang walang patumanggang pagkapanot ng ating mga kagubatan at buong pagmamalaking paggahasa sa ating kapaligiran ay magbubunga ng ekolohikal na pagbabago: kung hindi dilubyo, ay pagkatuyot. Ang trahedya ng Ormoc ay isa lamang babala. Sa mataas na antas ng pulitika, pansinin na ang Kalikasan na ang pumasok sa eksena sa problema ng mga base militar upang mabigyan ng resolusyon ang krisis sa pagpapasiya ng pamunuuang Pilipino. Sa pagputok ng bulka'y walang nagawa ang mga Amerikano kundi lisanin ang *Clark Base*. Sapat na marahil na senyales ng langit ang abo't lahar ng Pinatubo; kakampi ng bayan ang bulkan. Ngunit di naglipat taon ay pinag-uusapan na naman ang pagkakabit ng bagong tanikala sa mga kamay ng inang bayan sa pamamagitan ng mga bagong pribehiyong ibibigay sa *Estados Unidos*. Pansinin ang mga aktor na responsable sa mga bagay na ito; silang ang bukambibig ay pagmamahal sa bayan. Ang sitwasyon sa ating bayan ay parang mga eksena mula sa mga dula ni Pirandello; hindi dapat na masilaw sa artipisyal na liwanag, kailangang tumingin sa mga anino upang makita ang katotohanan.

Sa katapusan ng siglo, ang kalaban ng mga Pilipino'y mga Kastilang dahilan ng kanilang kahirapan at kawalan ng katarungan sa lipunan. Pagkuwa'y napalitan ang huli ng isang bagong mananakop na lalo lamang nagpaigting sa kanilang kasawiang palad. Ngayon, ang pinakamalubhang suliraning kinakaharap ng bansa ay ibayong kahirapan pa rin ng mga mamamayan at ng lalo pang pinalaking agwat sa pagitan ng nakararaming mahihirap at iilang mayayaman. Noon, tinalikuran ng lahing Pilipino ang Espanya na ayon kay Bonifacio'y "inang kuhila" at walang habag. Mainam gunitain ang kanyang babala sa tulang "Katapusang Hibik ng Pilipinas": "Sa 'sang maliwalanag ngayon ay sasabog/ and barila't kanyon katulad ay kulog/ang sigwang masasal ng dugong aagos/ ng kanilang bala na nagpapamook." Ngayon, wala nang Inang Espanyang maaaring itakwil at kalabanin dahil sa kanyang pagmamalupit. Ang realidad ng pulitikang pangdaigdig ay nagbabadya na hindi tayo kasing importante sa bisyon ng *Estados Unidos*. Tayo-tayo na lamang. At malilining ang tunay na kalaban ng bayan, yaong hindi makabayan. Pasisinungalingan ang mga magagandang pananalita tungkol sa pagmamahal sa bayan kung makikitang tumbalik naman dito ang kanilang mga gawa. Sinasabing ang kasalukuyang administrasyon ay may bisyon ng pagbabago na may apat na haligi: maka-Diyos, makatao, makabansa, at maka-kalikasan. Sana, hindi lamang itong pananalitang pang-akit at pangligaw. Ano nga ba ang nasyonalismo at damdaming makabayan kundi pagmamahal sa kapwa taong una sa lahat ay kalahi't kadugo sa iisang bayan.

Milagros C. Guerrero, Ph. D., vice-president of the Philippine Historical Association, is presently teaching at the Department of History, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City.

In a paper read during the 10th Annual Seminar of the Philippine Historical Association (PHA), the late Fr. Horacio de la Costa, S.J., said that the occasional uprisings and revolts by our forefathers before Rizal's time "were not national for the simple reason that Filipinos were not yet conscious of (their) nationality". "But in Rizal's time," the well-known Jesuit historian continued, "this was no longer true. By that time Filipinos had become conscious of themselves as a nation..."

Six years later, then UP President Salvador P. Lopez told a similar gathering: "The proclamation of Philippine independence on June 12, 1898 formalized our aspiration to freedom and symbolized our attainment of nationhood."

Filipino Historians and Philippine Nationalism

Bonifacio S. Salamanca, Ph. D.*

The above statements inform us that Filipinos were already one people before the turn of the century, instead of the "many peoples" they had been earlier; that their consciousness of nationality by Rizal's time had triggered a successful war for Philippine independence, whose proclamation on June 12, 1898 represented our attainment of nationhood. Viewed in the context of the colonial struggles for emancipation in modern times, this was a remarkable and impressive achievement — it was the first in the world of Colonial Asia — something Filipinos can rightly be proud of.

Today, however, almost a century after our attainment of nationhood, we are assailed by strong doubts and reservations about our nationalism.

Thus, we are constantly reminded by our national leaders of the need for national unity, especially in these critical times. Thus, we are warned that the solidarity forged during the "EDSA Revolution" may be disintegrating too soon with dire consequences to our country's future. Thus, these words by a high official of the previous regime:

We can disagree and debate on the burning issues of the day. But we should be ever mindful of

the common realities that bind us to work for no other but the welfare and prosperity of our country.

Last but not least, there is the disturbing finding of an empirically-based study that a whopping majority of Filipino school children would rather be citizens of another country than grow up as Filipinos.

Did something go wrong in the long interval between the 1890s and the 1980s? Or has our sense of nationhood, or love of country, been well all along but we had assumed it wasn't? If it really was never intense, why was this so? What has been done all these years to strengthen our nationalism or sense of commitment? Lastly, what ought to be done further about it?

These are some of the questions to which the historian cannot claim possession of the answers. But, because of his calling, he is perhaps in a better position than his fellow social scientists to offer some. Herein lies one of the ways a historian can

contribute towards instilling a deeper love of country: by looking at the experience of his people — an endeavor he is uniquely prepared to undertake — he can provide an intelligent understanding of contemporary reality, e.g. the current state of Filipino nationalism. The knowledge thus gained could, hopefully, constitute the basis for suggested courses of social action by the national leadership. In this connection, one recalls to mind the observation by the late Don Rafael Palma, statesman, nationalist, and a historian in his own right, that history teaches a people "what to do in each stage of its development in the light of its past experiences".

What does an inquiry into our past since 1898 tell us? To begin with, it is that we had scarcely attained nationhood when we found ourselves drifting into a collision with the United States, our erstwhile ally against Spain. The ensuing Filipino-American War was therefore the first major challenge to our nationhood, a challenge we probably could have overcome had we been more tenacious in our armed resistance, like the Vietnamese Communists against the very same power three-quarters of a century later.

If the Filipino-American War was a telling frontal physical blow to our nationhood, what followed was no less devitalizing both to our nationalist aspirations and unity. For after imposing its sovereignty over the Philippines with brute force the United States channeled its imperialist energies towards the material and social development of our country, with the end in view of establishing a government that, though initially not of and by the Filipino people, was

ward's principal exports, effected an enduring reconciliation between Philippine nationalism and American imperialism. This reconciliation had a considerable effect on the nationalists' ideal of independence. Twice during the first twenty years of American rule, American high officials were at once flattered and baffled by the Filipino leaders' disavowal of independence. So it was in 1900, when the Partido Federal proposed Philippine statehood within the American Federal Union. And so it was in 1914 and even after, when Manuel Quezon and other key Nationalistas toyed with the idea of a dominion status for the Philippines under American protection for an indefinite period.

“

In retrospect, it probably would have been better for Filipino nationalism had the U.S. steadfastly refused the demand of the Filipino elite for a categorical statement of Philippine independence policy.

”

patently for them. The U.S. also undertook putative steps to solve the vexatious friar question and unwittingly or unconsciously embarked on a mini-agrarian reform program through the purchase of the friar *haciendas*. The American colonial administration, as it were, thus helped the Filipino realize the social and economic objectives of their earlier nationalist movement against Spain.

Above all, the American government “co-opted” the Filipino elite — the *ilustrados* and landed, or provincial gentry — into the colonial regime. From the outset, three of them — Dr. T.H. Pardo de Tavera, Benito Legarda and Jose de Luzurriaga — were appointed to the Philippine Commission, the highest policy-making body in the Philippines. Filipino participation in decision-making would then be tremendously enhanced with the creation of the Philippine Assembly in 1907. By 1916, only the Governor-General and Vice Governor-General remained as the American participants in the highest level of decision-making; even such participation would cease with the establishment of the Philippine Commonwealth in 1935.

The co-optation of the Filipino elite by a colonial regime which also provided a huge market for its

The collaboration of the Filipino elite — the other side of the coin — had, logically, other important effects. It robbed the Filipino armed resistance against the U.S. of its leadership, if not also of its legitimacy. The peasant fighters were abandoned to carry on a lingering guerrilla war, and must have felt betrayed by their more educated and affluent countrymen who were allowing themselves to be coopted by the Americans. Worse, the Filipino elite did not undertake tangible moves to soothe this feeling of betrayal. Instead, during the first fifteen years of American rule they devoted their efforts, with a lot of bombast, to securing from the United States a firm commitment to a policy of independence. When this was accomplished in 1916, with the enactment of the Jones Law, the same elite then spent most of their time competing for supremacy in Philippine politics. Such dramatics inhibited serious consideration of urgent socioeconomic reforms; and when vocal but legitimate protests were aired, their advocates would be sternly reminded of the “discipline of independence”, of the need to present a united stance before the Americans. Should such admonitions fail to deter ugly uprisings at the countryside aimed at activating reforms, the American-trained and led Philippine Constabulary could always be unleashed.

In retrospect, it probably would have been better for Filipino nationalism had the U.S. steadfastly refused the demand of the Filipino elite for a categorical statement of Philippine independence policy. For this would, in all likelihood, have radicalized the nationalist movement and compelled the governing elite to promise attractive socioeconomic reforms as a means of convincing the peasants and urban poor, whom they had earlier

deserted, to join the battle once more for *independencia*, for nationhood. Philippine history would have taken another turn. The political leadership would have transformed itself into a reforming elite, and a more cohesive Filipino society would have emerged thereby, instead of a fractious society of rich and poor, each suspicious of the other.

But this scenario did not happen — because the U.S. did not cooperate. In 1916, as we have mentioned earlier, it formally promised to withdraw from the Philippine colonial venture — upon the establishment of a “stable government”. The redemption of that promise would be facilitated by the Great Depression, which started in 1929. As every student of Philippine political history knows, that event set in motion the forces in the U.S. that would result in the passage of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting and Tydings-McDuffie Acts in the early thirties.

We did not have to fight the U.S., once more, for her to set us back on the road to independence.

It may be suggested that by 1916, if not earlier, the campaign for independence as a unifying force in Philippine political life had begun to lose its potency and mystique. Thereafter, only the elite would be deeply committed to it — at least as public manifestations went — especially on account of the brusque and unsympathetic Governor-General Leonard Wood. And although the vast majority of the Filipinos publicly supported their leaders in the latter's quarrels with General Wood, it is still probably correct to say that the zest of their earlier passion for *independencia* had considerably waned.

The national leadership and other elites were no doubt plainly aware of this reality. They therefore hastened to seek fresh or new anchors for Philippine nationalism, or Filipino loyalty, to augment a fading aspiration and discipline for independence. They sought one in an ethical code for all Filipinos.

The first on record to be offered was the “Decalogue” of *Ang Bagong Katipunan*, an organization established in the early thirties under the leadership of then Speaker Manuel A. Roxas of the House of Representatives. Internal evidence suggests a contribution by Dr. Jorge C. Bocobo, at the time Dean of the U.P. College of Law and an adviser to Roxas.

A more important document was the “Code of Ethics of the Commonwealth of the Philippines,” or simply “Quezon's Citizenship Code,” which became an integral part of the curricula of all levels of the educational system during the second semester of academic year 1939-1940. Again, there is strong reason to believe that Bocobo, then Secretary of Public Instruction, had a hand in framing the Code.

The immediate background of this Code gives us an idea of the probable reason for its issuance. On his 60th birthday (i.e., August 19, 1938), President Quezon once more scolded his countrymen for their easy-going ways and tendency towards parasitism, their lack of earnestness and “skin-deep” patriotism. Such a life, Quezon bewailed, was in sharp contrast to the exemplary conduct and heroism of our forefathers, who had led a life of toil and communal service, each considering himself “an active part of the politic”. “But,” lamented Quezon, “these traditions are either lost or forgotten. They exist only as a hazy mist in our distant past. We must revive them for we need the anchorage of our political and social obligations.”

A casual perusal of the “Decalogue” of *Ang Bagong Katipunan* and of “Quezon's Citizenship Code” suggests that those who formulated them were

“For this [U.S. refusal to make a categorical policy statement on Philippine Independence] would, in all likelihood, have radicalized the nationalist movement and compelled the governing elite to promise attractive socioeconomic reforms as a means of convincing the peasants and urban poor, whom they had earlier deserted, to join the battle once more for *independencia*, for nationhood.”

steeped in Philippine history and culture. They must have been professional historians or serious students of our nation's history, for them to be able to distill so well the ethical heritage of the Filipino people.

Before leaving the political leadership's efforts to foster love of country before World War II, a brief mention should also be made of the National Economic Protectionism Association (NEPA). The entity was formally incorporated on November 19,

1934 and is, by the way, still ongoing. Evidently a reincarnation of the short-lived *Ang Bagong Katipunan*, this organization of Filipino business and landed elites preached through the media, popular gatherings and the schools, the gospel of economic nationalism as well as that of "mutual help, of the need of intelligent citizenship and of stronger spirit of national union in every effort to build up for this country a solid, sound, lasting foundation."

It was this conjunction of government and private efforts to ground nationalism on Filipino civics and values, to reinforce a nationalism anchored principally on the rhetoric of independence, which transformed the Philippine nationalist movement into one of Filipinism.

By all accounts, Filipino behavior during the Second World War attests to the success of the prewar efforts to nurture Philippine nationalism, or to instill Filipinism. Filipinos from all walks of life and social stations responded to the call to arms and fought side by side at Bataan and Corregidor — which readily became symbols of national identification — and continued the struggle in unrelenting guerrilla warfare against the Japanese. Such manifestations of national unity and love of country no doubt helped convince U.S. President Harry S. Truman to disregard advice that the withdrawal of American sovereignty be postponed beyond 1946, when the country should have fully recovered from the ravages of war.

Unfortunately, wartime efforts collapsed soon after 1946, despite the compelling necessity to sustain it for the rapid rehabilitation of our devastated economy and reconstruction of our shattered social institutions. Instead, Filipinism sank to a new low, as the Huk rebellion gathered momentum and corrupt officials cynically robbed the nation of much needed funds. All along, Presidents Roxas and Quirino repeatedly appealed — amidst mounting anguish and frustration — to the people's sense of national unity and love of country. But, with very negligible effect, if any: something was palpably wrong with Filipino nationalism.

It was to strengthen national unity that two movements were launched in the latter half of the fifties, enterprises in which Filipino historians actively participated. The first was the enactment of the Rizal Law (R.A. No. 1425). A prominent Filipino historian reportedly prepared the initial draft of the bill; thereafter the historical fraternity served as a passionate interest group during the odyssey of the bill until it was signed into law on June 12, 1956.

By that time, the late UP History Professor Gabriel F. Fabella, Sr., had already started the campaign to make June 12 a day to remember by all Filipinos. As founding PHA (Philippine Historical Association) president, Prof. Fabella convinced the association, with the understandably strong support of the Veterans of the Philippine Revolution, particularly General Aguinaldo, to petition the Congress and President of the Republic in 1960, "to adopt and declare June 12 of every year as Independence Day" for the country. Rather surprisingly, then President Carlos P. Garcia, of "Filipino first" fame, failed to act on the petition, which his successor eventually did through Proclamation 28 of May 12, 1962. Congress subsequently passed a law (R.A. 4166) on August 4, 1964, formalizing the transfer of Philippine Independence Day from a colonial July 4th to one that is a more authentic symbol of the Filipino nation.

Three years later, the Movement for the Advancement of Nationalism (MAN) was launched in Manila. A professional historian and an English instructor turned student of history were among the initiators of MAN, which was "inspired by the nationalistic and patriotic teachings and struggles of our revolutionary heroes and other great leaders..." One who goes over the constitution of MAN cannot but be reminded of Rizal's *La Liga Filipina* and Roxas' *Ang Bagong Katipunan*.

The decade of the seventies is one of the most exciting periods in our contemporary history. It was, among others, the decade when Proclamation 1081 was issued placing the entire country under martial law for almost a decade. It was also the time when a constitutional convention was convened to write a new constitution for the Filipino people, one that would be more reflective and expressive of their aspirations, values and temperament. Framed in a setting of national independence, the 1973 Constitution is understandably a more nationalist charter, and from that perspective, at least, a better one than the colonial document it replaced.

The decade of the seventies is significant in yet another respect, at least, from the standpoint of this paper: at the beginning of the decade, representatives of several civic organizations — including the executive director of the PHA — conceived the *Mabuhay ang Filipino Movement*. Formally launched in 1972, MPM was initially organized for the purpose of re-awakening among our citizens their pride in being Filipinos. Coopted by the martial law regime, MPM later broadened its goal to include the mobilization of the private sector in the crusade for

national renewal and progress. Unfortunately, internal bickerings and its reputed image as a "tool" of the administration – several men in government and in the armed forces, including a presidential assistant and Chief of Civil Relations of the Army were prominent in the movement – contributed to the decline of MPM.

It was a view to energizing MPM that a small group within MPM, together with the two officers of the PHA (among them the author) formed *Binhing Makabayan*. The founders envisioned *Binhing Makabayan* as a "national movement to serve as a rallying point and a catalyzer for individual and group efforts towards national renewal and progress" and as a structural reflection of the "harmonization and synchronization of the people's and (their) leaders' advocacy of nationalism both in theory and practice." Alas, after a modest but successful debut at Calamba on June 19, 1981, *Binhing Makabayan* soon lapsed into inactivity. It is now more moribund than the movement it had planned to energize.

The late President Quezon once said: "People no longer long for a country simply because they were born there. They must see and feel that in that country they enjoy a happy life, that they have an opportunity to improve their lot."

This Quezonian insight may sound shocking, if not cynical, to those of us who have an abiding faith in the efficacy of national symbols in generating patriotic feelings or a sense of nationhood, but, unfortunately, there is a ring of truth to it. Americans today, according to a recent cover story of *Time* magazine, are exuding a patriotic feeling unprecedented over the last couple of decades. This "ebullient surge" *Time* has attributed to visible material prosperity and economic abundance, likewise unprecedented over the past 15 years; to the reality that life had never been better for most Americans; and to the buoyant optimism that the future could be just as good, if not better.

The Philippines today is not exactly the paradise that we would like it to be, to put it mildly. To many of our countrymen, there just doesn't seem to be a bright future out here. This could very well be one strong reason why we don't witness a desirable commitment on the part of our people, why we appear to be still "a nation in the making." Yet, precisely because we are momentarily denied the generative effect of abundance and of enjoyment of a good life, the more reason we should strive to seek an alternative method

of intensifying our love of country, something which is well within our capacity to undertake.

I have in mind a more sustained study and teaching of history – our history in particular. This is not being naive or quixotic. As my late mentor at Yale, Prof. Hajo Holborn, has written: "In the growth of modern nationalism the influence of the teaching of history is of primary significance..." To our own Rafael Palma, among "the sources of knowledge that nourish and intensify one's love of country is History". Thus, Palma, wisely counseled, that from "childhood we should study the history of our country"; this means the teaching of Philippine history at all levels of the educational system – both private and public – as prescribed by professional historians.

"Education," according to Rousseau, "ought to give national form to the soul of the people and guide their opinions and tastes in such a way that they will become patriots through inclination, through passion, through necessity." That is how it should be. But education will be an effective medium for welding Filipinos into a nation and for making them patriots through inclination, passion, and necessity only if it is informed by Philippine history.

This, then is the challenge that awaits Filipino historians and educators. In partnership with the government and other relevant institutions of society, it should not be impossible – through the proper teaching of our history – to produce Filipinos who can truthfully repeat these moving words of Rizal, our national hero:

"In my heart I have suppressed all loves except that of my motherland; in my mind, I have erased all ideas which do not signify her progress; and my lips have forgotten the names of the native races in the Philippines in order not to say more than Filipinos." □

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Mabini's Plan For a Societal Change

Judith B. Barroquillo*

Introduction

A die-hard nationalist and philosopher, Mabini was a political and moral leader of the Philippine Revolution. He was among the early *ilustrados* who worked for the assimilation of the Philippines as a regular province of Spain. He remained a pacifist during the first phase of the Revolution (1896-1897). However, the events of Biac-na-bato and their consequences changed his mind and he joined the Revolution.

Mabini was a home-grown intellectual but he was brilliant and well-read. His knowledge of world geo-politics of the late 19th century gave him a foresight of American economic interest in the Pacific. He did not believe the Americans when they promised Aguinaldo that they will help the Filipinos fight for freedom. He warned his compatriots but his warning remained unheard and many of his suggestions were overruled. Nevertheless, he remained as the adviser of the Revolution.

Mabini perceived that the 1896 Revolution was not only a political but also a moral revolution. He said that the prerequisite to the attainment of the goals of the revolution was to have independence which he believed at that time could be achieved only with the force of arms. The old and oppressive Spanish government must be destroyed and a new one that is democratic should be established, free from exploitation. This would represent a system in which the fundamental demands of the Reform Movement would be made viable. These were the ideas that dwelt in Mabini's mind which he expressed in his three documents, namely: *Ordenanzas de la Revolucion*, the *Verdadero Decalogo*, and the *Programa Constitucional de la Republica Filipina*. The three documents put together comprised a compendium of Mabini's political and moral ideas.

Copies of these documents reached Aguinaldo when he was still in Hongkong. Since he needed a man of proven patriotism who could counsel him on political matters, he decided to take Mabini as his adviser.

The Beginning of Mabini's Liberalism

Apolinario Mabini was the second among the eight children of Inocencio Leon Mabini and Dionisia Magpantay Maranan, farmers of the barrio of Talaga, Tanawan, Batangas. Apolinario was born on July 23, 1864. His education was a continuous struggle against poverty but despite these difficulties he succeeded in his studies. He finished law in 1894 from the University of Santo Tomas.

Mabini's introduction to the secret literature of the Propaganda Movement was through Numeriano Adriano, a founding member of Rizal's *La Liga Filipina* under whom Mabini worked as his assistant in Adriano's Law office. Rizal's novels and his other writings depicting the miseries of the Filipinos as well as other stimulating articles published in the *La Solidaridad* influenced Mabini's decision to join the Reform Movement. In 1892, he joined Masonry and in 1893 he joined the *La Liga Filipina* which he and Adriano revived that year.

As a Reformist Mabini stood for the attainment of social betterment by peaceful and legal means. He believed that the educated segment of society should be the leaders in this movement because they were in a better position to mold society in accordance with the canons of reason and natural law.

From reform to revolution

The Katipunan was discovered in 1896. Numeriano and his colleagues were arrested and later executed. Apolinario Mabini was also arrested on the charge that he had been a member of the *La Liga Filipina*. As early as January 1896, Mabini had contracted paralysis of both legs. Because of his condition, he was imprisoned in San Juan de Dios Hospital. The general amnesty proclaimed by General Primo de Rivera on May 17, 1897 set him free. He went to Los Baños hoping that the hot springs there could restore his physical strength. It was during this time that he pondered that with the failure of the Reform Movement, the only recourse for the Filipinos to get the reforms they wanted was through a

revolution. It was also during his confinement when he wrote his three documents, which he believed could give direction to the Revolution.

Mabini felt that it was his duty to give suggestions to end the revolution successfully. He observed that the terms set by the Pact of Biac-na-bato were being violated by both the Filipinos and the Spaniards. He feared that the fighting might resume and end in the same way as before. So he wrote Gen. Paciano Rizal and expressed his desire to give his services to the movement. His *Ordenanzas de la Revolucion* was the first document to be implemented.

On April 24, 1898, Spain declared war against the United States. Mabini right away grasped the implication of the situation regarding the Philippines. Mabini wrote a letter to the Revolutionary leaders alerting them of the probability that the American fleet could appear in the Philippines. Considering that Spain was already weak, she would sue for peace and the United States might impose the condition, that Spain should cede to them a part of the Philippines. Mabini advised that should this happen, Filipinos should let the Spaniards and the Americans alone to fight it out between themselves. Meanwhile, the government of the Filipinos should be organized and once established, it would be in a better position to deal with the winning forces.

A copy of this plan fell into Aguinaldo's hands. Aguinaldo was impressed by the ideas of Mabini and upon his return to Cavite in May 1898 to resume the revolution, he decided to call Mabini to help in the movement.

Mabini's participation in the revolution

Mabini was brought in a hammock carried by soldiers all the way from Bay, Laguna to Kawit, Cavite arriving on June 12, 1898 in time for the proclamation of the Philippine Independence that afternoon. From that day, Mabini became Aguinaldo's principal adviser, replacing Ariston Rianzares Bautista, the author of the June 12 proclamation.

Mabini's influence was immediately felt. On June 23, a decree drafted by Mabini was promulgated by Aguinaldo changing the dictatorial government into a constitutional one. This was in accordance with the guidelines set by the *Ordenanzas*. The Proclamation defined the objectives of the government and urged the well-to-do and the educated segment of society to support the revolution.

The decree made adequate provisions for the conduct of the national affairs. Consequently, the

towns and provinces were organized as they fell into the Revolutionary forces following the plan laid out in the *Ordenanzas de la Revolucion*.

The Ordenanzas de la Revolucion

The *Ordenanzas* explained how the Revolution was to be organized and directed. It presented a general outline for the establishment of a republic: the political, administrative, economic, military, and judicial organization of the proposed revolutionary government. This later on served as the matrix for the many organic laws written by Mabini.

The document gave Mabini's definition of a revolution as a violent means utilized by the people to regain their natural and inalienable rights by overthrowing a government and substituting it with another "more in consonance with reason and justice." A revolution, therefore, ought not to be an expression of the will merely to destroy but should rather represent an attempt to establish a government signifying progress and absolute absence of any form of tyranny.

Mabini justified the revolution against Spain by asserting that the Spaniards had subjected the Filipinos to indignities, denied them justice and opportunities for education, and violated their inalienable rights. He said that the function of government is essentially to prevent the violation of the individual's natural rights and give him the opportunity to enjoy the fruits of his labor.

Mabini explained that man was conceived as a creature of God and possessed of certain inalienable rights, called natural rights, based on natural law. Natural law is the law created by God, promulgated in the conscience of man and discoverable by reason. By the fact that man was given life, man is enjoined by natural law to preserve it. Consequently, man has the right to seek those means necessary to maintain and perpetuate his life. But since life is purposive, man has to work for what is good and just. Nobody therefore should prevent any man from enjoying his natural rights. And Mabini claimed that the Spanish Government perpetuated in the Philippines the violation of the Filipinos' natural rights.

The *Ordenanzas* stipulated that once the Revolution succeeds and their independence is realized, the people will be ready for a republic. The republic will represent a social system in which the people would be able to enjoy their rights, since the people themselves will elect their representatives who

would be given the authority to bring about the common well-being.

One of the powers of authority was identified with the executive branch of the government and conceived by Mabini as being localized in one person elected by the members of society. On him was conferred by common consent the right to command others and claim obedience from them. Such an authority has to be guided by natural law in all his actions; but since he is human, it might be possible that he might disregard this moral limitation and begin to act arbitrarily. To prevent such possible tyranny, Mabini suggested that the members of society should elect a group of men that will determine the limitations of the power of the executive authority and the extent of how much force and resources he needs in order to fulfill his mission. This group of men is identified as the legislative branch. Both the executive and the legislative branches are to have direct sanction, with the latter serving as check to the possible abuses of the former.

Both the executive and the legislative represented two aspects of authority in society, or simply in government. The third one was the judiciary, which Mabini said is the conscience that judges and punishes those who are bad. These three powers should be independent of one another, in the sense that one should not encroach upon the functions of the other; but the last two should be subordinated to the first, in the same manner that both will and conscience are subordinate to the intellect. But this "subordination" did not imply a radical degree of importance. It meant a difference of function and electoral responsibility. In the final analysis, all the three branches of government are responsible to the people.

Mabini sincerely believed that it was through a good political institution that the citizens could be guaranteed the maximum well-being. In turn, the government expects the citizens to be virtuous and eminently patriotic. To guide the people towards this view, Mabini had his other two documents, the *Verdadero Decalogo* and his *Programa Constitucional de la Republica Filipina*, distributed among the people, especially the masses.

The Verdadero Decalogo

Mabini perceived the Revolution as having a two-fold aspect: the internal and external. The external revolution was the process of destroying the

Spanish rule and all the bad attitudes ingrained in the minds of the Filipinos like blind obedience, so many superstitions, selfish interests, and others. The internal revolution signified that the people had to change their attitudes, their ways of thinking, and behavior towards each other and towards their social institutions, and that there should be a regeneration.

However, Mabini emphasized that the external revolution had to succeed first, that absolute



independence be attained to make an internal revolution possible. It is clear then that the two aspects of the revolution are intimately intertwined for it is impossible to bring about the reforms wanted and needed by the people as long as the country is under foreign rule.

Mabini wrote the *Verdadero Decalogo* (True Decalogue) as a moral code for the people to adhere to and eventually bring about a national discipline. It can be briefly summarized as follows: (1) It exhorts the love of God and one's honor; God as the fountain of truth and justice, and honor as a force causing men to become truthful, just, and industrious; (2) God is to be worshipped in a manner dependent on the conscience of man. Conscience is the faculty which singles out what is good or evil; (3) It is a duty to develop one's talent but always within the path of what is judged as good and just; (4) The nation is to be

loved as the patrimony of the race, something inherited from the ancestors to become the future of their descendants; (5) The happiness of the nation should have precedence over that of the individual; (6) Independence is to be a major aspiration; (7) The people are not to recognize any person as an authority unless he has been properly elected by the people; (8) The people are to work for the formation of a republic and reject a monarchy. The republic makes the people noble, dignified by their reason while a monarch ennobles a single family or a group of families; (9) One's neighbor should be loved but should he attempt to destroy one's life he can be annihilated for the supreme law of self-preservation prevails; and (10) One should consider his countrymen more than his neighbor with whom he is bound by common aspirations and interests.

Mabini's critics considered his "True Decalogue" blasphemous for writing the qualification "true" before the title. They opined that it was an aspiration

light that one's neighbor is also a member of the nation; but over and above the moral and social relation with one's neighbor, a political consciousness of his neighbor's role is essential.

The ninth precept gives Mabini's idea that society is a group of individuals pledged to render aid to one another for the common good which one cannot attain by himself, i.e., man needs the cooperation of his fellowmen.

The Programa Constitucional de la Republica Filipina

Mabini's constitutional program was never implemented for it was Felipe Calderon's constitutional plan that was approved by the Malolos Congress. Nevertheless, it is important to study Mabini's constitution because it embodied the democratic principles then prevailing in the late 19th century in Europe. It is reflective of Mabini having been influenced by the political ideas of the French

"Mabini envisioned that the implementation of his constitutional program would have continued the internal revolution. In time it could have served as a connective medium for the re-orientation of Filipino values."

to be greater than God; that it claimed that the Ten Commandments given to Moses by God were false, hence God himself is false. Mabini explained that he used the qualification "true" because he took the decalogue seriously; and that if the people would adhere to it, it would give them liberty and ultimately independence.

Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista considered the second precept blasphemous when it provided that God was to be worshipped in the manner the individual's conscience deemed it proper and righteous. Bautista said that this might make some individuals believe that human sacrifices were proper as needed by their religion. But Mabini propounded on the idea of natural law. He said man is equipped with reason and virtue based on natural law, divorced from revelations which is adhered to by some people.

Trinidad Pardo de Tavera believed that the (True Decalogue's) tenth is contradictory to its ninth commandment. This precept could be taken in the

revolution.

Mabini's Constitution provided for a republican government. The provisions in the 130 articles are grouped into ten titles in the following order: citizens and individual rights, territory, the Congress, the Senate, provincial and local governments, the Executive Department, the Judiciary, taxation, the military, and public instruction. Most of these democratic provisions are now found in our present Constitution. I will point out a few which I consider relevant to certain issues that confront our government today.

The Bill of Rights under Mabini's Constitution provided that the Philippines must not have a state religion, leaving religion to individual's choice.

Mabini's Constitution was in favor of requiring a civil marriage prior to any religious wedding ceremony.

It also provided for the abolition of capital punishment based on the principle that punishment ought to be remedial in nature.

Mabini also urged that political rights be granted to women. Mabini believed that if women were honored and respected, they would develop national consciousness and would be better able to teach their children patriotism.

The last provision was on education. It provided for public instruction in all towns for both sexes; encouragement of each province to attempt to establish free secondary and college education and a central university in the capital; the use of Tagalog as the official language; and teaching of English and French in the secondary education. Mabini considered education to be one of the most important factors in social progress. It would make the people virtuous and aware of their political rights and duties. In brief, education was to serve a political and moral end.

Mabini envisioned that the implementation of his constitutional program would have continued the internal revolution. In time it could have served as a connective medium for the re-orientation of Filipino values.

Mabini and the Malolos Congress: Malolos Constitution

After the fall of Manila to the Americans on August 13, 1898, the Revolutionary Government accelerated the organization of the towns and provinces. On September 15, 1898, Aguinaldo convoked the Revolutionary Congress in the Basilica of Barasoain in Malolos, Bulacan. The Congress then decided to frame a constitution, which Mabini objected to on the ground that the Congress was there only to advise Aguinaldo and that once the constitution was formed the government would never be able to enter into any form of negotiation with the Americans, except within the absolute premise of the constitution. However, Mabini was defeated by the majority in the Congress headed by its elected president, Pedro Paterno. The Congress approved the Constitution drafted by Felipe Calderon on September 28, 1898.

Calderon's Constitution provided for a legislative branch superior to the executive branch. It provided for a permanent commission which would sit as the law-making body if the Congress was not in session. The Cabinet was responsible to the Assembly, not to the President. Calderon reasoned out that the legislative branch had to predominate because it was

composed of the representatives of the people. Calderon was afraid of a dictatorship of Aguinaldo backed by his loyal, ignorant military men.

Mabini argued that with the imminent war with the Americans, it was important that the executive branch be given the power to make decisions during critical situations. Besides, Mabini said that the Assembly was not truly representative of the people since many of them were only appointed by Aguinaldo. Anyway, Aguinaldo who was afraid to antagonize Calderon's group, composed mostly of the educated and the wealthy who loaned or gave money for the support of the revolution, promulgated Calderon's Constitution. On January 23, 1899, the Philippine Republic was inaugurated with Emilio Aguinaldo as President.

The Treaty of Paris was signed on December 10, 1898 ceding the Philippines to the United States. Mabini vehemently protested this intrusion on the sovereignty of the Philippine Islands, but eventually, war broke out between the Filipinos and the Americans in February 1899.

After the fall of Malolos to the Americans, McKinley offered autonomy to the Filipinos under the United States government. Mabini urged the Filipinos to continue their struggle for independence but prominent members of Congress opted to accept the offer of autonomy and they asked Aguinaldo to repudiate Mabini's stand on independence and relieve him as President of a new Cabinet. Under this pressure, Aguinaldo on May 6, 1899 notified Mabini of the formation of the Cabinet. On May 7, Mabini resigned and left for Rosales, Pangasinan. Aguinaldo, on the other hand, continued the struggle by resorting to guerilla warfare. He finally hid in Palanan, Isabela from where he conducted the war.

By January 1900, the guerilla warfare had not been completely extinguished and the Americans exiled the Filipinos who were still sympathetic to the "insurgents" to Guam. Among them was Apolinario Mabini. In Guam, he wrote his book, *La Revolucion Filipina*, which presented his views on the major events and personalities of the Revolution. After the capture of Aguinaldo, the United States proclaimed the end of insurrection in the Philippines and offered amnesty to the prisoners in Guam. Mabini refused because of the requirement that he had to take an oath of allegiance to the United States.

By February 1903, Mabini felt that he was getting weak. He was afraid to die away from home so he decided to return to the Philippines on the condition

that he be allowed to take the oath after landing in Manila. Mabini was back to his home in Nagtahan by February 26, 1903. Unfortunately, on the evening of May 13, 1903, he died a victim of the cholera epidemic that raged Manila. True enough, he had come back solely to die.

Conclusion

This paper has presented the political and moral ideas of Mabini which is the essence of his nationalism: freedom and emancipation, tandem to national unity. This vision he nursed at a time when it was political treason for a Spanish subject to conceive a society independent of Spain. But he worked tenaciously for it. His ideas were noble, majestic, and inspiring to the Filipino people. That is why he is called the "Sublime Paralytic".

What was Mabini's vision of a good society? Circa 1898: A nation that is absolutely independent, democratic (that which respects the rights of man and upholds his dignity, allows freedom and opportunity for self-improvement as well as participation in the decisions vitally affecting the individual, the family and community), and one where there is national consciousness, where the individual is willing to put national interest above his own. Circa 1991: How does our nation fit into Mabini's mold? ☐

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Pananaw ni Rizal sa Mabuting Lipunan

Noel Teodoro, Ph. D.*



Hindi bago ang paksa na nauukol sa "Pananaw ni Rizal sa Mabuting Lipunan" at marami-rami na rin namang mga pag-aaral ang lumabas tungkol dito. Kabilang sa mga ito ang *The Political and Constitutional Ideas of the Philippine Revolution* (1967) at *A Critique of Rizal's Concept of Filipino Nation* (1959) ni Cesar Majul, *The Ideas of Liberalism in the Fiction of Rizal* (1965) ni Petronilo Bn. Daroy, at *Rizal and the Philippine Revolution* (1963) ni Teodoro Agoncillo. Gayunpaman, maibabatas ang pagtalakay hinggil sa pag-unawa ni Rizal sa *ideal* u huwaring lipunan sa mga ideya na inilad at matatagpuan sa mga pangunang batis ng kanyang kaisipan gaya, halimbawa, ng dalawang nobela, *Noli Me Tangere* (1887) at *El Filibusterismo* (1891), at itatlong mahabatang sanaysay — (1) "Liham sa mga Kabubayang Dalaga sa Malolos" (1889), (2) "*Filipinas dentro de cien años*" ("Pilipinas sa Loob ng Sandaang Taon," 1889), (3) "*Sobre la indolencia de los filipinos*" ("Tungkol sa Katamaman ng mga Pilipino," 1890) — na pulos inilualw noong panahon ng Kilusang Repormista sa Espanya, mula 1882 hanggang 1896.

Ipinapakita sa mga akda ni Rizal, hindi lamang ang larawang-diwa ng isang mabuting lipunan, kundi pati na ang mga namumukod na katangian ng kontekstong historikal sa panahon ng pananakop ng mga Espanyol.

dantaon 19, na maitutulad sa isang malawak na antablado na ginagalawan ng mga tao at institusyon na ang mga kilos, pag-uugali, uri ng ugnayan at halagahin ay pawang libis o taliwas sa ideya ng modelong lipunan na dinalumat at pinanday ni Rizal sa kanyang diwa at nang lumao'y sinala sa kanyang mga akdang pampanitikan at pangkasaysayan.

Sa kanyang dedikasyon sa *Noli*, malinaw na inilarawan ng manggagamot ang katayuan ng lipunang kolonyal na kapagdaka'y maiihalintulad sa kalagayan ng isang pasyente na nangangailangan ng dagliang operasyon sapagkat pinabihirapan ng kanser, sakit na sumisira sa lakas at laman ng tao o sa alinmang bahagi ng katawan ng makapitan nito. "Sa kasaysayan ng mga dinaramdam ng tao," aniya, "ay kabilang ang isang sugat na lubhang napakasama, na sa munting masaling ay kumikiro at nagbibigay ng matinding sakit...Sa pagnanasa ng iyang ikabubuti, na siya rin namang ikabubuti naming lahat, at sa paghanap ng lalong mabuting lutas, ay gagawin ko sa iyo ang ginagawa ng mga tao sa una sa kanilang mga may-sakit: inilalantad sa mga baitang ng Sambahan ang mga may-sakit upang ang bawat manggaling sa pananalangin sa Lumikha ay maghatol sa kanila ng isang 'kagamutan'." Tulad ng isang espesyalista sa patolohiya, hinangad ni Rizal na ugatin at siyasatin ang mga sanhi, palatandaan at paraan ng paggamot sa mga sakit at sugat ng lipunan, pangkat ng mga taong may "kasiraan at karupukan ng loob."

Sa unang kabanata ng *Noli*, ang lipunan ay inihambing sa bahay ni Kapitang Tiyago, na bukas sa kaninuman at sa lahat ng bagay, liban sa pangangalakal o anumang bago at mapangahas na ideya o paniniwala, lipunang katatagpuan ng "mga dapo, langaw, o *colado* (mga taong kumakain sa gugol ng iba, nagsisidal sa handaan kahit hindi anyayahan ng may-ari ng handa) na nilikha ng Diyos, dala ng kanyang walang hangang kabutihan, at nagpakadami-daming lubos sa Maynila." Mula rito'y

lalo pang patitingkarin ni Rizal ang nasimulang paghahalintulad sa mga sumusunod na talata:

Depektibo ang istruktura ng bahay: tabingi, hindi timbang ang ayos, hindi magkaisa sa sukat ng luwang o lapad ang magkabilang panig. Ngunit walang makapagpatunay na ang gayon ay dahil sa kagagawan ng arkitekto na ang mata ay wala sa wastong ayos, alalaong baga'y duling, o kaya'y gawa iyon ng mga lindol at bagyo na malimit dumalaw sa kapuluan. Walang pagbabagong ayos ang bahay. kanulad ng lipunan ng mga taong kawangki ng mga pagong, ay salat sa organisasyon at mistulang huwaran o salamin kaya ng magulong pamamahay at pamunuhay. Hahu-halong kalamay ang mga kasangkapan at kagamitan kumakatawan sa sining at kultura ng Kanluran, Kaintsikan, at Katutubo na para-parang nakahambalang sa silid-tanggapan ng mga panauhin — mga lukhukang magagara at gawang Europa na marahil ay masama sa katawan at hindi mabuting upuan, mga lamparang Intsik, mga buteteng pinatiyo at pinambok sa hangin, mga balantok o arkong kaheya na ayos Intsik ng kaunti at kaunting ayos-Europa.

Sa "*Filipinas dentro de cien años*", nilinaw ni Rizal na ang kaguluhan sa antas ng kultura ay kaakibat ng proseso ng kolonyal na pananakop ng mga dayuhan: "...sa panahon ng pagpapalit ng pamahalaan, ng mga batas, ng mga kauligan, gawi, relihiyon at pananalig, ang Pilipinas ay ... nahuli sa pagkakasulong, at dahil sa pagkabilaga sa kanyang pag-iiba ng anyo, ay nawalan ng tiwala sa kanyang nakaraan, nawalan ng pananalig pati sa kanyang kasalukuyan at ni walang anumang nakaiigayang pag-asa sa darating na mga araw... Sa gayo'y nagsimula na ang bagong panahon sa mga Pilipino. Unti-unting nawala ang dati nilang kauligang minana, ang mga alaala; nalimot ang kaparaanan ng dati nilang pagsulat, ang mga awit, mga tulain, mga batas, upang pag-arala't isaulo ang ibang mga aral na hindi naman nila nawawatatan, mga ibang

Dapat ninyong isaalang-alang...ang katotohanan na ang mga tao'y maaari lamang paghigpitan ng pamahalaan kung Ito'y nagbibigay ng mga kailangan sa ikabubuti ng kanilang asal.

—Elias

tuntunin ng budhi, ibang pagpapahalaga sa kagandahan, na ibang-iba sa mga mihasik sa kanilang lipi ng singaw ng kanilang lupa at ng kanilang sariling pandamdin. Nang magkagayo'y nababa sila, naaba ang kanilang anyo sa malas ng kanilang sariling mga mata, ipinagmakahiya ang talagang kanila at sariling pambansa, upang hangaan at papurihan ang lahat ng nagbubuhay sa dayuhan at hindi nawawatasan; nanilumo ang kanilang diwa at sa huli'y sumuko." Sa paglipas ng mga taon at dantaon, ang kultura at mga institusyon ng lipunang isinunod sa balangkas ng kabihasnang banyaga ay nagbigay-daan sa salinlahi ng mga katutubong mapanalit at asiwa sa kanilang pagka-Pilipino. Nagbalatkayo si Dra. Doña Victorina de los Reyes de de Espadaña upang itago ang kanyang

mapagpaumanhin, hindi lamang sa dahilang siya'y nararapat na maging gayon, kundi sa dahilang ang tao, na kulang sa kanyang kalinga at kanyang pinahabayaan, ay walang gaanong kapanagutan, dahil nga sa hindi tumanggap ng kaukulang pagpapahalaga."

Tulad ng *Noli*, ang ikalawang nobela na karugtong nitong huli'y nagsisimula sa pamamagitan ng paglalarawan sa isang tiyak na bagay, isang uri ng sasakyang-dagat, ang bapor Tabo na sumasagisag pa rin sa lipunang kolonyal: "ang bapor ay may anyong hagol, na halos bilog na wari'y tabo... napakarumi kahit na may nasa siyang maging maputi, malumanyat at waring nagmamalaki dahil sa kanyang banayad na

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Sa mga katagang binanggit ni Padre Florentino kay Simoun, ipinahihwatig na ang bayang Pilipino'y kailangang may sapat na katligasang-loob upang ipahayag na taas ang noo at lantad ang dibdib, ang kanyang karapatan sa pamumuhay sa lipunan at patibayin ito sa pamamagitan ng mga pagpapakasakit, ng kanyang sariling dugo.

”

katutubong identidad. Naging mapagkunwari si Doña Consolacion, sinadyang madiin ang pagbigkas ng salitang Pilipinas, at pilit na ijiinit ang kanyang kamangmangan sa kinagisnang wika, bagama't hindi napigilang umiyak nang kumanta si Sisa ng malungkot na kundimanang Tagalog. At walang pag-aantubiling inaglahi ni Don Santiago de los Santos ang mga Indio sa harap ni Padre Damaso, at dahil sa kanyang anak-anakang mistisa'y (Maria Clara) inakalang siya'y inapo ng mga Kastila.

Naglalaman din ng ilang kabatiran (*insights*) ang Kabanata 49 ng *Noli* tungkol sa kahulugan ng katagang lipunan batay sa pagkaunawa ni Elias: "Dapat ninyong isaalang-alang," wika niya kay Ibarra, "ang katotohanan na ang mga tao'y maaari lamang paghiigpitan ng pamahalaan kung ito'y nagbibigay ng mga kailangan sa ikabubuti ng kanilang asal. Sa ating bayan sa dahilang walang lipunang matatawag, sapagkat hindi nagkakaisa ang bayan at ang pamahalaan, ay nararapat na ito'y maging

lakad... taglay niya ang sadyang ugali ng mga bagay-bagay ng bayan, isang wari'y tagumpay laban sa pagkakasulong... hindi nagbabago, hindi ayos... at kung ibig niyang mag-anyong makabago ay nasisiyahan na sa isang pahid ng pintura".

Waring isang pagong na nabuhay sa matandang panahon, ang bapor Tabo ay nahahati sa dalawang palapag na ang mga lulang pasahero ay sumasagisag sa pagkakahati ng lipunan sa mga uring magkakasalungat at gayundin sa kawalan ng pagkakapantay-pantay lalo na sa pagtatamasa ng mga pangunahing karapatan at pribilehiyo. "Sa ilalim ng kubyerta ay nangagdungaw ang mga mukhang kayumanggi at maiitim na mga tagarito, mga Intsik at mistiso na nagkakasiksikan kasama ng mga lulang kalakal at mga kaban; samantalang sa itaas, sa ibabaw ng kubyerta at sa lilim ng isang panambil na nagtatanggol sa kanila sa init ng araw, ay nangakaupo sa maginhawang luklukan ang ilang sakay na suot taga-Europa, mga prayle at mga kawani, na humihit

"Liham sa mga Kababayang Dalaga sa Malolos", malinaw na ang edukasyon ng kababaihan ay may natatanging kahalagahan sa paningin ng bayani sapagkat sila ang unang humuhubog sa kamalayan at kaaisipan ng tao, nagsisilbing larawan ng bayan at simbolo ng kalayaan habang mayaa't marunong, mulat ang isip at malakas ang loob; hindi mangmang, lugami, at alpin ng maling paniniwala at pananampalataya.

Alinsunod sa argumentong inilahad sa Kabanata 49 ng *Noli* na-ay Pilipinas ay walang "lipunan" sapagkat "walang pagkakaisa ang bayan at pamahalaan" mahihinuha na ang mabuting lipunan, sa diwa ni Rizal, ay isang kapisanan ng mga tao na ang pagkakabuo ay nakabatay sa pagkakatatugma ng mga mithiin ng bayan at pamahalaan na nagkakaunawaan at nagkakatatugan. Kung ano ang bayan ay gayon din ang pamahalaan. "Sa isang pamahalaan na may masamang hilig ay bagay ang isang bayang walang tuos; sa pangasiwaang walang budhi ay mga mamamayang maninihi at mapangayupapa sa loob ng bayan, ngunit mga tulisan at magnanakaw sa mga kabundukan! Kung ano ang panginoon, gayon din ang alipin." Sa kabilang banda, ang isang bayang mahait at mabuti ang asal ay larawan o kapilas ng pamahalaang makatarungan, tumatanggap ng katwiran, tumutugon sa pangangailangan ng mga pinamumunuan, at kumikilala sa batas at mga karapatang pantao na inilagat sa dokumentong *Declaration des droits de l'homme* (Deklarasyon ng mga Karapatan ng Tao), matibay na pamana ng tradisyon ng liberalismo at Rebolusyong Pranses ng 1789 na nabasa at tumagos sa kaisipan ni Rizal nang nililip ang ideya ng mabuting lipunan na saganang kanya'y kinabibilangan ng malalayang tao na may sariling kakayahang, dangal, paggalang sa sarili, at handang ibuwis ang buhay sa pagtatanggol ng lahat ng mga katagang nabanggit. Sa mga katagang binanggit ni Padre Florentino kay Simoun, ipinahihiwatig na ang bayang Pilipino'y kailangang may sapat na katigasang-loob upang ipahayag na taas ang noo at lantad ang dibdib, ang

kanyang karapatan sa pamumuhay sa lipunan at patibayin ito sa pamamagitan ng mga pagpapakasakit, ng kanyang sariling dugo.

Marahil ay di na kailangang sabihin pa ang larawang-diwa ng mabuting lipunan ay nasasalig sa bai-baitang, sa hinay-hinay, sa unti-unting paggawa at pagtititiis at hindi sa pagbabagong mapanghimagsik, sa pagbabagong gagamitin ang lakas at ang pamimilit upang marating ang pinakamimithi. □

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Mga Piling Sanggunian

Pangunang Batis

Rizal, Jose. *Noli me tangere*, 1887. Tinagalog ni Patricio Mariano. Quezon City: Roberto Martinez & Sons, 1962.

Id. *El filibusterismo*, 1891. Tinagalog ni Patricio Mariano. Quezon City: Roberto Martinez and Sons, 1962.

Id. *Mga Akdang Pampulitika at Pangkasaysayan, 1882-1896*. Maynila: Pambansang Komisyon ng Ikasandaang Taon ni Jose Rizal, 1961.

Pangalawang Batis

Daroy, Petronilo Bn. *The Ideas of European Liberalism in the Fiction of Rizal*. Quezon City: U.P., 1965.

Majul, Cesar A. *The Political and Constitutional Ideas of Philippine Revolution*. Quezon City: U.P. Press, 1967.

Yabes, Leopoldo Y. (ed.). *Jose Rizal on His Centenary*. Quezon City: Office of Research Coordination, U.P., 1963.

PSSC News

PSSC Silver Jubilee plans bared

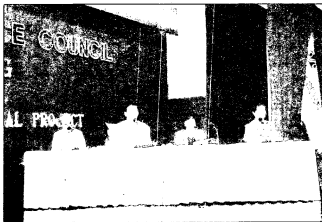
Dr. Amaryllis T. Torres, Executive Board president, revealed before the member associations during the Midyear Meeting the PSSC plans to mark the 25th year anniversary of the Council in 1993 through a year-long celebration.

A 'Walk for a Cause' at the U.P. Academic Quadrangle and a national symposium on "Environment and Sustainable Development: Social Science Perspectives" in January will serve as the Council's welcome to 1993.

The month of February will be devoted to socials through the holding of a Valentine's Party and Dance for social scientists and students. PSSC will also hold its annual meeting during this month. The National Social Scientist Awards in the fields of communication, demography, economics, social work, and sociology will also be given in the same meeting.

In April, there will be environmental tours at Mt. Banahaw and the Laguna lakeside towns. A cultural night will be the main event in May.

There will be a tree planting activity in July and a benefit movie in August. The PSSC



Prof. Ruben F. Trinidad, Dr. Leslie E. Bauzon, Dr. Amaryllis T. Torres, and Prof. Carmencita T. Aguilar during the Midyear Council Meeting.

midyear meeting will also be held in the latter month.

Inclusively from March to October, member associations are invited to hold their activities at the Alip Auditorium, PSSCenter for free if the themes of such activities are related to environment and sustainability of development which is the PSSC's theme. The scheduling of their activities will be on 'first-come, first-serve' basis.

The Third National Social Science Congress serves as the

culminating activity of the Jubilee. This two-day Congress in December has for its theme "Environment and Sustainable Development: Challenges to the Social Scientists."

The month of December will also feature the launching of the PSSC Social Science Encyclopedia, book festival/sale, and bazaar. A dinner, an awards night, and a video/slide presentation on the PSSC will cap the year-long celebration.

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

PSSC Encyclopedia Project moves forward

December 1992 is the deadline that has been set for completion of the manuscripts for the PSSC Social Science Encyclopedia. This was announced by Dr. Domingo C. Salita, chairman of the Council Editorial Board (CEB), in his report during the PSSC Midyear Meeting, August 15, 1992, PSSCenter.

Under the project, PSSC intends to produce a three-volume Philippine encyclopedia of social sciences — anthropology, communication, demography, economics, geography, history, linguistics, political science, psychology, public administration, social work, sociology, and statistics. It will cover the discipline's history and state of the art, the biographical sketches of distinguished social science scholars, and brief write-ups on terms, concepts, or theories used in or relevant to the Philippine context.

The Council Editorial Board meets every month with the chairpersons of the discipline editorial boards to follow-up and receive the finished entries for the encyclopedia.

So far, Dr. Salita reported that the final write-ups for the disciplines of geography, linguistics, and statistics have been received by the Secretariat. With respect to other disciplines, he expressed confidence that the deadline for submission will be met.

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Need for closer collaboration among members stressed in PSSC midyear meeting

Dr. Amarylly T. Torres, president of the PSSC Executive Board, urged a closer collaboration among the member associations of the Council during the PSSC Midyear Meeting held on August 15, 1992 at the Alip Auditorium, PSSCenter.

She said that greater participation of members is needed in order for PSSC to take a more active role in responding to critical social issues confronting the country.

For the first half of this year, she also noted the accomplishments of the Council: the involvement in the Surigao excavation project for the protection of cultural treasures; the holding of public fora/consultations on environmental issues, issue-oriented politics, and agrarian reform; continuation of the Research Awards Program; participation in the evaluation survey of the 1991 Census of

Agriculture and Fisheries; promotion of institutional linkages with local and foreign organizations; undertaking of the Philippine Social Science Encyclopedia project; and publication and info-dissemination.

Organizationally, she informed the members that there is an ongoing assessment of the Council's structures and functions.

Finally, she expressed optimism that the next half of this year will be a more productive period of the Council. This is in view of the preparation for the year-long celebration of the Council's Silver Jubilee in 1993 and the continuation of the ongoing projects of the PSSC. But PSSC's success in achieving its mandate, she added, will depend on the collective efforts of its members.

PSSC Staff receive Service and Cash Awards

Three members of the Secretariat received service and cash awards during the PSSC Midyear Meeting held last Aug. 15, 1992, at the PSSCenter. They were Marcial M. Frias, Geronimo V. Benzoza and Leo F. Malinay.

Mr. Frias has been with the PSSC since 1972. He has been serving as messenger/driver in charge of deliveries, pick-up, and other errands for the Council. He received the 20-year service and cash award.

Mr. Benzoza and Mr. Malinay were employed in PSSC in 1987 as building maintenance assistant

and accounting assistant, respectively. Mr. Malinay was subsequently promoted as accountant in 1989 and in 1990, as the division coordinator for Center Management, Security and Accounting. They both received the five-year award.

The PSSC Service and Cash Awards are designed to give recognition to the continuous and dedicated service of deserving PSSC employees. Starting this year, they will be given annually to qualified employees who have rendered 5, 10, 15, or 20 years of service to the Council.

Prehistoric cultural treasures found in Surigao

After completing the third field season, excavation at Surigao yielded archaeological remains which may be vital in reconstructing the cultural patterns of the Philippines in prehistoric period.

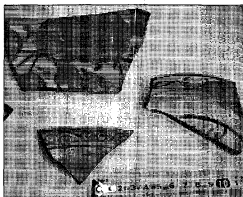
This assessment was made by Dr. Leslie E. Bauzon and Dr. Eusebio Z. Dizon, project leaders of the study on "Archaeology, Prehistory and Ethnohistory of Surigao, Southern Philippines" during the PSSC Midyear Meeting last Aug. 15, 1992, at the PSSC Center, Quezon City, Philippines.

The Surigao project aims to establish the chronology and culture of Surigao prehistory in particular and Philippine prehistory in general.

Excavations were conducted at Panhutongan, Placer, Surigao, which is located at the northeastern tip of Mindanao. Panhutongan is found along the coast of Surigao facing the Pacific Ocean. The archaeological team also surveyed caves and rock shelters in the area.

Found at the site were dug-out wooden coffins, stone riprap, wooden posts, human skeletal remains, earthenware/stoneware/porcelain sherds, glass beads, metal implements and fragments, shells, soil samples, and animal bone fragments.

Preliminary findings reveal that these materials were associated with the Neolithic and Age of Contact Period. There are also indications that earthenware jars were used for burial because of human skeletal remains found in it. Sherds of tradeware ceramics were attributed to the



Samples of tradeware ceramics sherds attributed to the Ming Dynasty (ca. 14th-16th century A.D.) presented in an exhibit during the Midyear Council meeting

Ming Dynasty about 14th to 16th century A.D.

The project started in 1990 when dug-out log coffins and ceramic plates and jars which preliminary studies indicated to be *Dehua* wares produced in the coastal region in Southern China during the late Ming period about 17th century A.D. were accidentally discovered in the area.

Presently on its second phase, three field seasons were already completed: November-October 1991, April-May 1992, and July-August 1992. Arrangements are being made to continue the project to 1994.

The Surigao team was composed of Dr. Bauzon, Dr. Dizon, Fernando A. Almeda, Jr. (Surigaonon Heritage Center), Regino P. Paular (National Historical Institute), Irenetta C. Montinola (Surigaonon Heritage Center), Wilfredo P. Ronquillo (National Museum) and Jesus T. Peralta (National Museum). The

team recommended further study of the area to establish its past environmental setting which may have some influence on the cultural activities of the prehistoric inhabitants of the area. They plan to conduct further excavations in summer next year and study of available historical documents in Surigao. Ethnographic research on the upland inhabitants will also be studied.

Under the auspices of the Philippine Social Science Council, the Archaeological Division of the National Museum, and the Surigaonon Heritage Center, it is presently funded by the Daiwa Bank Foundation for Asia and Oceania, the Toyota Foundation, the Oriental Ceramics Society, Caltex Philippines, the Presidential Committee on Culture and Arts, and several friends of PSSC.

Social Scientists on the move

• New RIMCU Director

Dr. Michael A. Costello is the new director of the Research Institute for Mindanao Culture (RIMCU), Xavier University, an associate member of the Philippine Social Science Council. His appointment took effect on 30 June 1992.

Succeeding *Dr. Francis C. Madigan, S. J.*, *Dr. Costello* holds a distinguished career as a young sociologist. Born on June 30, 1948, he received his doctorate degree from the University of Chicago in 1978. He taught at Harper Community College, Illinois and at Western Carolina University.

At present, he is a professor at the Xavier University. He started his teaching career in this University as Philippine Fulbright Professor in 1978. He has been a deputy director at the RIMCU since 1979. He is also a member of the Philippine Sociological Society, the Philippine Population Association, the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, the Population Association of America, the American Sociological Association, and the Health Research Network of the PPA and the Department of Health.

He has also written and edited a number of publications. He contributed articles to: the new edition of *Chester Hunt's Sociology in Philippine Setting*; *ESCAP's Consequences of Population Change in Asia: A Methodological Guideline* (Bangkok, 1989); *Urbanization and Geographical Distribution of*

Population, CIREC, Paris and Pusan, S. Korea, 1990; and scholarly journals such as, the *Southeast Asia Journal*, *Philippine Studies*, *Kinaadman*, *Philippine Sociological Review*, *Social Forces*, *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, and *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*.

• Katipunan Commemorative Programs

Dr. Wilfrido V. Villacorta, professor of Political Science and International Relations and Senior Vice-President for External Operations of De La Salle University, talked on the "Prospects of Revolution 100 years after Katipunan" in his inaugural lecture as holder of Lorenzo Tañada Distinguished Professorial Chair in Political Science. Sponsored by the De La Salle University, the lecture was delivered on July 8, 1992, at William Shaw Theatre, DLSU.

Dr. Isagani R. Medina of the University of the Philippines and *Fr. Jose S. Arcilla, S.J.* of the Ateneo de Manila University also delivered lectures in commemoration of the centennial anniversary of Katipunan last July 22, 1992 at Adamson University.

Dr. Medina spoke on "Isang Pagbabalik-tanaw kay Andres Bonifacio" while *Fr. Arcilla* read his paper on "Pio Valenzuela on the Katipunan."

The program was sponsored by the Philippine National Historical Society in cooperation with the Adamson University and the National Historical Institute.

• Research Colloquium

Dr. T. K. Majumdar, senior fellow at the Indian Council of Social Science Research, presented his research findings on the "Squatters and the State: A Comparative Study of India and the Philippines" in a colloquium held on July 28, 1992 at the PSSC. His study sought to provide insights into the dynamics of interaction between the squatters and their popular organizations and the state in the context of the political economy of urban development. It also aimed to contribute to policy-making that would encourage popular participation among the inhabitants of squatter settlements for improving their socioeconomic and ecological situation.

Dr. Majumdar, PSSC Visiting Fellow, left the country recently.

• Historian returns from Hawaii

Dr. Bonifacio S. Salamanca, senior professor of history at the University of the Philippines, Diliman, came back on July 14, 1992 from University of Hawaii at Hilo where he was Visiting Lecturer during the first term, 1992 and the summer session.

During his stay there, he delivered lectures on "An Ambiguous Legacy: The American Impact on Philippine Political Institutions, 1899-1946," "U.S. Military Bases and Philippine Business: A Historical Perspective," and "The U.S. Military Bases Agreement: Its Negotiation, Revision, and Termination, 1947-1991."

• Info network regional meeting

Alana Gorospe Ramos, PSSC coordinator for Research and Training Division, attended the Third Asia-Pacific Information Network in Social Science-Regional Advisory Group (APINESS-RAG) meeting on August 25-29, 1992, New Delhi, India.

Launched in 1986, APINESS-RAG meets every two years to discuss activities and problems encountered by its network members now totalling 15. PSSC through its Information and Special Services Division (ISSD) is the contact center in the Philippines.

Mrs. Ramos attended in behalf of *Mrs. Lorna P. Makil*, ISSD coordinator of the PSSC.

New Books

Santiago V. Alvarez's The Katipunan and the Revolution: Memoirs of a General (with the original Tagalog text), translated into English by *Paula Carolina S. Malay* (Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1992); P265 (bookpaper); P178 (newsprint).

Presents the memoirs of General Santiago V. Alvarez, one of the leaders of the Magdiwang faction of the Katipunan in Cavite, presents a participant-eyewitness' account of the 1896 Revolution. Originally written in Tagalog and now translated into English by *Paula Carolina S. Malay*, it combines history and autobiography to create a day-by-day account of the Revolution in all its complexity and contradictions.

Honey Carandang's Making Connections (Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1992); P156.

Examines the group therapy program for Filipino autistic children and their families which the author has developed with a group of young therapists. P150

Lydia N. Yu-Jose's Japan Views the Philippines (1900-1944). (Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1992); P150

Traces the development of Japan's interest in the Philippines from 1900-1944. Through a presentation of selected documents, the book exposes the Japanese reactions to changing economic conditions in the Philippines.

Available at the Central Subscription Service, PSSC Center, Commonwealth Avenue. Tel. 9229621 loc. 338 (ask for Lydia or Emily).

Announcements

Attention: All PSSC regular and associate members

The Philippine Social Science Council is pleased to announce that awards for PSSC National Social Scientist will be given in the fields of Communications, Demography, Economics, Social Work, and Sociology. Please submit your nominees to the PSSC Secretariat on or before November 15, 1992. The awardees will be announced during the PSSC Annual Meeting on February 20, 1993. For details and inquiries, please call PSSC Secretariat, tel. nos. 9229621 loc. 305 or 318 (ask for Gigi Tuzon) or write to Philippine Social Science

Council, U.P. P.O. Box 205, Diliman, Quezon City.

Call for conference papers for national symposium on environment and sustainable development

This is a call for conference papers. The Philippine Social Science Council is planning a symposium on the theme "Environment and Sustainable Development: Social Science Perspectives" to be held on January 29 and 30, 1993.

The symposium will consist of four panels, namely, (1) local and national factors which hinder development, (2) government response to environmental issues, (3) the

extent of public and media awareness, and (4) theory and methodology of research.

Abstracts of the papers should be sent to the PSSC Secretariat on or before 30 September 1992.

PSSC research grants

The PSSC Research Awards Program (RAP) is now accepting applicants for research grants. The last day for filing is on November 15, 1992.

For details, please call Amy Dizon or Gigi Tuzon at tel. 9229621 loc. 318 or 305.

Philippine Historical Association

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

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EDUCATION

The undersigned, Dr. Cesar P. Fobre, President, of the Philippine Historical Association, a non-stock, non-profit organization, duly organized under the laws of the Philippines, and having its principal office at Room 205, UP Post Office, Diliman, Quezon City, do hereby certify that the undersigned is duly qualified to receive the Philippine Historical Association award for the year 1992.

Witness my hand and the seal of the Philippine Historical Association at Manila, Philippines, this 10 day of April, 1992.

Attestation to be made by a Commissioner, Civil Service Commission, who is present at the time of the award of the award.

Notarization, signature, and other details to be made by the notary public at the time of the award of the award.

In case of this particular, the name of the recipient of the award shall be Dr. Cesar P. Fobre.

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