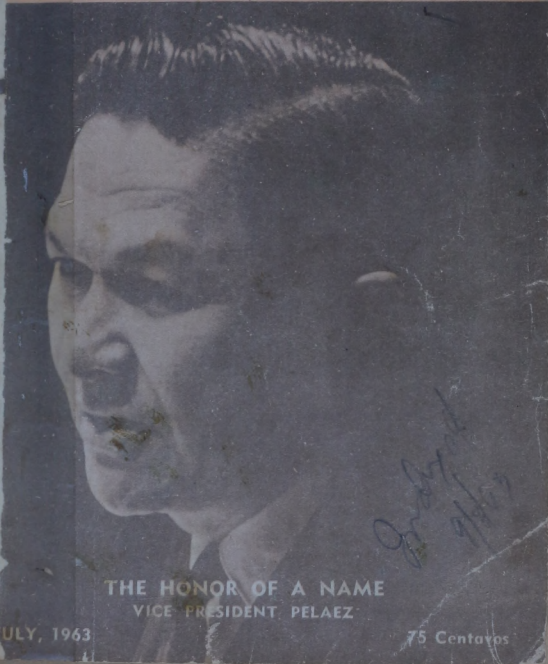


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PANORAMA

THE PHILIPPINE MAGAZINE OF GOOD READING

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THE HONOR OF A NAME

The news buildup was fine. An explosion in the Stonehill case was imminent. The TV viewers' thirst for blood had been whetted by Justice Secretary Mariño's first "it appears" expose a week before. Now the promised Macapagal-Stonehill link was up. Candidate Diokno was back on the TV screen. Keyed-up and bug-eyed, TV viewers clung to every word as Diokno read, and showed a photostat, of an alleged memo of a Stonehill aide in New York to his boss in Manila on certain dollar disbursements to visiting Stonehill "friends" in the Big City in which the names of the LP's Big Three — Macapagal, Marcos and Villareal — appeared. But in justice to Marcos, Diokno said, he returned the Stonehill money. The Palace hatchet men were ready with a counter-blast. A bare half hour after Diokno had said good night to his viewers, Mariño let go a big one. He linked 20 big names to Unk Harry's 'web of corruption,' including Palace hopefuls Pelaez and Marcos. The press splurged it; the public feasted on the juicy fare. Pelaez and Marcos were furious. The LP teetered on the brink of a great schism. What added to the hurt was that the Palace had given them no hint of what was coming. Pelaez quit as foreign secretary. At an LP powwow in Malacañang, he balked at seeing DM alone in his study, stalked out of the meeting when Hechanova told him they had merely "borrowed" his honor to "save" the party. Said Pelaez: If he could do this to me, your vice president, what can he not do you? It appears the answer is obvious.

- The advancement of legal education depends upon the results of researches of international law societies.

LEGAL EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

VICENTE G. SINCO

The promotion of world peace through law requires for its success the employment of education, in general, and legal education, in particular. This condition is practically indispensable and should go hand in hand with other activities that make for peace. It is generally admitted that the use of political and economic measures alone does not effectively abolish war. On the contrary, it makes war at times necessary and even profitable.

But to confine ourselves to the subject of legal education for world peace, it appears desirable that an understanding of law, particularly international law and its institutions, should not only be acquired by members of the legal profession but should also be widely spread among the educated inhabitants of every country. The problem of peace

through law is not merely the concern of the individual. It is a problem that faces all nations and all men. Consequently, a measure of legal education should be enjoyed by the general public in order that it could serve as a pervasive and persistent social influence for the adoption of peaceful methods of adjusting international differences.

In the long run, it is the diffusion of an effective education for peace through law that could create an intellectual atmosphere adverse to war and other violent forms of remedial action. Hence, the development of a human environment of this nature should be the concern not only of the professional school teacher but also of the lawyer and of every educated person. Of course, this is a long, tedious, and difficult process. But so far there

seems to be no method better than this that *could* change and ultimately suppress war as an ancient practice or a deeply rooted habit which mankind has collectively followed or has taken for granted since time immemorial. The pursuit of peace must of necessity be considered a priceless goal of the adventure of legal education. It cannot be done, much less achieved, by political edicts, administrative decrees, or legislation. To carry it out, it has to be started on the basis of a well-studied plan and a carefully conducted implementation.

No plan of mass education may thus be considered adequate as an instrument for world peace unless it makes provision for some acquaintance with the fact that there exists a system of laws which precisely lays down certain standards of conduct among the different nations of the world. A satisfactory program of general education on the availability of rules should place sufficient stress on law and courts for the peaceful settlement of international conflicts. It should describe the horrible effects

of another world war which may likely be fought with the present terrible means and methods of wholesale murder and devastation. In a word, basic education for the masses would be incomplete unless it could help arouse in them a strong consciousness of the rule of law as an instrument for world peace.

Mass education of this nature and with this goal as an essential objective should serve as the ground work, the foundation, for a system of legal education which could be an effective medium for the establishment of world peace. The vast multitude of the world population today even if we should exclude the ignorant and the illiterate, are not aware that there are legal and peaceful methods which could be used in settling international disputes. They only know that governments and political leaders have always resorted and may always resort to war to settle differences between nations as long as they have the weapons and the resources for such purpose.

Relatively vast sums are being set aside today for mass

education. Even small countries devote a large proportion of their national budgets for so-called fundamental education. But for legal education there is nothing but niggardly amounts. For the advancement of the international law aspect of legal education not much has been done. Colleges and universities do not generally give enough attention to the subject except in their graduate courses. Oftentimes, it is merely made a minor part of the course in political science and is discussed in only one or two chapters of textbooks in international relations. The small value assigned to it in this manner has the effect of belittling the importance and purpose of international law in the mind of the average student in a college or in a law school. As a subject for graduate or post graduate work, international law is studied by only a limited number of students, persons who take it for purposes of specialization.

To give more impetus to its study by all students in our law schools and thereby develop greater interest in its role as an instrument for

would peace should be a serious responsibility which the legal profession should consider and conscientiously assume. It should be realized, of course, that funds are indispensable for qualified professors, materials, and facilities. They should be made amply available by governments or private foundations. For no other object of expenditure and human effort is as important as that of establishing and preserving world peace through law if human life and the maintenance of civilization are worth saving from the threat of total annihilation.

The program of legal education should not be carried out only in schools and colleges. Its benefits may be widely dispersed when taken up in discussion groups or seminars among lawyers, public officials, and businessmen. These may be conducted either by special committees or by existing law or civic associations in various countries under the auspices of the Center for World Peace Through Law. Papers prepared and presented at this meeting should be given the widest distribution possible

in each country. Syllabi, textbooks, casebooks and reports of judicial and arbitral tribunals, and similar educational materials need to be supplied to different civic centers, public libraries, colleges, universities.

The services of individual lawyers and law associations need to be solicited for these activities. Courts and committees or commissions in charge of bar examinations should be appealed to for the inclusion of international law among the subjects required in the examinations of applicants for admission to the bar. It should be given considerable weight in the preparation of bar tests and in the assessment of the results. Because the movement for world peace through law need to be known and felt by public officials, it would not be out of place to suggest that an acquaintance with international law be made a qualifying requirement for persons chosen for the higher civil service of every government.

The consensus in the different continental conferences have favored the organization of a World Rule of

Law Center.. This obviously is a wise step to take. It is to be a clearing house for the lawyers to exchange information and views on a global scale. The establishment of such Center assures the viability and progress of whatever plans and projects need to be undertaken for the success of the enterprise the law-years of the world are now determined to accomplish. It is a needed mechanism through which the programs now considered for World Peace Through Law may be implemented. The activities necessary to carry out legal education on a global scale as well as the work of intensifying researches in international law or coordinating the researches of the different existing institutions need a permanent body which could follow up and encourage them. The Center could serve as an agency to obtain available resources and technical assistance from different legal, financial, and educational organizations. It could act in mobilizing them for the fullest possible development of a worldwide consciousness of law as an instrument for inter-

national peace. To enhance its effectiveness, it would seem advisable that there be organized active correspondents and committees in all countries to promote the ideas and objectives of the conference and to recruit participants and supporters of this movement. Without this Center, the conference on World Peace Through Law might turn out to be another beautiful but impractical concoction of dreamers as described by self-styled hard-boiled or so-called down-to-earth leaders and politicians.

That there are at present existing international and national institutions actively engaged in promoting world peace through law is too well known by many to be overlooked. The United Nations is the most important of them. Practically all the states of the world are its members. But it is primarily and largely a political body. Its record so far shows that it generally avoids solutions for the problems brought before it. It shows extreme reluctance to develop international law or to encourage the use of its own legal in-

stitutions, such as the World Court, to determine what are obviously legal questions. Nevertheless, the United Nations, with all its defects, promises to grow as the foundation for the future structure of a true international community. But this will require a long period of international education to which this conference now plans and hopes to give greater attention that has yet been given thus far.

Just as important as the promotion of international law education is the development of new research projects and the coordination of research projects and the coordination of research work already being undertaken by established institutions. The advancement of legal education depends upon the results of well-planned and carefully accomplished researches of international law societies and institutes, regional centers, universities, and other public and private institutions. It should be recognized that there is actually a dearth of research in international law. Science is way ahead in research activity. There are established centers for inter-

national studies which give but slight attention to international law in their program of activity. These places should be induced to promote on some phase of the subject.

The development of a comprehensive system of international bill of rights for the protection of every individual regardless of race, nationality, creed, sex, residence, and social station should be adopted. It is as indispensable to a world legal system as the bill of rights is to a democratic national constitution, and made part thereof by mere reference, needs a clear definition of its scope. There should be a restatement or codification of the specific rules which fall within these general principles.

The working papers for this Conference makes mention of other subjects for study and research in order that a more comprehensive system of law applicable to states and individuals may be utilized in determining international standards of conduct and in adjusting clashes of interests before authorized international tribunals. The

acceptability of a system of this nature and scope obviously depends upon the freedom of its provisions from obscurity, ambiguity, and partiality. The chances of its implementation by big powers and small nations under such terms and conditions are likely to be enhanced.

The researches of existing legal organizations as well as decisions on questions of international law are largely known only by experts and some officials of certain international organizations: The products of research are of little practical value to society until after they are widely known and understood by the educated public. Hence publication should be an inseparable part of research programs. Translation into principal languages should form part of this undertaking. By so doing the progress of international law studies could be known not only by specialists but by the members of the legal profession and by the public. There are, of course, some technical periodicals today publishing articles on international law, but these are circulated almost exclusively

among members of the organizations which take charge of their editing and publications. But the importance and necessity of international law as an instrument for the regulation and control of the relations and conduct of the states may only be widely appreciated when the lay public is in some way made aware of its growth and of the constant and serious attention, time, and thought devoted to its development by competent scholars and responsible national leaders. Hence, it is not sufficient that the publication of researches in international law be confined to technical journals for distribution among a small group of specialists. They should appear in newspapers and other general publications, and they should be written in language and style which the average law student, the public official, and the educated lay reader could understand and appreciate.

International law articles and decisions of international tribunals have an intrinsic appeal to many people. Such materials could be of direct interest to the average edu-

cated man because of their relation to problems of human security and survival. It would not be astonishing if much of the literature on the subject presented in a clear and readable style rather than in the obscure or technical jargon of the specialist would arouse the interest of the layman in the objectives of the rule of law as an instrument for global peace.

It might be opportune to recall at this juncture what one English scholar, once a Stowell Fellow of Oxford University, Thomas Baty, stated on how the Law of the Nations should be presented. He said that it is necessary that it be exhibited as "a body of rules based on clear, simple, intelligible, and sensible principles, commanding by its intrinsic merit the occurrence and allegiance of the world." But unfortunately, he added that not even the League of Nations "saw the necessity of bringing the Law of Nations home to the common man." And so in a volume he wrote on *The Canons of International Law*, he suggested that international law be

simple, objective, and elastic. And the reasons he gave are: "*Simple*, because the common consent of the thought of so heterogenous a composite as is afforded by the varied peoples of the world must obviously be limited to clear and plain propositions. *Certain*, — (that is, protected by its exponents from rash and officious questioning) — because if a rule is made the passive subject of a vigorous and sustained sciolist attack, it is difficult to maintain that it enjoys general acceptance. *Objective*, because only clear objective tests can be applied, when it is the opinion of the multifarious peoples of the globe which is to be based upon them. *Elastic*, because conditions change, and opinions alter: a rigid rule which allows no room for corresponding modifications is no rule at all. Every year since then, with the progressive replacement of principle by interest, the law has become less simple, less certain, less objective and to a fatal degree increasingly too elastic. We are slipping into the same state of anarchic practice as that which in an earlier cen-

tury aroused the indignation of Grotius."

Thus it is not only for the layman that clearer and more intelligible materials on international law should be made available. It is even also needed by many lawyers themselves. The average lawyer in my country and, I suppose, in some of the other countries, as well, does not often involve himself in questions of public international law. As we all know, the cases which constantly engage his attention in his professional work seldom, if at all, call for the use and application of treaty provisions or principles of international law. As a matter of fact, it is a rare occasion when problems of international law are ever discussed in gatherings of lawyers he attends. It is almost certain that the last time he participated in a discussion affecting international law was when he was a student in the law school. No wonder then that his attitude towards international law and matters affecting international legal organizations is one of indifference. He considers them as pertaining to a field quite

foreign to his professional business and to his personal life. He is almost convinced that they are better left to a law professor in a university or to the two or three men working in the legal division of the foreign office of his government.

This professional indifference to international law and related matters has disturbed the minds of some responsible leaders of the profession. Thus the late Justice Arthur T. Vanderbilt, one of the outstanding American jurists, in his lectures on *Men and Measures in the Law* raised these questions: "In these days of complicated international relations, with a lingering hope for One World and a brooding fear of Two Worlds, is not a deep understanding of public law, including international law more important for lawyers than ever before in the history of mankind? Should the profession or the public generally be willing to leave these matters exclusively either to political scientists or to public officeholders?"

The nature of the legal profession, the tasks that the members of the profession

are called upon to perform, their significance to the personal and business affairs of the individual, their relevance to the social order, all of these and more justify the importance of the position and role of the lawyer in his community. Hence, a competent scholar was not without reason in bestowing upon the lawyer the title of officer of civilization. For the concepts of law, liberty, and order have ever been his concern, and without them as basic ingredients modern civilization would not have been possible. There can be no economic and other forms of materials enterprises which generate the substance and content of civilized life in an atmosphere of chaos and lawlessness..

The lawyer, however, has limited his field of action to his community or his nation. But the size of the world has contracted; nations have become closely interdependent on one another; and their orderly relations are now the concern of all. Whatever the lawyer does within and for his country is no longer adequate to secure peace even in his very country it-

self. He need expand the area of his service into the outside world and into its problems in the quest for peace. Hence the lawyer today has to develop a new conception of his professional duty. Professor Dennis W. Brogan, who is not a lawyer himself, has expressed the opinion that because of the versatility and quick adaptability of the lawyer to the changing social context, his role in educating the public "for tolerable social living in this dangerous age is extremely important."

In the international society his preparation, we must confess, could be much improved. In matters affecting foreign relations, his qualifications are in some instances so deficient that he is found unequal to his duties. Not very long ago some newspapers published reports about a judge who acted in complete ignorance of a well-known rule of international law and practice affecting diplomatic immunities. Mr. Philip C. Jessup, now a judge of the International Court, commented on that incident in these words: "Recently a judge of the City Court of

New Rochelle, New York, was called upon to rule upon the immunities of the chauffeur of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Pending Senate approval of a United Nations treaty defining such immunities, the subject is covered by general language in the Charter, and in an act of Congress. The Charter itself is, of course, a treaty and under the Constitution (meaning the American Constitution) is part of the supreme law of the land. But the Charter is a constitutional document which lays down broad principles rather than detailed rules. The judge in denying immunity from arrest in this case was obviously unfamiliar with *two centuries of law and practice* relative to the comparable problem of immunities for the diplomatic representatives of foreign states and could see no reason why the immunities for the United Nations staff should differ from those accorded members of state and federal legislatures. Without going into more detail, the case is cited as evidence of the need in this enlightened country for more

understanding of the nature of international organizations and the responsibilities of the United States as the host country." This may not be a typical case, but it reveals either an inadequacy of legal education in the field of international law or the existence of utter indifference to commonly known rules of international law even among legal officers. It certainly seems to strengthen the need for more education in the general rules and principles of international law on the part of lawyers and public officials.

I should like to conclude this paper by quoting a statement of the Honorable Elihu Root which says:

"The increase of popular control over national conduct, which marks the political development of our time, makes it constantly more important that the great body of the people in each country should have just conception of their international rights and duties.

"Government do not make war nowadays unless assured of general and hearty support among their people; and it sometimes happens

that governments are driven into war against their will by the pressure of strong popular feeling. It is not uncommon to see two governments striving in the most conciliatory and patient way to settle some matter of difference peaceably, while a large part of the people in both countries maintain an uncompromising and belligerent attitude insisting upon the extreme and uttermost view of their own rights in a way which, if it were to control national action, would render peaceful settlement impossible . . .

"Of course it cannot be expected that the whole body of any people will study international law. But a sufficient number can readily become sufficiently familiar with it to lead and form public opinion in every community in our country upon all important international questions as they arise."

These thoughts were expressed by that great American statesman in the early part of this century. He gave them as his salute to the founding of the American Journal of International Law. They are still applicable to

the conditions of the world today. I am convinced that they could serve as an inspiration and a guide in our present endeavor to promote world peace through the rule of law.

Writers and historians have characterized different historical periods by the outstanding events occurring in each. There were, for example, the age of faith, the age of feudalism, the period of geographical discoveries, the revival of learning, the industrial revolution, the age of global wars, the atomic age, and the age of outer space

exploration. May the last quarter of the present century go down in history as the age of international law and may this conference mark the real beginning of that age. For this event, there is no better site than Athens the place of origin of those intellectual ideas and aesthetic sentiments which have made possible the flowering of modern civilization.

(Speech delivered at a panel discussion of the International Conference for World Peace Through Law in Athens, Greece.)

POOR APE!

The most famous of debates over a theory of modern science took place in 1860 when Bishop Wilberforce shared a platform with Thomas Henry Huxley. The Bishop concluded his attack on evolution by asking Huxley whether his descent from the ape was on his father's or his mother's side. Huxley's crushing reply, from his own account in a recently discovered letter, was:

"If then, said I, the question is put to me would I rather have a miserable ape for a grandfather or a man highly endowed by nature and possessing great means and influence and yet who employs those faculties and that influence for the mere purpose of introducing ridicule into a grave scientific discussion — I unhesitatingly affirm my preference for the ape."

- Mabini played a major and vital role in determining the route the revolution was to take.

MABINI: ARCHITECT OF THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION

CESAR A. MAJUL

All revolutions, as movements affirming the worth of the individual and attempting to re-define social relations, have had their protagonists. These are the men who either participated intimately in the determination of the direction of the movement or who, in retrospect, analyzed the revolutionary events in terms of theoretical principles, making the Revolution a fact of significance and assuring it a proper position within the perspective of the history of a nation.

It was Mabini's distinct character that he played this dual role in the Philippine Revolution, more specifically in its second phase. His first role refers to his activities as adviser to Aguinaldo in June 1898, and then as prime minister in the first Philippine Republic from January 1899 to May of the same

year. Authoring the electoral and other organic laws of the Revolutionary government, he was responsible for formulating the postulates by which the authority of a new-born state came into operation. Determining the broad outlines of foreign policy from June 1898 to May 1899, he saw to it that the recognition of independence should not suffer any amendment. All of these mean, in effect, that Mabini played a major and vital role in determining the route the Revolution was to take. It was a direction from which the revolutionary leaders could not deviate without abandoning the primal principles which fed the initial vigorous step of the Revolution. These were the principles of national independence and for the construction of a new social order in consonance

with "justice and reason," where social disharmonies were absent.

Filipino historians have adequately described Mabini's participation in the momentous events of our history. Consequently, an emphasis on his other role is in order. This is his position as a Filipino political philosopher *par excellence*. Applying categories properly belonging to the philosophy of history, to the events of the Revolution when the success of American arms became patent to all, he reflected on its rationale, gains losses, and the eventual unfolding of its implications. Thus, as it were, the events of the Revolution began to be coordinated into an intelligible system, and the Revolution itself could now be viewed as an important phase in the march of the Filipinos towards more freedom.

As a political philosopher reflecting on the Philippine Revolution, Mabini's description as to what the revolution actually consisted of must be distinguished from what he prescribed the revo-

lution *ought* to have been. He believed that when a people were consistently denied participation in the high offices of a government, when their aspirations for better education and an increase of civil rights were shamelessly disregarded, and when they begin to believe that the government was biased in favor of a special segment of society, a deep resentment among the people would result. This situation coupled with circumstances like a weakening of the government and a general disobedience to the laws would inevitably develop into a revolution. A revolution is thus described as "the violent means utilized by a people . . . to destroy a duly constituted authority, substituting for it another more in consonance with reason and justice." And to establish a connection between positive law and the abstract conception of justice, Mabini leaned heavily on natural law as a corrective or model for human law. Adhering to the excellence of the mind as a value, Mabini hoped that

the exercise of reason would lead men to discover solutions for the settlement of differences, formalize standards of justice and lay down the foundations for what was believed to constitute the common and good life.

Clearly, it is problematical as to how much reason can serve to diminish social conflicts, but it can be conversely asserted that it is rather the dissolution of social inequalities that might precisely make men think or reason better. However, it must be pointed out that Mabini was essentially a product of European rationalism and early nineteenth century liberalism, ideologies that maintained the almost infinite capacity of the mind to better things not only in the scientific field but also in the ethical and political sphere.

These influences on Mabini led him to assert that the desire for a revolution in the Philippines was derivative from the natural impulses, found among all men, toward progress. Or rather, when these impulses were being stifled by bad government revolution becomes a necessity. To quote:

The tendency for betterment or progress is a necessity or law found in all beings, whether individually or collectively. Thus, a political revolution, which is generally intended by a people to better their conditions, becomes an irresistible necessity A people that has not yet arrived at the fulness of life must grow and develop, otherwise its life would be paralyzed — which means its death. As it is unnatural that a being should resign itself to its own death, the people employ all its energies in order that a government that impedes its progressive development be destroyed.

Mabini's intense faith in the desire and ability of the Filipinos to better their lives and contribute to the general progress and culture of the world, as well as his belief that it was natural for a people to do away with the impediments stifling the impulses toward progress, led him not only to justify the Philippine revolution but also to assert that it was both

irresistible and inevitable. Mabini revolted against the notion that the Filipinos were doomed indefinitely to brutalization and colonial and ecclesiastical oppression.

However, to bring about a successful termination to the Revolution, it was further believed that the Filipinos had to be united in a single will aiming at the good of all. And once this will was directed to organizing the collective life along national lines, it would ultimately prevail over the military forces either of Spain or that of the United States. It was hoped, nay wished, that this will was, at bottom, one that reflected love of neighbor and country and could consequently thrust to the background all petty, narrow and sectarian jealousies. Consequently, a movement that was initiated to serve the interests of a special class in society, nullified in effect the existence of such a will, and did not deserve the name of "revolution." To quote:

All agitations fostered by a special class in order that its particular interests be benefited, do not

deserve the name [of revolution].

Conversely, Mabini maintained that genuine revolutions were essentially popular movements. Here, his democratic temperament is evident. Consequently, a problem that presented itself was how social power could be organized such that the most numerous class, that is, the poor, would not be taken advantage of by special groups in society. However, it is in vain that we look for a radical economic program by Mabini!

It was Mabini's basic democratic temper that also led him to consider the revolution against the United States unjustified the moment the majority of the people desired peace. And he justified this action of the people by appealing to the law of self-preservation which dictated prudence in pursuing the revolutionary movement the moment superior forces not only threatened additional misery and desolation but actually endangered the very life of society itself. Thus, Mabini counseled that the violent and coercive means to attain inde-

pendence should be transformed into peaceful agitation. This was still, in any case, a manifestation of the impulse for progress. Yet Mabini feared that the revolutionary fervor might decline with piecemeal political concessions granted by the Americans. Consequently, he insisted that the revolution as armed uprising, was simply a technique to bring about the recognition of individual rights and also independence as the prerequisite to an expansive life and ordered society. And as long as independence was possible by peaceful means, all energies ought to be utilized to attain it by such means. Once devoid of political pow-

er to pursue his ideas, Mabini contented himself in reminding his compatriots of the ideals of the Revolution and invited them to search into their hearts to discover if it were not really independence that they wanted.

Mabini was a supreme example of a man willing to sacrifice personal interest for what he conceived to be the general interest of all. Emancipating himself from the narrow interests that plague an ordinary man, he was able to exercise, to use Rousseau's term, the general will, a will not necessarily that of the people, but a will for the good of all the people. Mabini's legacy is that for patriots and free men.

NEGRO EXCEPTED?

We preach freedom around the world, and we cherish our freedom here at home, but are we to say to the world, and much more importantly, to each other that this is a land of the free except for the Negroes; that we have no second-class citizens except Negroes; that we have no class or caste system, no ghettos, no master race except with respect to Negroes? — John F. Kennedy .

■ Everybody talks of a 'school crisis,' But everybody wants to go to school.

FAITH IN PHILIPPINE EDUCATION

JEAN POPE

"School crisis? There is no school crisis," proclaims Alejandro R. Roces, leaning back in his chair with the confidence of a man who has quietly averted one.

Which indeed he has.

One year and six months after assuming office as Secretary of Education, Roces has packed an impressive list of a achievement into his job of achievement into his job, notably resolving what all newspapers and school officials lovingly refer to as "perennial school crisis."

"Let me tell you what this school crisis is supposed to be about," Roces says, bringing his swivel chair sharply back to his upright position. (Visitors to Roces' Filipiniana-decked office in the Department of Education in Arroceros will be clearly intrigued by the contrivances of one swivel chair: it is the barometer to its occupant's moods.)

"Every year, without fail, you read about the school crisis. So many students will be left out of school, the headlines announce. That's usually in April or May. Then suddenly, by the middle of July you notice from the silence of usually noisy quarters that the critical period has been passed. You wonder why. Well, I'll tell you. That's because the crisis is nothing more than an artificial one.

"In July the funds earmarked for education have already been released by the appropriation committee. The National Budget has averted a crisis which never existed. It's as simple as that.

"And speaking of the budget, do you know it has been an instrument for silencing critics of my new school plan?" He smiles sweetly, contentedly.

"You know all the arguments I advanced for changing the opening of classes from June to September? Well, everybody still griped about that. I said the children would get wet and contract respiratory ailments, plodding on to school in the rainy months. I said think about the rural youth who should be helping their parents with planting. They said, but June July and August are hardly months for vacation. Everyone's vacation will be spoiled.

"Well" says the man almost everybody calls Anding. "I told them, I'm sorry. I'm not a secretary of vacation. I'm the secretary of education and I should concern myself primarily with education, not the period of vacation.

"And then I told them, you have to consider the budget." (Although many readers will not remember seeing anything about this in the arguments of the Secretary for the passage and popularity of his school calendar change, one must speculate that this must have been an ace up his sleeve. Or else a master stroke of good luck. Either

way, the indefatigable educator stands to lose nothing.) "Suppose, I said, they do not approve the budget on time? How can we open classes in June? They said no, that won't happen. Well, it did. Now, how could we have opened classes in June if the school calendar had remained the same? There would have been a 'crisis.'"

The man behind the job

Secretary Roces is a fast-talking, fast-moving, quick-witted individual who does not confine the activities of his job to his desk. He looks as comfortable retracing the Antipolo trail on foot or tramping into the mud of a Palawan cave, as he does signing directives. He has been described by one who works with him as an outspoken, outgoing whirlwind. Certainly he does not mince words when he feels very strongly against something. Like all New Era men (either you like them or you dislike them, but you can't help but admire their dynamism) "Anding" Roces projects an image of speed, spunk and spontaniety. He

gets things done. And probably no other secretary of education in the past has cleared the cobwebs from his office as fast as Roces has, and consequently antagonized so many in the process as well.

Roces and thorns

For Roces has as many critics as he has change-implementing directives. There are the old guard educators who wince at shafts that topple their swivels, teachers, superintendents and principals disgruntled at raps against their inefficiency, and politicians who, long accustomed to sticking their fingers into the education pie, draw them out in burning haste at lashes from the well-known Roces pen and tongue.

Roces, the man of action, has crammed many achievements into the space of a year and a half.

He has done something about the shortage of textbooks in public schools, ordering the printing and distribution of 8,307,972 textbooks to elementary and secondary grades.

He has ordered private (particularly medical schools) to cut down on the size of their classes or else. With schools having grudgingly complied, both teacher and student are now assured of more study advantages.

He has issued directives curbing the bad habits of teachers, officials and students. To teachers: no mah-jong, no improper dressing. He has told officials to stop allowing their wives to sell cloth, jewelry and other items to their poor, high-pressured teachers. Students, on the other hand, have been sternly warned against the consequences of cheating.

Last year he opened 13,000 extension classes to accommodate an expanding school population, directed the holding of teachers' institutes instead of social-clogged workshops, cracked down on the requisitioning of school supplies, and in general, gave the department organization a good face-saving face-lifting.

"Instant schoolhouses"

He also outlined a plan (soon to be carried out) on "instant schoolhouses."

This involves the production of a certain kind of hollowblock materials from a semi-portable machine, which can be carried to barrios and used to construct a schoolhouse, strong and serviceable, within a short time. "I got this idea from President Mateos of Mexico," Rocés says.

"And I'm happy for this, because it will save many students from the embarrassment, years later, of having to point to a mango tree in some dilapidated schoolhouse and saying: 'That is my alma mater.'"

Many left to tackle

On the whole, his administration has been a fruitful one. And he is optimistic about it.

This despite all the problems.

A three-year old NEC-AID survey on the state of Philippine education came up with a lot of discouraging, and to some extent, alarming, facts:

School programs are not related to the needs of the community. There is no adequate support from Congress of the public school system. Classes are overcrowded, text-

books obsolete, laboratory equipment limited. At normal level teachers with diplomas cannot pass the exams for teachers. Buildings are poor. The situation of agricultural schools is disheartening, in view of the fact that the Philippines is an agricultural country.

In brief, these were the findings of the team. And Rocés admits that many of these conditions are still present today.

"It is true that many times school programs are not related to the needs of the community. As a corollary of this, you can add that a large number of youth enter adult life without vocational competence."

To some extent this is a case of politics.

Going to a Philippine map tacked onto his wall and encircling the province of Camarines Sur, Rocés continues excitedly.

"Take this province. Where would you say its major income comes from? The government pours two million pesos annually into this place for the elementary education of its students. (The

provincial government pays high school teachers.)

"By the same token, you take the case of Marinduque. There is a trade school there. Well and good. Some congressman proposed a bill creating not a high school, mind you, but a vocational school (which will draw funds from the national government). This is still fine, many will be employed. But do you know what this school teaches? *Auto mechanics*. This is a town which has about five or six cars.

"This is what happens when schools are opened not for education but for employment."

Thirty three centavos out of every peso

"As for Congress support, education receives no less than 33% of the national budget every year. The figures should speak for themselves."

As for agricultural schools, the Secretary says that the ones we have are outstanding. Perhaps it is just that we do not have enough.

"Inferior teachers? It is not true that we do not

screen them properly. But how thorough can you get when the teacher shortage is always keen? (For the schoolyear '61-'63, there were close to half a million public elementary school-children under the care of not more than 120,788 teachers. The figures for secondary public schools were no better: 10,900 teachers for 232,168 students. "This year alone, we need 15,000 new teachers." However, a comprehensive teacher training program introduced by the Secretary promises to remedy the situation.

As for the textbook shortage, Roces is working to achieve the ideal ratio of one textbook to every student. The present figure (one textbook for every three students' is not too bad compared to the 1:20 ration of several years ago.

Is our education sub-standard?

The conclusion of the NEC-AID survey was dramatically disconcerting: the state of Philippine education is deplorable.

Says Anding Roces emphatically in answer to the asser-

tion, "We are a nation of self flagellants.

"We constantly hear of criticisms levelled against our system, mostly from our own leaders. Before the war, many heads of families tell their offspring, our schools were better. We received better education.

"This before-the-war mentality is unfair. Before the war, the most beautiful home to me and to many people was this old structure right across from where I lived in Remedios. But today this would be just an ordinary residence.

"We must not go into unfair comparisons. We are an underdeveloped country: compare our education then to countries like ours. If there is any competition, we must be allowed to compete equally."

Morals and morons

"But these educators — the people who decry the poor quality of our students the loudest — are the most to blame. Many students are morons, they say. To which I agree. I remember a student I had when I was dean of FEU's Art and Sciences.

He came to me asking for an excuse from classes because "I have to have two tooth pulled," he said. "What! I said. 'Oh, excuse me, Sir, I meant two teeth pulled.'

"Of course we have these students. But the point is, *why do we have to accept them?*

"If the Philippines has in fact an inferior quality of education, it is because we do not have such a thing as selective higher education. We are just about the only country in the world which does not screen its college students before admission.

"A high school graduate with an IQ of 12 can enter college, provided he can afford the tuition.

"We even have such universities which go to the extent of boasting about their enrollment figures — why, a university should be ashamed of a mammoth population, not proud of it. It should be a center of education, not population.

"Yes, many of our educators, and many of our private schools are to blame.

"Here, an educator is no more than a man or a woman who has invested money

in education. And it is unfortunate that private schools (the profit, as differentiated from the non-profit one) have attracted a bad type of businessman, one interested in money more than in education.

"What is more, the peculiarly Filipino custom of close family ties has bred an evil: that of the family-type school.

"Many colleges, as you know, are owned by families. Started out by men with sincere and meritorious motives, they are eventually passed on to the children. Some of them, fortunately, are good educators, but this is the exception rather than the rule.

Faith in education

But Roces has a lot of faith in the future of education in this country.

"You know why? Because of our people. I think this is the only country in the world where parents sell everything they have just to send their children to school. Not all people have that much interest in learning. Put up a school in some re-

mote town in Africa. Do you think many will go? No, but here, even rural schools are crowded.

"Education will work. We have good students, and we have good teachers. Do you know that the British educator James Dunnill who visited us in 1954 said the Filipino teacher is the most devoted class of individual in the world? I am inclined to agree with him.

"We underestimate ourselves. He are all prophets of doom, as I recall myself and members of my tribe to be when I was still writing a newspaper column..

"But have you heard of that line circulating in Broadway about the future of the stage? 'The theater,' they say, 'is dying, but, tickets are harder to get. That's the same thing we have here. The education system is being lambasted, but everyone wants to go to school.

"Filipinos have faith in education. With that as basis, there is no reason why we should fail." — *The Sunday Times Magazine*.

- Non-conformism can be the great catalyst for an Asia caught at the crossroads of tradition and modernism.

DEFENSE FOR THE NON-CONFORMIST

ROMESH THAPAR

We in Asia are forever being inflicted with long and tiresome lectures about the paramount need to liberate ourselves from the deadening grip of traditionalism, to develop the modern outlook, the free mind. The stress on this aspect of the problem of change and transition in Asia is justified on the plea that without the cultivation of a free mind progress is slow, spasmodic, mercurial, unrelated to economic and social needs.

There is much truth in this, but, generally speaking, those who seek to 'free' the minds of Asia are in fact only interested in replacing the tattered dogmas of the past with the more emphatic dogmas of present-day 'isms.' It is, therefore, imperative that we in Asia locate the essential ingredient of a free mind. Considering that we know so little about the mind it-

self, free or otherwise, what it conceals, its composition, its behavior patterns, we must proceed with caution.

What we are in the habit of casually describing as Asia is that region of our earth which embraces two-thirds of mankind and which is variously described as developed, developing, under-developed, backward; an area which was until recently divided and ruled, exploited, imposed upon by alien cultures. In our lands, without exception, several centuries are telescoped into the present. These facts of history, geography and social development unnecessarily distort the present-day thinking process, create psychological blockages to rationality of a kind which have yet to be tabulated, encourage the fusion of chauvinistic and sectarian notions as a defense against further 'alien' penetration

and rupture the sensitive channels along which cohabit and spawn.

Such is the reality. Small wonder, then, that our minds with which, and within which, we seek to build range over past and present, the spirit of uninhibited quest and free enquiry, must absorb the essence of the processes which have created estrangement between men, given superfluous wealth to some and grinding poverty to others, broken the back of one community to aid the growth of another, created chauvinism and false-patriotism to disguise the real motivations of men and movements, and let loose a flood of despair, cynicism, nihilism — the closed-in attitudes before which reason is swept away. Sifting the truth from this jungle of contradictory trends is a long and continuous process but the mind must be trained for this challenging task.

All over Asia we have been attempting some such intellectual break-through, but without much success. This largely is due to our failure to recognize the absolutely essential ingredient of

a free mind which will help it extend the frontiers of knowledge, to weaken the hold of superstition and dogma, and to neutralize the new falsehoods which seek to take their place. What is this essential ingredient which we ignore? It is non-conformism.

I would say this: utilize every opportunity to enshrine in the minds of the young and the old a deep respect for the non-conformist, the person who is not afraid to express his innermost thoughts, who puts even accepted truths to test, whose determined quest for greater understanding leads him on to truth.

Those who have developed the habit of seeing things only in shades of black and white, and who approve of this lazy and convenient analysis of world problems, will be horrified at the prospect of popularizing non-conformist attitudes. They will see in this an attempt to 'confuse' the mind, to destroy its 'dynamic,' and thereby to 'splinter' the ideological unity of political, economic and social trends. Perhaps, to some extent, they are right in their deductions; non-

conformism loosens the chains which bind the committed and demands a sustained and more thorough investigation of the ideas fed to us through various media. But is this not the only way in which we can enrich the thinking process in Asia and prevented it from being maimed by those who speak in the name of a variety of freedoms but who have little respect for the authentic free mind? The more one ponders on this, the more one is convinced that non-conformism can be the great catalyst for an Asia caught at the crossroads of tradition and modernism.

There are other people, less committed, suspicious of new stirrings, who might think that I am preaching the philosophy of the angry young men of our age. Far from it. Men become angry only when their ideas are scorned. They are the products of conformist and semi-conformist societies. What I have in view is a healthy, lively respect for non-conformism which, in most countries of the world, is repeatedly decried, insulted and quarantined. I firm-

the non-conformist provides a better building site for mature and sensitive thought than the conformist mind which resists new impulses, or accepts them grudgingly, hoping an opportunity will arise to throw them out again and outlaw them. We have seen this happen repeatedly at different levels of national life on our continent.

When we adopt this rational and scientific view of the conflict of minds in Asia, it soon becomes clear that it is the conformist mind which is the breeding ground of the violence and hatreds locked up in our structures of caste, community and nation. Indeed, when the conformist mind actively works towards revivalism, as a defence against the currents of new thought, we witness manifestations of what is commonly referred to as fascism. Only non-conformism establishes respect for the differences we see in others and thereby makes us truly civilized.

You will also perceive that one of the major achievements of the non-conformist mind, the free mind, could be a clearing of communi-

ly believe that the mind of cations between one mind and another. This is vital, for communication is the sensitive and fragile thread with which we can weave our attitudes, our desires, into a pattern of peace. Communication becomes real only when it is non-conformist.

If you should think I exaggerate to press a point, then recall the names of those remarkable men and women who have made lasting contributions to knowledge, understanding and peace. You will find a non-conformist in each of them — from the teachers of ancient times, who raised new gods in place of the old, right down to the dynamic men of our day whose thought and activity profoundly alter the course of human endeavor. Only when force is used to impose conformist, or, for that matter, non-conformist ideas, is wasteful violence and hatred generated.

Man's mind has to seek the fresh air, the contest of ideas, the fire of debate.

This is why I urge that respect for the differences we see in others must be en-

shrined in the mind of Asia if we plan to take those 'leaps' which will place us at the forefront of advancing Man. It will not be easy. Text books from primary school level will have to be re-written. The prejudices of teachers will have to overcome. Chauvinisms, major and minor, will have to be fought. And this would be but the beginning of a campaign to change our attitudes to the non-conformist, for the relapse back into the deadening grip of conformism could occur without warning unless the respect for the differences we see in others is deep-rooted, unassailable.

The cultivation of the free mind, which actively defends non-conformist views and ideas, is essential to Asia because on this continent small *elites* actually control the levers of power at national or regional level and can therefore be easily persuaded to suppress or inhibit trends which threaten their grips on others. In other words, the leaders of political, economic and social opinion in Asia often resort to the totalitarian remedy because there

is no sustained pressure to make them face the harder and more tedious alternatives. Free minds could build these pressures rapidly and make a deep impact on the summits of power in a continent like Asia where the broad millions are not chained by vested interests and where the desire is always strong to break free

from a dreary, misery-ridden past.

We have done practically nothing as yet to cultivate the free mind — or even to discuss the essential elements of it. Now is the time, as we push relentlessly forward to claim the fundamental right long denied to us. — *The Asia Magazine*.

MASTER RACE?

In no other country was there a higher rate of suicide. The very monotony of accepted faith and custom became to some few a veritable nightmare. Each youth planned his life step by step and, if he failed in an examination, he felt that all was over for him. A new idea once accepted went to the head like wine. It became an obsession which admitted of no contradiction. The idea of the superiority of their race and culture to the relatively irrational, inconsequent, and unorganized ways of foreigners — especially the English — was so much emphasized as to blind them to their limitations. — *Harold Gaod in Language in History*.

- A grave problem the Philippines shares with the rest of the have-nots in the world.

EDUCATION FOR SCIENTIFIC PROFESSIONS IN THE POOR COUNTRIES

W. ARTHUR LEWIS

The poor countries need three types of persons trained scientifically beyond the high-school level: technicians, basic scientists, and professionals. By professionals we mean those trained in agriculture, medicine, dentistry, veterinary science, engineering, architecture and similar arts. Such courses of education have this in common, that they borrow materials from a number of basic sciences, which they use as a foundation for specialized work. This raises a number of problems, to which this paper is devoted.

The capacity of a country to absorb university graduates is an index of its development. If we take graduates in all subjects, including the humanities, the absorptive capacity measured

in terms of the annual intake of graduates seems to range from as low as 20 to as high as 3,000 per million inhabitants. Frederick H. Harbison has recently assessed the absorptive capacity of Nigeria at 50 million; in recent guesses for the West Indies, I have been using a figure of 300 per million. The concept of absorptive capacity is not a precise one however. As the number of graduates increases, the possession of a degree becomes a condition for jobs for which it was not previously required, for example, in agricultural extension, dentistry, or teaching in high schools. Also, the gap between the salaries of graduates and non-graduates diminishes as graduates become available for more types of

jobs. In other words, the absorptive capacity increases *pari passu* with the supply of graduates and cannot be determined independently. It may still be possible to produce from historical or contemporary data a curve relating the absorption of graduates per million inhabitants to the per-capita national income, but this has not yet been done.

All one can say at present is that, in the sense there are vacant jobs, in nearly every poor country, there is a shortage of persons trained in the scientific professions. This is all one needs to say. Most poor countries could substantially increase their output of professionals without any danger of the supply exceeding the absorptive capacity during the next two decades.

In the United States a number of universities consider that professional courses should be undertaken only after a student has already acquired a first degree. This can be defended on two grounds: the student needs to have a good general education before embarking on a scientific profession. The first ground is empha-

sized, rather than the second, though the second may be included in the first.

In Great Britain the professions we are dealing with can all be studied for a first degree. Before entering the university, however, the student will usually be required to have specialized in science in the high school, as evidenced by his having passed certain science subjects (specified separately for each profession) at the Advanced Level (formerly the Higher School Artificate), equivalent to or slightly beyond what a junior college in California requires. In short, whether professional courses should be postgraduate or not depends on the university requirements for enrolling—in basic science, which in turn depend on the standard reached in the high schools. The high schools in Great Britain teach two years more of science than a public high school in New York City does, and as this is the level of university entrance, professional courses may be taught as training for first degrees.

The poor countries vary widely in the standards to

which their high schools aspire. In Africa the British and the French have sought to establish standards at their metropolitan levels, and, in so far as they have succeeded, most of Africa should be able to follow the British or French patterns. In some other countries (for example, Egypt or India), in which the numbers of high-school students have swollen more rapidly than funds or trained teachers have, high-school standards are lower, and both entrance and exit levels into and out of universities are substantially lower than in Western Europe. Faced with low standards of entry, the universities in such countries must either lower the professional standard or else lengthen the course (of which the extreme form is to make the professional course postgraduate).

The question as to whether there should be less basic science is a difficult problem. A number of arguments point toward reducing the amount of basic science in professional courses in the poor countries. The students have less practical work in their backgrounds than do

the students of rich countries, and therefore they need more time for this aspect. They have less practical experience because in their societies it is offensive for a middle-class person to do manual work instead of employing a servant to do it for him. (This is a form of share-the-wealth which custom has decreed in areas that do not have social insurance.) Students also have less experience with mechanical devices, since they do not live in a mechanical civilization and therefore do not become familiar with mechanical devices from an early age, as do children in the rich countries. Consequently, more time is needed in their professional training to accustom them to using their hands.

Because technicians are not as well trained and not as reliable as in the rich countries, professionals have to spend more time supervising them; the professionals must be able to show their technicians just what to do. This also means relatively more time for practical work. Since professionals are scarce and therefore work in greater isolation from one

another, each must have more of all-round competence. For example, an engineer sent to look after public works in an isolated rural area should be able to turn his hand to civil, mechanical, and electrical tasks, hence he must be given relatively more "know-how" of the various sides of his profession, and he has relatively less time for basic science. The same argument tells in general against providing opportunities for specialization in the undergraduate professional course. Most universities require the student to familiarize himself with every aspect of his profession (if we count civil, mechanical, and electrical engineering as three separate professions) and to postpone specialization until postgraduate courses. A medical student is not allowed to choose between pediatrics and surgery. In the rich countries, however, there are some exceptions: an agricultural student may choose between, say, chemistry and entomology, and an electrical engineer may choose between power generation and electronics. Specialization usually in-

volves more basic science. It is arguable, therefore, that universities in the poor countries should be less willing to permit specialization at the undergraduate level.

In some professions the need of using local materials for teaching purposes increases the factual burden of the course and thus reduces the time available for theoretical principles. This situation occurs wherever the local material has to be an auxiliary to, not merely a substitute for, the material used in teaching in temperate countries. For example, the medical student in the tropics has to know about all the diseases that occur in temperate zones, since these also occur in the tropics, and in addition he has to know about tropical diseases. In adapting any syllabus for use in a poor country, one has to decide how much of the factual framework taught elsewhere can be scrapped in favor of local conditions and how much must be retained. In some cases the result must be a net increase in the facts to be studied.

The professional must learn more social science in

the poor countries, since social change is occurring more rapidly there than in the rich countries, and therefore the professional is more deeply involved. His own work is one of the important forces causing social change. Moreover, his status in society is continuously being affected by the changes taking place. Some room, therefore, should be found in his course for instruction in the sociology of change. One cannot class this problem with other aspects of general education and dismiss it by saying, "This should be done in the high schools before the student reaches the universities." Students of high-school age are not ripe for sociology.

So much for the arguments for reducing courses in basic science. A strong case can also be made for maintaining the amount of basic science taught. This argument would begin with the premise that the professional is isolated and consequently needs to be able to turn his hand to many things. To do this, he must have a sound training in basic principles rather than a superficial training in techniques. In

his isolation he will meet many new problems which can be solved only by taking thought and by returning to basic principles. He needs both more science and more technique, and if one has to be sacrificed, it is not obvious that it is the science that should be curtailed.

The correct answer to our question is probably this: if the professional standard is to be as high in the poor as in the rich countries, professional courses should be a year or so longer in the poor ones, to allow for an inferior background in high schools, the need for more practical work, an increase in the syllabus because of the incorporation of local materials, and the need for a greater emphasis on social studies. But should the professional standard be as high in the poor as in the rich countries? There are several arguments for a lower standard. Even in the rich countries most professionals are overtrained for the work they actually have to do. University syllabuses tend to be framed with an eye on the student who will become a university teacher or research worker, whereas

the great majority go into jobs they could do just as well with a year less of academic training. The poor countries need proportionately even fewer research workers, and separate provisions can be made for their training. To maintain equal standards requires a longer and correspondingly more expensive training in the poor countries, which they can afford. Many such nations have abandoned the attempt to maintain equal professional standards, even if they once tried to do so. Given the great shortage of professionals, especially in rural areas, such a nation is better off with four three-quarters trained professionals than with the three fully trained.

Although many countries have abandoned the attempt, many others still strive to maintain their professional standards at European levels, not only out of national pride but also for other reasons. The routine portion of professionals' work is usually passed over to technicians, whose numbers can be multiplied more easily. This practice makes it all the

more important that the relatively small number of professionals who supervise technicians should be thoroughly trained.

The psychological effects of inferior standards are bad. A poor country is likely to employ a number of well-trained foreign professionals, and it is embarrassing if its own professionals are admittedly of inferior quality. This is especially true when the better paid or more responsible jobs are held only by people with foreign qualifications. The local universities are downgraded in the public eye, and students try to go abroad for education rather than to their home institutions. The latter are discouraged and find it hard to recruit or keep good staffs. This further reduces their quality by adversely affecting their capacity to do useful research. For such reasons, a number of countries have abandoned the inferior professional qualifications they previously offered (for example, Nigeria has dropped medicine, and Trinidad, agriculture) and have substituted qualifications intended to equal simi-

lar qualifications in Europe.

Although the great majority of the graduates of professional schools are required for jobs that demand competence but not brilliance, a significant number are needed to undertake fundamental research. The biological sciences and the professions based on them demand much more fundamental research than do the physical sciences. Whereas the physical structure of the earth is much the same in temperate as in tropical zones, the living organisms differ considerably. An engineer can transfer from a temperate to a tropical environment with only small adaptations; but an agriculturist has to spend a year or more relearning his job.

How fundamental is "fundamental"? Some research requires scientific training and imagination of the highest order; in the process, new scientific truths of universal application will be discovered. In the biological sciences it is hardly profitable to distinguish between pure science and research of the kind the poor countries need — for example, research in

animal and plant genetics, leading to the breeding of new useful types; human and animal physiology in hot climates; pests and diseases, animal, plant, and human; or plant and animal nutrition. Basic principles already worked out in temperate countries will be applied, but since the animals, the plants, the insects, and the microbes are different, the research has to start almost from scratch; it demands the highest qualities, and is likely to yield new universal principles.

The situation in the physical sciences is rather different. Here the main research task is to devote known principles to making inventories of economic resources: discovering minerals or underground water supplies; assessing soils; recording river flows and meteorological data. Such work demands professional competence rather than scientific imagination. The principal scope for fundamental research is in such fields as these: climatology; methods of combating the effects of torrential rain, earthquakes, or months of continuous sunshine on

such structures as roads, dams, and buildings; the utilization of local resources, such as crops, forests, building materials, sources of energy; the conversion of sea water; the invention of new engineering processes that use less capital. Some of this research (especially on the exploitation of materials) can be done in the laboratory in temperate countries, but virtually all the biological research, and nearly all that part of the physical research that is concerned with the effects of the local environment, have to be done on the spot.

There ought, therefore, to be a large number of fundamental research stations strung round the globe between the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn. Actually there are very few such stations. The tropics are not yet adequately equipped even to make routine inventories of their resources; and they are far from coming to grips with fundamental research. It is not necessary that each country establish a battery of high-quality research stations. For example, there are now twenty countries in

West and Equatorial Africa between the ex-Belgian Congo and the Sahara Desert, but most of them have less than 2,000,000 inhabitants and could not support expensive research institutes. Asia fares better, having fewer and larger countries, of which several could maintain their own scientific establishments, as indeed India already does to a very considerable extent. It is true even of South-east Asia, however, as of Africa and Latin America, that the necessary stations for fundamental research will not be established on a substantial scale until groups of countries learn to combine for this purpose, with or without the United Nations or other international assistance. There have been some good beginnings, for example, sugar-cane breeding in the West Indies, cocoa research in West Africa, or rubber research in Malaya, as well as outstanding work on tropical diseases (done mainly in the laboratories of temperate countries). Nevertheless, an immense scope for expansion remains.

Since the professionals depend on basic science, their

research work depends on a supply of persons with a first-class training in science, whether educated in the professional or in the science schools, like the professional ones, mainly produce persons who need to be competent rather than brilliant. Most of their graduates go into high-school teaching or into routine jobs in commerce or administration. There is little manufacturing industry, and such as there is generally does not engage in research or else it conducts its research in parent establishments in the rich countries. The universities themselves are the largest market for highly trained scientists capable of good research. Nevertheless, every university science school is under pressure to do some research and keep up its standards, partly to make its own teaching lively, partly to contribute to knowledge, and partly because good scientists cannot be retained unless they are given opportunities for research. Many universities are therefore able to produce some men who, given further training, would do well in research.

In the professional schools, professors interested in research tend to feel badly handicapped by not having learned enough basic science in their own undergraduate days, and this prejudices them in favor of putting more and more basic science into the undergraduate syllabus, even at the cost of lengthening the course. This is hardly necessary, since the small number of professional men who go on to research can learn the extra basic science need during their postgraduate training.

What seems important is that, whereas the undergraduate course can be taught adequately in a professional school that has very little basic science, postgraduate training and research in professional subjects can be done adequately only in close association with strong science schools. Thus, while undergraduate teaching can be dispersed over a number of schools, postgraduate teaching must be concentrated in a small number of institutions in which both basic science and professional study are highly developed. It is all the better if these

postgraduate teaching institutions can be linked with the fundamental institutes.

Study in foreign countries has many attractions that study at home lacks. Standards are usually higher, the qualification carries more prestige, and its monetary value may exceed that conferred by the local school. Also, travel provides valuable experience. If the students go to foreign universities whose costs are met principally out of public funds and not out of students fees, it becomes much cheaper to send them abroad than to educate them at home. For example, for what it costs to run the University College of the West Indies, we could send one and a half times as many students to universities in Great Britain. This argument applies to small countries like the West Indies or Ghana, but not to large countries like India. Professional schools are especially costly to small nations, because they need a minimum complement of staff to teach each aspect of the course. For example, Nigeria has been advised that to run a veterinary school economically re-

quires an output of about seventy students a year, and she is finding this a stumbling block. The remedy would be for countries in this situation to group together to run professional schools; but this is not always politically possible.

On the other hand, the provision of professional schools at home has several advantages which may outweigh the higher cost. In so far as the syllabus is based on local materials and on research into local problems, what the student learns in the home university is more relevant to the job he will have to do. This is particularly important in the biological professions. The teachers do not merely teach: if doctors, they look after patients, inside and outside the hospital; if engineers, they do consulting work. The teachers play a part in the life of the community, they sit on boards and participate in private and public decision-making. If they are of adequate scientific caliber, they also carry on useful research of a kind worth paying for, even if there were no students. A large proportion

of students who do go abroad do not return home, and the cost of educating them, therefore, is lost to their country, except in so far as they make remittances.

A good compromise is to give students their first degree at home and then to send the better ones away for postgraduate training in

large, well-staffed and well-equipped institutes. As we have seen, however, the poor countries need a few of their own such institutes to do fundamental research into the problems of their regions. Where such institutes exist, a student can do effective postgraduate work there before he goes abroad.—*American Journal*.

UNCHASTE

The NP is the old, divorced wife of the electorate — divorced for her infidelities. The LP is the brand-new current, and legal wife whom the electorate married, thinking it was pure and beautiful. The husband-electorate won't be any angrier to discover new evidence of infidelity of his old, divorced wife. But what flaming rage he will go into to discover that his pure and beautiful new wife has had some unchaste experiences before — and after the wedding. — Napoleon G. Rama in the *Free Press*.

■ A group of British writers report on a new revolution in Russia — in education.

INSIDE SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY

The society and economy of the Soviet Union are in state of momentous flux. The visiting observer, although forcefully reminded that this is a country where free thinking is still a very timorous beastie, cannot escape a sense of mounting excitement as he speculates what sort of new Russia may be erratically emerging.

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The biggest single fact about the Soviet Union today — at once old communism's one real success and the most exciting seed of change within it — is the educational revolution. This has been dramatic, and may now be convulsive. The Soviet Union has always held out considerable opportunities for mass education to its people, but for those who had become set in their careers before Stalin's death the incentive to push their education outside very narrow bounds cannot have been

exactly lively. In the topmost positions eleven years ago it was better to be quiescent than dead; among the masses, up to 1953 it was illegal to change one's job without permission (to do so, or even to be more than twenty minutes late for work, was actually a criminal offence), while to rise in one's career or to acquire knowledge beyond a certain point could often be pretty dangerous. By contrast, for those who have completed their education or grown to intellectual maturity since the Stalin ice age melted (broadly speaking the one half of all Russians below the age of 30) self-improvement has been, and is, all the rage.

In remoter villages compulsory education up to the age even of 14 is not yet fully established, but in the big towns education up to the examination equivalent of age 17 or 18 (most often by part-time study) is quite

quickly becoming the general rule. There is good reason to believe the official claims that 57 million Soviet citizens, over one in four of the population, are doing some form of part-time study today; and that 12 per cent of all young people can now expect to go on to university or its equivalent. Compared with Britain (where nearly 60 per cent leave school and often all forms of learning at 15, and only 7 per cent go on to university or its equivalent) this is a pretty educated — and, within limits, an increasingly thoughtful — young Russian society that is now being created. Compared with the Russia of yesteryear, it is a metamorphosis.

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Between 15 and 20 per cent of Russian homes now have television sets, compared with 80 per cent in Britain and nearly 50 per cent in Japan. In some recent estimates for the Rand Corporation — which would seem to be broadly right — Janet G. Chapman has estimated that the average real industrial wage in the United States is more than four

times as large as in the Soviet Union, but average consumer income per head only about three times as large. The American people buy 83 times as many motor cars per head as the Soviet people, about 11 times as many refrigerators, have about 4 times as much housing space buy three times as many eggs, twice as much meat, shoes and radio sets. But in purchases of clothing (leaving aside questions of fashion) the volume purchases in the two countries is more nearly equal, while the Russians surpass the Americans in cinema attendances per head; in second best durables like motor bicycles and sewing machines, in starchier foods like bread and potatoes and also in some social services (although certainly not in all: the collective farmers, who make up such a large proportion of the population and are not counted as state employees, get no old age pensions at all).

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Even in the limited number of "unofficial" encounters that our programme permitted, it emerged that dangerous thoughts are not con-

fined (as the official monopoly likes to insist) to a few pampered adolescents. Not all the questioning minds encountered had been through a higher education. A few were students, but more were, although young, already embarked on active working lives. It is, however, the ferment of ideas in the universities that seems to worry the authorities most. Most of Moscow University has now been quite well insulated in the gigantic new buildings well out of town, with entry tightly controlled by passes. Leningrad university, with its 14,000 students, is still perilously embedded in the the centre of the city, and, despite its historical interest, it is not a place to which the visitor's attention is directed. We were not taken to either.

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There can be few countries where people read so many books — not only in the innumerable libraries, but on the underground, in buses and parks: both fiction and textbooks on medicine or nuclear physics, on economics or philosophy. Talk to youngsters who have already

left school and they will usually tell you about their evening classes or correspondence courses or, at least their plans for further education. The government has put its money on education and the young men have seized their opportunities with both hands. You may be surprised how small the purchasing power of the salary of your hotel chambermaid or driver still is. You should not be surprised to learn that their children have gone to college.

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It is thus no wonder that in Russia, the old tend to talk in generalities and the young to quote facts and figures. Soviet leaders emphatically deny any antagonism between "fathers and sons." They are right to the extent that there are exceptions on each side. It is also true that — unlike, say, their Polish counterparts — the young Soviet people most eager for change take for granted the system in which they were born and want to reform it only from within. And even the most sophisticated of them suffer from nu-

cated and impressively learnerous blind spots about both home and foreign affairs.

Yet the difference in spirit and mental make-up between generations, and the young people's eagerness to learn about the outside world as well as their own, are striking. They already know more than is to be found in

Pravda or even the *Daily Worker*. Their critical spirit seems bound gradually to invade all fields. Already they are not quite content with official versions and, though still timidly, are trying to learn what "the other side" has to say in an argument. — From *The Economist* June 1, 1963.

HONESTLY?

There has been a flood of denials from officials whose names appear in Stonehill's "Blue Book" of any unethical relations with the ex-GI. They had nothing to do with Stonehill or whatever they did for him was entirely proper; at any rate, there was no corruption of public officials, according to the statements. Was the Stonehill economic empire founded, then, on the rock of honesty? — Teodoro M. Locsin.

* * *

SCIENCE AND EVIL

Science has powers for evil, not only physically but mentally; the hydrogen bomb can kill the mind . . . it is necessary that those who control government should have enlightened and intelligent ideals, since otherwise they can lead mankind to disaster. — Bertrand Russell.

■ Mums and dads learn how to rear children for citizenship in a Soviet state.

UNIVERSITIES FOR PARENTS!

And now its Parent's Universities in the Soviet Union!

These institutions of learning or mums and dads have sprung up in Moscow and Leningrad, in the Ukraine, and elsewhere. They offer one-and-two-year courses, designed to make sure that the USSR'S expanding network of boarding schools and pre-school establishments is backed up by understanding and cooperation at home.

Soviet mums and dads take kiddy culture seriously. Studies include: school, child psychology by age groups, pedagogy in the home, reading guidance, this last with much information about literature. Additionally, elective courses cover domestic science, the cutting and sewing of clothes, and so on.

Courses in child hygiene equip parents with essential knowledge to "grow healthy and happy children." The psychology courses acquaints them with psychic develop-

ment and its characteristics in different age groups. This information is held to be "necessary to parents for resolving their educational problems."

Heightened interest in parents education at this time is due to the decisions of the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, calling for completion by the year 1980 of transition from the socialist to the communist society. A broad expansion has been projected in the system of pre-school facilities and boarding school, which gives the state an even greater control over the development and indoctrination of children. Making sure that the home does not undo the work of the school, parents are thoroughly instructed in the aims and techniques of Soviet education in schools of their own — Parent's Universities.

In this connection, Premier Khrushchev's demand at the 22nd Congress is quot-

ed: "The generation of Communism must be formed from childhood on, it must be nurtured and made hardy in youth; we must watch attentively, lest we have moral cripples, victims of improper upbringing and bad example."

It is made clear that no matter how much of the child's rearing is taken over by the state, the parents are not relieved of their share of responsibility. In fact, any undesirable non-school influence is apt to be blamed on parental degree than ever before.

Parents who attend their university for a special one year course take up child hygiene, psychology, and pedagogy in the family. The two-year students grapple with reading guidance at home, and with advanced courses in psychology, pedagogy, and history of pedagogy.

Attending lectures and participating in seminars, they receive factual histories of child rearing at home, cases close to their own daily experience. The examples are analyzed in the light of the dominant educational

theory. This initiates parents into applying the pedagogical approach explaining the cause-and-effect link between parental influence and child behavior, the attitude of children to school work, to their contemporaries and elders.

The Parent's University at the Moscow State University has found especially useful the written reports of parent students who tell of concrete changes on the family scene, thanks to their study of psychology and pedagogy.

Soviet authors strongly advise provision within the Parent's University framework for individual and group consultations. It is recognized that parents feel the need to consult with the expert instructors. Ideally talks which are held on days free of lectures and seminars have become extremely popular.

Parent education includes excursions to the Houses of Pioneers, sitting in on lessons in their children's schools, familiarization with the long-day schools (these do not return children to their homes until the adults

of the family are back from work) and with children's numerous clubs.

Admission to Parent's Universities now is much easier than it was in some cases at the beginning. At the Moscow State University any parent wishing to attend is allowed to do so even without a written application.

In fact, Parent's Universities are a channel for efficient and extensive propagation of the principles of child rearing for citizenship in the communist state.

Simplicity is the keynote in organizing Parent's Universities. They may be attached to such diverse organizations as Palaces of Culture, clubs, libraries, residential-complex administrations, schools, teacher-training institutes, Homes of Pioneers, and others. Often one

eager person sets up a small committee, which finds a qualified leader. Together they examine the likely programs of study, recruit lecturers, assist in research and preparation of materials, and attend to other organization matters.

At Parent's Universities, students are shown how their sons' and daughters' reading will evolve from year to year and they are introduced not only to extensive, carefully compiled book lists but also to independent orientation in the midst of a steady stream of new juvenile literature. Reading-guidance lectures and seminars are often followed by "literary concerts" where school boys and girls read, recite, and dramatize works under review. — *London Express Service*.

CIRCUMSTANCE

Earth wages open war against her children, and under her softest touch hides treacherous claws. The cool waters invite us in to drown; the domestic hearth burns up in the hour of sleep, and makes an end of all. Everything is good or bad, helpful or deadly, not in itself, but by its circumstances. — Robert Louis Stevenson.

■ The average Filipino today believes in Faith, in Fate, in Fortune. All three can be rolled into one.

FAITH, FATE AND FORTUNE

E. P. PATANNE

The lowland population of the Philippines which includes the larger language groups in the islands usually finds distinction in belonging to "the only Christian nation in Asia."

Christianity in the Philippines today has moved up into the highland groups and deeper into the interior. Catholic and Protestant missionary effort in this country continues.

The Christianity in the Philippines is largely defined by adherence to the Roman Catholic Church. And some 83 percent of Filipinos profess this faith.

In high schools, Filipino students are constantly reminded that one of the eternal contributions of Spain to Philippine history is the Catholic religion. A perusal of Philippine history does sustain this statement. It

was this religion which the early Spanish-Mexican missionaries nurtured in this archipelago that was to provide a common faith for conglomerations of etho-linguistic groups.

Some Filipino scholars have even asked the question: "What if Spain did not come to the Philippines?"

Of course the answer, at best, would still remain a speculation. The fact is — Spain ruled the Philippines for over 300 years.

Another fact is that the first Filipino converts to Catholicism were those already settled in the coastal areas. Until the close of the nineteenth century, Catholic missionary work in the hinterlands was a painful effort.

In the south, in the area of Mindanao, Palawan and Sulu, where Islam had earlier established strongholds,

Catholicism was to content itself with small outposts. And these had to be backed by force.

Checked in the south, missionary work in the interior of the large islands and the mountainous region of northern Luzon, was till the beginning of the American occupation, stymied by strong indigenous religions.

Since the turn of the century, however, Catholicism has made deeper penetrations inland.

Catholicism today, with roots extending back 300 years, has suffered change in practice and in belief. This was inevitable. For when Spain moved into the Philippines, the islands although politically disunited, more or less, enjoyed a common culture bolstered by a system of ritual and beliefs differing only in the pantheon of gods. Upon this cultural matrix, Spain imposed a new religion. The result today as can be gleaned is a merger or blend of Christian doctrine and rites with pre-conquest beliefs and practices.

The Christianity that has found meaning to the larger mass of Catholics is describ-

ed by scholars as a "rich folk Catholicism."

For the new religion was only accepted along lines where the early Filipino with his own naive metaphysics, could welcome change without profound psychological discomforts. The process was dramatic. Although a Portuguese navigator by the name of Fernao de Magalhaes stumbled upon these islands in 1521, and in the name of Spain saw fit to consider these lands a Spanish discovery, it was not until about the middle of the seventeenth century that the Hispanization process began.

This so-called period of colonization saw an echelon of zealous and sanguine Catholic missionaries from Mexico, the New Spain, move into the Philippines.

The redoubtable religious orders — Franciscans, Dominicans, Recollects and Jesuits — trickling in from their spiritual hearths in the New World, had accepted a new challenge.

Conversion of the inhabitants of these islands to Christianity was, however, only a stepping stone to conquest and exploitation.

But here were a people whose lives were already locked in their own concept of the universe. The task of the early missionaries was to win a people over to the side of a new faith, something which they knew the populace would have to understand and accept as something better.

The initial task of conversion was not as easy as is nicely told in Philippine history books.

The early Spanish missionaries knew that they first faced with a terrific language problem. Next, they also knew that it would demand an understanding of the culture of the people. Only after having learned the language and having lived with the people, could ideas of change be induced. Hence, it is to the early Spanish priest-historians that Filipino scholars today can be indebted for their narratives of the life-ways of the Filipinos at that time.

If the Philippines today is a highly Christianized country it is because of the fact that the idea of a new religion was finally accepted by the larger groupings of Fili-

pinos. A new set of ideas was pushed across an entirely strange cultural setting. Although we feel that some form of coercion was used, still we believe that religion could only be sold on its own merits.

The early Spanish missionaries already knew the concept of 'motivational research.' We are rather inclined to disbelieve the view that Catholicism was rammed down the Filipino's throat.

We tend to believe that Catholicism was pushed in a slow and painful effort in a kind of 'soft sell' approach. Cultural mechanisms had to be discovered and tapped and this the Spanish missionaries did.

The social structure of the early Filipinos was analyzed. Only, to our thinking, a full understanding of lines of descent, inheritance, residential patterns, authority figures, generational respect, familial roles and kinship terminology could have guided the early missionaries into winning over a largely matriarchy-oriented population to accepting the symbol and

the implications of the Holy Mother.

The kind of Catholicism introduced into the Philippines was not based on the reconquista tradition, which by its nature was a well-defined crusading faith that Spain had mounted a military (and bloody) *jihad* against the "infidels."

The Christianity brought to or imposed upon the Philippines in the seventeenth century was already a humanized affair touched with the ideals of the Renaissance.

Then, the hierarchy of the church and the state was of the view that the "evangelical enterprise should provide their compatriots with no licence to trample over the legitimate rights of the natives." (Andrew Phelan in 'Hispanization of the Philippines.')

It was the great wish of the Spanish king at the outset that the Filipinos be spared the Mexican and Peruvian holocaust. Spanish imperialism was to be gentle and forceful but not bloody.

After all, the larger objectives of the Spanish adventure into this part of the world were: (1) to push Por-

tugal out of the spice trade, (2) establish a base for further missionary work in China and Japan, and (3) to Christianize the archipelago.

The actual Hispanization process began in 1565 when Legaspi's Mexico-based expedition finally made a foothold on the islands.

Church and state in the Spanish view being one, the concept of conversion was to be directed toward getting the inhabitants 'under the bell.'

For the Spanish missionaries discovered that while some population clustered in small villages, there were others in the outlying areas. Conversion could be a very difficult thing. To get the population concentrated in accessible points was both a religious and political job. To accomplish this, the Mexican-Spanish missionaries not only borrowed from their experiences in Mexico and Peru but also had to introduce some innovations.

The big towns of the Philippines today have their hearts in the plaza dominated by the church on one side and the town hall on the other. But before making

new changes on the landscape, it was necessary to convince the Filipino that the new religion was much better. Since the old religions still thrived, it was again deemed necessary that all symbols of native belief be destroyed.

Wooden idols and so-called sacred groves were declared idolatrous and destroyed. Almost anything that seemed to bear an indigenous thought was consigned to the flames. The early Filipinos watched these desecrations of the religion of their ancestors with, we believe, no small amount of protest.

But in the cultural setting then obtaining, it was the powerful god that must rule. And the power of the Christian God was made eloquent in the booming of the Castilian cannon, the gleaming armour and weaponry of its new Far Eastern conquistadores. The Christian God was championed against all and any gods.

The Spanish soldiery that backed up the conversion movement was, to our thinking, the one big factor that finally broke through native

resistance, both in mind and in spirit.

This was on the military plane. But the early Spanish missionaries, really accomplished much on the psychological plane. Soldiery was only brought in when the convincing had met a hostile resistance.

Working their way into the very mind of the people, the Spanish missionaries used some gimmicks, knowledge of persuasion and 'miracles.' Every town almost in the Philippines has some kind of 'miracle' connected with the person of the patron saint.

But it was in the fiesta, an annual festivity in a town or barrio, celebrated in honor of a patron saint, that the new religion finally came to terms with the values of an old culture.

Phelan in his book summarizes the Hispanization of the Philippines thus:

"From the viewpoint of the Church, the Catholicism of the Filipinos left much to be desired. The quality of indoctrination was not always adequate, nor did converts always participate fully in the sacramental life of the

Church. Outward religious formalism, rather than sound doctrinal knowledge, the triple dangers of idolatry, superstition and magic, added to the infrequency in the administration of the sacraments, were all defects which could have been partially remedied by a well-trained Filipino clergy."

Catholicism in the Philippines today, to its larger adherents, seems to be defined by a compromise arrived at centuries back between the new and the old religions.

The early Filipinos accepted many features of the new religion, but they also retained certain features of their own. Hence, the view that Christianity in the Philippines today, to a large extent, is a kind of 'folk Catholicism.'

It's a new and foreign religion accepted and adapted by a people whose basic outlook toward life had already been sunk in their ancient subconscious.

The average Filipino today believes in Faith, in Fate, in Fortune. All three can be rolled into one.

The Catholic Filipino worships God, believes in the

Bible, goes to church on Sundays — but he also conceives of the Lord as a "giver of gifts," performs certain rituals and reads omens in so many things.

The sweepstake is an almost weekly affair in the Philippines. To win a major prize and a big purse, the typical Filipino today would invoke not only his Christian God but also a belief-idea that could guarantee a high probability score "to make it."

The ritual demanded to accomplish this end, again, is worked through the rituals of the Catholic religion, but ever strengthened by other formulas based on numerology, astrology and superstition.

But over the years, all these acts of propitiation and an intelligent reasoning on Faith have been so blended that form and substance in spiritual affairs have achieved a certain consistency. And the average Filipino does not feel ill at ease in moving through this channel of behavior and action.

But he has begun to feel ill at ease because the religion he has finally imposed

upon himself suffers from inner inconsistencies.

These inconsistencies form, as a Filipino historian has pointed out, one stumbling block to the Philippines moving forward.

For the Filipino believes in technical progress. He can appreciate this. But he is not quite so willing to alter a

tradition fortified by his present system of worship and ritual.

It is again a strange thing but the Catholic Church in the Philippines can see this 'change' clearly and, against an almost fixed matrix of tradition, Filipinos are moving forward. — *The Asia Magazine*.

ECONOMIC CZARINA?

The way things are going now, says Ernesto del Rosario of the *Manila Chronicle*, Senator Maria-Kalaw Katigbak may soon be the 'economic czarina of the Republic.' Dr. Jose Katigbak, notes del Rosario, is already head of the ACCFA. Senator Katigbak's son in law Armand Fabella is Program Implementation Agency director and her nephew Sixto Roxas is chairman of the National Economic Council and the Rice and Corn Agency.

"Some people say [Senator Katigbak] is also related to Executive Secretary Rufino Hechanova [Senator Katigbak], the first crowned beauty queen of the country, was Visayan like Fenny." Some set-up, indeed!

■ Famed writer says West Berlin has no monopoly of laughter and self-mockery.

LETTER TO A WEST GERMAN FRIEND

GRAHAM GREENE

What a relief it is sometimes to find oneself on a material frontier, a frontier visible to the eyes, tangible — even when in Berlin it is a wall. For most of us have all our lives in this unhappy century carried an invisible frontier around with us, political, religious, moral . . . Nearly 40 years ago I stepped across such frontier when I became a Catholic, but the frontier did not cease to exist for me because I had crossed it. Often I have returned and looked over it with nostalgia, like the little groups on either side of the Brandenburg Gate who on holidays stare across at each other trying to recognize a friend.

I was reminded of my invisible frontier when I stayed with you in West Berlin. Up at night in the roof-garden of the Hilton Hotel — a garden where vari-co-

loured bottles take the place of flowers — you pointed out to me the great arc of lights around the west, and the deep space of darkness beyond, broken only by occasional short chains of yellow beads. 'You can see,' you said, 'where the east lies'; yet it is the mark of frontiers — the evil of frontiers perhaps — that things look quite different when you pass them. Four days later, driving into East Berlin from Dresden and Potsdam, I was not particularly aware of darkness — not at any rate a greater darkness than you will find in the industrial quarter of any large city at 10 o'clock at night. It was true there was no Kurfestendam, though that name conveys now none of the gay haggard associations of the Twenties. The big new restaurant in the Unter Den Linden was still bright with lights; the shop

windows too were lit and there was an elegance in the window-dressing which you do not find in Moscow. Alone of communist cities Moscow seems to frown on the allure of consumer-goods — she makes the worst of what she has, while in East Berlin and Bucharest and Warsaw they make the most.

We left the Hilton bar, you remember, and drove to Bernauerstrasse, where the wall shows itself, especially at night, in its most uncompromising form: shoddily built, the colour of mud and rust, protected on the eastern side by a depth of wire-entanglement, it is all the uglier for its pettiness; it stands little higher-than man's head between the blind houses on one side of the street. The eastern windows have been bricked up, and at night the houses near the wall bear obvious dark sign of evacuation. Here and there a light shines from 50 yards behind. A church has lost its only entrance, the wall running slap across the doorway. Upon the western side the dark crosses, and perpetual wreaths are like the memo-

rials on alpine roads where a man has plunged to death.

This wall, and the checkpoints where foreigners and West Germans can visit East Berlin for the day, represent the great difficulty of communism. For a possible convert they stand there more impassably than any dogma of proletarian democracy, and what happened in Budapest, after all, happened less than half a century ago in Dublin. Official atheism I am able, perhaps mistakenly, to regard as passing phase (I prefer in any case atheism to agnosticism under the guise of official Christianity), and the comparison of living standards is an unreliable and unpleasing argument. What of the standards of living in rich Venezuela? Do we have a better car than the man next door? I remember a young West German friend saying, 'How glad I shall be when butter and meat cost the same on both sides of the wall. Then we can argue about things that matter.' You would think from the photographs of daily visitors that it rained only in East Berlin, and that the rain fell on nothing but

ruins in the East — missing the new apartment-buildings and the new stores.

There is a wall neurosis: the visitor is more aware of it in the west than in the east because there the wall is geographically inescapable. Take a drive in the evening as we did in the little patch of country still belonging to West Berlin: the road is packed with cars, driven by people seeking the illusion of space and air, until suddenly there the wall again, not of brick or cement this time, but of wire and water divided by buoys and patrolled by eastern police boats.

Belief, like it or not, is a magnet. Even what seem the extravagant claims of a belief are magnetic. In a commercial world of profit and loss man is hungry often for the irrational. I do not believe that the little knots of people who gather near Check-point Charlie are there to demonstrate repugnance, as do the bus loads at the Brandenburg Gate. Part of Berlin has become a foreign land and they are staring into the strangeness, some with enmity, others with apprehension, but all

with a certain fascination. Behind them lies the new city, the smart hotels, the laden stores; but capitalism is not a belief, and so it is not a magnet. It is only a way of life to which one has grown accustomed.

To take the few steps beyond Check-point Charlie can be compared with the acceptance of the last difficult dogma — say the infallibility of the Pope. There are moments when the possible convert is in a state of rebellion; he can see the wall and nothing but the wall. There are moments when he will gladly stretch his faith to the furthest limits. Perhaps there is always one moment when he shuts his eyes and walks into the wide ruined spaces beyond the check-point. He looks back over his shoulder and the dogma has suddenly changed. What had been a threat can even appear like a protection.

You were unable to accompany me for obvious reasons beyond the check-point, but you have asked me to tell you what I noticed there. You reminded me how my character Fowler in *The Quiet American* claimed

proudly to be a reporter and not a leader-writer and you recommended me to be the same. But for a reportage one requires more than the two-and-a-half days I had in the East, and one requires to speak the language however roughly. The reporter deal in this case only with himself; he can report only this own evanescent impressions. Of course, I could write you about the magnificent Leda of Rubens at Dresden, at Pilnitz the magnificent Gauguin and the Toulouse-Lautrec brothel scene, curiously described in the catalogue as a scene in the artist's atelier (puritanism or innocence?); I could describe the ruins left by the great blitz, war crime worse than that of Hiroshima; I could note the big changes since three years ago in East Berlin, the new apartments on either side of the Karl Marx Allee where I remembered desolation, a shop of new designs in furniture and ceramics which would do credit to our English Heal's, in the poorer older streets which have survived bombardment not too bad a selection of consumer-goods —

at least they are purchasable in a variety of small shops: one is not subjected to the crowds and ennui of the gigantic GUM.

The more expensive clothes-shops have style — they were also full of clients with enough money to spend. Wine is chiefly Bulgarian. Food is simpler and less varied than in West Berlin, but it is not expensive. I judge not from the big restaurants, but the small country inn where I lunched, well off the autobahn, on the way to Dresden and the people's restaurant where I dined in Potsdam. The hotel in Dresden was a luxury hotel with show-cases of champagne, perfume, and women's clothes (well-designed). I have a feeling that these are not the details you want.

I have spoken of the wall as a protection. Naturally this was the way it was presented to me by the young officer at the Brandenburg Gate in a speech too long, too prepared and too innocently propagandist: a protection from spies, saboteurs and black marketeers. His stories of deaths along the wall almost too carefully

duplicated the circumstances of deaths on the western side. Crosses and wreaths are a popular expression, and though they may be as misleading as photographs, they are a great deal more convincing. It was not from this officer that one gained the sense of the wall as protection, nor from the booklet purporting to give the names, addresses and telephone numbers of the CIA staff in West Berlin beginning with a Mr. Harry Grant of 15 Taylorstrasse and ending with a Miss Jane Rowley of 17 Stuartstrasse (telephone 76-49-87). There were private tragedies of divided families before the wall was built as well as after — families divided by the temptations of the West.

The West is too inclined to attach heroic motives to all those who escape across or through the wall. Courage they certainly have, but how many are 'choosing freedom' for romantic motives, love way of life, and how many of a girl, of a family, of a are merely tempted by a standard which includes transistor radio-sets, American blue jeans and leather

jackets? As long as living standards differ, there'll always be motives less than noble.

You may think I was conditioned by the friends I made on the other side of the wall, for true it is, when I passed Check-point Charlie returning west, I felt as if I were leaving something simple behind me and coming out again into the complex world of Bonn. In a few more minutes I would be talking again with my western friends about the case of *Der Spiegel*, about the wiles of the old Chancellor, about Doenitz's school speech in defence of the Nazis and the headmaster's suicide; I would be asking about the record of General Spiedel and the latest Nazi scandal in the government of Bonn.

There have been scandals, of course, on the other side, but they have been ruthlessly cured: the sore does not continue to run there indefinitely. In West Germany one hesitates to probe the past of any man in his fifties or sixties. I felt no such hesitation in the east. Of four friends I made there two were old communists who had spent

the war in a refugee camp in Shanghai; one had served in the British Army, landing with a Scottish regiment in Normandy; one, having fought with the International Brigade in Spain, saw the war out in South America. Perhaps the old Catholic convert has something in common with the old communist convert which makes it easy for the two to get on terms — he has lived through the period of enthusiasm and now recognizes the differing regions of acceptance and doubt. One communist, who had been an orthodox Jew, said to me, 'I gave up my faith when I was 18 and joined the party. Now at 50 one realizes that everything is not known.' There's a funny story — told in the

East. Khrushchev has been asked by the Central Committee to visit the Pope and try to reduce the tension of the Cold War. He reports to the Committee when he returns: 'I have reached a compromise with the Pope.' (The members express uneasiness at the very idea of compromise.) 'I have agreed that the world was made in seven days.' (A tumult follows.) 'Yes, but listen to what the Pope has agreed — that it was made under the leadership of the Communist Party.'

On this side of the wall we are apt to believe that we have a monopoly of laughter and self-mockery. Brigitte Bardot is playing in the east. — *New Statesman*, May 31, 1963.

RELIGION

Religion will not regain its old power until it can face change in the same spirit as does science. Its principles may be eternal, but the expression of those principles requires continual development. This evolution of religion is in the main a disengagement of its own ideas in terms of the imaginative picture of the world entertained in previous ages. — Alfred North Whitehead.

- There is something wrong with British society, and a good deal of it may be attributed to deficiencies in education.

EDUCATION AND SACRIFICE

C. P. SNOW

We are in a mess about our education. Or rather we have let ourselves settle into a pattern so crystallised that it is going to be preposterously hard to break. Unless we break it soon — and I mean in years, not decades — we shall slide into genteel decline. To break it is going to mean sacrifice. It is going to mean the sacrifice of money, which will have to go quite deep in our society, of privilege, of intellectual comfort, of self-esteem. To begin with, we have got to see our education clearly, not through our fog of familiarity, but as foreign observers do.

First, a simple statement about it. There is too little of it. It is too narrow both in spread and concept. It divides us more than any education should. By and large, in fact, we are doing rather badly, and we don't

like ourselves because we are. Let us be crude. I am not imagining the extreme slowness of our growth in national production. The figures are these: for 1938 let us take the national product as 100 in each case. In the United States it has since gone up to 225; in West Germany to 228; in the OEEC countries on average to 164, and here to under 150. If you take the base of 100 for the year 1950, West Germany is now 225, France 170, Italy 202, Netherlands 158, the OEEC countries on average 164, and this country 129. There is something wrong with us. A good deal of what is wrong, though of course not all, should be put down to our educational deficiencies. This part at least — if we have the spirit — we can put right.

But we are a deeply conservative society. I do not

mean conservative primarily in a political sense. Some of the most dangerous conservative elements in our feeling come from people who would think of themselves as liberal-minded. On the other hand there are many who are calling themselves conservatives, who have a sense of the future and who would make much sacrifice — not only of money, which is the easiest to make — to see us on the way to health. I have to warn you however, that a society which is psychologically conservative has three successive techniques for dealing with a disconcerting truth. The first is the technique of the absurd denial. That is, when General de Gaulle announces that Great Britain is an island, the first response is to say: 'No it isn't.' Or if one says that the number of persons getting PhD degrees is many times higher per head of population in the US or the Soviet Union than it is in our country, the first response is blandly to deny the plain facts.

Defensive Techniques

This process, however, cannot be maintained indefi-

nitely and it is succeeded by the second stage, which is the technique of the intricate defensive. One wants to discuss something fairly straightforward, like the benefits or otherwise of hanging. Any really practised practitioner in the intricate defensive will start off by asking interesting questions about the kind of rope. One produces concrete evidence about American and Russian higher education. 'Ah yes,' says one's interlocutor. 'But before we go any further, are you really certain about the second-year standard at the University of Irkutsk?' Finally, there is the third stage. This is the technique of hopeless acceptance, when the game is given up and the need for previous action accepted — but alas, now it is too late! This will happen unless we are careful, in some of the bitter controversies of our time 20 years hence. We must not let it happen in this.

I think we should all agree that many of our academic friends have a peculiar mastery of these techniques. I remember seeing them in full operation early in the

war. It was obvious that, if we were going to use the radar systems first invented by Watson Watt, we should need a very large number of scientist educated to something like degree standard in electronics. It was obvious that, unless we trained these men, our chances of survival would be perceptibly reduced. On the other hand, there were some who saw the problem differently. I had an old friend, a good and honourable man, who played a considerable part in university administration. I will call him Robinson. The first defence was, of course, to deny the need and to say that we could get on perfectly well with about 500 scientists. The second was to say that even if the need existed, the universities could not possibly do anything about it in three, four, or five years, or any time which was relevant to the war.

Fortunately, the third technique of hopeless acceptance — that is, that we ought to have done something earlier, but now it was too late — never really came into play. For we went into action ourselves. The conditions of

war had a way of clarifying men's minds, so the arts we could bring to bear managed to prevail over the intricate defensive. In fact, we educated in four years considerably more scientists and technicians than the men who fought on both sides at the Battle of Waterloo. But I have never forgotten Robinson. He had only three words to describe any effort to alter universities. The mildest was 'scandalous'. He would then go on to 'disastrous'. When he became really moved, he said that our proposals were 'catastrophic'. We became a little moved ourselves.

Well then, let us begin with what we do well. I once asked one of my wisest American friends what he thought was the chief positive merit of our education. He is himself an academic, he knows us intimately, and has lived among us for years. His reply was this: if one had a really startling specific talent, the sort of talent which sticks out unmistakably from early childhood, such as a genuine gift for mathematics, he would rather be born in England than in any country

He knew, certainly his own. That was our saving grace. If he were any other kind of child, even one whose talents were great though not so specific, he would much rather be born in the United States.

I would like to suggest three other proficiencies of ours — though these are proficiencies which are interwoven with our shortcomings. The first is that our honours degree at all universities — the standard varies very little, despite what snobbish persons think — is taken at a younger age and is in a specialized way more exacting than the first degree in other countries. That is, anyone who gets a first or a good second in any English university at the age of 21 has been through a severe professional training. More severe, perhaps, than is reached elsewhere until the age of 23 or so. I use the word 'professional' with care. In many respects he is less thoroughly and sensibly educated than his foreign contemporaries. But I do not want now to talk much about English specialization. There is no doubt that the English first

degree, in its higher reaches, is a remarkable example of what can be done in the way of intensive instruction.

The Cost of Private Schools

This leads back, of course, to our second skill. At our secondary schools, both private and state, we also achieve extraordinary feats in the way of intensive instruction. There is no real equivalent to our scholarship forms in America and Russia, the countries whose education I have studied with some care. At 18, the kind of student who is going to get a higher honours degree is, in his own specialized field, normally much ahead of his contemporaries elsewhere. Thirdly, we perhaps have something to teach others in certain aspects of primary education. We start educating children at five, which is maybe too early: but heroic feats are performed, in circumstances which do not bear examination, in a good many state primary schools. And we are astonishingly good at teaching the clever children of those who can afford to pay handsomely for the privilege, between the ages of six and

13. There is no equivalent anywhere that I know of to our private schools for children between those ages. That is, of course, where our social division begins.

We do all this, and it is not to be laughed off. But we do it at a heavy and, in the not too long run, at a crippling cost. At all levels from 15 upwards we educate so few of our people. Look at a few figures. I have said before that the only two countries about whose education I can claim to know even a little at first hand are the US and the Soviet Union. I will start at the top of formal educational training. In his speech on 29, January on the state of the nation, President Kennedy devoted much attention to American shortcomings in education, both in quality and in quantity. The President was specially worried because the number of PhDs graduating each year was too small: only a half of 1 per cent of each age group. This means something over 12,000 a year. I did not realize it was so large. The administration now appears to think that 20,000, or even 25,000, is the

kind of figure which should be achieved very soon. And 'very soon' in American terms does not mean 10 years ahead. The figure for Soviet PhDs — they call them Candidates, but they are exactly equivalent — is about 10,000 a year and is rapidly rising.

Before I go any further, don't fall into the English trap of thinking these doctorates inferior to ours. If you are tempted to do so, go and try to get one. In general, I should guess that the average standard of quality of PhD theses in the US and the Soviet Union is somewhat higher than our own. They are taken a good deal more seriously, and usually require considerably more of a graduate student's time. Five years is by no means an abnormal period to spend over one's PhD in the US. In Cambridge, at any rate, it used to be fairly difficult to be turned down for one's PhD once one had got started on one's research.

With all that said, what is the number of our PhDs each year? The curious thing is, no one seems to know. But our number of

PhDs is certainly less than 1,500 per year, and probably appreciably less. Multiply that by three or four, and you get a reasonable comparison per head of population. This, remember, is right at the top of educational training, where our assumption is that we are at our best. Of our final number, a substantial proportion, as the Royal Society's report has told us, are moving to the US. There is nothing sinister about this. All countries are short of trained and able men, and are going to remain short for the foreseeable future. Trained and able men tend to go where they can do the best work. Incidentally, nearly all these men are interested in education. They are academics or other sorts of professional. One of our best hopes of getting them back is to let them see that we are reshaping our education, and that we need them to help us do it.

There are some other figures which are perhaps not well enough known. The revenue expenditure on universities is at present between £60 and £70 million a year. We ought to make

allowance for the fact that in this country a good deal of higher education is carried out outside the universities. For instance, we spend about £16 million a year on teacher's training colleges, and £3 million a year on advanced technological institutions. Let us err on the generous side and add in another £13 million for expenditure on further education, which in some countries might be done in colleges. This makes a total of £100 million a year. The American expenditure on college education alone is £2,000 million a year. As in this country, the greater part of this sum comes from public funds. But it is a bit of a shock to find that annual private gifts to universities and colleges in the US amount to about £400 million a year, that is, four times our total expenditure on higher education. Soviet expenditure on higher education is roughly equivalent to American.

The number of students receiving higher education in the US, the Soviet Union and Great Britain is roughly what these figures suggest.

In the US approximately one third of each age group enters college at 18. The number of students receiving higher education is about 3 million. The comparable number in the Soviet Union is about 2 million. With us, the number at universities is 110,000; and probably we should add something like 50,000 to this, to include students at technical colleges, teacher's training colleges, and others working for professional qualifications. It is true that the wastage at American universities and colleges is very high. The number of students who graduate is about half the number who enter. But I have a good deal of sympathy with the American attitude, which is that it is better to open your doors to a number of students who are going to profit much, in order not to close those doors against students who are going to profit a great deal.

The Soviet wastage is about the same as ours. It is slightly baffling to visit the fifth-year class at a Moscow or Leningrad institute and find its numbers have actually grown, not shrunk,

from the first year. This is, however, simply because there is a good deal of movement between universities, as in Germany, and good students in, for example, physics from all over the Union have a knack of arriving in Moscow for their final year or two.

What is our defence against these facts? First, I think, refusal to realize how uneducated we are. The only stratum where we are rich in ability is in jobs which are being done by boys leaving school at 15 onwards, who either did not want to go to a university or could not get in. Much of our middle-grade clerical or minor administrative work is done much better than in America and Russia, and probably as well as anywhere in the world. But that is a wretched consolation. We may not realize the half of our danger for another 10 or 20 years, when the results of American and Russian education have had time to show. Educating a whole people, as they are trying to, is a long business. Often the results seem disappointing. The Americans have already

been at it for two or three generations.

It is important to remember that university education in any recognizable modern sense, with provision for organized research, is much older in the United States than with us. Similarly, Soviet education did not start in 1945, although it was then, by a heroic decision, given the highest priority. I believe that visitors to either country can now get the first intimation of what this investment in education is going to bring. Ours is a comfortable country, one of the most comfortable of all countries to live in. It comes as a little of a shock, if one gets out of New York and centres of recent immigration and settles down somewhere else in America for a few months, to realize that through great stretches of their population they are appreciably better educated than we are.

Our final line of argument is that we don't believe in mass education; we believe in educating an elite. Yes, but a tiny one; much smaller than we think. We often speak, and have managed to

persuade ourselves, as if our minute army of 110,000 students at universities were all starred first, the perfect product of the English competitive and specialized education. If that were true, though it would be socially dangerous in the extreme, we should be getting on in practical terms a good deal better than we are. In fact, the number of students whom our singular system of education suits and who really succeed in it, is quite small. If one guessed about one fifth of the whole, that would probably be a considerable exaggeration.

Together with our illusion about elite education, we say something else much more mischievous. It is that we have collected all the talent that exists in the country. There is no one else who could possibly benefit by our university education. I cannot conceive how this ever came to be said. It means, first of all, that the English are much stupider than everybody else, since, as we have seen, other countries carry the highest level of education to a far larger proportion of their people

than we do. It means something else, which is very wicked. It is roughly that the children of the working class, together with female children of all classes, are beyond hope, predestined to ignorance, not capable of any serious higher education at all. Once again, the facts speak for themselves. Manual workers are still the bulk of our male population and hold about 70 per cent of all jobs, yet only a small fraction of the university population of this island is drawn from their children, probably less than 25 per cent. At Oxford and Cambridge, as is now well known, the number of students from working class homes is bizarrely small — something over 10 per cent for Oxford, and less for Cambridge. This cannot be right, unless you believe that the separation of our people into castes has been so genetically complete that most of the working class are predestined to be stupid.

Women get almost exactly the same treatment as the proletariat. Out of each four students at our universities, only one is a woman.

This is grotesque. We, of all countries, can't afford to waste half our talent. Even if we could, it would be wicked to discriminate on sexual grounds. In fact, there is only one reply to the grosser troubles about our higher education. Put the wrong right. And that means, without the kind of finesse which plays with little truths in order to conceal big ones, immediately increasing its extent. There must be more of it. Starting not 10 years ahead, but now.

Our Distorted Priorities

The trouble is, we talk a lot and do so little. We are all setting much hope upon the efforts of the Robbins Committee. We have set up some new, small and promising universities. But the years are passing by, and other countries are acting while we sit and watch. Unless we act too, and far more decisively than has been contemplated, we shall, in 10 years' time, be giving higher education to a lesser proportion of our 18-year-olds than we do now. That would be a remarkable achievement. But let us take heart: it is

likely to happen. I believe that public opinion is now getting to some extent informed; parents and children are beginning to realize what they ought to demand; perhaps they will have the fighting-power to get it.

But whatever we manage to do, the one certain thing is that it will still be too little. Once a country has got its priorities distorted, over a very long period, it is maddeninigly difficult to make them sensible again — unless one is living in a revolutionary situation, which we are not. In our kind of society, the power of political action or of government decision is usually more limited than we think. Since 1945, there have been a number of years when we in this country spent appreciably more on egg subsidy than we did on universities. No one in cold blood sat down and decided that this was a rational order of priorities. It just happened. Our pattern of higher education has also just happened. It will take immense political judgment and will — probably more than our situation can permit — to alter it enough.

But, even if we can't, that is no excuse for doing nothing.

It will be realistic and sober to say that we can double our university population in 10 years. The cost will not be excessive. No one now doubts that the ability is there, even if we continue to allow our university education to be dominated, as at present, by the specialized honors degree. That is an argument which will continue as we get into action, just as others will. How much stress do we lay on this faculty or that? How can we get students of high talent into the technologies (we are very bad at this) and how do we develop the technologies into a first-rate humane education? We should answer some of these questions if, in the process of expanding our universities, we diversified them more. The most economical method of expansion not only in money, but in staff and buildings, is by magnifying existing institutions; and no doubt, for harsh practical reasons, that will have to be our major way. But my own impulse would be to experi-

ment with as much variety as we can contrive.

Until quite recently — until Keele and Sussex and the newest foundations — the English and Welsh universities have modelled themselves on Oxford and Cambridge, as if there were no other concepts of university education at all: although they had only to look north of the border to see a radically different system, sprung from roots as deep but in the best sense more democratic, more flexible and more capable of adapting itself to a world which we must foresee.

Perhaps the strongest single impression of American universities and colleges today is their variety. Most English people tend to think of them as being of enormous size. Some are. The University of California has getting on for 50,000 undergraduates, just about as many as the total student population of this island in any pre-war year. Most of the California undergraduates are taught in two gigantic campuses, at Berkeley and Los Angeles. Like all other known methods of university

education, this has its disadvantages; but it has also spectacular advantages. By all the criteria by which we justify our own, the University of California is one of the greatest in the world. That is, its record of original research stands comparison with any university — and that may be an understatement. Its top rank of students equally stands comparison with any. If any university ever educated an elite, then California does; and this as a result of a supreme effort of mass education.

These great state universities — California, Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, Illinois and several more — are going to become more important, not less. Through their sheer size and through their public support, they have resources which no other universities can compete with. There are already many fields of research which they alone can touch. I suspect that for many of the ablest and most adventurous of undergraduates their size is not in the least frightening, but a source of energy.

It's an English mistake,

however, to think that all American institutions are large. As usual, they go to all extremes. Some of their most famous colleges are tiny. Haverford and Kenyon run to 500 students or so; Amherst to 900. These are all liberal arts colleges — which doesn't mean that science and engineering are not taught. They are, and very well. The title simply means that normally the colleges will not arrange organized research courses for the PhD. The undergraduate courses are usually as various as in a large university, and as fully staffed. That is, of course, an expensive method of teaching; the amount of individual tuition would startle those who boast of the Oxford and Cambridge tutorial system. It produces some most impressive results. For a great many students — and for some of the most valuable — it seems the most effective undergraduate education now available. Some of my friends who agree with me on most of these topics, disagree on this; I won't budge I suppose we can't manage to afford a couple of liberal arts colleges, just to

try them out? No government would feel that it was enough, in the way of numbers, for its money; but they would be an admirable object for a benefaction.

As we increase our universities, we have the chance of variety. And we have got to break some of our stereotypes now. Some could be broken by administrative action without a penny spent. The Colleges of Advanced Technology, which are universities in everything but name, should be called universities. They will equip themselves with their own education in the arts, just as MIT and Cal. Tech. do; for these technological educators, of whom B. V. Bowden is the most eloquent spokesman, believe passionately in what can be done by the interweaving of technological and humane learning. Give them their head: they are one of our sources of strength and hope. But why are the Colleges of Advanced Technology denied the name of universities? Who had the stupefying idea of labelling their graduating award with the gro-

tesque appellation of Dip. Tech.?

Labels ought not to matter overmuch. In the US almost the whole of higher education is conducted at universities and colleges, and the label one gets, when one passes the course, is that of a bachelor's degree. This label is attached to some courses which are not, by English standards, academic, as well as to many which are. The convention is nationwide, and is understood. The convention in the Soviet Union is more like our own. There are only 40 universities, most of which are of middling size. The great bulk of Soviet higher education is not done at institutions bearing the name of a university, but at a medley of others, some very large, like the Polytechnics; some small and concentrated, like the Gorky Literary Institute. From many of these one graduates, with various kinds of complex formulae. There is no single label like the bachelor's degree, but no one appears to mind. All that matters is that anyone who graduates anywhere—whatever his label—can go on to post-graduate education

and is in the field for responsible jobs. If you study the careers of, say, the present generation of high ranking Russian diplomats, you will find they were trained at engineering colleges, pedagogical institutes, all kinds of institutions. Their selection and use of personnel, at this level, must be far more flexible than ours.

This loose and adaptable system, with much higher education outside universities (in the narrow sense) would suit this country very well, from every point of view but one. The label of a bachelor's degree ought to matter: it matters only when it becomes something of a class label; and that is precisely what with us it has become. The invention of the label Dip. Tech. was the English vice carried in *excelsis*, the fine flower of our instinct to create a helot-class if humanly possible, even in learning.

Salvation for the Few

On primary and secondary education I want only to say some of the simplest things. This is not because I think they are less important than higher education. On the

contrary, for a good society, they are probably more so. It is simply that recently I haven't seen much of them at first hand. But there are some facts which stick out painfully into all of us. First, money. We spend about £800 million on education as a whole. The US spends approximately 10 times as much; and so, as far as one can estimate, does the Soviet Union. Comparing head with head, we are under-spending. Secondly, as in higher education, the children of manual workers, and girls everywhere, get less instruction after the age of 15 than anyone else; not quite so grossly as in higher education, but grossly enough to be human non-sense. Thirdly, the national drift to a narrow conception of academic excellence, which reaches its operative point in the degree, spreads right down through our schools. Our 15-18 years-old education is geared to be a preparation for the honours degree and nothing else. And this concentration begins far earlier. It is shown, in a genesis which is both dramatic and absurd, in the 11-plus. The 1944

Act had a lot to commend it; but only a mandarin society would have carried it into action in the way we did. We rather like the 11-plus because it tells us what we are only too ready to believe, that there are a few destined for salvation and a multitude who can be courtously forgotten.

This is not a process which we can view with any pride. It is wasteful in the opposite sense to the American wastefulness. They waste through being too indiscriminate; we waste through being too mean. It is not a humane process. If you have done any selecting at any age, you would hate to select at 11 — even if you believed in the purpose for which the choice was being made. Of course, at 11 you could pick out a stratum of academic flyers — that is fairly easy. You could pick out another stratum of children not equipped for any kind of academic training, though they are also God's creatures. In between comes a gigantic belt; and, if you are going to choose within this belt at 11, you might as well toss up for it.

(Concluded next issue)

■ Traffic in Manila can be exasperating, and often is, but in Turkey it is simply maddening.

ON THE ROAD TO BYZANTIUM

SIMON RAVEN

'Tomorrow,' said the second-class steward of the SS Mustapha Kemal, 'we come Iskenderu. Iskenderu is first port call in Turkey. There will be the formalities.' He pronounced the word with a heavy, whining accent on the penultimate syllable. 'Turkey formalities,' he said, and giggled rather wildly. 'Turkey formalities take all day, gentlemen, take all night. So long as customs men on ship, they eat ship's food; see? So they stay long time — eat breakfast, lunch, tea, dinner, supper. They so stupid with eating, gentlemen, they find nothing.'

He went into cubby hole and came out with an armful of skirts, blouses and assorted lingerie. He spread it all carefully and evenly over the five tables; he then covered it with a layer of newspaper, the newspaper again with tablecloths, and proceeded to lay the break-

fast things for the next morning.

'You see, gentlemen? These things I buy in Cyprus for my wife. Customs men want much money — is no good. So I hide here. Customs men, policemen, always eating. So no one look under tablecloth.'

At first we are sceptical about this strategem, but the morning we saw how sound it was. There were about ten customs officers of varying grades, some fifteen uniformed security men and a fair-sized platoon of hangers-on. From the moment they came aboard, they started eating in relays in the Second-Class Dining Room. At any given moment of the day, half the officials on board would be consuming one meal while the other half was champing for the next. There could be no question of lifting the tablecloths. Our steward, winking and

giggling, hurtled in and out of his cubby hole with unending replacements of crocks and provender, while the officials gorged and belched like happy schoolboys at a picnic, as ignorant as Medea's husband of the enormity which underlay their feast.

* * *

At Mersin, the second port of consequence as one sails up the west coast of Turkey, we disembarked ourselves and our car for the drive to Istanbul.

'Formaleeties,' said a man on the quayside.

'But,' we said, 'we went through all the formalities at Iskenderu.'

'Here,' he said, 'only ver'leettle formaleeties. Now, the secret of Turkish formalities is this. A document, which is regarded as a symbol of enlightenment and progressive administration, is a thing to be revered rather than understood. No one really knows whether it is in order or even what it applies to; but reverence for a certain time it must and will receive, and therefore the fewer documents you produce, the sooner you get away. On the

other hand, if you produce too few you are suspect, not so much as a potential law-breaker, but rather as though you were religious apostate of some kind, lacking in the proper respect for sacred matters. So a nice balance must be struck — enough documents to reassure people, not enough to occasion serious delay. For the 'ver'leettle formaleeties' at Mersin we decided to submit passports, an out-of-date insurance policy for the car (this to test the acumen of our persecutor), and one international driving certificate. The out-of-date insurance policy, being on thin and expensive paper, was a great success. The official hopefully asked for more like it, was denied, took his revenge by charging five Turkish lire (three shillings) to stamp the driving certificate, and waved us (not without courtesy) on our way.

* * *

It would seem from their history that the three basic elements in the Turkish national character are cruelty, courage and inefficiency. This impression is confirmed by the dress and the physical

features of the ubiquitous soldiers. In Konya, a famous inland resort where we spent our first night, the Sunday streets were full of them — little men with trailing khaki great coats, filthy boots, hatchet faces and beady eyes, wandering aimlessly round town without a *kuru* in their pockets, some of them hand in hand. They appear as tough as they do unamiable; and I am told that although they are badly led by corrupt officers, in close combat at least they are very effective.

This was explained to me by a schoolmaster in Dimar (a nasty little town apparently built in a marsh), where we spent the following night. The Turkish landscape, he said, is alternately savage and boring. It does not compromise or apologize; mountains are all sheer, lakes treacherous (and often salt), deserts merciless and plains vast. It follows that the men who come from most of this country must be brave and resourceful; to have survived at all they must have developed a remarkable talent for survival, which stands them well under arms. By

being a harsh and ungenerous parent, the country has endowed her sons with the virtues necessary to defend her. Or so my schoolmaster informant would have had me believe.

* * *

But however brave or cunning they may be, I cannot believe in the Turks' capacity to carry through any enterprise, even that of self-defense, until something is one about the mixture of fatalism and *laissez-faire* which we should call their inefficiency. Yet what can be done about it? Ataturk tried hard enough, Heaven knows; as a result of his efforts, it now takes only an hour and a half to cash a traveller's cheque in a large provincial town, there are only a hundred or so potholes to every hundred yards of road, and even the smallest village seems to have at least one shop devoted solely to the sale of busts and photographs of Ataturk. But for all these blessings, he has really changed nothing fundamental. For the point is, of course, that the Turks are Moslems — unenthusiastic Moslems, for the most part, but Mos-

lems nevertheless — and they are therefore prepared, indeed grateful, to leave the entire direction of affairs to Allah.

Consider the following incident. A small bridge had collapsed on the main — i.e., the only — road between Selcuk and Ismir (Smyrna). On either side of the bridge there were vast queues of traffic. There was not a single policeman in sight, but a gang of lorry-drivers was attempting, in an aimless and amateur manner, to construct a temporary road of stones, shrub and earth down the bank the other side. Plainly only Allah knew what would come of this, so we drove away to camp the night in the nearby ruins of Efes.

In the middle of these ruins was a small restaurant-bar, which although the ruins were seldom visited so early in the year, was luckily open. At the bar were two imposing gentlemen, who greeted us because we were foreigners, allowed us to buy them drinks for the same reason, and announced that they were, respectively the Mayor and

the Chief of Police of Selcuk. They had taken refuge in the ruins, they explained, because otherwise people would come and pester them about the bridge and the traffic. (The disaster had occurred just inside their area.) This kind of thing was always happening after the spring floods; it was doubtless very annoying for a lot of people; but what could they do about it? The traffic police would be angry if called out for extra night duty; the official in charge of repairs had gone to see his brother in Antalya that morning; his men were useless without his direction and almost useless with it. Then when, we asked, did he think we would get to Smyrna? He shrugged his shoulders as if we were talking about Peking. The only thing to do, he said, was to let matters take their ordained course: one day was as good as another for seeing Smyrna, which was a noisy city full of dirty and expensive whores. Yes, another raki would be acceptable

Without much hope, we returned next morning to

the bridge. By some miracle, it seemed, the temporary road was nearing completion, and the yoghurt vendors, who had done a brisk night's business, were already leaving. And indeed, after an hour more, the traffic began to move — only one way at a time, but palpably to move. Then, at the high moment of victory, ten traffic policemen, magnificent in blue uniforms and white caps, appeared to take charge of the situation they had ignored all night; a moment or

two later, the Mayor and the Chief of Police took their stand by the temporary road, bowing and raising their hats to each newly released vehicle as it passed.

'Good morning, gentlemen,' said the Mayor with smiling effrontery when it was our turn. 'It is all as I said, you see. All our arrangements have gone smoothly, and you will be in our beautiful city of Smyrna in good time for your lunch.' — *The Spectator*, May 31, 1963.

SCIENTISM

Scientism is a disservice to science. The rise of science is the most important fact of modern life. No student should be permitted to complete his education without understanding it. Universities should and must support and encourage scientific research. From a scientific education we may expect an understanding of science. From scientific investigation we may expect scientific knowledge. We are confusing the issue and demanding what we have no right to ask if we seek to learn from science the goals of human life and of organized society. — Robert M. Hutchins.

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