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FOR A REAL DEMOCRACY

The excellence of popular government lies not so much in its wisdom — for it is as apt to err as other kinds of government — as in its strength. It has been compared, ever since Sir William Temple, to a pyramid, the firmest based of all buildings. Nobody can be blamed for obeying it. There is no appeal from its decisions. Once the principle that the will of the majority honestly ascertained must prevail, has soaked into the mind and formed the habits of a nation, that nation acquires not only stability, but immense effective force. It has no need to fear discussion and agitation. It can bend all its resources to the accomplishment of its collective ends. The friction that exists in countries where the laws or institutions handed down from former generations are incompatible with the feelings and wishes of the people has disappeared. A key has been found that will unlock every door.

On the other hand, such a government is exposed to two dangers. One, the smaller one, yet sometimes troublesome, is the difficulty of ascertaining the will of the majority. I do not mean the difficulty of getting all citizens to vote, . . . but the difficulty of obtaining by any machinery yet devised a quite honest record of the results of voting.

The other danger is that minorities may not sufficiently assert themselves. Where a majority has erred, the only remedy against the prolongation or repetition of its error is in the continued protests and agitation of the minority. — *By Lord Bryce in The American Commonwealth, p. 266-267.*

- Absence of standards is the cause of all kinds of confusion.

THE COURAGE TO SAY – NO!

Barbara Tuchman, Pulitzer Prize winner in 1963 for "Guns of August," in an address before a Chicago conference of the Association of Higher Education, said what should have been said long ago.

"Of all the ills that our poor criticized, analyzed, sociologized society is heir to, the focal one, it seems to me, from which so much of our uneasiness and confusion derive, is the absence of standards. We are too unsure of ourselves to assert them, to stick by them, if necessary in the case of persons who occupy positions of authority, to impose them. We seem to be afflicted by a widespread and eroding reluctance to take any stand on any values, moral, behavioral, or esthetic. Everyone is afraid to call anything wrong, or vulgar, or fraudulent, or just bad taste or bad manners.

"In the turmoils at Berkeley, at least as regards the

filthy speech demonstrations, there was a missed opportunity . . . for a hearty, emphatic and unmistakable 'No!' backed up by sanctions. Why? Because the act, even if intended as a demonstration of principle, was in this case, like any indecent exposure, simply offensive . . . and must be curtailed.

". . . if the educated man is not willing to express standards, if he cannot show that he has them and applies them, what then is education for . . . If at maturity he is not willing to express judgment on matters of policy or taste or morals, if at 50 he does not believe that he has acquired more wisdom and informed experience than is possessed by the student at 20, then he is saying in effect that education has been a failure."

The tragedy is that there are not enough persons ready to take a strong stand when canons of good taste are violated. — *From C.U. Business, April, 1967.*

■ (Speech delivered by V. G. Sinco at the Commencement Exercises of the East Visayan School of Arts and Trades, April 27, 1967.)

PRODUCTIVE AND RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP

Our people today appear united in their concern for economic sufficiency and for moral revival. This condition naturally implies that we do not produce enough food to feed ourselves, and that our sense of honesty, our will for self-help, our feeling for decency and honor are dulled and, for the moment, incapable of actively reacting to the voice of our collective conscience. It is a fact that newspaper and radio reports tell us every day about the constant discovery of law-breakers, young and old, get-rich-quick adventurers, unscrupulous businessmen, unprincipled politicians, and bribe-taking government officials in different parts of our country. These conditions disturb our law-abiding citizens as indicating a serious defect, illness, a cancer in the social body of our nation. If not corrected on time, most of our people will remain

discontented, poor, unhappy, and may even grow bitter and rebellious. Right now there are many among them who feel that it is far better for a man to be clever and crooked than to be intelligent and honest. They complain, some silently and others openly, against this condition of things, and they are, of course, right in so doing.

Persons who view the whole situation calmly and carefully are agreed that the Philippines is going through a crisis. In the case of an individual who is sick, a crisis is the serious and most dangerous stage of his sickness. If he is not properly treated, if he does not have a good physician, the crisis continues and ends in death. On the other hand, if he receives the right medicine from the hands of an able doctor, the crisis ends in recovery and strength. When a country is in crisis, it goes

through similar dangers and uncertainties as an individual.

Many Filipinos do not seem to be fully aware of it, but the truth is that our country is at the point of a moral, economic, and social crisis. The question that confronts us then is: What positive remedy can those who love this country offer and employ to tide us over this moral, economic, and social crisis? In my opinion the answer is simple to state but not so easy to carry out; and it is this: Develop the Filipino individual into an enlightened, responsible, courageous, and productive citizen. He is the solution. Without that kind of citizen, money, materials, plans, laws, and other measures will not be of much use and avail.

It is here where the role of the school looms large, particularly the school that educates the mind and will and trains the hand, the eyes, and the other sense organs of the individual. That is the kind of school which may be expected to develop the enlightened, responsible, and productive citizen. The education of the mind enables the individual to develop his

mental power, his reason, his emotions, and his imagination. The development of this side of a man's personality is obviously an indispensable requirement of life in a civilized society. It is specially so in a democracy in which the citizen has to perform important political duties in addition to his social and civic duties. The blessings of freedom in a democracy are not for the man who does not know exactly what freedom can do to him or does not care how and when to use it.

The education of the mind enables us to decide what is needed in our barrio, town, or city and to recognize what conditions our family, our neighborhood, and our society should have to be considered civilized. It enables us to realize the dangers of ignorance, superstition, and fanaticism. It lays before us the ugliness of hypocrisy, rudeness, pretension, and superficiality in half-baked personalities drunk with power or wealth suddenly and wrongly acquired. It enables us to realize that money is not everything and that there are other things that can make us even happier than the

mere possession of wealth. Such things as culture, sympathy, courtesy, thoughtfulness, generosity, gratefulness, love are priceless possessions of a person; and they make life worth living.

The training of the hands and muscles and other physical organs of the individual is a necessary counterpart of the cultivation of his mind, reason, emotion, and imagination. Without this training, the individual lacks the tools and skills for a balanced and productive life. This training is the contribution that a good vocational and technical course could make for the advancement of the condition of the individual and the nation. Even the intellectually competent man or woman may be handicapped, in his race for success as a citizen or as a worker when he does not have a certain degree of technical knowledge and vocational training. In fact, the intellectual of the highest type has to develop some manual skill to give him a sense of completeness in the joy of living.

Success in technical work is not attainable by one who has not learned to use his

mind. Stupidity and vocational education do not go together. In all fields of productive endeavor, whether in farming, mining, fishing, building construction, or any other line of work, one must be capable of using his intelligence, his thinking ability, and his imagination in order to produce desirable results. To this should be added certain moral traits. The best trained technician must have well-developed habits of industry and honesty. The most able engineer and most talented technologist cannot be productive if they are dishonest, careless, undependable, and lazy.

A friend of mine who was once President of an American University and at present the Director of International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) in Los Baños once told me this: "There is nothing miraculous in the so-called miracle rice." We should remove from our vocabulary the words "miracle rice." Highly productive rice is not the outcome of any miracle at all. This ill-chosen phrase might mislead some of us into believing that a certain kind of rice will produce 100 to 200 cavanes per

hectare if the farmer goes to church everyday and prays for a miracle. The only way to produce a large rice crop, says this great technical man, is for a person to work hard so that the plants will always be free from weeds and will always have a certain amount of water. But that is not all. He should also learn how to use the necessary fertilizer and the necessary chemicals for spraying the plants against dangerous bugs and insects; and then to protect them against rats and birds.

In other words, the successful farmer should have at least two important qualifications: one is moral, which is diligence and persistence, and the second is technical or vocational, which is knowledge and skill in the use and control of natural elements. In the absence of these qualifications, the so-called miracle rice will never appear no matter how many pious supplications a farmer addresses to high heavens. As the old copybook maxim runs: God helps those who help themselves.

When we analyze deeply the conditions necessary to enable us to live a happy life, to live in safety and in peace

with our neighbors, to contribute to the economic and cultural well-being of our country, we are bound to discover two general and basic factors: moral strength and mental vigor. These factors may be translated into a trinity of values, namely: integrity, industry, and intelligence. No priority may be assigned to any of them. The three should be simultaneously present. No tomorrow or next week or next year should be claimed for the observance or practice of any of them. They have to take place at present, at the same time, and in our midst. They have to be produced and used here and now.

A moral upsurge and an intellectual ferment must not only concern us but must move our spirit, our will, our determination to action and execution — immediate, constant, burning not to extinction but to an ever growing fervor. Then we will become productive, as individuals and as a nation; we shall have economic sufficiency. We shall completely stop going around as weaklings and parasites, asking for food, money, protection, drifting as beggars, incapable

of self-respect and self-reliance. We will not continue destroying our forests and other natural resources to enrich ourselves overnight but will restrain our predatory practices so as not to rob unborn generations of the national patrimony and to leave them miserable. We will not run for office or hold public position merely to fill our pockets and swell our bank deposits from the money people are forced to pay as taxes. We will not violate the laws, or steal, cheat, murder, smuggle in order to lead a life of ease and luxury, to build expensive homes, to put up gorgeous fiestas, to ride in flashy cars, to travel around the world. We will be able to avoid these evils and many more after we shall have gathered moral strength through the development of habits of industry and honesty, and shall have acquired the capital virtue of integrity, and shall have cultivated a sense of responsibility, personal and social, to the highest level possible.

Economic sufficiency is certain to follow the observance of these habits, practices, virtues, and values.

Self-discipline, self-control, self-reliance make their observance possible. Then nationalism will have substance, vigor, meaning, and worth.

As students, you should realize that mental development is not a process that ends on graduation day. No, it is not and cannot be completely accomplished the moment the student receives his diploma. A man's mind is not very different from a farm land. After a crop is harvested, the land has to be plowed again, planted, cultivated, weeded, watered, and carefully watched. Otherwise, it will cease to be productive. Wild plants may grow on it from the natural effect of rain, air, and sun but not the plants we most need, the plants that can fully satisfy our hunger for food or our thirst for beauty or our sense for personal achievement.

In almost the same way, our mind needs to be continually cultivated in order to be productive of good ideas, ideas that could make us healthy, strong, helpful, unselfish, creative, and decent men and women in our community. If we have learned the right kind of intellectual education in school, we can

take care of our personal and social development. In this matter of self-development, we are our own teachers teaching ourselves from books, newspapers, radio, contacts with friends, fellow workers, and other elements in our environment. Graduation in school or college should never put an end to it. If we stop learning by ourselves, cultivating our minds, training our hands, we will deteriorate mentally, morally, vocationally and we might as well be physically dead. But lest I be misunderstood, let me make one thing clear, and it is this: In real education, the mere accumulation of facts and ideas is not the principal purpose. What is important is the understanding and organization of the knowledge derived from them. The man with an organized knowledge is more valuable than one who is simply bursting with facts and figures.

As practical men and women, you should realize the value of industrial, agricultural, and other kinds of vocational training. As neighbors and citizens, you should realize the value of industry,

honesty, friendliness, courtesy, and cooperation. As human beings, you should realize and observe the transcendent ideals of justice, tolerance, and love. All these together spell development of character and improvement of the head, the hand, and the heart.

Moral invigoration is the salvation of the Filipino people. All of us, from the President of our country down to the humblest man in the street, should dedicate the totality of our efforts, our energies, our talents, and the utmost force of our will to bring about this moral revival. It should be the object of our individual and national commitment. Without this, economic sufficiency is not possible, corruption and disorder will not stop, national advancement will not take place, even if Congress and the President will set aside billions of pesos, recruit thousands of men for public service, and deliver hundreds of speeches in all corners of this land of tremendous but unrealized potentialities. The need is for enlightened, unselfish, and sincere leaders and for industrious, intelligent, honest, and responsible citizens. — *V. G. Sinco.*

- This is a review of the book entitled "The Case of Philippine Private Education — A Study of a Monolithic System of Education" by Dr. V. G. Sinco (Community Publishers, Inc., Manila).

THE CASE OF PHILIPPINE PRIVATE EDUCATION

Anyone who is at least familiar with trends and issues in Philippine education, the first thing he will note after reading thoroughly Dr. Sinco's latest book is that it lends itself so well to a paradox. Considering the significance of the subject it treats and the cogency with which the treatment is made, the book is one which should find itself into the hands and perusal of newspaper editors, school officials, educators, college students, and, specially so, our legislators. And yet the paradox would exist that even if it were read by the aforementioned individuals, the book, we hazard to guess, will probably register only a mild surprise, and no passionate controversy at all, in the minds of its readers. Why? The reasons are not hard to seek. In the first place, it has been quite some time now that Dr. Sinco has kept hammer-

ing at the thesis that the monolithic system of education that we have kills creativity and stultifies diversity. So consistent has he been with such a view that readers will correctly guess what his latest book is about. In the second place, the time has now come when the value of Dr. Sinco's stand is starting to find acceptance and adherents who express views closely similar both in content and spirit to Dr. Sinco's that the process has tended to blur distinction between originator and follower.

However, that is quite understandable. The fate of those who advocate right but unpopular causes always follow a distinctive pattern. At first, the advocate is either rejected, spurned, scoffed at or, at the most, paid but the scantiest of attention by the public whose welfare he seeks to serve. Later on, however, time heals wounds, circum-

tances bring changes in the direction of the advocate's favor, distance provides perspective, until, finally, the cause which was once spurned is taken up by the majority as a gospel with the vindication of the advocate.

The cause that Dr. Sinco has been espousing for over two decades is, of course, far from being accepted by the majority. Indeed, Dr. Sinco himself expressed to this reviewer his plan to enlarge the present book which indicates, more than anything, that he himself is very much aware that there will still be much to do to effectuate the ideas for reform that he writes about. Even so, it is no longer uncommon to hear today some educators and school officials and public officials as well chafe and rail against the deadening effect brought about by the rigid standardization of our educational system which discourages the "spirit of initiative and the urge for progressive experimentation" of some of our private colleges and universities. Three years ago, for instance, then PACU and Lyceum President Sotero H. Laurel wrote on the twin issues of state power over pri-

vate schools and the scope of academic freedom in which he used, as one of his springboard for discussion, the case of the *Philippine Association of Colleges and Universities. Secretary of Education.* (51 O. G. 6230).

Dr. Sinco's book is made up of two chapters. In the first, he presents his case against educational standardization by dwelling on the merits and virtues of its opposite, which is diversity. The discussion is mainly anchored on his elucidation of references to and quotations from such eminent figures in science, education and politics as Prof. Lester Smith, Einstein, Health, Welfare and Education Secretary John W. Gardner, Julian Huxley and the late President Kennedy. Dr. Sinco also makes references to both the American and the British educational system, with emphasis placed on the latter wherein decisions regarding the adoption of curriculum and method of teaching are left to institutions of higher learning. This tells how cognizant is the British government of the fact that no freedom is more important to teachers and educators than the free-

dom to choose their own curriculum and method of teaching. Dr. Sinco, however, takes care to mention that the freedom that British private colleges and universities enjoy is not absolute or irresponsible. Rather, they are "limited by unwritten obligations which compel them to comply with their educational commitments and to maintain expected standards of achievement and performance."

The references and citations of the views and opinions of established thinkers, however, seem to this reviewer less interesting reading than the personal scrutiny and analysis that Dr. Sinco makes when he comes to the second chapter of the book. It is then that the thrusts of his mastery of the Constitution and his first-hand experience as educator and administrator, first, as Director of the Bureau of Private Education in 1945 and later as President of the University of the Philippines are brought into full play. Subjecting the Constitutional provision on education and individual freedom to a rigorous examination and in the light of major decisions

of the United States Supreme Court and state courts such as those of *Meyer v. Nebraska* (262 U.S. 390), *Bartels v. Iowa* (262 U.S. 404), *Pierce v. Society of Sisters* (263 U.S. 510), *Farrington v. Tokushige* (273 U.S. 284), *West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette* (319 U.S. 624, 657-658) and *Parker Collegiate Institute v. University of State of New York* (298 N.Y. 184), Dr. Sinco states the dismaying conclusion that state control over private schools in our country contravenes the Constitution because it deprives parents, owners and teachers of private colleges and universities of liberty and property without due process of law; moreover, it deprives parents of their natural right and duty to rear children for civic efficiency, concerning which Dr. Sinco's words may be aptly quoted at this point:

It should be noted from the terms of the provision . . . that the Constitution does not grant the right and duty referred to and involved in it; it rather expressly recognizes and acknowledges this attribute, power, and responsibility as a *natural right*

and duty of parents. As such, it is, therefore, an inherent and inalienable right and so it may not be disregarded, limited, curtailed, trampled upon by any act of legislative department, much less by any administrative regulation of an executive official (*italic in the original*).

Moreover, with respect to the powers that the Secretary of Education has over private schools, there is an unlawful delegation of unlimited power. Dr. Sinco says:

Assuming that the legislature could enact measures on the subject, nevertheless it is not authorized to delegate this power to administrative officials in broad and unlimited terms.

The conclusion that can be derived from Dr. Sinco's lucid exposition is irrefragable. It is nothing less than this: We have either kept our minds deliberately closed from rightfully interpreting our Constitution or we have let what he terms a 50 year old tradition of educational "trial and failure" bound us in chains of indifference. For our legal systems and prescriptions are patterned after

that of the United States; and yet, strangely enough, clear as the decisions of the United States Supreme Court and state courts are on questions so similar to ours, we still come up with different, if not opposite, interpretation.

Aside from its being Constitutionally invalid, state control over private schools in our country is, according to Dr. Sinco, downright impractical. Upon assumption of office as Director of the Bureau of Private Education on April, 1945, Dr. Sinco made a thorough and detailed study of the functions of the bureau and found out that even with the much smaller number of private schools than "the functions of the Bureau and its entire personnel under the law and under its rules and regulations far exceed in number and difficulty the functions and responsibilities of the Board of Regents, the University Council, and the different faculties of the University of the Philippines. To perform them properly and satisfactorily, we need to have a huge and talented agency equal to some 10 or more times of the instrumen-

talities that the University of the Philippines possesses. For one Bureau to do this work satisfactorily is ridiculously impossible."

How this transgression on the Constitution evolved is traced by Dr. Sinco in the topic entitled "The Background of Private School Supervision." Starting with a discussion of Act No. 74 passed by the Philippine Commission, Dr. Sinco then takes into account how the instruction of private schools as well as their facilities were unsatisfactory and inadequate owing primarily to the Spanish orientation of their founders and teachers, to the obsolescence of the Spanish language which was the language of instruction used, and, finally, to the difficulty of recruiting competent American and Filipino instructors. The condition of private schools during that time necessitated the enactment of the legislative measure recommended by the Monroe Report "to prohibit the opening of any school by any individual or organization without the permission of the Secretary of Public Instruction." Dr. Sinco agrees that as far as the condition then warranted,

the placement of private institutions of learning under the control of the state was justifiable. However, such a method should have been enforced only as long as the defect and the inadequacies which it meant to correct existed; otherwise its indefinite and unnecessary extension would only prove inimical to the growth and welfare of the private schools which it meant in the first place to foster in the spirit of freedom and liberty.

For however well-meant and necessary state control over private schools may have been then, still the threat and danger it posed to the Constitutional liberty of the individual was not lost to perceptive Filipinos. Indeed, commenting on the perspicacity and foresight of *La Vanguardia* whose editorial of May 22, 1912 decried the act as an offense against the freedom of education, Dr. Sinco takes to task the late Governor-General Forbes. Dr. Sinco writes: "The thought expressed by this editorial. . . was not understood by Gov. Gen. Forbes, whose previous personal experience was confined to business and banking matters. Without a suf-

ficient background of educational experience and with a meager knowledge of academic problems, he referred to the system as an 'admirable arrangement.' "

The responsible and judicious criticism that Dr. Sinco levels against both former Gov. Gen. Forbes and Dr. Joseph Ralston Hayden, the last American Secretary of Public Instruction, are in fact among the highlights of the book. Dr. Sinco's zeal for reforming our educational system is only equalled by the impartiality and justice of his criticism. This can be clearly seen in Dr. Sinco's criticism of Dr. Hayden. Dr. Sinco and Dr. Hayden were personal friends during the pre-war years. During the years immediately following the conclusion of the last World War, Dr. Sinco was instructed by then Philippines President Sergio Osmeña to work with Dr. Hayden on the collaboration issue, a joint venture which, however, did not materialize for both because of the sudden and unexpected death of Dr. Hayden. And yet, it is a measure of Dr. Sinco's objectivity and overriding concern for truth that he does not let

personal friendship stand in the way of an impartial and just assessment when he scores Dr. Hayden on two counts: First, for not having kept himself abreast with the authoritative pronouncements of the United States Supreme Court on subjects affecting education and individual freedom thereby making him commit the error of interpreting the Constitutional provision which states that "educational institutions shall be under the supervision of and subject to the regulation of the State" out of context and unrelated to the substantive provisions on education found in other parts of the Constitution; and secondly, for making contradictory statements declaring the categorical freedom of private schools from state control in another part of his book *The Philippines: A Study in National Development* which therefore nullified his previous statement about the supremacy of the State over the individual.

If Dr. Sinco does not spare American public officials and friends from his criticism neither does he exempt the government from the blame of having made a sorry state

of our educational system. The government is to blame, too, because he says that "in spite of the fact that the Philippine Corporation Law provides special rules for the organization of private colleges as non-stock corporations, both the Department of Education and the Securities and Exchange Commission permitted secular educational institutions to be established as stock corporations in the same way and for the same ultimate purpose as those of regular business enterprises."

Worse still, he continues, in spite of the enormous amount and the great extent of the assistance rendered by private schools to the government and the people, the government has not seen it fit to reward those non-stock and non-profit institutions or given them incentives and encouragement. "Profit-making colleges and universities," Dr. Sinco says, "receive the same treatment and are subject to the same rules and regulations as those that are non-stock and non-profit. It goes without saying, therefore, that the criticism of the Monroe Report against the practice and adverse views

expressed by those who dislike the commercial exploitation of education may continue to fall on deaf ears."

The book ends with the invitation that we begin pulling down our monolithic structure of education by putting into actual practice the principles enunciated by our Constitution which grants autonomy to our private colleges and universities.

The same quality of clarity and avoidance of frills that Prof. Rex D. Drillon, President of Central Philippines University, found in the style of Dr. Sinco's writings when he reviewed the latter's *Education in Philippine Society* in one of the issues of the *Philippine Historical Bulletin* can be noted in the present book. To be sure, it is not a style that will fascinate a reader with a propensity for the figurative or metaphorical. This is because Dr. Sinco's method is clear exposition, not suggestion, and his goal is instruction rather than pleasure. We surmise that this is largely due to two factors, namely, first, his legal training which makes him always on guard against the airy and the unsubstantiated; second, his personal attitude

towards the craft of writing which makes him disdain and loath the employment of ghost-writers aware as he is that their service can only bring about the insidious corruption of the integrity of one's personal style through their dubious practice of substituting original expression with what is ready-made and easily-accessible. And yet, though Dr. Sinco's style may seem bare at a chance reading, the discerning will find soon enough that it is a style that exhibits variety. One can cite passages in the present book. He can be devastatingly sarcastic as the following will show:

The absurdity of the rule (this refers to the requirement that textbooks to be used in private schools must alike have the approval of the government textbook board) is compounded by the order that textbooks should not be changed until after six years from their date of approval. *A premium on obsolescence!* (italics supplied)

In places where what is called for is careful consideration and analysis of Cons'

titutional provisions, he can be singularly distinguishing, as witness:

An executive or administrative official, such as the Secretary of Education, who categorically prescribes, directly or indirectly, under a statutory provision, *what* school children should study, *how* they should study, *when* they should study, and *how* the program of schools should be conducted obviously curtails this natural right of parents recognized by the Constitution; and the law authorizing the official to do so contravenes the Constitution. The authority so vested merely usurps the parent's natural right to decide the kind of education and the kind of school he wants for his child. Between such a law that controls the curriculum, study hours, policies, and practices of private schools and a law that compels all children to go exclusively to public schools, the distinction between a public and private school may be virtually abolished and the democratic concept of individual

initiative and diversity in ideas faces the danger of extinction. (*italics in the original.*)

Or else, Dr. Sinco can be telling without indulging in sophistry:

One cannot be a teacher unless he has something to teach; and if he should teach only what another tells him, he ceases to be a teacher and becomes only an automaton.

It is quite clear that under the Constitution there are definite boundaries between the right of the owner and the teacher of a private school, on the one hand, and the authority of the government over such schools, on the other. It may be safely said that to the owner and the teacher belongs the *control and direction* of the private school; and to the

government belongs the *supervision* over it so it may desist from doing fraudulent acts or from committing what is obviously harmful to each student and the public.

Summarizing then, *The Case of Philippine Private Education*, as its title indicates, is a brief on the perils of a monolithic system of education by one who has long been renowned as a constitutionalist and equally known as an educator and the book, as it now stands, is a happy demonstration of an educational subject treated in a legal way in the spirit of scholarship. The net result is a style of writing which utilizes neither the platitudinous inflection of a mere theoretician or the racy stridency of the harried journalist. — *By Artemio M. Tadena.*

■ Portions of the Commencement Address of Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, member of Parliament, Republic of India, at the University of the Philippines, May 7, 1967.

A MORAL CHALLENGE TO PEACE

The world's economic resources, as well as its political energies have for years past been directed toward the arms race. Nearly \$200 billion are spent the world over on armaments. If a tenth of this amount could be directed to peaceful purposes, dramatic and far-reaching changes could be achieved. It would then be possible to erect an edifice to peace which would be a testimony to man's wisdom and his abiding faith in his fellow men instead of the lofty memorial we build, to those he has slaughtered in senseless wars of hatred and revenge — one crying need of the world today is, in Jane Adams words, "Not the heroism connected with wars and destruction but that which pertains to labour and nourishing of human life." This is the task that faces the younger generation.

Education has a vital role to play and universities have

a heavy responsibility. Jawaharlal Nehru said: "A university stands for humanism, for tolerance, for reason, for the adventure of ideas and for the search for truth. It stands for the onward march of the human race towards even higher objectives. If the universities discharge their duties adequately then it will be well with the nation."

A good education must prepare the student to serve not only the nation but the international community. It is this spirit of service which will, in the final analysis, overcome the hurdles in our path. In a country like mine we are constantly up against the lack of men and women required to work in the rural areas. We have given undue importance to the work the city can provide, even if it is only a small clerical job. We have done little to raise the prestige of the village, to recognize those who are will-

ing to dedicate themselves to this labour. This has resulted in a set of false values which the unthinking person accepts as guide lines. If the object of education is to develop the human personality it must also arouse the conscience.

The student must feel the challenge of the times and respond to it. The enormous vitality of youth, its enthusiasm, its extravagant emotions all must be harnessed to a purpose for in this way the cause and the individual are both enriched, each acquiring a share of greatness from the other. It is because youth seems to be without a purpose — because, for the moment at any rate, they feel there is no cause to serve that so many are driven by restlessness hither and thither wasting their energies in trivial matters. Service in the building up of the community — in sharing the burdens of the under-privileged would give the final polish to what was begun in the university and help immeasurably towards the solution of the problems that plague us.

The whole complex situa-

tion we face today is, a moral challenge. We are called upon to love our neighbor, we are told we must share abundance and skills with those who need them. But we see around us ample evidence of things which are contrary to all this and we find people in high places of responsibility subscribing to them. How is the common man to find out where his own duty lies?

The threats to the world stem from our own limitation — it is possible for *man* to communicate with planets a million miles away — it is not possible for *men* to communicate with each other on this small planet we inhabit.

I have been brought up in politics and politicians are a strange breed. They live in a tight little community for which the world has less and less use. In the difficult period through which we are passing, it is not political maneuvers, however adroit, which will present solutions to our mounting problems. The real search should be for that which will cut across boundaries, transcend political ideologies and create conditions for the

health, progress and happiness of the whole human race and not just a section of it. My aversion for politics grows and I realize more and more strongly that man's search today is not for the ending of his physical hunger alone — or for the means to raise himself to better conditions of living and greater comfort — his yearning goes far beyond these things. He longs for dignity, security, peace and above all for a purpose in life.

Too many voices try to tell us that in this age when science and technology have become our guiding stars and their might influence shapes the destiny of men and nations, we with the demands of the scientific age. They would imply that these demands are based on a new set of values — that one cannot move into the bright new world of promise which science is creating, without uprooting the foundations on which our lives were built in the past; that we must reject the philosophies on which we were raised in order to inherit the future.

Thinkers both of east and west tell us that there is no incompatibility between

science and the values of the spirit.

Thinkers both of East and West tell us that there is no incompatibility between science and the values of the spirit. Mahatma Gandhi never ceased to emphasize that politics needed the guidelines of morality if it was to fulfill its role in the life of a nation. Likewise, science can only pave the path to progress if it is rooted in a moral purpose. Our refusal to recognize this is largely responsible for our present plight. David Sarnoff in a recent statement agreed with Gandhi's view. He says "today science and religion meet on common ground, in a common effort to achieve a common need of world understanding, peace and harmony. Never were science and religion more compatible."

Principle and morality belong as much to science as to any other human effort; perhaps more so. To reject this is to lessen the great benefits that are waiting to be shared by mankind.

As the frontiers of science advance, we are presented with questions of great depth

to which no answers have been found. Science has opened many doors, made conquests undreamed of given man power; but science has, so far, been unable to solve the problem of man himself. He is unhappy, unstable, insecure without direction. What he needs above all else at this moment is to reaffirm his faith in the things of the Spirit. He needs to strike a balance between his moral and material well-being, for, what shall it profit us if we conquer the world's material problem and then commit suicide because we cannot conquer our own minds?

This is a time for greatness, for great issues are at stake. We must have clear minds, hold fast to principles and dare to move forward to end the fear and hate that have become the motivating force in the world.

As Bertrand Russell has said: "We are in the middle of a race between human skill as a means and human folly as an end, resulting in strife, insecurity and sorrow. Unless men increase in wisdom, as much as in knowledge, the increase in knowledge will only be increase of sorrow."

Young men and women of the Philippines — never has a challenge been more worth accepting. You will leave the sheltered life of your halls of learning to enter the competitive life of a troubled world. Meet life with courage, have faith in yourselves and in God and go on your way unafraid. My blessings and good wishes are with you. — *By Madame Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Part of her Commencement Address at the University of the Philippines, May 7, 1967.*

- The so-called cultural revolution in Red China these days may be the advent of the downfall of Mao Tse-tung and his communist regime. This article is part of a speech of Dr. Han Lih-Wuh, Ambassador of the Republic of China in Manila.

THE CRUCIAL YEAR IN CHINA

On the New Year's Day, the editorials of the People's Daily and Red Flag in Peiping declared 1967 as the year of decision for the "Cultural Revolution." They called for an all-out offensive against the "anti-Mao power group." They also announced that "the great proletarian cultural revolution must go from the the offices, schools and cultural circles to mines and the rural areas so that all positions are captured by Mao Tse-tung's thought."

What is the cultural revolution? The scope and nature of this type of revolution can exactly be gleaned from the above. It is a power struggle based on ideological split, started by Mao Tse-tung and his associates against the dominating group at the time with ramifications that penetrate into the various levels of authority reaching the workers and farmers, spreading into a dou-

ble-barrelled attack on both anti-Maoism and anti-Communism.

The leader of the group in power is Liu Shao-chi. Liu, a master of organization and intrigue, is being tricked into probable impotency. However while Liu is down, he is by no means out. The anti-Maoist struggle is being carried on not by one leader but by a number of leaders and sub-leaders. While the campaign against Liu may presently reach a crescendo, the ax might yet be prevented from falling on him because of the innate strength of the opposition.

This is indeed an ugly mess. Both the contestants in the struggle are in a quandary. The year of decision may well turn out to be a year of crippling difficulties for the Chinese Communist regime. It might even be

fatal. However things may turn, the developments of the present year on the mainland China will have far-reaching effects both internally and internationally. A crucial year is in the unfolding. Let us take stock of its background and view its prospects.

In Peiping, as in Moscow, there have been purges, and purges in monolithic structures can be compared to the reshuffles in democratic societies. Previous to the present upheaval, two notable purges have taken place in Peiping, the purge of Northeast leaders Kao Kang and Rao Sou-shih in 1955, and that of Defense Chief Peng Te-huai and Chief of Staff Huang Ke-cheng in 1959. In the latter purge, Liu was a collaborator of Mao and was subsequently awarded the chairmanship of the regime, replacing Mao himself. In the same reorganization, Lin Piao took over the defense post, Lou Jui Ching.

In the posters put out by Red Guards in Peiping last autumn, it was related that the 1959 replacement of Mao

by Liu was the result of force majeure rather than voluntary transition, thus sowing the seed for the present power struggle. Is this a real revelation or a hind thought and make-up accusation of Liu? We have no documentary evidence for either case. Anyway, it would probably be fairer to say that the failure of Mao's commune system and the impotence of his hard line international policy were among the more important reasons for the change. In the meantime, Mao's poor health as well as advancing years may have encouraged Liu to bolder planning for the phasing out of Mao. This in turn might have caused Mao's resentment. But these are just conjectures.

As distinct from ordinary purges, the present power struggle is dignified with the name "cultural revolution." Compared to previous purges in Peiping and the numerous purges in Moscow, the "cultural revolution" is unprecedented in the scope of its involvement in that not only leaders are affected but also the masses and the military.

The "cultural revolution" was openly launched a year ago today. On April 18, 1966, the Liberation Army Daily, an official organ of Lin Piao in Peiping, published an editorial with this airy title: "Let Us Blow the Trumpet of the Great Cultural Revolution."

While the "cultural revolution" was thus announced twelve months ago, its stage was set in 1965. At a meeting of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in September 1965, Mao had declared that "we must criticize and repudiate the reactionary thought of the bourgeoisie." But the Party was only under his nominal control; his voice was left in the void. In November, he retreated to Shanghai where he started his moves against the power group in opposition to his thought. On November 10, under the name of Comrade Yao Wen-yuan — a name that might have been assumed by Mao himself — a special article" on the New Historical Drama 'Hai Jui's Dismissal'" appeared in Wen Hwei Pao in Shanghai.

This precipitated the attack on intellectuals and writers and sounded the call for revolution against anti-Party and anti-Mao elements. The drama piece "Hai Jui's Dismissal" was written by Wu Han, Vice Mayor of Peiping. Wu and Teng To, Secretary of the Peiping Municipal Chinese Communist Party Committee, together with Liao Mo Sha, member of the Committee, pen name of Wu Nan Hsing. After much hesitation and even resistance, the Peking Daily was finally forced to therefore anti-Party thought. The three musketeers of the so-called Three-Household Village Black Inn were urged. The Red Flag took a step further and asked: Who was the man behind the gang? The "hot pursuit" resulted in the dismissal of the first secretary of the Peiping Municipal Party Committee, Peng Chen, on June 3, 1966. He was also relieved subsequently as Mayor. But this is only the first big assault on the opposition. As the editorial of the People's Daily on June 10, entitled "Long Live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," sug-

gested; all monsters must be swept away.

The months of June and July 1966 witnessed feverish maneuverings on both sides to the struggle. Liu Shao-chi was busy preparing a plenary session of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (C.C.P.) to defeat Mao. On the other hand, Mao adroitly executed a military deployment around Peiping through Lin Piao. Teng Hsiao Ping, who had cooperated with Liu, got cold feet at the last moment perhaps because of the military pressure.

The Central Committee of the C.C.P., which has not met for four years and which should meet every six months, lasting from August 1 to 12, 1966. After protracted debates and hard tussles, Liu was demoted from number two to number eight and Lin Piao shot up to number two. Lo Jui Ching was replaced to remove the military away from the reach of Liu. Tao Chu, who was in control of the south, was given later.

Suspicious of Teng Hsiao Ping and not sure yet of both the Party and the military,

Mao resorted to the employment of youths by organizing them into the Red Guards whose first rally was held on August 18. The openly proclaimed aim was to "protect Chairman Mao, destroy bourgeoisie thoughts, and establish new proletarian culture." But after having given vent to childish fantasy and eccentricities, including toying with street names and destroying artifacts, the Red Guards were soon directed to attack the opposition, headed by Liu and Teng.

The rampages of millions of youth from Peiping to Canton for the better part of a year is a pitiful and heart-rending story. There were Red Guards and counter Red Guards. Everywhere they created havoc and confusion. What have they achieved for their original instigators? They have strengthened the hand of Mao and Lin and advanced the status of Mao's wife, Chiang Chin. They have humiliated but not crushed Liu. On the other hand, they have made a mockery of the Communist regime and nearly plunged

the whole countryside into anarchism.

To bring the Red Guards under control and to secure the intervention of the military for a more effective showdown with the opposition, the Mao-Lin faction called nearly this year for a triple alliance: the party cadre, the army, and the revolutionary rebels, meaning the masses. The alliance is for the naked purpose of seizing power. In this alliance, the role of the Red Guards becomes minor. In fact, elementary and secondary schools, closed since last July, have been ordered to open in February and March, respectively, and Red Guards were ordered back to schools. For wresting power from the anti-Mao and anti-Party opposition, the triple alliance is to effect a grand alliance

with all possible elements amenable to the revolution. After having wrested control in a city or province, it shall organize into something like the Paris Commune or revolutionary council. Around the middle of March, the Central Committee of the C.C.P. ordered a temporary halt to the power struggle at the working levels in the countryside. The order stated, "Do not struggle to seize power in production brigades and production teams during the busy period of spring cultivation." This, however, spanned only a few weeks. The general campaign seems to be in a stalemate but the specific drive against Liu and Teng appears to be in crescendo. This brings the so-called cultural revolution to its present status. —*From The Manila Times, May 9, 1967.*

- The ousting of 3 Philippine senators from their senate seats, Messrs. Antonino and Manglapuz, and Mrs. Katigbak, provoked the following column in the *Manila Times* and editorial in the *Manila Bulletin*.

THE EVIL OF MONEY IN DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS

OVERSPENDING IN ELECTIONS

A decision of the Senate Electoral Tribunal expected to be promulgated soon to oust three incumbent Senators for overspending in the 1961 elections is being hailed and bewailed.

It is being welcomed for whatever deterrent effect it may have on people running for public office. Election campaigns for both national and local elective positions have become so costly that they have become scandalous. The expected verdict is being deplored for its tardiness. Those against whom the action is to be taken are rounding out their six-year term. They have performed all the functions of their high office, have received all the emoluments and other benefits accruing to their position, and

for all intents and purposes have served the term.

The composition of the Senate Electoral Tribunal — three members of the Supreme Court, three ruling party Senators and three opposition party Senators — invests it with an aura of rectitude and practically forbids any critical view of its acts and performance.

Still it may be wished that it could terminate processes early enough for protestants to derive the benefits due them and for people wrongly occupying high office to feel the punishment for their misdeeds, instead of continuing to enjoy the honors and tangibles due their position.

As it is, ouster of the three Senators concerned will award their replacements a quasi-empty victory. This is so because unless they could still sit at any special session that

may be called, they could be considered honorary Senators for the remainder of the sixth year of their term.

Of course, there is no down-grading the impact of the verdict of the Senate Electoral Tribunal. It is unprecedented. Its effect on the public image of those against whom it is directed could have far-reaching consequences upon their political career.

The offense for which they are expected to be ousted is overspending. This involves spending more than the equivalent of one year's salary from the public office sought in election campaigning. In the case of Senators, the one-year salary is ₱7,200.

The Tribunal's verdict, which should be taken as a condemnation of election overspending, is timely in the face of rampant malpractices in this regard which have brought in their train other evils that could make a mockery of our democratic systems.

The members of the Senate Electoral Tribunal are to be congratulated for their moral courage in arriving at the expected verdict. The Supreme Court Justices in

the Tribunal are men of known uprightness. The Senators sitting in judgment of their peers have likewise performed like elders of our nation that they are presumed to be.

The expected verdict should reestablish faith in our democratic systems and discredit cynical attitudes toward their faults. It is a bloodless process of righting a wrong whose value in our way of life must be appreciated. — *Manila Bulletin*, May 8, 1967.

CAMPAIGN SPENDING

The charge of overspending against three senators has been received by most people with a feeling of irony because it comes after the three served their full term and it deals with a fact of political life that is common knowledge and practice. We do not sanction overspending in election campaigns, we consider this the primary root of all our evils at present. Neither do we censure the action of the tribunal, since any action is better than no action. This is obviously a precedent. It is applying a law that could easily encom-

pass all public officials serving at present. The fact that it took six years to reach such a verdict on such simple evidence and legal application robs the ruling of any reason for crowing. It is quite a coincidence that in one celebrated case, a ruling unseating a congressman who had lost an election protest, came after the four-year term had run its course. It takes six years to arrive at a much simpler matter when entertaining cases against senators.

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In the latest issue of one weekly magazine, a governor is quoted directly as saying: "I used up more than ₱2 million to win the governorship and to help Piping in his reelection bid. But Danding spent more than ₱4 million in his abortive attempt to unseat Peping and to help President Marcos win." Obviously, a simple look at expense in mass media alone would be sufficient evidence of a lot of election spending, and everybody knows that expenses in campaigns are less in the form of promotional materials such as sample ballots and more in outright buying of support of some leaders. If one is

to believe loose coffee-shop talk, one senator reportedly asked a presidential candidate for ₱100,000 just to appear in Plaza Miranda to give an endorsement speech.

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The cost of politics is really staggering. Those who overspend should be unseated and condemned. But we think that the electoral tribunal is also responsible for being so unexcusably slow. Furthermore, there is need for more sensible safeguards to prevent election overspending. We suggest that the government print only one official sample ballot with all the names of the candidates, and ban all other such sample ballots. We also think that radio time and print advertising should be made on a limited scale, because what ultimately results is a lot of block-time buying in order to speculate on air time during the elections. Billboards should also be confined to one area with equal space. In short there are many areas where actual spending could be curbed by limiting and standardizing their use for election purposes. — *By A. R. Roces in Manila Times, May 9, 1967.*

- The Electoral Tribunal of the Senate of the Philippines unseated three Senators for overspending in their election campaign. It was the result of a humble lawyer's work.

EXCESSIVE ELECTION EXPENSES

With the probable exception of lawyers, law students and its employees, millions of Filipinos never knew until recently there is such a constitutional agency as the Senate Electoral Tribunal.

In the same manner, a great majority of the electorate did not know there is a law limiting the campaign expenses of candidates for public office within the one-year salary and other emoluments provided for the position.

For all its laudable intent to curb expenses and bring elective offices within the grasp of every qualified candidate, the statute against excessive poll spending was a "dead" law until last May 22 when the tribunal unseated Senators Raul Manglapus, Gaudencio Antonino and Maria Kalaw Katigbak for overspending in the 1961 elections.

It was the first time in its history that the tribunal

came out with such a decision — based on the election protest of Ernesto C. Hidalgo. The protestant garnered 1,878 votes in the 1961 elections and landed in the 20th place.

Who is Hidalgo, responsible for this precedent-setting decision?

This mild-mannered practising lawyer, war veteran and sometime newspaper correspondent was commended by the electoral tribunal of . . . "his tireless, resolution and praiseworthy efforts in prosecuting this litigation practically alone, in the face of every discouragement and obstruction that he has had to face in order that the law on election expenses should ultimately triumph."

Hidalgo, 49, is a native of San Pablo City. His father, Juan Hidalgo, a textile merchant, is a first cousin of the late Mrs. Paciencia Hidalgo-Laurel wife of the illustrious

Batangas statesman Jose P. Laurel Sr.

Why was he now asking the tribunal to declare him as an elected senator when he had said he was simply motivated by the desire to uphold the law on election expenses?

This question was asked of Hidalgo by Justice Jose P. Bengzon, a member of the tribunal, during the oral hearing last week on the three senators' motion for reopening.

Without any hesitation, the protestant stated: "would it be selfish self-interest if I could be accorded greater opportunity to serve our country and people by being declared elected as a Senator of this republic?"

It was an uphill struggle for Hidalgo during the six-year pendency of the protest. He had to forego personal and family convenience to finance the protest to the extent of mortgaging a small lot in Dagupan City to post a ₱1,000 bond.

He also encountered all sorts of criticism and was heckled as a crackpot and a Don Quixote battling against the impossible.

Hidalgo's difficulties were aggravated by the weekly hearing of the case in Manila. He had to give up his law practice in Dagupan and resided at an accessoria on Adeline St. in Sampaloc.

"I just want to prove that the law on election expenses is not dead letter law that it was interpreted to be by politicians," said Hidalgo.

Aside from the financial problems that dogged Hidalgo all the way, there were also the tempting offers of positions for him to abandon the protest after it became apparent to Nacionalistas and Liberals that the case was air-tight, he said.

These juicy offers were dangled before Hidalgo as early as 1963 and as recent as only several days before the tribunal promulgated its decision on May 22, he said.

Hidalgo was a member of the Hunters ROTC guerilla under Col. Vic Estacio which operated in Quezon province during the Japanese occupation.

He volunteered with the Philippine National Red Cross after liberation and was so engaged in helping war orphans and widows file their

claims that he forgot his own backpay claim.

Hidalgo found time to pursue his studies and finished law at the Far Eastern University and passed the bar examinations in 1948.

For a time he was employed with a sub-committee of the Senate blue ribbon committee which probed constabulary officers and men involved in the infamous Panampunan massacre in Tarlac.

He became correspondent of a metropolitan daily in 1948 and edited the "Pioneer Herald" in Dagupan, the first liberation newspaper founded in that city. It was founded by Ermin Garcia, murdered editor of the "Sunday Punch."

Hidalgo was so obsessed with the sanctity of the election that he initiated the organization of the United Crusade for Clean Elections in 1960. This organization was later headed by Hilarion Henares Jr., former chairman of the National Economic Council.

A sensible and reasonable individual, Hidalgo did not claim all the credit for his protest victory. He expressed gratitude to "my sympathizers" in government and private offices who assisted him in getting the evidence to prove the election expenditures.

He also singled out the moral support extended by Dr. Gaudencio Garcia, President Marcos' super investigator, who helped him secure important documents for the case. Dr. Garcia is a godfather of Hidalgo.

Hidalgo is married to Dr. Herminigilda Rozal-Hidalgo, chief of the social hygiene division in Dagupan. She has been elected president twice of the Pangasinan Women Medical Association.

The couple has a 17-year old son, a pre-medic student at the Far Eastern University.

Hidalgo is a member of the Pangasinan Bar Association and Batangas Lawyers Association. — *By David Bidan in Philippine Herald, May 29, 1967.*

- This article is intended to show the significance of the decision of the Senate Electoral Tribunal ousting 3 Filipino Senators for spending more than what the law permits in their election campaigns in 1961.

MONEY AND ELECTIONS

The decision of the Senate Electoral Tribunal on May 22, 1967, ordering the ouster of three Senators — Mr. Antonino, Mr. Manglapus, and Mrs. Kalaw-Katigbak — from their seats in the Senate for spending in their election campaign sums of money much in excess of what the law permits, has aroused adverse comments in the Manila press. The legal limit is the yearly salary of a Senator fixed by the Constitution at ₱7,200, which may, however, be increased by Congress but in that event the new salary will not take effect "until after the expiration of the full term of all the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives approving such increase." These three Senators were charged in a complaint presented in the Senate Electoral Tribunal by a candidate for a Senate seat who received less than two thousand votes in the elec-

tions of 1961, a number representing but an insignificant fraction of the votes cast for any one of the victorious candidates.

Under the constitutional provisions the Electoral Tribunal of the Senate is composed of nine members, three of whom are Justices of the Supreme Court, three Senators from the majority party in the Senate, and three Senators from the party having the second largest number of votes in the Senate. The Constitution makes this body *the sole judge* of all contests relating to the *election, returns, and qualifications* of the Senators. It is thus evident that the Electoral Tribunal, having exclusive authority over cases on these questions, has the final and unappealable authority in these matters.

The decision of the Electoral Tribunal is a significant landmark in the politi-

cal and legal history of this country. It is a bold and unprecedented step towards a firmer growth of political democracy which is being dangerously threatened into becoming a meaningless phrase by the money power among others. It gives an increased measure of assurance to greater freedom and fairer equality in the contest for votes in elections for public positions. Its effect may be to improve the opportunities of the people to choose candidates on the basis of their personal merit, ability, and character rather on their capacity to distribute thousands and even million of pesos to add to their personal possessions the powers of public office. This statement is not intended to mean that rich men and women running for public office are necessarily incompetent or dishonest. It is rather a reference to the power of wealthy candidates and their well-known propensity to use excessive sums in their ambition to win that need to be effectively curbed if democracy is to grow in our country.

In the interest of freedom and equality, and for the

security of our democratic institutions, this decision of the Senate Electoral Tribunal should be accepted by our people as a social and political blessing which, if strictly and faithfully observed in principle and action, may bid fair to undermine the propensity of both the old caciques and the new rich to monopolize public elective positions in order to acquire the power, prestige, and honor that they inordinately desire primarily for their personal benefit and enjoyment.

In a serious discussion of this momentous action, we should take care that we do not confuse our idea of the law and our understanding of the value of the Electoral Tribunal's judgment. This has been assailed by a number of commentators as a tragic application of what they call an *antiquated and unrealistic law* which fixes the amount of ₱7,200 as the maximum figure for the election campaign expenses of a senatorial candidate. It is claimed that this is too meager to cover all supposedly needed items of election expense. This kind of criticism is a thoughtless simplifica-

tion and misconception of the fundamental object of the law and an incorrect understanding of the Electoral Tribunal's action.

Any loose talk against a law of this nature could only be based on the idea that an election in a democracy must of necessity involve an expenditure large enough to cover all the needs of a candidate. But we should not forget that the salary of a public official should properly serve as an acceptable basis of what he should personally spend in his own campaign for his election. To spend more than that is to place himself under some suspicion that he has some ulterior motive in his desire to occupy the position; and he is most likely to exploit his office, if elected, to recover his expenses or to pay back his rich supporters in one way or another through the use of his official influence.

We have to admit that some people think that an election is really a political skirmish for a chance to enrich in public office. With that thought in mind, they believe that there should be

no prudent limitations on expenditures and no sensible restraints of any kind on methods to win, including character assassination, except that, if they can help it, candidates and their bodyguards should not go to the extent of openly killing each other for their partisan cause.

We have to admit that a considerable number of our public officials have had to invest large sums of money to get themselves elected. According to a veteran Filipino legislator, a candidate for the position of representative in the last 10 or 12 years needs at least ₱200,000 to put up a good election fight for that post. Without that kind of money, it is useless to run for a seat in the House. In the case of Senators, one has to spend much more. We have to admit that such expenditures are not merely for a candidate's personal trips and moderate publicity in the radio and newspapers. Everybody knows that they include payment for transportation and meals for his supporters, advances to voters, salaries of candidates' bodyguards, assistants, watchers, and all

sorts of election-day workers. Most Filipinos above 25 years are personally aware of these. As to the American practice, Prof. McKean has extensively treated it in his work on *Party and Pressure Politics*

The value of the law and its application by the Senate Electoral Tribunal may be keenly felt and appreciated when it is remembered that corruption, the canker that could destroy a republic, is usually the effect of the abuse of financial power. In the case of the criminal prosecution against Senator Newberry of Michigan who ran for the Senate against the car manufacturer Henry Ford and was accused of spending more than what the law provided for primary elections, the United States Supreme Court quoted in its decision a celebrated statement of the erudite Justice Miller in a previous case which pointed out the need of every republican government to secure its elections from the influence of "violence, of corruption, and of fraud." The eminent Justice went on say: "If it (the government) has not this power it is helpless before the two great natural

and historical enemies of all republics, open violence and insidious corruption." (Quoted in *Newberry vs. U.S.*, 256 U.S. 323). Newberry, however, was not convicted on the ground that the congressional statute on state primary elections was at that time still considered outside the federal authority; it is no longer so today.

To consider as unrealistic a limitation on a candidate's election expenses is to ignore the ethical nature of a public office as a public trust; it is not property in any sense of the term. Hence, it is not simply illegal but incredibly immoral to buy it in any form under a democratic government and in a republican state. To say that under the present law in this country one has to spend much larger than ₱7,200 for a campaign without any reference to the compensation attached to the office or to some reasonable and pertinent factor is to continue leaving the door wide open for wealthy candidates or for candidates supported by large vested interests as political patrons not only to use vast sums for all kinds of publicity, clean

or filthy, but even to buy voters under various devious modes and pretenses. This could be the realism which some people refer to when they condemn the decision of the Electoral Tribunal as *unrealistic*.

The realism we should be concerned of should be the realism of democracy, rather than the so-called realism of expensive propaganda, expensive private army of bodyguards for the candidate, expensive procedure of recruiting voters, and expensive methods of beguiling the electorate in a country in which most voters are not quite aware of the significance and value of their ballots.

American instances of excessive spending to secure elective positions should be of interest to us in this country. In his recent book on *Our Changing Constitution*, the writer Charles Leedham tells us about John Edward Sullivan Addicks, a financial baron at the turn of the century who acquired a massive personal fortune thru corporate manipulations and government contracts from state legislatures. After netting an

extra million dollars from a Siberian railroad contract, he decided to run for the U.S. Senate in Delaware. Feeling sure of the power of his wealth he hired agents to secure votes for him, offering to pay voters' taxes and personal obligations, and providing men with money to get themselves elected in the State legislature. Unfortunately, his efforts failed to get himself elected in spite of the fact that a Senator at that time was elected only by members of the state legislature. All attempts at bribery and corruption failed to convince the Delaware legislators to elect a man as their Senator simply because he was rich and a liberal spender. Could such a thing happen in another country where democratic institutions are not yet firmly understood and entrenched? Our honest answer is no.

Some more decisions of the kind handed down by our Senate Electoral Tribunal, specially when arrived at and released more expeditiously and promptly, will make democracy in this country more alive, vital, vigorous, real,

and respected than a thousand speeches on democracy by public officials, lectures by learned professors on freedom and equality, sermons on the sacredness of the right of suffrage, and campaigns of clubs and associations of independent and so-called free voters. The only way to make the proud and irresponsible politicians in this country respect the rule of law is to remove them from the pedestal of power once they are caught to have placed themselves above the law. This is the realism our country and people must insist on.

The problem of reducing the influence of wealth in the election of public officials is not an easy one. It has seriously faced republics from the time of the ancient Greeks and Romans to the present. It should be met with a practical solution that should recognize the inevitable need of expenditure. The common practice in the United States and England is for the party of the candidate to spend for his election campaign. Contribution to the party's fund for this purpose are permitted; but they

have to be reported and published as required by law. The Federal and State Corrupt Practices Acts require that party committees and candidates should file reports of their receipts and expenditures before and after election or on certain dates before a general election. The Federal Law requires that the names and addresses of all contributors as well as the amounts they contribute must be filed and reported.

Under our Constitution the enforcement of similar requirements, if adopted by our government, could perhaps be placed under the Commission on Elections in the case of the elections of all public officials except perhaps those affecting members of Congress which should be placed under the proper Electoral Tribunal of each House. In order to give equal chances to all qualified candidates, rich and poor alike, limitations on propaganda materials in the form of newspaper advertisements, radio broadcasts, T.V. announcements, handbills, billboards, and other forms of publicity should be adopted. The cost of all these should

be borne by the party, the candidate, and the government. A limited franking privilege for each candidate for a national office has been suggested by students on the subject for the purpose of a more equitable use of the mails.

The reason behind the suggestion that some sort of public subsidy be provided for election campaigns is that elections are in fact part of the procedure for the organization and operation of a democratic government. If the government provides offices for the use of legislative lobbies, if it maintains offices for the regulation of private businesses, such as a sugar board, an abaca corporation, a coconut corporation, and the like, there is no reason why there should not be provided funds for better information and guidance of voters in the selection of their officials, for greater stimulation of interest in public affairs, and for assisting "capable but impecunious persons to engage in political activity." Professor McKean gives us the following information:

"Oregon and North Dako-

ta now publish candidate's pamphlets, although not entirely at public expense. One student of these pamphlets, who believes that they 'have performed a valuable public service in providing information to the voters helpful to them in the performance of their duties,' recommends that the device be carried even further:

It would seem that if a state makes its election machinery available to a candidate for public office, it is justified in requiring every candidate to cooperate by furnishing a portrait cut, simple biography, platform, and other information needed to give the voters an understanding of his qualifications. To require every candidate, except those whose nomination or election is not opposed, to take at least one page in the candidates' pamphlet, would be reasonable."

But something else should be considered: It is the indifferent or ignorant voter who needs urging and sometimes asks for transportation to go to the polling place.

For him a number of countries have laws imposing a penalty for failing to comply with his civic obligation to cast his vote. In a sense, this is part of his duty as a citizen to defend the state, the democratic state, which he may be required to perform. — *V. G. Sinco.*

SALUTATION TO THE DAWN

Look to this day
For it is life, the very life of life.
In its brief course
Lie all the verities and realities of your existence;
 The bliss of growth
 The glory of action
 The splendor of beauty,
For yesterday is but a dream
And tomorrow is only a vision,
But today well lived makes every yesterday
 a dream of happiness
And every tomorrow a vision of hope.
Look well, therefore, to this day!
Such is the salutation to the dawn.

— *Kalidasa.*

■ "Education in the rural areas is one of few fields open to pioneering."

THE DISPERSAL OF UNIVERSITIES

Our love for education is well-known. Indeed, compared to other Asian countries and in relation to total population, the Philippines has the most number of college students. Our state colleges and universities are graduating this year 6,906 students, while the private colleges and universities are graduating 56,653 students. The total enrollment this year in state colleges and universities is 48,947, while the total enrollment in private colleges and universities is 388,196. You can readily appreciate from these figures that the passion of our people for education is no mere platitude.

In *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*, as well as in the constitution of *La Liga Filipina*, Rizal recognized this passion of our people for education. But it was Apolinario Mabini's mother who became, for all of us, the symbol of this passion.

We remember the heroic sacrifices that she gladly assumed in order to give her son a good education. The example of Mabini's mother is today almost a national experience. In countless hamlets all over the country, there are thousands of mothers and fathers who have willingly gone into debt or chosen a life of self-denial so that they may be able to send their children to school. At the same time, many young men and women, sustained only by ambition and the fierce desire to improve themselves, have also undergone harrowing ordeals and trials in the pursuit of higher learning.

For me, one of the most significant events of the Philippine Revolution was the founding and actual operation of a university — the *University Literaria de Filipinas*. This university moved several times in its short

life because of the tides of war, but its students and faculty members were undeterred: classes went on. The Revolutionary government, you remember, was not at all affluent, and yet it did not hesitate to allocate money for a university. Our Revolutionary leaders never doubted for a moment the value of education — even in a time of war.

These examples from our history show our deep love for education. They exemplify the Filipino's belief that education is a revolutionary and liberating force. For the poor, education is the surest guarantee of democracy. We live in an open society because of education. Our educational system, however imperfect it may be, is the one democratic factor for social mobility in our country. The opportunities for education that are open to everybody prevent our economic and social classes from classifying and make possible the movement of people from one class to another. Thus, democracy is meaningful in our country because of education.

The dispersal of colleges and universities to the rural

areas will give most of our citizens a chance to acquire higher education. The present concentration of colleges and universities in the large centers of population makes the cost of education prohibitive. Added to this, is the natural fear of parents of sending their children to distant and unknown cities where the life and possibly the culture of the people are not, in the parents' judgment, suitable for their children. These economic and psychological factors often conspire to imprison otherwise promising young minds in the narrow confines of our unchanging rural world.

The system of dispersal must take into account, however, the process of urbanization that is taking place, and will continue to take place, in the traditionally rural sections, especially in Mindanao, as a result of industrialization.

Iligan City, for instance, has for some time now been the focal point of industrial development — because of the Maria Cristina power project and the integrated steel mill — but there is as yet no visible development of its educational facilities.

But even in areas where industry and commerce are not yet very active, there will soon be an urgent need to establish colleges. The reason is the high rate of population growth which will aggravate the pressure on Manila and other big city universities, and consequently produce a tremendous overflow of applicants for college admission.

The need to disperse colleges and universities may be realized sooner than anyone expects because of the intensive investments that we are making in infrastructure projects. These infrastructure projects — roads, bridges, irrigation systems, power systems, communications networks, flood control, and so forth — will bring about increased agricultural and industrial productivity and therefore will induce a measure of prosperity in the rural areas. With prosperity, new wants will develop and chief among these, undoubtedly will be the desire for higher education.

However, I want to make the spread of colleges and universities a cause than an effect of economic and social development. Education

quicken the impulse for change: it sets the course that change must take; and finally it also teaches hope when the fulfillment of man's need for change is imperilled.

Education should reinforce individual and collective power for meaningful action in our depressed and less developed areas. It should teach a man to think for himself, to be self-reliant, and thus make himself a more useful member of society. In other words, it should increase man's confidence in himself, in the ability of his hands and mind to fashion new conditions of living which would realize for himself and society at large a better life in dignity, and freedom. Instead of awaiting the advent of prosperity, education should hasten progress and change.

Education in the rural areas is one of the few remaining fields where pioneering is still possible. For this reason, the government is called upon to provide certain incentives to those who would establish private schools of acceptable standards in remote places. These incentives may be in the form of certain tax privi-

leges or credit arrangements to finance the construction of school buildings.

We are also at present studying an effective way of dispersing schools of technology in regions of unusual agricultural and industrial promise. These schools of technology will not only train the persons needed to develop these regions fully, but will be the nuclei of future universities and institutes of science.

There are some experts who do not agree with our scheme to disperse state colleges and universities in the rural areas. Their arguments against it are well-meant and therefore we have taken them seriously. They say that at present the government cannot even support adequately the existing state institutions of higher learning. The budgets, for example, of the Philippine Normal College and the University of the Philippines, are too meager for these institutions to become major centers of learning. To establish more state colleges and universities at this stage of our development is risky because the government may not be able to sustain them. A university with in-

sufficient funding easily becomes a mediocre university. Hence, the correct approach, they argue, is for the government to increase the budgets of the existing state colleges and universities so that these institutions may grow and widen their scope.

These are cogent arguments but they are founded on a misconception. The misconception is that the government is not willing to spend beyond a certain amount for education. I should like to take this opportunity to say that under my administration, education will, if necessary, receive the greatest share of our national budget. The schools, colleges, and universities that the national government established, and will establish, shall get adequate funding for the efficient implementation of their academic programs. We cannot delay the establishment of institutions of higher learning in our rural areas, because these institutions are catalysts of change and progress. Under my administration, there will always be enough money for education.

What a people can achieve is determined by the level of their skill and knowledge.

Our schools therefore determine our capacity for national achievement. In the same way, what a province or a region can do — the progress it can achieve — depends on the skills and knowledge available within its compass. The presence of natural resources, however rich and abundant, means little or nothing unless the people have the skill and the knowledge to develop and make use of them. A nation, therefore, is as developed or underdeveloped as the skill and knowledge of the persons comprising it.

The University of Mindanao can set the pattern for the provincial and regional universities that we will establish in the future. Your experience will guide us in this task. This is the historic role of your University.

An incalculable part of the economic progress we want will depend for its attainment on the countless other men and women prepared by the schools for specific skills. Even the broad academic knowledge in the arts and humanities will play a tremendous role, indeed perhaps a leading one, for it provides that most important ingredient of progress — the comprehension of man.

Man himself, you will agree with me, is the only objective of progress. And this is where education fulfills an important function — to provide man hope against the innumerable perils of living. — *Speech delivered by President Ferdinand E. Marcos at the University of Mindanao in Davao City, May 7, 1967.*

PEACEMAKERS

“The Sermon on the Mount says: ‘Blessed are the peacemakers.’ It does not say blessed are the peacelovers. There’s nothing special about a peacelover. ‘Blessed are the peacemakers’ — those who work for it, by every means, by diplomacy, by the use of force, but especially by their work to build institutions of justice and habits of reliance on law both within nations and between them.” — *Henry R. Luce.*

- This is part of the statement of Wesley C. Haraldson before the American Congress showing how U.S. Aid to the Philippines has not had much success. It provoked some indignation and criticism from politicians in the Philippines. It received favorable comment from non-political observers.

AMERICAN AID TO THE PHILIPPINES A FAILURE

United States assistance to the Philippines must be viewed within the context of the history of this young Republic. The Philippines was occupied by the Japanese from '42 to '45; thousands of its people were killed, property and institutions destroyed. In the military reconquest of the country, additional thousands of people were killed and property damage and destruction ran into the hundreds of millions of dollars.

One year after liberation the country acquired political independence.

Under the circumstances, the first phase of US assistance had to concern itself with the physical rehabilitation.

A second-phase began in 1952 under the Quirino-Foster foreign aid agreement which was largely concerned with nation building. This

phase gave emphasis to the development of national agencies of government, education institutions, the training of administrative, professional and technical people to carry out the functions of government. During this period we helped to create such national institutions as the Agriculture Extension Service, farm cooperatives, agricultural credit agencies, the National Irrigation Administration, the Bureaus of Animal and Plant Industry, the Bureaus of Soils and Forestry and a rural banking system. Particular emphasis was given to fostering democratic, private and government institutions, trade unions, farm organizations and civic groups. In 1956 during President Magsaysay's administration, we actively sponsored land reform and were instrumental in the creation of a national community development pro-

gram which we supported for the next ten years.

By 1965 we had completed this second phase of our assistance.

As we look back over the changes that have transpired in the Philippines since World War II we can, I feel, find satisfaction in the fact that a democratically, freely elected government is well established, that a large body of trained and competent technicians and administrators are available, that the College of Agriculture in Los Baños is the best in Asia, that literacy is widespread, that public health has been improved, and that freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of worship, and the pursuit of private enterprise are highly cherished values in the Philippines.

Mr. Gaud said on March 9, 1967: "The problem in the Philippines is not so much the creation of new democratic institutions, but the strengthening and improvement of existing ones."

The Philippines has one of the highest rates of population growth in the world and has one of the lowest per acre yields of any major rice producing country. As a re-

sult the food gap is widening every year, in turn necessitating huge imports — two years ago nearly 600 thousand tons, last year over 100 thousand tons, and this year 350 thousand tons — if they are able to buy rice in this quantity. And this is a big "if". The Philippine Government for the past six months has been frantically trying to buy rice and is currently negotiating at arm's length with Red China.

Agriculture in the Philippines — except for plantation crops aimed at export — is a product of almost studied neglect — inadequate transportation, limited irrigation, insufficient farm credit programs, price policies aimed at cheap food for urban areas which discourage farm production, high rate of tenancy, absentee land ownership, poorly organized markets and high interest rates. The average rice farmer in Central Luzon makes about 800 pesos a year from his farming operation — this is roughly \$200 — and the average family has six members. His condition has not changed appreciably in the last fifty years.

Perhaps more critical than the actual condition of the

rural inhabitant of the Philippines today is the ever increasing gap between urban and rural living. Many cities are experiencing building booms — large government buildings, elegant banks and commercial complexes and sumptuous, if not extravagant, residential suburbs. In the past ten years the rich have become richer and the poor have become poorer.

That political unrest, cynicism toward government and threats to established law and order are prevalent is readily understandable.

About eighteen months ago we made a critical appraisal of past successes and failures, of potentials and barriers to rural development. Advice and counsel were solicited, experiences in other countries studied.

This critical appraisal led to a number of compelling conclusions. We had in the past obviously depended too much on government — government credit, government supply organizations, government marketing, government irrigation — extension — seed development — fertilizer imports, etc. The government was expected to do almost everything. And we had

worked almost exclusively the national government; the state and local governments became involved only incidentally. Also we had worked on individual projects at different times — more irrigation, more fertilizers, more credit, community development or cooperatives — depending to a large degree on the particular specialized interest or bias of our senior agricultural officers, assuming that somehow these different activities would converge in serving the farmer. But they didn't. Philippine farming remained largely untouched. Productivity in 1965 was no higher than in 1945.

Stemming from this reappraisal, we, in cooperation with the Philippine Government, designed an experimental pilot program of rural development which we tried out in two separate provinces, Laguna and Tarlac, selected because they represented important rice-producing provinces and because they had progressive, active and cooperative Governors. This program was called SPREAD — Systematic Program for Rural Economic Assistance and Development.

The key word was "systematic." We were interested in the totality of rural life — not just credit or fertilizer or irrigation — but all the major factors involved in farming operations.

The program content was developed around four major criteria:

1. The farmer must become more productive. If this didn't happen all else was for naught. He could be given wells, screens, toilets, barrio halls — but if he didn't become more productive these would rust and decay.

2. The program must pay its way — no subsidies, no grants, no special prices. The only thing free was advice. An individual can be helped by charity, but three fourths of the population cannot be so helped.

3. To the greatest extent possible the program was to depend upon private enterprise — private banks, fertilizer companies, seed companies — private producers and distributors.

4. To the greatest extent possible the program was to involve the farmers themselves, the local and provincial governments, the local

business and civic leaders. Local resources must be mobilized. Development must involve all the people.

The program had three major parts:

1. Improved capability of provincial and local government to administer and govern. This included such diverse activities as (a) assisting the provincial government to improve equipment pools — graders, trucks, bulldozers, etc. and the repair and maintenance facilities so that it could better maintain roads, build new feeder roads and repair dams, dikes and ditches; (b) tax mapping and land classification; (c) improved planning and training capability.

2. Expanded and improved technical service to the farmer. This included such things as seed demonstration plots, rat eradication programs, training of local officials in modern farm technology and upgrading the competence of regular extension workers.

3. Supervised credit. As we have learned in the U.S., this is an excellent vehicle for linking together the credit and technical advice ne-

necessary to bring about modern farm practices.

After one year — two crops for irrigated land — the results of these two pilot programs were so impressive that the Philippine Government officially adopted the same technique for its national rice self-sufficiency program. This covers a total of eleven provinces — Tarlac and Laguna plus nine others selected because they have the highest concentration of irrigated land. We are, naturally, supporting this expanded effort.

The crux of modernizing traditional agriculture is to convince the simple farmer that he can in fact be a scientific farmer and can have at his command the necessary inputs to accomplish this end. It is of no avail to convince the farmer of the profitability of fertilizer if no fertilizer is available, or he cannot find credit with which to buy it. It is useless to preach modern agriculture to him unless the institutions are available to support him in this new role.

The farmer in a traditional society is a pretty sensible person. He has learned to live with and adjust to the

raw forces of nature. Sometimes it rains too much or too little, too early or too late. The rats and insects take their annual toll. Typhoons strike all too frequently — usually just before harvest. Good seed, fertilizer, pesticides are available sometimes not at all. In these circumstances the farmer plays it safe. His traditional practices won't make him rich, but he'll get by.

I frequently ask my Philippine colleagues — officials and businessmen who complain about the indolence of the Philippine farmer — what kind of a steel industry or chemical industry would they have if the management couldn't depend upon a firm supply of raw materials, couldn't depend upon transportation, or labor, or price or markets. The answer is obvious — a very primitive and backward industry. So too with farming.

What is needed in the Philippines and other traditional societies is the institutional support which will dependably and adequately backstop modern farming methods. This involves technical advice, credit, supply and distribution of fertilizers,

markets, etc. These plus incentives of an adequate price and reasonable security will usually insure dynamic and progressive farming.

I want to back up a bit and describe more fully several of the major efforts under our SPREAD Program.

1 *Supervised Credit* — it is critically important to link together technical advice and credit. Either one without the other is for the most part wasted. As part of our SPREAD experiment, we cooperated with the Central Bank and private rural banks to test out the effectiveness of supervised credit in the Philippines. We deposited ₱125,000.00 in each two banks, drawing 4-1/2 per cent per annum on our deposit. The banks were authorized to lend out the money as production credit to rice

farmers at 12 per cent, provided each loan was approved by a farm credit technician supplied by the Central Bank. This specially trained technician would help the farmer draw up a farm plan — seeds, fertilizer pesticides, amounts, costs and work schedules. No collateral was required — the farm plan was the security. These credit technicians would visit the farmer clients, advising them on problems and checking the observance of the farm plan. Almost to a man, all participating farmers increased their yields by three to four times over previous years. To a man, they paid off their loans fully — some even before maturity. — *Wesley C. Haraldson, Part of his Statement before the U.S. Congress, April 25, 1967.*

■ Commencement Address of Vicente G. Sinco delivered at Foundation College of Dumaguete, April 30, 1967.

THE FLIGHT OF LOCAL TALENT AND MANPOWER

It is high time that we take note and consider with some degree of apprehension the way population movement within our own country is taking today. This subject is just as important as the high rate of our population growth which has been characterized by some as approaching the point of explosion, whatever that means. Certain phases of it are fraught with compelling significance as they touch vital problems related to particular groups. Let us begin, however, with the observable fact that there has been a general tendency in most of our communities for people to drift from the farm and rural areas to the urban centers. Not a few people have felt and followed an urge to move from the barrio to the poblacion of the town; and not satisfied with life in an ordinary town, others often-times transfer their work and

residence to the provincial capital. And there are still others who go even to other provinces or other islands.

This marked desire and decision of many of our people today to move from one place to another in our country was not noticeable about 50 or 60 years ago. Popular education is undoubtedly one of its causes. It has been producing a yearning to improve one's lot in life in a way that makes the pastures beyond the river look much greener and fresher than the pasture where one is on. Better roads, faster means of locomotion and transportation, cheaper fares have given this spirit for change an impetus and an actual and practical feasibility. Under these conditions, one ceases to think of the inconvenience and trouble of travel. Trucks, busses, automobiles, motor boats, and airplanes have erased impediments and

obstacles from the mind of those urged by the spirit of adventure in the hope of locating their fortune somewhere on this side of Paradise. Not a few have reached even remoter places to satisfy the stirring of the wanderlust.

In the history of human progress, migrations from communities with poor natural resources or limited improvement opportunities into new and open territories have frequently occurred. They have promoted the tremendous development of such countries as the United States, Canada, Brazil, and other continents. In our own land, they have made Mindanao and other parts of our country more populous and more alive. In the case of Mindanao, the migration of our own people into its vast but once sparsely inhabited areas has had not merely social and economic implications but also a distinctive political significance in the sense that it could prove a protective potential against a possible occupation of portions of it by unfriendly aliens. It could forestall unforeseen troubles and con-

flicts which are likely to arise when a large and open territory is left vacant and untouched by the industry and the watchfulness and care of its owners over a long span of years.

This dispersion of our people over all parts of our country has had beneficial results not only to the region receiving the newcomers but also to the places they vacated. It relieves population pressure on food, standard of living, and other economic needs in one place and opens to enterprising immigrants opportunities or possibilities for development in the other. The process is comparable to the free and balanced distribution of the blood in a healthy human body. Its even distribution over all the vital organs strengthens the whole system, prevents ordinary diseases, improves the color of the skin, keeps the luster of the eyes, produces a pleasant feeling, and increases the joy of living and loving. Comparable to these conditions is to be found in the country whose people are evenly and widely distributed over the entire expanse of its territory, without con-

gested ports, crowded cities, and crammed communities.

But culturally and socially a significant problem has been created by what appears to be a flight of certain elements of our people from the provinces and provincial cities to our national metropolis, Manila. It involves men of higher intelligence, individuals of higher than average talent, and potential leaders. They are drawn to it by what they deem to be better educational and cultural institutions, greater opportunities for personal or professional improvement, and wider fields of operation and service. These appear to be laudable motives. But it is highly doubtful if in the majority of cases, these motives are realizable in the City, or if most of them are really capable of making the most out of the opportunities there. It is quite certain that in many instances they are merely drawn into the metropolis by its gay lights or by a sense of what is known as prestige value derived from the so-called experience of Manila, education, Manila job, Manila residence.

There is another group involved in this flight to the metropolis. They are not really highly material and relevant to the purpose of our discourse this evening but they should be mentioned here even only in an incidental manner as constituting another problem worth knowing. I refer to that much larger group made up of the rank and file of ordinary citizens, manual workers, semi-literates, illiterates, and parasites. Without first finding out the truth of the stories they hear about the numerous jobs available in Manila, they swarm into the capital with high hopes for a better life but only to discover that the stories they heard were mere fairy tales. Manila is indeed a business and industrial center, but it is still industrially and commercially incapable of giving jobs to one million workers and government and political positions are not unlimited in spite of the fact that Congress, the Central Bank, the Philippine National Bank, and a few other institutions have some openings at times, but oftentimes they are swarming with male

and female clerks, receptionists, secretaries, typists, messengers guards, janitors, and other employees.

This group of ordinary, simple, untrained, and gullible folks is the principal cause of the heavy and speedy concentration of population in Manila and suburbs during the last 20 years. When before the War Manila with its principal suburbs had but 4 or 5 hundred thousand residents, at present its population is fast approaching the 3 million mark, most of whom are huddled together in crowded residential houses and apartment buildings and many thousands are mere squatters barely existing in miserable barong-barongs located in filthy surroundings. The resulting condition has been the creation of an environment in which disorder, filth, unemployment, and crime have made parts of the metropolis patently unsafe and undesirable.

Unlike the drift of our people into the less populated parts of our country which has been necessary and beneficial, this movement to the Metropolis is uncalled for and has not advanced and

does not promise to advance the interests and general well-being of the Filipino people. It began as a necessary consequence of the last War when Manila was destroyed and depopulated. As the seat of our government and the principal business, center of the nation, its activities at the time called for more helpers than the City could supply for the repair and rebuilding work that had to be done. But what began as an unavoidable movement, which should have been temporary and regulated, has continued since then in a disproportionate scale and thus has produced a condition which may be considered socially alarming.

Considering the question by itself, the centralization of a country's business, culture, and education in one fixed city or community is not that desirable condition which can place the entire national structure on a high and solid plane. It is conducive to the neglect, in various degrees, of many or even all other areas of the country. Politically it could have certain definite advantages to be derived from

unity of planning, administration, and decision. But in most other matters, centralization can easily result in plugging springs of fresh initiative in other places, or in depriving other groups and communities of opportunities to develop their strength in their own ways and for purposes most suitable to their conditions and needs, or in dwarfing the sense of responsibility of communities to work out their salvation.

Coming back to our own particular problem, it is quite obvious that, as it is, the concentration of our interests, talents, and attention in Manila will continue to produce an unfair distribution of opportunities among the people of this country. Those living in that center and its environs enjoy more opportunities for material growth and comfort than those living in far away places. And yet the average man living outside of Manila is as much a taxpayer and a loyal citizen as he who has his residence in Manila. He is as much in need of the benefits of good hospitals, schools, social and cultural

centers as any one living in Manila. He is as much in need of economic assistance in one form or other as he who lives in our Metropolis.

That this condition of things is bad enough. That it has given rise to an odious comparison is in some sense painful and galling to those who have given this matter some thought. But the situation is rendered more difficult to change by the flight of talent, superior intelligence, and high skill from the provinces to Manila. Coupled with this is the disinclination of the products of the educational and training centers of Manila to go back to their provinces and to live there and help actively in the work of improving their communities.

But the adverse effect of this socially egotistical decision is aggravated at times by certain events and consequences that are not often clearly envisaged. When, people of high competence, talent, and ambition leave or ignore their communities, the tendency is for these places to fall into the hands of people of lesser abilities and lower ideals. These charac-

ters are often indifferent to the general welfare and development of the community or are not sufficiently motivated to strive for its social, economic, or civic improvement. Thus, these self-seekers intentionally or not, are left free to take advantage of the flight of the competent and their absence from their midst. These men of lower caliber are prone to assume the leading role in the local activities without knowing exactly what goals they should strive after and what means should be employed. In many cases their principal objective is to gain power and to enjoy the privileges and perquisites of public office without conscientiously observing the obligations and responsibilities that should inseparably go with every power trusted to every man. Under men of this type, the community may not necessarily go to seed but its growth is bound to be slow, uneven, and grossly disproportionate to the amount of time, effort, and money actually spent.

The strength of a country does not depend upon one man. Napoleon did not win

the victories of France alone. The health, happiness, and glory of a nation depend upon a contented and educated citizenry well and evenly distributed socially, culturally, and geographically over its entire territorial extent. These elements of greatness depend upon an equitable dispersion of able and honest leadership over its inhabitants. A person cannot be physically strong when only one particular part of his body, such as the heart or the stomach, is developed while the rest of his organs and limbs are neglected, and, therefore, sluggish, slow, and feeble. The Philippines cannot be truly strong when talent, high competence, and demonstrated skill are concentrated in her metropolis. A well-balanced national development may not be expected to take place when towns and provinces of the country are left in the hands of second- or third-rate men and women intellectually immature, morally myopic, and emotionally incapable of those ineffable feelings of altruism and love that can compel one to suppress his personal and selfish motives

for the good of his fellow-men and his native land.

This flight of talent to our metropolis is more detrimental in its effect on the Filipino nation than the so-called brain-drain of Filipino professionals from the Philippines to the United States. Resorting again to a loose analogy, this constant flow of qualified men from the provinces to Manila is like the case of internal bleeding that happens to an individual in distress. Physicians tell us that internal bleeding is hard to control and is often fatal in its results. The so-called brain-drain to countries abroad, on the other hand, has a number of definite advantages to the individuals involved and to the nation at large. In many cases the ability of the individual professional is enriched and his economic position is improved. In the great majority of cases, his foreign sojourn is temporary, oftentimes lasting but a few years. In most instance they are doctors of medicine and nurses invited to the United States or Canada because those countries need their personal services, services

which are distinctively and indispensably humanitarian. Even in the case of other types of Filipino professional, invitations are almost always extended to them from the countries that desperately need technical assistance. As a whole, this migration of our talented men and skilled women in answer to invitations from other nations should be a cause of pride to us. They signify an act of international recognition of Filipino competence, talent, and ability.

The flight of the talented to the metropolis drains the provinces of many of its best men and women. It will continue as long as certain factors persist in leading the provincial population into the belief that the best things in our country are obtainable only in Manila — the best schools and libraries, the best hospitals and physicians, the best engineers, architects, dentists, and other professionals, the best theaters and entertainments, the best stores and dwellings, the most beautiful parks and garden. There is a great deal of truth in this; and, in addition, the seat of our national govern-

ment and most of the country's industries are there.

These advantages and attractions are real. Their pulling power cannot be denied and ignored. But neither should their baneful effect be ignored on the towns and provinces deserted by talented sons and daughters who are greatly needed to lead in their educational, civic, economic, and social development. After all what we need is a nation flourishing and happy in its entire length and breadth and not just a flourishing but lonely metropolis standing as an oasis in the center of a huge cultural desert.

The problem is, therefore, one of dispersion of activities of different varieties. The government cannot do everything, but it can do much to promote an effective policy of development. Perhaps a system of dispersion of economic, cultural, and social institutions could be profitably studied and introduced. It is clearly not politically objectionable as is the widely discussed and described system of decentralization of political authority. The metropolis should not

have all the monuments, parks, museums, and other cultural institutions that enhance civilized ways of living. Provincial communities should have their share in these symbols of refined and sophisticated material and spiritual development. Government support should be generously given to provincial or local schools, hospitals and other institutions, both public and private, so as to spread as widely as possible the use of the taxes collected from the people for their benefit.

The effectiveness of any government decision and action, however, depends upon the attitude and the conviction of the individual. And this is the thought I wish to leave with you for your consideration. The community and province in which you and your parents are settled should be your seat of operation. It is there where you can do the best for yourself, your neighbor, and your nation. Opportunities abound in the towns and provincial cities awaiting to be discovered and used for good purposes by the enlightened and honest indivi-

dual, the inspired worker, the good neighbor. Outside the shadows of our great Metropolis, on the dusty streets of our towns, in their shops, schools, hospitals, and offices, and on their farms, you and I should live and enjoy the strenuous but fruitful life.

Wise men have proved to us that oftentimes acres of diamonds are right under our feet in the place we have actually been living. In the Vision of Sir Launfal, we read about the great and noble Knight wandering for many years all over the world looking for the precious Holy Grail only to find it in his

old age right in his own ancestral home. These and other instances are not suggestions that we must live a life of withdrawal and seclusion, that we must turn our backs to the challenge of distant assignments and stations, but rather that we should not overlook or belittle the opportunities, the call for service, for happiness, or fulfillment which confront us as men of thought, of developed curiosity, of trained imagination, of firm resolve and decision right in the provincial community, large or small, where our skill, our talent, our training, our education could be of real and effective use. — *V. G. Sinco.*

IMPROVING OUR ENGLISH

This section of Panorama will be regularly published for the benefit of Filipino students of English. It will be devoted to idiomatic English — nouns, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, and expressive phrases. Idiomatic expressions are distinctive ways or peculiarities of using words and phrases in English. They are usually forcible, terse, and vivid. They are the most difficult part of the language for a person to learn who is not an American or Englishman. *They must be committed to memory and frequently used in speaking and writing.*

VERBS WITH PREPOSITIONS

198. *Put on*, is to invest oneself with.
199. To *put on* clothes, a hat, shoes, spectacles, etc.
200. To *put on* airs, is to assume proud airs.
201. To *put on* the screw, is to exert pressure on a person with an ulterior purpose. To extort a confession or promise, to extort money.
202. *Put out*, is; 1. To eject, as to put out an intruder. 2. To extinguish, as to put out a fire, a lamp, a candle, a torch.
203. *Put one up to*, is to incite or instigate. Who put you up to this mischief?
204. *Put up with*, is to endure without resentment or opposition. To put up with a person, sometimes means to stay at his house for a time.
205. *Qualify for*. He had qualified himself for office.
206. *Quarrel over* a thing; quarrel *with* a person.
207. *Rank with*. What poet of any country can rank with Shakespeare?
208. *Reason with* a person, *about* a thing.
209. *Reconcile one to*; reconcile one thing *with* another.
210. *Reduce to*. To reduce a sergeant to the ranks, is to de-

- grade him to the rank of a private.
211. *Refrain from* tears, reproach, anger, strife.
212. *Rejoice at, in, over, on account of.* No one rejoiced at (or in) their success more than she.
213. *Remind of.* His face reminds me of his father.
214. *Rest on or with,* is to be founded or based on, to devolve on. To *rest on one's laurels,* is to stop trying for further successes.
215. *Retire from* business, from public life, from a contest.
216. *Retire into* private life, into a monastery, into a cave.
217. *Retire upon or on* a pension.
218. *Ride down* a person, is to treat him in an insolent, overbearing manner.
219. *Rob one of.* By lying he would rob me of my good name.
220. *Root out or up,* is to pull up by the roots, to destroy.
221. *Rub off* rust, rub off an impression, rub off rude manners. rub off awkwardness.
222. *Rub out,* is to erase, to obliterate. Indiarubber rubs out pencil marks.
223. *Rub up,* is to polish, to burnish, to brighten. The servant has rubbed up to the silver plate.
224. *Rule out,* is to exclude.
225. *Run at,* is to attack. The bull ran at the farmer.
226. *Run down,* is to chase till the quarry is exhausted and caught; also, to censure, to decry to, disparage.
227. *Run into* debt, into danger. This phrase verb implies heedlessness, want of due consideration.
228. *Run through,* is: 1. To pierce. 2. To waste or to expend. 3. To examine hurriedly.
229. *Scoff at* religion, at sacred things.
230. *Search for* a thing lost, or a thing not readily found.
231. *Search into* all the details of a subject.
232. *Search out,* is to seek till found, as, to search out the truth.
233. *See off,* is to accompany one to a place of starting, and wait with him till he takes his departure.

234. *See through*, is to discern; to penetrate; to watch to the end.
235. *Seek after* or *for*, is to follow, to endeavour to find.
236. *Send by*, is to send by way of or by means of. Send me an atlas by book post.
237. *Serve up*, is to present food to be eaten.
238. *Set about*, is to begin, to apply oneself to.
239. *Set apart*, is to reserve, or separate to a particular use.
240. *Set aside*, is to disregard, to annul.
241. *Set forth*, is to manifest, or exhibit, to proclaim. He set forth his views with clearness and force.
242. *Set on*, or *upon*, is to incite, to urge on; to attack. It is wicked to set on boys or dogs to fight. Two dogs set upon the poor old beggar.
243. *Set up*, is: To establish. To begin a new business. To put in power. He determined to set up his own private store. The printer has set up but four pages of your manuscript.
244. *Settle down*, is to become quiet, to establish oneself. The unruly students have at last settled down to study their lessons.
245. *Sever from*. To sever the tail from the body of the lizard.
246. *Shake off* sleep, drowsiness, nervousness, etc.
247. *Show off* is to display or exhibit in an ostentatious way. She went to the party to show off her new dress. The new politician went to church just to show off.
248. *Show up*, is to expose; to hold up to ridicule. If he provokes me again I shall show him up.
249. *Shrink from* contact with the leper.
250. *Shudder at* a dreadful sight, carnage.
251. *Side with*, is to take the part of, to embrace the opinions of. He has always sided with the Nacionalistas.
252. *Sink into* the sea, into evil habits, into obscurity. Sink into the mind, is to enter the mind and remain there.
253. *Sit up*, is to rise from a reclining position; to get up and not lie down. He had to sit up all night, i.e. he did not go to bed all night. He sat up till five o'clock in the morning, i.e. he did not go to bed till five.

254. *Slow down*, is to gradually diminish speed, to lessen activity. You cannot continue working so hard; you should slow down.
255. *Smile at, on or upon*. She smiled at the compliment and left. Lady Luck smiled upon him at the sweepstakes.
256. *Sneer at*, is to show contempt by a particular expression of the face.
257. *Speak out or up*, is to talk out loud enough so it could be heard.
258. *Speak with* a person, is to converse with him. caught; also, to censure, to decry, to disparage. wicked to set on boys or dogs to fight. Two dogs
259. *Spread out*, is to lay open to be seen. The merchant spread out his dresses before the young woman, hoping he could sell her one.
260. *Spread over*. The flood spreads over a large territory.
261. *Stamp out*, is to destroy by force. The Philippine army stamped out the Huk uprising.
262. *Stand against*, is to resist. No ordinary animal can stand against a lion.
263. *Stand by*, is to be near or to be present. He stands by to wait for his turn to see the teacher.
264. *Stand for*, to represent or be a symbol for. The cross stands for the Christian faith.
265. *Stand out*, is to be conspicuous or prominent.
266. *Stand pat*, is to remain unchanged in one's view or argument.
267. *Stand to reason*, is to be clear in the light of known facts. After discovering Pedro's money in Juan's pocket, it stands to reason that Juan had taken it.
268. *Stare at*. To look long and directly. Surprised by my sudden appearance, she stared at me as if I were unknown to her.
269. *Stay away*, is to remain absent for a long while. Pedro stayed away from class for one week due to illness.
270. *Stay up*, is not to go to bed. I went to bed at nine, but these fellows stayed up till twelve.

(To be continued)

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