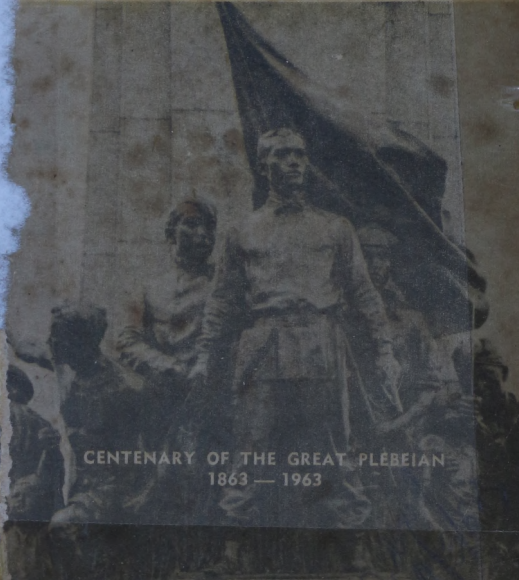


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# PANORAMA



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VOL. XV

MANILA, PHILIPPINES

No. 1

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The mood, one remembers, started when someone announced from the tree-tops that under the New Era there would be a moral regeneration based on simple living and the elimination of graft and corruption at all levels of our society. So the "big heads" began to roll, to set the examples. And the cry was taken up from every quarter by the trumpeters of the New Era. And its bloodhounds were let loose on the trail of the "wrongdoers." Vested interests drew the initial fire. Forthwith, big names toppled in the dust under the glare of adverse publicity. This one used his gold to gain political power. That one acquired a vast estate through illegal means. That other one had unethical relations with Uncle Harry. And many others, who were presumably wallowing in unexplained wealth. This was all for "the public good." Except that, the purgers drew the line on who are to be purged and who are to be spared, and even patted on the back. And the whole drive took on a partisan hue. *He* is not with us. Out with him! *He* wants to fight us. Give him hell! All, in the name of moral regeneration — under the New Era. Is there perforce a new moral code? When people talk of the "new morality," writes Jose Ortega y Gasset of western society, "they are merely committing a new immorality and looking for a way of introducing contraband goods." Ho-hm.

■ It is not easy to understand why the founder of the Katipunan and the father of the Revolution has not as yet been duly recognized by his people.

## ANDRES BONIFACIO, 1863-1897

LEOPOLDO Y. YABES

It is easy to understand why neither Spain nor America has been very kind to the memory of Andres Bonifacio: Spain because Bonifacio initiated the armed movement which ultimately overthrew her rule over the Philippines, and America because the idea alone of a subversive movement like Bonifacio's would not have been contributive to the stability of her own regime.

However, it is not easy to understand why the founder of the Katipunan and father of the Revolution, which made possible the eventual restoration of Philippine independence, has not as yet been duly recognized by his people, who are now enjoying the fruits of that independence, for what he was —  
✓ their main liberator and a

leading architect of Philippine democracy.

This year will mark Bonifacio's centenary, having been born on 30 November 1863, in Tondo, Manila, of a poor couple. □ The oldest of six children, he found himself at a young age saddled with the responsibility of supporting the family because of the early death of both parents.

The best information available to date is that he reached only the primary school, although there is unverified claim to the effect that his formal schooling reached the third year of secondary instruction. Regardless of whether the claim is true or not, the fact is that Bonifacio was a voracious and assiduous reader, and so what he lacked in formal education he made up for in cons-

cientious and wide reading in serious literature.

So, between eking out a difficult living by making canes and paper fans and working in two foreign establishments and instructing himself, he was being made painfully aware gradually of the rottenness of the society he was living in and of the necessity of drastic action to improve the situation. Originally he may not have entertained thoughts of revolution; the Filipino propagandists in Spain originally were assimilationists (M. H. del Pilar himself did not advocate separation until the last months of his life); it was only after Rizal was deported to Dapitan and the *Liga Filipina* was dissolved that he and a few other patriots organized the *Katipunan* on 7 July 1892, obviously as a last resort.

The staying power and growth of the *Katipunan* as a secret revolutionary organization may be attributed chiefly to the superior qualities of Bonifacio as an organizer and leader. That it was discovered sooner than expected may be attributed no longer to some fault in or-

ganization but to deficiency of character and to conflict in loyalty of certain members of a society where ultimate loyalty should have been, but unfortunately was not, to the national community then in the process of being formed.

The strike for freedom announced to the world by Bonifacio and his *katipuneros* in August 1896 could not have surprised any observant student of the times, because the restiveness of the native population in Manila and in the provinces was too obvious to escape the attention of the perceptive observer. The people's answer to the call to arms was spirited and spontaneous, and if the revolutionists only had more and better arms at the beginning of hostilities, they could have subdued the Spanish forces and overthrown the colonial regime within the first few months, before effective reinforcements could arrive from Spain. As a result of the protracted conflict and inevitable setbacks for the inadequately armed insurgents, there arose a conflict in leadership of the revolutionary organization which ended in

the unfortunate and unnecessary elimination of the founder of the movement, on 10 May 1897, under dubious circumstances.

The forced exit of Bonifacio in the manner it happened was to a great extent his own fault. He was naive or unsuspecting enough to accept an invitation to go to a rebel territory where he was not sure his authority was recognized, hoping he could settle factional disputes there. He discovered, to his sorrow, that he had played into the hands of his rivals. Not expecting the humiliating treatment given him, he reacted

quite sharply to the insults, but his action drew a reprisal, from which he was helpless to protect himself and his brother.

The stature of Bonifacio will grow greater as the Filipino nation emancipates itself gradually from the colonial mentality that has afflicted it these last four centuries and as it asserts its independence and integrity in its dealings with itself and with other nations. Bonifacio can be the hero only of a self-respecting and enlightened people; not of a nation of intellectual slaves and spiritual obscurantists.

## BETTER ALIVE THAN DEAD

All who are not lunatics are agreed about certain things: That it is better to be alive than dead, better to be adequately fed than starved, better to be free than a slave. Many people desire those things only for themselves and their friends; they are quite content that their enemies should suffer. These people can be refuted by science: Mankind has become so much one family that we cannot insure our own prosperity except by insuring that of everyone else. If you wish to be happy yourself, you must resign yourself to seeing others also happy. — Bertrand Russell.



What if Magellan had not come upon the Philippines? This remains an intriguing speculation, but it is too late for that. This historical essay tells what happened.

### CARMEN GUERRERO-NAKPIL

It is an orthodox—as it is deplorable—to begin any account of Philippine history with Fernando de Magallanes. Many brave attempts have been made, especially in recent years, to push back the beginnings of formal history. Most Filipinos now gag at both term and concept of “discovery by the Spaniards,” cite Chao Ju-kua, the Chinese official and geographer who described the Philippines in 1280 and try to quote even earlier fragments of Indonesian, Chinese and Japanese records. It is unnecessary here to argue and fret over the lack of pre-Magellanic records or to point with outraged adjectives at the deliberate culturecide of the colonizers. It is still simpler, if

less faithful to one's historical sense, to assume that as far as we are concerned, pre-Spanish is almost synonymous with pre-history.

The fact is that, like Churchill's British isles, our islands have been “the creature of men and events across the seas.” The great land upheaval which, geologists maintain, wrenched us from the mainland of Asia; the wave upon wave of Indonesians and Malays who crossed the seas to merge their blood into the Filipino nation; the early Chinese, Indians, Japanese and other Asians who came to trade and stayed to marry, teach and rule were perhaps no less important to our history than the unprepossessing Portuguese navigator Magellan. But while he

and the powerful forces behind him live on in history, they, his Asiatic precursors, have become almost impossible to discern.

"The documentary history of the Philippines," wrote the American scholar Bourne, "begins with the Demarcation Bulls and the Treaty of Tordesillas, for out of them grew Magellan's voyage and the discovery of the islands." Certainly, whether the Pope was to halve the world like an orange for Spain and Portugal and whether Fernando and Isabel of Castille and Joao of Portugal were to redraw the line 370 leagues west of the Cabo Verde Islands "for the sake of peace and concord" was something of a turning-point in our history. Other opinions ascribe the beginnings of Philippine history in western records to the Islamic blockade of Europe which, by running the trade routes to the East, sparked the age of exploration, the desire for the Christianization of unknown lands and to the growing conviction—one which seems unbelievably simple to modern minds—that the earth was round.

At any rate, on a Saturday morning, on March 16, 1521 we see (through the eyes of the Venetian Pigafetta) the small bearded unimposing figure (lame in one leg if we are to credit one historian) of Fernando de Magellan's, standing on the deck of his ship *Trinidad* and peering at the horizon where the heights of Samar had just become discernible. We see him the next day landing on the tiny island of Homonhon, exclaiming with his sailors over traces of gold in the earth, setting up tents for his sick men, and a day later, meeting a party of nine men out for a day's sport.

These were the first islanders Magellan and his expedition saw. Pigafetta found them graceful, neat and courteous, "ornately adorned" with gold earrings and armlets and "very pleasant and conversable." On another island explorers met natives travelling in large boats, armed with swords, daggers, spears and bucklers, eating and drinking out of porcelain dishes and jars, living in houses built "like a hayloft," thatched, raised on "huge posts of wood" and divided

into "rooms like ours." They were governed by a king dressed in embroidered silk, perfumed and tattooed whose dishes and "portions of his house" were made of gold.

In Cebu, the Europeans met the self-assured but prudent Rajah Colombo who first demanded tribute of the white strangers and then, on the advice of a Siamese trader who had met the powerful Portuguese in India, acceded to their offer of friendship. Pigafetta's first impressions are significant: they first saw Colombo seated on a mat in his palace, wearing fabulous jewelry of gold and precious gems, delicately picking at a sophisticated meal of turtle eggs and palm wine sipped with reed pipes. For entertainment he had four girls "almost as large and as white as our own women," noted the Venetian with Renaissance roguery, dancing to musical instruments consisting of brass gongs and drums. The queen when they met her was "young and beautiful", with mouth and nails reddened, wearing a black and white cloak and a hat "like a pope's

tiara" and attended in great pomp.

The strangers also remarked—as did the explorers who were to come after them—that the natives had weights and measures, calendars, bamboo manuscripts, a religious body of beliefs with painted idols and the offering of the sacrifices, an orderly and stable social structure governed by oral and written laws and elaborate manners and customs, vast and active trade among themselves and with neighboring countries. There was also ample evidence of mines, looms, farms, naval constructions, the raising of poultry and stock, pearl fishers, civet, horn and hide industries and, as Magellan was to discover with his dying breath an efficient military.

These were the spirited, self-sufficient, bold and lusty men who were to become transformed, by some alchemy of conquest and colonization, into the indolent, dull, improvident indios who would have to be prodded with the tip of Spanish boot or flogged at the church door because they were so timid, and so stupid and whom the

Americans, much later would find unfit to govern themselves.

The modern mind balks at the circumstances which made a Papal Bull and a letter from the Spanish incontestable legal title to these Asian islands. It is hard for us to accept the simplicity and presumption of this stranger from halfway around the earth to stand on a Visayan beach and, erecting a cross, claim to have discovered for his king lands which existed and prospered when Iberia was marshland. How preposterous! we say; but Magellan did not think so.

Creature of his age and race, he had all the lordly audacity of the race of the explorers and discoverers. Extremely able, patient, ingenious and resolute he was also fiercely imaginative and indomitable. His heritage was that of Prince Henry the Navigator, of Vasco da Gama who had gone to India and returned to Portugal with merchandise worth sixty times the original cost of the expedition; of Columbus who had set out with a letter to the king of Cathay and found America; of Ponce de Leon,

Cortes, Pizarro, and Balboa. It is not easy to understand the world of Magellan with its insatiable curiosity for the unknown, its inordinate desire for adventure and renown and the fabled wealth of the Indies, a world so full of unshakeable courage and faith that is set out on wooden ships to conquer the trackless seas and the pathless continents.

Magellan's personal history before his great voyage was typical of a lower class nobleman of the 16th century. Brought up as page in the royal court of Portugal, where he grew up in the exciting company of cosmographers, hydrographers and swordsmen, Magellan saw service in Africa and was soon determined to embark on a career of exploration. Because the Portuguese king ignored his plan to reach the Spice Island—there must have been dozens of such ambitious proposals from all manner of courtiers and adventurers in the Portuguese court—Magellan renounced his citizenship, went to Spain and offered his services to the Spanish monarch. The Spaniards proved no more receptive to his

plans of exploration than his compatriots: for many months Magellan was quite a guest at court, showing everyone his little painted globe. In his desperation, he decided to make exploration a private venture—a not uncommon method in that age. He had secured the backing of Christopher Haro, a wealthy Antwerp merchant, and was all but ready to sail on his own initiative when the Spanish king, set on his ear by such determination, finally signed a contract of "capitulation" with the Portuguese mariner. Leaving a wife and a six-month-old son behind, Magellan set sail on August 20, 1519 from Seville, with five ships, 256 men, and the promise of staggering wealth and fame on a voyage that was to include mutiny, starvation, astounding discoveries, terrible hardship and at last, the circumnavigation of the globe.

Yet, "the greatest navigator of all time" as Magellan has been called, was to meet his match in a Malayan chieftain, Rajah Lapu-Lapu, whom western historians have called with undisguised annoyance "a naked savage."

Lapu-Lapu was, from early youth, an excellent fighter and swordsman. He had incomparable bravery and a subtle intelligence. He had fought and maneuvered himself from the position of mere datu to that of the major ruler of the island of Mactan and when the Europeans came he had spies in the courts of his rival kings in Cebu with instructions to observe the fighting gears and tactics of the newcomers. With uncanny pre-science, he mistrusted this matter of making friends with the white men.

When Magellan, prodded by his new allies, Humabon of Cebu and Zula of Mactan, determined to make this surly native chieftain submit to him or he "would know how our lances wounded," Lapu-Lapu was prepared. He sent back an equally arrogant answer: if the stranger had iron lances, he had lances of bamboo and they were more terrible. He dug pitholes along the beach, retreated and waited for the Spaniards to approach. Leaving their boats in the shallow waters and boastfully charging their native allies to

leave the fighting to them, the Spaniards, once on land, were quickly outflanked, outnumbered and outshot. In an effort to turn the tide of battle, Magellan ordered his men to burn the houses of natives. Forever afterwards, western men in Asia would make the same mistake and would think that acts of savagery and inhumanity would increase their power. The sight of their burning villages, instead of terrifying the natives, infuriated them and they fell upon the white men with loud cries until those who were not slain ran back to their boats. Magellan was wounded by a poisoned arrow in his arm, and a bamboo spear in his face, and no longer able to draw his sword, he was cut down with a *kampilan*, the native cut-lass, and falling face down the water, was overwhelmed by Lapu-Lapu's warriors.

Their leader dead, still another tragedy overtook the expedition. Their two newly-elected captains, Barbosa and Serrano, went ashore at Cebu to attend a banquet or to ask for pilots to direct them to Borneo (historians differ) and they and a score of others

were massacred by the Cebuan, only recently baptized and embraced in friendship. Pigafetta says the massacre was an act of vengeance for the Malay slave Enrique whom the new captain had abused. Another authority says that the rape of Cebuan women by the Spaniards was the cause of the massacre. It is more logical to suppose that it was the result of the Spaniards' loss of prestige at Mactan. Humabon and his allies had, after all, been merely temporizing; they had been warned that the Europeans were too powerful to resist. But after Lapu-Lapu had proved that the white men were not invincible, there was no point to continuing a dangerous friendship. Nor did their new Christianity, built on so fragile a foundation as wholesale baptisms and the promise of a suit armor from the Spanish king, deter them from slaughtering the evangelists.

The Spaniards lost from 20 to 30 men, Serrano and a few others being still alive when the ships set sail "in great fear of further treachery." The expedition stopp-

ed at Bohol to burn the now undermanned ship Concepcion, and at Mindanao and Palawan, before finally leaving the archipelago, not without hearing of the large and prosperous island of Luzon in the north, where it was said, the Chinese traded. Thus ended the first contact between Spain and what was to be known as the Philippines.

Although its ultimate effects on the native population were probably negligible. We can assume that, for a long time, no one questioned the supremacy of Lapu-Lapu in that area, although progress of his career is lost in time, and that inlanders returned to their old life, the only trace of the Spaniards being a curious new idol in the Queen's palace, which fifty years later Legaspi's men would recognize as the image of the Child Jesus.

The effect of the Magellanic expedition on Castille and Europe was much more lasting and dramatic. Magellan discoveries not only proved that the earth is round and accomplished the circumnavigation of the globe but tantalized the Spanish crown,

the trade houses and the whole area of explorers. Two more expeditions—under Loaisa and Saavedra—both unsuccessful, were sent. In 1529, King Charles, in financial straits, sold all claims to the Spice Island and all other lands west for 350,000 ducats. This treaty was "a plain renunciation" of any rights over the Philippines, yet both Charles and Philip later chose to ignore it and sent, first, Villalobos who it was who named the islands Filipinas and twenty years later Legaspi, whose great expedition, fitted out from new Spain in America "established the power of Spain in the Philippines and laid the foundations of their permanent organization."

What if Magellan had not come upon the Philippines? Most historians are agreed that we would have become a Portuguese colony, also Christian and Europeanized. With the Portuguese, as with Spain, "Christianization was a state enterprise." In India and elsewhere, the Portuguese have shown great spiritual enthusiasm coupled with the familiar theories of possession and exploitation.

Failing that, either the Dutch or the English would have conquered us, as indeed they did mount invasions against the Philippines, and we would have known a colonization more punishing because it was built on the commercial rather than the religious ideal with all the "merciless exploitation and frank racialism" of their colonial policy, yet more merciful because it would have left us something of our history and our culture. Or perhaps the power of Islam which was strongest in the 17th century would have engulfed us, or perhaps the tribute which some of the islands were paying China would have been enlarged into more definite subjection. We could have been another Korea under Japan which for many centuries before Pearl Harbor had definite political ambitions with regards to the Philippines, or

another Indo-China under the French whose attitude of racial superiority and "utter distrust of democracy" cause the extreme nationalism of the Vietnam. Or perhaps the Germans? Or, who knows, we could have known the relative independence of Siam?

At any rate it is too late to speculate on whether we would have been spared the long paradoxical Spanish colonization with its strange combination of hideous cruelty, humane and beneficent policies and incredible corruption and conservatism. It was too late that morning in March more than four centuries ago when a small bearded Portuguese mariner stood on the deck of his wooden ship and glimpsed through the mist of the Pacific the gray mountains of Samar.—*The Saturday Mirror Magazine*.

The cruder minds are taken in by variety and exaggeration, the more educated by a sort of gentility.  
— Goethe.



Instead of the refinements, socially we are inclined to favor the vulgar that is in western culture. This essay attempts to explain our cultural attitudes toward the west.

## OUR CULTURAL AMBIVALENCE

VIVENCIO JOSE

Our cultural relationship with the west has been cultivated and encouraged for centuries that nobody among us can legitimately claim exemption from its impulses and influences. While there are so many things desirable in western culture embodied in its demands for excellence and perfection, the unrelenting search for knowledge, the adventurous spirit of speculation and the utilisation of scientific formulations and others that strongly recommended to us their cogent necessity for our time, nevertheless there are certain attitudes with which we regard culture that have driven us to confront dilemmas we usually resolve against our favour. These attitudes have widely contributed to the imbalance of our intellectual tradition and ultimately to the confu-

sion and alienation that are characteristics patent to our culture.

A case in point is the attitude wherein we take Spain and America as whole symbols of western culture when in reality they are not. But of course, this has been possible because for a long time our contact has been restricted to these countries. This mistaken regard has contributed to our ignorance of the fact that culturally and intellectually they are only parts of the vigorous continent of Europe where until recently the great issues and events of the world are decided first in the mind. It is in countries like Germany, England and France where an older and a stronger cultural tradition can be found which, taking its substance from the native soil imbibed the elements of

the classical age and became concretised for us in terms of their arts, philosophy, and science whose richness is forever a challenge to human inquiry and experience.

### *Cultural Ambivalence*

Hence, while there is generally a constriction of our cultural relationship mainly with the two countries mentioned above and therefore a misunderstanding of our partial cultural parenthood there is also a miscalculation of its ultimate meaning. In spite of our proud declarations of popularising education, the finest and deepest thoughts of the west have not been a generative and constructive force in our social thinking precisely because education has lacked the quality to enrich and stimulate the appreciative and critical intelligence, nor has it fully approximated the challenge and the standards which the highest achievements of the west has to offer to us. The publicised avowal we pay as our allegiance to western culture is therefore contradicted by the inept demonstration of our appreciation.

Thus, the recent reaction to ban a novel of great literary and cultural merit like D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, for example, while at the same time our choice not to show any outward protest against the flood of imported comics and cheap detective novels, can be an indication of this ambivalence. Our acclaims are dictated by the taste of the controlled multitude while our counsels are based on the easy reaches of intelligence that to continue the analogy, while socially we may yield to cultural outrages like the soap operas, the twist, and crude popular music we will reveal at once our implied if not downright disgust when the question turns on serious drama, ballet, or classical music which are integral components of western culture. In short, instead of the refinements, socially we are inclined to favour the vulgar that is in western culture to the extent that we desist or default from thinking that this is not all of the west, and also to obscure the fact that the proper homage we can pay to its artists, thinkers and scientists is one of gentle and sceptical intellectual con-

ironation rather than by bias or ignorance which we use to justify our chosen intention.

### *Western Heritage*

Attempts therefore to protect the public must always favour excellence for these can never corrupt us except as we regard them from a puerile point of view. Serious and sincere actions must be directed against the crude and the vulgar even how much they are found to be socially acceptable precisely because social corruption arises from these sources. We must also accept the fact that cultural excursions involve a risk in intelligence and orientation for the very notion of individually in culture demands a particular approach that is unique to any of its particular aspect to be explored. Hence, in one way culture demands nuances of human adaptations especially in intelligence to which its finest and highest refinements seek communion. The perennial challenge poised by intelligence engaged in advancing and understanding culture would somewhat be a confirmation and at once a rejection too of the banality and stupidity of their age, and

which is perhaps made nearer and more relevant to us by the cogency which the remembrance of Socrates, Einstein, Rizal, Darwin, Tagore, Shakespeare, and others will always arouse in us.

While we may therefore declare our western heritage, we must at the same moment affirm our rights to be mentally challenged which is a precondition concomitant to our acceptance of such a heritage. For in as much as we propose excellence for our consideration, such a demand posits also the affirmation of freedom to pursue these excellences to wherever they will lead us as long as such an action is first confined to and confirmed by discussion and whose solutions are solved after the clash of reason and logic.

### *Cultural Fringes*

But our reaction to such a proposal has not only been marked by indifference and abstention but also by outright denunciation because we have feared for so long the serious actions of intelligence. This ingenuity to resist, together with time and the social process conspires

therefore in working against our enlightenment that a condition is still being produced where a time-lag in our cultural reception hinders our minds in making a correct appraisal of the perspective of things.

For one, our being at the receiving-end of the intellectual movements in the west opens up to us only the cultural fringes when the west is already at the cultural centre. This makes us fight now also for principles western peoples have already won a hundred years earlier that we miss in the process a sense of contemporaneity precisely because our intellectual complexes are still checked by the impositions and demands of the undesirable survivals of the past. This makes also for our misplaced seriousness to consider according to a critic as epigrams what are already clichés abroad and novelties that which are already antiquated and outgrown by the west. Hence, we can take our being a semi-feudal society with indifference still in spite of the great progress in science and economy in the west; we can regard and respond to the evils of medieval-

ism with a kind of tolerance born not out of our liberalism but by an over-optimistic and over-masochistic turn of mind that legalises for us the hopes that they can be workable still in our times; and ultimately to take secularism and science as suspicious encroachment on the body politic; and the free and intelligent spirit of man that represents to us its expression in scholarly anguish as inspired by the devil and therefore fit for a ritual of exorcism and slaughter.

#### *Cultural Values*

This mental condition and inclination have so far produced among our intellectually sensitive sector a sense of contradiction and escape because the west has been romanticised in our imagination. So that when we seek an affirmation of our desires we will at once propose an immediate exodus to the west which we consider as our cultural home. The opposition of our cultural values is such that we have taken what belongs to us either with selective condescension or disgust as to make us compare hastily, to our conscious disadvantage,

say, the slums of Manila with the affluent quarters of London, our sari-sari stores, with the intellectual's cafes and art galleries of Paris, and our nipa huts with the skyscrapers of New York, completely forgetful of whatever our own could offer and emphatic in our assertions of contempt for our worst aspects so that we can justify our resignation, and our neglect or our suppression of whatever are the worst qualities of these foreign cities mentioned. Hence, we tend also to forget that what we seek in these lands and what they stand for us in our imagination as a concatenation of positive achievements and progress have been made possible not because of escape and endless rantings but by hard unremitting work through long years of struggle, which when allowed to operate in our country may eventuate ultimately to the realisation here of what we desire in those cities.

On the other hand, the reaches of our self-alienation can only be matched by the degree to which we have estranged ourselves from the quest of eastern culture. For

our colonial submission has resulted into a situation where we have not only been suddenly cut-off from our past and everything that it signifies but also has isolated us from our immediate neighbours. We have been "tribalised" and "insularised" so thoroughly that even now a declaration of nationalism is regarded with suspicion and the effort to emerge from our isolation in order to widen our cultural relationship with our neighbours is stifled by insidious interests that on the one hand, our estrangement may indicate itself in the ability of some of our intellectuals to discuss intelligently all the phases of the European Common Market but showing ignorance and embarrassment when the question of the Asian Common Market (where we rightfully belong) becomes the subject of inquiry; or on the other, this may show up in a mentality addicted to favouring the Monroe Doctrine while at the same time suspicious of those among us who advocate the Asia-for-the Asians policy.

#### *Eastern Culture*

This western constriction of our minds and grasps may

also reach the particular absurdity to assess eastern culture as something quaint and inferior not only out of ignorance but also because of the extent to which we try ourselves to believe that, since the particular Chinese we meet in the street used to be a poorly dressed peddler with slit eyes and used a chopstick when he eats, and the Hindu as a lean businessman with a long beard and deep set eyes wearing a strange garment, and since both are coloured peoples, we conclude at once that their culture is necessarily inferior to that of western man whom we socially deify.

In other words, there is a tendency in us to reduce these things to personalities and prejudices as cultural indices and as long as we regard eastern man as a stranger to us, to hide the fact (as in truth our education hides it from us) that old China and old India as particular manifestations of eastern culture possess a cultural tradition as ancient as any that can be found in the world and offering as varied excellences in arts and philosophy as any country in the west can offer;

or to make secret the thing that, until the tenth century, eastern culture and political sway as shown by these two countries are superior to any which the west can offer. In point of fact, as a historian reveals, not in one instance alone did the east civilise the west.

But through the contingencies of history, whatever the east inculcated in terms of its refinements to the west had been underestimated because of the latter's subjugation of the former that was made possible by the birth of the imperatives of a new and a then vigorous economic order that sought its nourishment in the material wealth of the east so that it can survive and remain strong.

Hence, the tales of the uncouth and treacherous oriental and the myth of the white man's burden later on plaguing the accounts of western writers. It is therefore paradoxical that while the west proposes to us the experience of its whole cultural universe from the vulgar to the refined, it has portrayed to us in turn the worst qualities not only of ourselves but of other orientals as well, and our ha-

bitat as a random country of base, helpless, and uncultured persons who must be "civilised" with each need for loot and the expansion of commerce up to a point where they are insisted upon to forget their ancient culture that they can be remolded into a colonial appendage wherein captivity is the rule.

### *Intellectual Confusion*

Ultimately, these kinds of thinking that direct our minds to appreciate the unwanted elements of both eastern and western culture confuse our intellectual and cultural tradition for so long. However, it is being corrected now by the new driving force of nationalism whose creative spirit is sweeping the renascent areas of the world. Our ability to examine our relationship with both cul-

tures can be illuminated if we at once take ourselves, our needs, and our desires and whatever is worth preserving and developing in our culture as a starting point from where the other qualities special to east and west must be related and referred. Any widespread and intensive cultural movement that will draw us nearer to the realities and to ourselves must take these considerations seriously.

For only then we can maintain for our examination an independent and balanced perspective that will insure a conscious act of will to affirm our bold allegiance to cultural refinements and an equal rejection of those aspects that are anti-human and debasing. It is only this choice that will find for our cultural ambivalence its harmonious resolution.

A pleasure-loving character will have pleasure of some sort; but, if you give him the choice, he may prefer pleasures which do not degrade him to those which do. And this choice is offered to every man, who possesses in literary or artistic culture a never-failing source of pleasure, which are neither withered by age, nor staled by custom, nor embittered in the recollection by the pangs of self-reproach. — Thomas Henry Huxley

Never was the world so perilously close to war as it was in the last week of October, 1962 over Cuba. Here is the story as told by the *London Observer's* diplomatic staff.

## THREE DAYS THAT SAVED THE WORLD

An hour before President Kennedy was due to broadcast in Washington on a matter of "urgent national importance," Adlai Stevenson stepped into a high-speed lift to the thirty-eighth floor of the United Nations building in New York.

He walked into the offices of the Acting Secretary-General, U Thant, and, choosing his words with his customary fastidiousness, told him that the Russians had missile bases in Cuba and that the United States intended to call an emergency meeting of the Security Council.

It was six o'clock on the evening of Monday, October 22—the beginning of a self-contained week of nightmare that ended almost as abruptly as it began. The week is still full of mysteries and question marks and it has no precedents or parallels. But

the events of the next few days illuminated, with a sudden glare, the terrifying rules and moves of the nuclear chess game.

### *Crucial clash*

The full import of Stevenson's news did not at once strike U Thant. Stevenson did not tell him that the President was about to announce a blockade, and did not wait for any discussion. But U Thant knew that he must expect a direct Russian-American clash, that would be crucial for the U.N., and for him.

Ever since he had been elected to office a year before, the U. N. Secretariat had watched U Thant with increasing respect. He had taken his predecessor, Dag Hammarskjöld, as his model: even the offices kept their antiseptic Swedish air,



though one or two abstract works of art had been replaced with Renoirs and a strange assortment of Mexican and African sculpture.

U Thant lacked Hammar-skjold's intellectual power or political subtlety, but he had the same dedicated independence.

When Stevenson left, U Thant called in his main confidant on the Secretariat, the clever soft-voiced Indian, CHAKRAVARTHI NARASIMHAN, his right-hand man throughout the week. Together they listened to Kennedy's broadcast, and then U Thant withdrew for his customary reflection—the last quiet evening he was to have.

### *Crisis gathers*

Next day the crisis gathered speed. From Washington, Kennedy completed his opening moves: the U.S. fleet deployed off Cuba, the Western allies expressed their support, Stevenson tabled a resolution in the Security Council, demanding immediate dismantling and withdrawal from Cuba of all offensive weapons, endorsed unanimously by the Organization of American States.

But from Moscow the western ambassadors reported a strange calm. The Soviet Council of Ministers had met in the Kremlin to hear the Defense Minister, Marshal Malinovsky, report on military preparations. At the Foreign Ministry a tall, Stalintype skyscraper, VASSILY KUZNETSOV, the Deputy Foreign Minister, had summoned the newly appointed American Ambassador, FOY KOHLER, a quiet, wrinkled man who was the chief American expert on Berlin.

KHRUSHCHEV himself was ostentatiously playing it cool: while in New York an extremely worried U Thant was considering ways of calling for a truce, Khrushchev in Moscow went to see "Boris Godunov" at the Bolshoi, chatted afterwards to JEROME HINES, the bass singer from California who had sung the part of Boris, and found time to receive WILLIAM KNOX, American president of Westinghouse Electric. As for the Moscow public they had not even been told about the cause of the crisis.

In Washington and Europe the atmosphere became steadily more strained as the

public waited for the clash between American warships and Russian arms ships heading for Cuba. The New York stock market fell by 11 points on Tuesday, four on Wednesday; the price of gold went up, and shops in Los Angeles reported a heavy demand for tin foods.

#### *Phone at side*

Everyone was watching the President. To his friends he seemed controlled and reasonably relaxed. But throughout the week he was never more than a few steps away from a telephone. Ever since the danger of sudden nuclear attack, the telephone had become the most crucial part of the equipment: whenever he moved, the switchboard moved with him, and even at the airport a wheeled trolley carried a telephone at his side.

The "situation room," just inside the west wing of the basement of the White House, was manned 24 hours a day by the President's aides, including MCGEORGE BUNDY and his deputy, CARL KAYSEN.

Equally important was the telephone between Washing-

ton and GENERAL NORSTAD, the cool and sophisticated commander of Nato. After Kennedy's speech, he ordered American forces in Europe to a state of "awareness" — the first of three pre-arranged stages of preparation for trouble in Europe which he had introduced about 18 months before.

As the tension increased, Norstad came under heavy pressure from Washington to move to a further stage of preparedness — involving the issue of ammunition (including nuclear warheads) and the dispersal of nuclear bombers. It is now known that he resisted this pressure, arguing that it would be wrong, as long as the crisis was confined to the Caribbean, to take what might appear to the Russians as provocative measures in Europe.

#### *The neutralists*

As the world prepared reluctantly to face war, all sides looked hopefully towards the U.N. But, from U Thant's vantage point, the outlook was increasingly grim. On the Wednesday morning the leader of the Cypriot delegation, ZENON ROSSIDES, to-

gether with six other neutralist leaders, called on U Thant to plead for him to intervene.

U Thant consulted closely with OMAR LOUTFI, his comfortable-looking Egyptian under-secretary, and then prepared a careful message to Khrushchev and Kennedy, bravely objecting to the "extraordinary" nature of the blockade and calling for a fortnight's truce—a demand that went further than the neutralists' own suggestions. The message was delivered that evening to the Security Council; some delegates believed that U Thant was threatening to resign (echoing Hammarskjöld at Suez) if the Americans used force.

By the end of the day there was some relaxation: Washington had reported that some Russian ships had altered course, and Khrushchev had mentioned casually to William Knox in Moscow that he was still thinking of coming to America. On Wednesday afternoon U Thant himself ordered that the annual U.N. concert, given by the Leningrad Orchestra, should proceed as usual.

Then, on Wednesday night, the spotlight temporarily turned on a remote old man in Wales — BERTRAND RUSSELL, who was sitting in his bedroom slippers in his rented villa, Plas Penryhn, with his dog Peanut.

#### *Five cables*

Russell's activities provided a curious entracte to the world crisis — as if a dramatic critic had strayed on to the stage by accident. Ever since he had listened to Kennedy's midnight broadcast, Russell had been in a state of unusual agitation. That night he sent off five cables — which were phoned through via Manchester — to Kennedy, Khrushchev, Macmillan, Gaitskell and U Thant, in that order. Copies of the cables were read to British newspapers, which ignored them.

For the next two days Russell tried to mobilize mediators, including SCHWEITZER in Africa, PABLO CASALS, in Puerto Rico, and CYRUS EATON, Khrushchev's eccentric millionaire friend, in America; he also proposed summoning an emergency meeting of the Pugwash scientists.

He appealed to the British Press "to allow the people to know of the grave danger facing mankind," and prepared an angry leaflet headed **YOU ARE TO DIE**, which was printed at its own expense by the Cuban Embassy in London.

#### *Frosty answer*

The Press took no notice at all until at 7:30 on Wednesday night the Tass Agency in Moscow suddenly put over the tape a long, conciliatory reply from Khrushchev.

Abruptly the boycott of Plas Penryhn was transformed into a siege. The telephone was blocked with calls from all over the world, asking for Russell's original Khrushchev's letter (which he had not then seen — the actual letter *still* hasn't arrived). Next morning there were 36 journalists at the house. Russell found himself, for the moment, in the midst of the triangle of Washington, Moscow and the U.N.

The only leader who did not in the end reply personally to Russell's cables was Macmillan, who sent a frosty

answer through his secretary, PHILLIP DE ZULUETA, saying "Your views have been noted."

On Thursday, at the U.N. after Khrushchev's letter to Russell, the atmosphere was still strained, but more hopeful. Kennedy replied to U Thant, saying that Stevenson would enter preliminary talks as U Thant had asked, and Moscow reported that Khrushchev, too, had agreed to talks. Stevenson and Zorin exchanged allegations, but some contact had at least been achieved.

The next day Khrushchev told U Thant that he had ordered Russian ships to stay out of the interception area. Kennedy said that everything possible would be done to avoid confronting Russian ships outside that area. The dreaded clash at sea had been averted, and the first part of the crisis was over — with the U.N. as the undisputed peacemaker.

#### *Force hint*

But a second and more serious crisis was only just beginning — the three days in which the world could have

been lost, but was saved. For although Khrushchev had indirectly given Kennedy a mild public answer, he had not committed himself to removing the missile bases from Cuba. On the contrary, American air surveys showed the Russians were working feverishly to complete them.

The removal of these bases was Kennedy's declared aim, by negotiation if possible, but if not, Washington increasingly hinted then by force.

The blockade might stop more missiles coming in, but it could not stop the Russians from finishing the bases already started. The speed with which this second crisis developed was dictated by the speed of the continued Russian buildup. Washington thought that Khrushchev might simply be playing for time, hoping the crisis would gradually peter out, leaving Russian rockets still in Cuba.

Mr. Kennedy had warned in his broadcasts that if the offensive preparations in Cuba continued, "further action would be justified." Now, inspired leaks to the Washington Press corps ominously began to speak of possible

American bombing attacks on the missile bases.

If this was part of the war of nerves, the Russians had already shown — more gently — they could play the same game. In Moscow on Thursday, Marshal Malinovsky made the closing speech at an army conference on ideological questions. Soviet forces, he declared, were in a high state of readiness. A shortened version of the speech was published in the Army's paper. About 15 youths demonstrated outside the American Ambassador's residence, a handsome domed building in a square near the Embassy. They were chased away by militiamen.

With the new crisis in mind U Thant had sent, pressed by the neutrals, another message to the two leaders urging restraint. But he was a little reluctant to push himself forward. SIR PATRICK DEAN, the chief British delegate, commented sympathetically: "If U Thant is always the ham in the sandwich, he's bound to be eaten in the end." U Thant was also in touch on Thursday with Bertrand Russell, who had three letters from

the Acting Secretary-General during the week.

*'End this madness'*

At 2:30 a.m. on Friday, Russell had a reply to his sharp cable to Kennedy which had wound up "End this madness." It had been lost for three days at the White House among 53,000 other telegrams. Kennedy, more politely told Russell: "I think your attention might now be directed to the burglars rather than those who have caught the burglars."

That night Russell, helped by his secretary RALP SCHOE-  
NMAN, sent more cables to Kennedy, CASTRO and Khrushchev. At Portmadoc telephone exchange the night operator said: "Don't you ever get any sleep, you two?"

But the role of the sleepless philosopher was over. Even the public mediation of the U.N. was taking second place to secret diplomacy and this was increasingly direct between Washington and Moscow.

At the U.N. the American delegation, sensing hostility, quietly dropped its initial plan — to provoke a Soviet veto at the Security Council

and then carry the American resolution immediately before the General Assembly. Instead it accepted a U.A.R.-Ghana proposal to suspend the Security Council discussions until U Thant had had a chance of trying to arrange a compromise.

*Secret messages*

On Friday morning Adlai Stevenson went to Washington for instructions on the minimum terms the Americans should demand. That afternoon, he, Zorin and the Cuban GARCIA were all received by U Thant on the thirty-eighth floor. They were ushered into different waiting rooms to avoid meeting. Stevenson left the building saying "That is a good time for quiet diplomacy."

Then, expecting a tough round of negotiations, the American delegation was astounded to be called up by Washington at 11:30 on Friday night — after dawn in Moscow — and told that Kennedy had just received a secret message from Khrushchev going far beyond the compromise that U Thant had been trying to negotiate.

This was the third of four

secret messages that are known to have passed between Kennedy and Khrushchev during the crisis. There are believed to have been others, but no one outside the White House and the Kremlin knows for sure.

There is no direct telephone line from the White House to the Kremlin. (Though during the past year the Swedes had suggested installing such a telephone link as one way of preventing war by accident.) But this time Kennedy and Khrushchev corresponded secretly with each other through their embassies.

As soon as he came into office, Kennedy had made a point of establishing as close a contact with Khrushchev as possible through the American ambassador in Moscow. Until recently it was the veteran Russian-speaking LLEWELLYN THOMPSON, who had just been replaced by Foy Kohler. Thompson could see Khrushchev at almost any time and, back in Washington, was one of the President's most trusted advisers on how to deal with Russia.

The text of Khrushchev's message to the President on Friday night is still secret. It is said not to have been published by the Americans because of its violent and vituperative language. But, behind this smoke screen, Khrushchev made the key move of the week. According to Kennedy's reply to the message, the Soviet leader admitted in it for the first time the presence of bases in Cuba, reassured the Americans they were in Soviet not Cuban hands, and agreed to take them out in return for no more than the assurance that the Americans would not invade Cuba.

#### *New twist*

It was clear later that this was the turning-point of the crisis. But at the time the outside world, ignorant of the message, could see only a rapid slide towards war. Evidently Khrushchev had at last been convinced that if he did not withdraw his missiles the Americans might really attack them.

That Friday evening as his vital message was on its way to Washington, Mr. and Mrs. Khrushchev attended a con-

cert given by a Cuban orchestra in the Tchaikovsky Hall.

In Washington that night it must have looked as though the game was won. But on Saturday morning more disturbing news began to come from Moscow. A large organised demonstration took place outside the American Embassy and Moscow Radio announced that it would be broadcasting an important statement. Most Muscovites expected a call-up of the reserves. Instead it was an offer to America to swap the Soviet bases in Cuba for the American missile bases in Turkey, which was received in Washington with bewilderment and alarm. It coincided with news that Russians round the Cuban missile sites were firing at American reconnaissance planes and had shot one down.

Had Khrushchev suddenly changed his mind? Or had he lost control in the Kremlin and been forced to take a tougher line? Whose finger was now on the trigger on the other side?

#### *A mystery*

Paradoxically one of the most frightening thoughts of

a frightening week was that Khrushchev might no longer be there. But as one American diplomat said: "We must remember our aim is to dismantle the bases — not to dismantle Khrushchev."

Just why Khrushchev backtracked on Saturday is still a mystery. In his reference to a Cuba-Turkey deal, the Soviet Premier mentioned WALTER LIPPMANN. The wizened elder statesman of the American Press, in his column the previous Tuesday, had first made the heretical suggestion of a Cuba-Turkey exchange — to the fury of the State Department, who thought the Russians would interpret it as official kite-flying.

But there *were* signs that a deal over Turkey had been considered in Washington as one possible bargain in later negotiations with Russia. The Turks themselves objected to the Americans taking their missiles away.

#### *The brink*

On Saturday evening, President Kennedy replied to both Khrushchev messages. He rejected a deal over Turkey. He was ready, he said,



to talk about disarmament generally, provided the Russian missiles in Cuba were "rendered inoperable." But he offered Khrushchev another way out. He gave him the promise the Soviet Premier had asked for in his secret Friday message — that America would not attack Cuba if the Soviet missiles were withdrawn. American officials at the U.N. spread the word that unless an agreement were reached within the next few hours the U.S. would take direct military action to wipe out the bases.

This was the brink. For no one knew what Khrushchev would reply. For the next fifteen hours the tension reached its peak. And nerves on both sides were stretched even tighter when, on the Sunday morning, an American U2, straying off course above Siberia, was sighted by the Russians.

While the world waited anxiously for Khrushchev, the man who seemed least worried of all was PRESIDENT DE GAULLE. He was far more concerned about his referendum. On Saturday afternoon he went down to his country

house at Colombey-les-deux-Eglises and did not come back to Paris until Tuesday.

In London on Saturday night, it was realised that the situation was heading for disaster. Macmillan had seen Khrushchev's unpublished letter to Kennedy of the day before and believed that the risk of war was greater than at any time in the crisis. Late on Saturday, he summoned BUTLER, THORNEYCROFT and HOME, who were joined by HEATH when he got back from Brussels. They discussed the situation and the Prime Minister spoke to Kennedy on the telephone. The ministers met again at 9:30 on Sunday morning, when there was still no sign of a statement from Khrushchev.

With the help of his colleagues, Macmillan drafted a letter to Khrushchev, which was finished by 11:15. By noon it had been typed, coded and transmitted to SIR FRANK ROBERTS in Moscow.

#### *Sense of relief*

But the letter was not needed. By 2:15 the teleprinters at Admiralty House, and everywhere else, tapped

out the next of Khrushchev's message agreeing to the President's terms.

At the U.N. on Monday morning there was a sense of immense, overwhelming relief. Ambassador Zorin gave a lunch for members of the Security Council. Stevenson

arrived in good humour, and, as a joke, pulled out a newspaper cutting about the Ghanaians asking for weapons to repel *elephants*.

"I expect they were American elephants," said Zorin. "No," said Stevenson, "the elephants wore red." —

### A LEARNED IGNORAMUS

The specialist "knows" very well his own, tiny corner of the universe; he is radically ignorant of all the rest. Here we have a precise example of this strange new man . . . a human product unparalleled in history. For, previously, men could be divided simply into the learned and the ignorant, those more or less the one, and those more or less the other. But your specialist cannot be brought in under either of these two categories. He is not learned, for he is formally ignorant of all that does not enter into his specialty; but neither is he ignorant, because he is a "scientist," and "knows" very well his own tiny portion of the universe. We shall have to say that he is a learned ignoramus, which is a very serious matter, as it implies that he is a person who is ignorant, not in the fashion of the ignorant man, but with all the petulance of one who is learned in his own special line. — Jose Ortega y Gasset.

## A World War II Anecdote

### ASK ME ANOTHER

Japanese education officials in Manila were fond of giving the so-called objective type of examinations. But they often found, much to their chagrin, that their propaganda line did not work as well as they thought even with the school children. On June 7, 1943, a set of 18 *questinos* in "current events" was given in an examination for Grade Six classes in the public schools. The questions were so phrased as to leave the pupils no choice, and they knew the clichés, but 11-year-old Rosita Verzosa had a pattern all her own. Asked to answer *Yes* or *No*, Rosita dashed off the test in no time by simply writing *Yes* after each odd number and *No* after each even number, and adding, perhaps for effect, *definitely* after each *Yes* and *No*.

Here were the questions and Rosita's answers:

1. Do you want Italy to lose?

*Yes, definitely,*

2. Do you like the Japanese to win the war?  
*No, definitely.*

3. Do you want China and England to win?  
*Yes, definitely,*

4. Did America start the war?  
*No, definitely.*

5. Are the Americans gentler in minds than the Japanese?  
*Yes, definitely,*

6. Do you feel happier now than before?  
*No, definitely.*

7. Are the people poorer now than before?  
*Yes, definitely,*

8. Are the Japanese friendly with children?  
*No, definitely.*

9. Is handshaking politer than bowing?  
*Yes, definitely,*

10. Are you glad Laurel was shot?  
*No, definitely.*

11. Are the Americans better than the Japanese?  
*Yes, definitely.*
12. Did the Japanese not come to give us independence?  
*No, definitely.*
13. Do you want America to win?  
*Yes, definitely.*
14. Do you enjoy Nippongo?  
*No, definitely.*
15. Do you want the Americans to come back?  
*Yes, 'cause I like comics!*
16. Are you anxious to learn Nippongo so you do not have to use English?  
*No, 'cause I already know English.*
17. Who is stronger, America or Japan?  
*Who else?*
18. Are you happy when you hear the airplanes every morning?  
*No, they make me wake up so early. What else do you want to know? — H. J. A.*

### THE ANGER IN PAN'S HEART

Earth wages war against her children, and under the softest touch hides treacherous claws. The cool waters invite us in to drown; the domestic hearth burns up in the hour of sleep, and makes an end of all. Everything is good or bad, helpful or deadly, not in itself, but by its circumstances. . . . And when the universal music has led lovers into the paths of dalliance, confident of Nature's sympathy, suddenly the air shifis into a minor, and death makes a clutch from his ambushade below the bed of marriage. For death given in a kiss; the dearest kindnesses are fatal; and into this life, where one thing preys upon another, the child too often makes its entrance from the mother's corpse. — Robert Louis Stevenson.

- Flag saluting has a place in our national life and it is only fitting that we pay tribute to what we ourselves have built.

## FLAG SALUTE AND PATRIOTISM

Once in a while one reads heartening stories about some bureaucrat eschewing official and generally petty trappings in order to do "justice" and in the process, uncover a gem — sparkling and revealing in its wisdom. So it was with a fiscal who dropped deportation charges against five members of a religious sect who had allegedly ordered their congregation not to salute the Filipino flag. Explaining the dismissal of the case, the fiscal said: "For all the practical value of the flag salute law, it does not necessarily follow that those citizens who refuse to salute the flag for being contrary to their religious precepts are less patriotic law abiding than those who do."

The statement will surely set no precedent though it may receive the acclaim of many. To be sure, Philippine law on the matter is clear enough. The Supreme

Court, in a couple of prosaic decisions, has held that refusal to salute the flag for the reason only that one's religious beliefs forbid it is not a valid enough motive. While unhesitating in its affirmation of religious freedom, the court saw fit to draw a distinction (conveniently clear-cut because artificial and generally arbitrary) between belief and advocacy. The court also declared that saluting the flag does not constitute a form of worship and, therefore, can not be taken as violative of a person's religious creed.

The official stand of the state to the contrary notwithstanding, the statement of the fiscal — additionally revealing in that it stands out of the well-known drabness of legalese — should provide food for thought for those who would insist that all there is to patriotism, nationalism, and what-not are flag-

raising rites, passports and traffic signs in the national language, and what have you.

The petition of the fiscal to have the deportation charges dropped is, of course, based on more solid grounds — in the language of the law, meaning that the arguments and reasons are “expressly or impliedly provided for by law” and not ephemeral and opinionated such as the statement quoted here. Thus, the fiscal said no penalty is imposed on whoever refuses blatantly to salute the flag.

But lifting the petition from its legal context and viewing it against the broader background of a people's mentality and attitude, one realizes that, after all, it is what the fiscal said about there being no causal connection between saluting and patriotism which really matters. Certainly, even those who insist that symbols and rites have their function in building a national sentiment will not be foolhardy enough to maintain that these are all that are necessary in cultivating that love for one's country.

But when these people pre-

occupy themselves with nothing else but ritualistic activities such as flag ceremonies and fail to provide a more substantial basis for loving one's country, one comes to believe that perhaps one reason for this country's backwardness are people like these who think as they do. There is indeed little physical and mental effort required to pause and assume a respectful attitude while the Filipino flag is being raised up its gleaming pole. But more dedication and deeper affection for all that the flag is supposed to symbolize is necessary to wrench this country out of its rut and send it along the path to progress.

When we, as a people united by common aspirations and problems, finally realize that flag saluting has its proper place in our daily existence and that only hard, sacrificing work is the answer to the varied ills obstructing national progress, then we may sincerely stand and face the national emblem as it is slowly unfurled, comfortable in the thought that we are simply paying tribute to what we ourselves have built.

In the fight for civil liberties, no single group has perhaps accomplished more in this country than the Civil Liberties Union. The following is a brief history of its first 25 years.

## THE CONTINUING FIGHT FOR OUR CIVIL LIBERTIES

About 20 young professionals met 25 years ago to organize. The first meeting was one of simple comradeship, with no decision being made as to the shape and nature of the proposed organization.

In the next two meetings, the organizers appeared visibly affected by the war clouds in the horizon. Japan had just begun a war with China. A fascist revolt was gaining the upper hand in Spain. German and Italian fascism were hurling a challenge to the rest of the world. The Philippine government was showing signs that it was ready to take lessons from foreign fascists on peace, order and discipline under a regime based on "God, Country, and Family."

An organization to defend civil liberties was in order.

A committee of three was formed to draft the objectives of the organization: Antonio Bautista (deceased), Jose B. L. Reyes and Paulino J. Garcia. Another committee of one (Deogracias J. Puyat, deceased) was appointed to recommend the name for the organization. The name — Civil Liberties Union of Philippines, and the objectives, approved by the organizers, showed that while the broad aim was to fight for nationalism, democracy and social justice in the Philippines, the focal point of the activities would be the defense of civil liberties and the Constitution.

From the moment it was organized until the Japanese action brought the Philippines into the World War, the Civil Liberties Union was busy in the struggle for

the attainment of its objectives. The major struggles of the CLU may well be recorded.

The most memorable was the fight for freedom of speech in the advocacy of boycott of Japanese goods. In a Congress for Democracy sponsored by nationalistic elements, Dr. Antonio Bautista, then chairman of the Executive Commission of the CLU, advocated the boycott of Japanese goods as a means of weakening the war potential of a sure future enemy. Upon protest of the Japanese consul who claimed that such things could not be permitted to happen in his country, our government saw fit to order the arrest of Dr. Bautista upon a charge under the Revised Penal Code (Art. 118) for inciting to war, and giving motives for reprisals. The CLU secretary immediately filed bail for the chairman. When the secretary brought the matter of bail for approval by the body, some members questioned the propriety and wisdom of bailing by the CLU. They were not in favor of Japanese boycott, and would have nothing to do with any-

thing that would incur the animosity of Japan. This was the first really serious rift within the CLU. Several members resigned. The CLU, however, continued its activities. The case was finally settled when President Quezon ordered the case to be dismissed.

The CLU had a clash with President Quezon on the party-less system. He advocated a one-party system. When the CLU and other organizations and elements called his ambition dictatorial, Quezon backed down, saying that what he meant was not one-party but a party-less system, a system which was and is supposed to be in vogue in Portugal. Fortunately, however, Quezon soon forgot his one-party or party-less system.

The Hartendorp case was another test which the CLU met with dignity. A certain sector was daily using the radio to discredit the public school system in America which it termed as godless and materialistic. Mr. A. V. H. Hartendorp took up the issue and wrote his replies in a magazine which was approved by the Department of Public Instruction for read-



ing by teachers. Upon complaint of his opponents in the debate, the magazine was ordered excluded from the schools. The CLU took up the matter in defense of civil liberties. Diplomatic action by the department prevented the issue from becoming more acute.

The Jai Alai case was fundamentally a challenge to the nationalism objective of the CLU. The Agricultural and Industrial Bank (predecessor of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and Development Bank of the Philippines) was giving too many big loans to foreign, specially Spanish, interests, to the prejudice of Filipino business interests. Jai Alai was one of those to which such a loan was granted. The CLU opposed the loan, and tried, through legal process, without success, to examine the books of the Jai Alai. The notoriety of the case caused the company to repay the loan before the war broke out.

In the firm belief that the Constitution should not be treated lightly by any one, the CLU registered a vigorous opposition to the amend-

ment of the Constitution approved by the legislature for submission to a national plebiscite. The CLU was not against amending the Constitution. But it stood against what it considered to be hasty amendments which were obviously motivated primarily by a desire to permit the re-election of the President.

Just before the war broke out, the CLU got involved in the Soriano case. A citizen of Spain, but residing in the Philippines practically all his life, Mr. Andres Soriano filed an application to become a Filipino citizen in 1941 in the court of first instance of Rizal. The CLU filed its appearance and in the November 1941 hearing of the case, contested the application on the ground that legal requirements had not been set. The CLU's opposition, however, was virtually quashed and Mr. Soriano was permitted to take his oath as a citizen before the completion of the regulatory period. A day or two before the Japanese entry into Manila, he was commissioned captain in the Philippine Army. After liberation, upon the sponsorship of Gen.

Douglas McArthur, he became a citizen of the United States.

The last pre-war battle of the CLU was with President Quezon. It started when the President, after the fall of France to the Nazis, and explaining the fall, castigated the "so-called freedom loving" elements in the Philippines and suggested that these elements were responsible for the decay of nations and their defeat by aggressors. The matter came to a head when, in a speech before the faculty and student body of the University of the Philippines a week before Pearl Harbor, he declared that the Philippines was not ready for war; he lambasted the CLU, and promised to hang every member from a lamp post. The CLU took concern, and in a body, drafted an answer which the leading Manila newspapers, for reasons they did not divulge, refused to publish whether as news or as paid advertisement. The war automatically closed the issue.

The war did not end the activities of the CLU. It merely changed the nature of the struggle. Defense of civil

liberties or of democracy and social justice became unnecessary and impossible. The emphasis changed to nationalism, the defense of country against the invader. A corresponding change in the methods of struggle necessarily had to be made.

Several members began conversations on guerrilla warfare a few days after Pearl Harbor. A meeting was called wherein the CLU was declared "dissolved." Within three weeks after the Japanese entry into Manila, ten CLU members organized the Free Philippines as a resistance group. Four CLU members paid the supreme sacrifice for nationalism: Ramon de Santos, Rafael R. Roces, Jr., Jose Apacible, and Antonio M. Bautista. The survivors in the group sought no recognition or reward.

Immediately upon liberation, the CLU reorganized, and resumed its activities. The emphasis had somewhat changed from that of the pre-war days. While the questions of civil liberties, democracy and social justice always concern the CLU, the defense of nationalism, i.e., of

the national interests of Filipinos, had become the main problem. In early 1945, just after the end of the Japanese occupation, the CLU became aware of a move to wean the Filipino people from their cherished aspiration for national freedom, and immediately opposed attempts for a re-examination of Philippine independence, of which the then High Commissioner Paul V. McNutt was obviously the spokesman, as revealed in a statement from Tokyo, that "the majority of the Filipinos are not necessarily interested in independence."

When the Bell Trade Act, which provided for, in the words of President Osmeña, an "unjust" trade agreement and also for parity rights for American citizens and corporations was passed by the 79th Congress of the United States, the CLU tried to mobilize public opinion for the rejection of the trade agreement and parity by the Philippine legislature and later by the people. Approval of the parity amendment was railroaded, through the "ouster" of several senators and congressmen known to be opposed to such measures. Forthwith, the

Military Bases Agreement was signed under which the Philippines leased many bases for 99 years, and granted the right of extraterritoriality to the U. S. The CLU tried to dissent but its voice was drowned in the general rejoicing over liberation by the Americans. The CLU later opposed the Quirino-Foster Agreement under which practically all offices of the executive department were staffed with American advisers selected by Washington. Then the CLU agitated for an all-out revision of the trade agreement, first during the administration of President Quirino and again that of President Magsaysay. A committee, headed by member Claro M. Recto (now deceased) submitted a confidential memorandum to Senator Jose P. Laurel, head of the Philippine negotiating panel, in which the CLU urged the elimination of all provisions in the trade agreement which negated our political independence with respect to several economic matters.

In the home front, the CLU was the first non-partisan group to recognize the

basic character of the political dissidence in Luzon. It urged the government to consider the politico-socio-economic origins and motivations of the dissident movement, and to realize that military and police measures were not the proper solution. The correctness of the CLU position was recognized by the Mag saysay administration, which initiated some remedies.

In the meantime, the onslaught on our independence and nationalism brought about, as expected, other problems. For one thing, there were the moves to curtail civil liberties in order to deny them to those opposing the objectives of those in power. The CLU busied itself in defense of the Constitutional separation of powers especially with respect to the so-called emergency powers of the President, and in seeking the early restoration of the suspended privilege under President Quirino of the writ of *habeas corpus*, which is the first and last guarantee of all the other civil liberties. During these controversies, the position of the CLU was

necessarily a delicate one, rendered even more delicate by the realities of the cold war. The CLU was subjected to pressures and even provocations not only by some of the national leaders but also by some foreign organizations. The pressures and provocations were treated with silence and patience. Then in 1954, under a somewhat new different atmosphere, the CLU welcomed an investigation by the CAFA. The CLU came in force for the hearing, with a defense panel headed by Members Recto, Tañada, Teehankee, Fernando, Crudo, David and Abola. The result was the exoneration of the CLU.

In the meantime, the dangers inherent in the recognition of the extraterritorial rights were becoming more and more visible. The CLU called for a re-examination of the Military Bases Agreement. In the original or preliminary Philippine panel, which actually negotiated with American counterpart in 1956, at least one CLU member was retained. The Philippine panel stood its ground firmly. The CLU urged in a memorandum to

the panel that the 99 year lease, which it considered to be tantamount to perpetuity, be substantially reduced to 25 years. Under the then prevailing realities of world politics, our position appeared to be very reasonable. It was conceded in principle by the American panel. But the other demands for the elimination of provisions curtailing Philippine sovereignty, such as extraterritoriality, were adamantly opposed by the American panel, and the negotiations ended in a deadlock.

Today, the fight has shifted back to the politico-economic field. American big business interests, through their government, had de-

manded more and more concessions for their foreign direct investments in the Philippines. Both the CLU, and members Recto and Tañada, as senators, assailed every attempt to increase alien economic domination in the Philippines; and the various foreign investments measures, supported by foreign interests, were the natural targets of these attacks.

The CLU is resolved to remain a staunch proponent of every move aimed at removing every obstacle to the preservation of the national independence, and the national security, the essence of which, as Member Recto had always taught, is the freedom from foreign dictation.

If what we call happiness consists in harmony, clarity, unity with oneself, in the consciousness of a positive, confident, decisive turn of mind, if, in short, it is peace resident in the soul, then obviously happiness is a state far easier for the sons of spirit to arrive at than for the children of nature. — Thomas Mann.

■ On November 30, 1962, the Civil Liberties Union of the Philippines observed the 25th anniversary of its unflagging fight for civil liberties. This is a tribute from the Philippine press.

## MESSIAHNISM AND LIBERTY

MACARIO T. VICENCIO

The Silver Jubilee of the Civil Liberties Union coincides with a patriotic occasion, which is the anniversary of Bonifacio's birth. This is most fitting and proper, for the foremost heroes of the Filipino race — Rizal, del Pilar, Bonifacio and Mabini — would easily grace the roster of the Civil Liberties Union, as once they did the roster of the *Liga Filipina*. This is a tribute not so much to the CLU as to the nation which has chosen, for its heroes and models, men whose lives were devoted to the cause of human liberty.

But this is not all. On this occasion the Civil Liberties Union rightly accords its Silver Jubilee tribute to that most distinguished body, the Supreme Court of the Philippines, of which it can be

said that never have so few done so much for the cause of liberty. How often have the gathering clouds of suspicion, mistrust and despondence over freedom immediately dissipated at a stroke of the pen of the Supreme Court! When we are gripped by fear and alarm, when we sense democracy itself trembling in the balance and the rule of the law dangling at the precipice, the thought that yonder lies the rock of justice, which no tyrant can move, — the rock of justice that is the Supreme Court, helps us collect our bearings and reassures us about the future.

The Press, exposed as it is from day to day to the threat of arbitrary power — to the infringement of its freedom — has a special reason to be

grateful to the Supreme Court. And the Press can only cheer this little band of crusaders for liberty, the Nemesis of every tyrant and of the new Torquemadas, this redoubtable band, the Civil Liberties Union of the Philippines.

We teach our youth that freedom is indivisible. This phrase is not only pleasant to hear; it is true, more true than people imagine. One may almost say, the extent to which this is understood — genuinely understood — can be a gauge of one's political or intellectual sophistication. It takes some sophistication to understand that the use of armed force to break a workers' picket line and the gagging of a newspaper amount to the same thing, an infraction of liberty, a blow against the Constitution and the rule of law.

One indeed has to be capable of a very broad view on human affairs to grasp the character of freedom as an extensive unity, almost an organic whole. When arbitrary power is used to attack our personal enemies, or perhaps business rivals, we tend to relish the spectacle, not know-

ing that the very weapon used against them can someday be turned against us. We see no cause for alarm when a crusading government applies legal short-cuts at the expense of due process to go after men we consider undesirable. But the same arbitrary methods can be used against good men, whom those in power happen to hate or dislike.

The objection to despotism lies in the character of despotism itself, not in its uses. To hold the contrary is to hold that a benevolent despotism is the ideal form of government, which is a contradiction in terms, for power not only corrupts and debases but also intoxicates. The world has now been told of what could happen when absolute power brings about intoxication — the paranoia of Stälin, who caused the butchery of an estimated eight million Russians.

I chose the example of Stälin, although I could have mentioned the massacres at Buchenwald and Dachau of Hitler's Germany, for a good reason: Communism professes to work for the liberation of mankind from every

form of exploitation and oppression, whereas Nazism had less scruples about ideals and principles. Never before has an ideal been so grossly perverted, as in Stalin's Russia, unless we set beside it the massacre of Christians in their religious wars and the burning of heretics by the Inquisition.

History shows that the cause of liberty becomes most insecure and precarious under self-righteous and crusading regimes. The messiah of politics is first of all the victim of a one-track mind, which, once he is in power, he seeks to impose upon all. To object is to run the risk of being branded a heretic and penalized for opposition, which now becomes disobedience. And in time, the messiah's notion of right and wrong passes over into the notion that whoever is not with him is against him.

Political messiahism is, moreover, inherently impatient: the messiah looks upon the laws as so many pieces of a Gordian knot, a puzzle and a harassment and he is tempted, like Alexander, to hack it all away with a stroke of his sword.

The messiah looks upon freedom as one for himself and his friends alone. Psychologically and intellectually, he is incapable of grasping what Justice Holmes has very aptly said, that freedom, to be meaningful, must mean freedom not only for the thought that we have but "freedom for the thought that we hate."

Messiahism was a religious phenomenon. In history, the Inquisition is its despicable symbol. But religious messiahism has tended to wane with the increasing secularization of the world. Inevitably it has acquired a political face. Stalin was a messiah in this sense; and so was Hitler.

In its religious form, messiahism upheld the right to flog the heretic for the good of his soul. In its political form, messiahism lashes out at every one who fails to conform as either a crook or a subversive, all this in the name of good government or the national security.

When messiahism is abroad, we have good cause to fear for our freedom. It warms the hearts of those who love liberty, therefore, to



find the Civil Liberties Union not only reactivated but revitalized, and rich as ever in courage and ideals. We of the press, who share with you the same zealous concern for the freedom of all, will stand beside you and lend you support in the pursuit of your noble cause, which is the cause of all free men.

We have stood together in the past against the invasion of the Bill of Rights and the usurpations of foreign and homegrown tyrants. No less than the Supreme Court, no

less than the Civil Liberties Union, the Philippine press shall rise, as in the past, to every challenge to freedom.

Freedom is so elusive it has to be conquered anew with every passing day, said Goethe. This remark of Goethe defines the terms of our struggle for liberty. The first is that the struggle has to be an unceasing one; the second is that we shall refuse to be cowed by any threats or calumnies, and that as the knights of old, we shall prefer death to dishonor of defaulting in the fight.

### THE ARTISTIC LIFE

It is actually only with the most genuine despair that I take up my art again. If this must happen, I must once more resign reality and plunge into that sea of fantasy, then at least my imagination must get help and support from somewhere. I cannot live like a dog, I cannot sleep on straw and drink bad brandy. I must be soothed and flattered in my soul if I am to succeed at this gruelling job of creating a world out of nothing. — Wagner in a letter to Liszt.

- The need for amending the Constitution is long due. It is time to resolve the question of the presidential term: four years with, or six years without reelection?

## THE PRESIDENTIAL TERM

Dean Roscoe Pound, one of America's foremost jurists, once said: "The law must be stable, but it cannot stand still." Another American, the late Mr. Justice Benjamin Nathan Cardozo, also observed that, in the law, "there must be rest as well as motion." These observations are significant, not so much for the apparent paradox they pose, as for their capsule description of the law's nature. That the law should not follow every passing whim and fad is too obvious to need emphasis here. But that it should be able to cope with every vital change in the national sphere is something on which there have been as many differences of opinion as those who have expressed them. Briefly, one side insists that the law, as set down at one point in a people's history, should be sufficiently comprehensive to apply to

every conceivable situation that will later arise. On the other hand, the now more prevalent side theorizes that provisions should be made to re-mold the law to important changes in the body politic.

To be sure, the observations above-cited have little significance when one considers only legislative enactments. They have particular application to so-called fundamental laws which in political systems as the Philippines would be found in written constitutions.

Here, the first part of Dean Pound's observation becomes cogent. Since, as ideally conceived, a constitution should embody the basic structure of a nation's political system, it would never be able to fulfill that function if changes of governments (or administrations) would be accompanied by changes in some part of that constitution. If one

set of elective officials would be able to impress upon the country their peculiar notions of how the government should be run, it is not too improbable that one administration might yet come to power with anarchistic or totalitarian ideas. Of course, it is more possible that sober officers will get elected—or at least individuals with a modicum of patriotic feeling. Wisely, however, the framers of our own Constitution have not chosen to leave the choice of a political system to ill-considered and passing fashions.

Thus, an elaborate procedure for amending the Constitution has prevented many administrations from forcing upon the people their peculiar ideas of governing this country. It is only when the necessity for a change has become so compelling and has been so long called for that a sufficient majority may gather enough courage to alter what their predecessors saw fit to leave unchanged. At this moment, the second part of Dean Pound's observation—"but it cannot stand still"—reveals its logical necessity.

One aspect of the constitutional structure which has long captured the attention of lawmakers and laymen alike is that governing the term of the President. The present provision gives the Chief Executive a four-year tenure with the right to seek re-election for a second term. It should be pointed out that this provision was not included in the original constitution drafted by the delegates to the Constitutional Convention thirty years ago. Some rather frank observers consider it as tailor-made for the late President Manuel L. Quezon.

In 1940, when MLQ's term was about to expire, enthusiastic fellow party-members launched a campaign to have the Constitution amended so that he might continue in office. At that time, the provision on the President gave him only 6 years without re-election. The press took up the cue and finally convinced every man, woman, and child all over the country that it was for their good if MLQ stayed on. Needless to say, the Star of Baler soon found himself faced with the pleasant prospect of shining for

four more years in the national firmament.

But there was only one Quezon—as the people were soon to find out. Racked with tuberculosis, Manuel L. Quezon, first president of the Philippine Commonwealth, died in America with only half of his second term over. The late Sergio Osmeña took over until the late Manuel A. Roxas stepped in as the Republic's first Chief Executive. Since Roxas, four men, including the incumbent, have succeeded each other, only two of whom have been re-elected to office.

All those years, up to the present, the constitutional provision on the presidential term has undergone serious study. Very recently, newspapers carried reports that, about the middle of this year, the original six-year term possibly without re-election will be reinstated. The incumbent President has prudently chosen to stay out of the picture by announcing that the amendment if pushed through and ratified by the electorate, should apply only to his successors.

At this juncture, it would be courting criticism to ex-

press opposition to the proposed amendment. The popular mind seems to have been molded into accepting its necessity as well as virtue. This should however be no reason to deter any intelligent discussion of the issue for even in a democracy, it should be conceded that it is an intellectual elite which determines ultimately what is good for this country. The majority should only be convinced after the elite is convinced.

Briefly, then, these are the arguments for and against the present as well as the proposed terms for the President:

For the four-year term with re-election—a good President will have a chance to continue after his first term while a bad President will only have four years within which to hold office. Against this argument is the proposition that no provision of law should be made for a bad man.

Against the four-year term with re-election—the prospect of seeking immediate re-election will hamper the President who will be forced to spend part of his time mend-

ing political fences at the expense of the country. This argument, incidentally, has another facet — that a six-year term without re-election takes away the problem of having to court the people's favor at the risk of avoiding radical though meritorious policy decisions.

For the six-year term — the period of six years is the "ideal" period inasmuch as it avoids the danger of cramming long-range plans into four years at the same time averting the possibility of dragging policy implementation into a period of eight years. This argument, of course, has little logical basis since well-thought policies may well be implemented in less time, with equally good, if not better, results.

For the six-year term, without immediate re-election — while the incumbent will spend his entire first six years in working for the good of country without worrying about immediate re-election, the right to seek re-election after the lapse of six years since the end of his first term should give the people enough time to judge his

performance and compare it with his successor-predecessor.

Against the six-year term — the six years is too short for a good President and too long for a bad one. Apart from the argument that laws are made for good citizens, is the proposition which destroys this argument by maintaining that even four is too long for a bad President. In any event, the argument is too specious to merit serious consideration.

It should be evident at this juncture, that the focus of controversy is the provision allowing the incumbent to run for re-election. Whether the term is four, six, or eight, years, the accompanying provision permitting immediate re-election sufficiently destroys any argument in support of any of these terms. Whether some presidents spend their entire term or only a part of it in courting the people's votes is not as important as the fact that they do use prerogatives of their office for personal reasons. To a certain extent, this accounts for the prevalence of unethical, corrupt or outrightly immoral practices of our public officials.

Quite apart from all these considerations however is the fact that the President of the Philippines has powers such as his foreign counterparts do not have. Consequently, when an incumbent Chief Executive in the Philippines has his eye on the next presidential elections, the powers and prerogatives granted to his office by law become tempting weapons to be used in wiping out all opposition to assure re-election. This factor should thus be considered the old provision of six years without immediate re-election. For while the incumbent Chief Executive may not be able to run immediately after the end of his first term, he may still prepare for the time when he can, and to this end, he may well misuse his powers either by campaigning actively for a fellow party-member to succeed him who will, of course, reciprocate by doing all he can to help his predecessor assume office again.

One other factor should be taken into account. This is the problem of synchronizing elections. Even considering

only the expense entailed by holding nationwide polls, the prospect of re-ordering the periods of election to synchronize with the presidential polls is an easier alternative to adopt. If the election of the President were to be changed, that of the lesser officials would have to follow. This requires further amendment of the Constitution as well as of various laws governing terms of office of the different public officials.

The task is not thus as easy as it sounds. The most difficult part of the job has unfortunately not been completed yet — if one gives the proper authorities the benefit of the doubt that it has been started at all. This is the task of sitting down and examining the necessity for an amendment, its virtues as well as its defects, and, as a logical consequence, the good or bad it can do for the country. For while there is good reason to say that any term will do for a well-selected President put into office by a well-informed electorate, there is little reason to conclude that "things will take care of themselves." On the

by feeding the former with a distorted image of the government and its functions. The duly-elected representatives of the people have therefore the duty of setting aside partisan and petty differences bearing in mind only

that political fortunes may arise and fall but the Constitution — repository of a nation's aspirations and goals — remains as that nation's safeguard against tyranny and anarchy. — *Ferdinand s. Tinio*

### **A BORROWED HISTORY?**

An Asian savant has truly said that a nation's strength lies in its history, its past. And he adds, we, in Asia, must make up our minds that we cannot borrow other people's history, and that if we stifle our own, we are committing suicide. When you borrow things that do not belong to your life, they only serve to crush your life.

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We must show those who have over us that we have the strength of moral power in ourselves, the power to suffer for truth. Where we have nothing to show, we only have to beg. — Tagore.

■ The good teacher can and should lead the sluggish pupil, inspire the brilliant and ambitious student, and instil in the others a love for learning.

## THE GOOD TEACHER

In the course of a person's life, he meets different kinds of people. The meeting may be brief or may span a good part of his life. But, to a great extent, such meetings leave him just a little different — a little better or a little worse — than before. It has thus been said that the sum total of a person's associations constitute his character.

One kind of meeting which most everyone experiences in those impressible stages of his life involves an older person — the teacher. Indeed such an experience would account to a very large degree for the person's attitudes, outlook in life, mode of thinking, and personality in the later part of his life, when he is actively grappling with various social forces to exist and find his happiness.

The teacher — and of course the parent — play major roles in shaping a person's

character in those years of his life when he is most receptive to external influences — good or bad. Although such things as heredity have their own parts to play in a person's development, the external forces brought to bear upon them guide him as he chooses some path in his society. The good teacher may not make a brilliant student out of an inherently dull person, nor can he add anything more to the native talent of a gifted one. But the good teacher can and should lead the sluggish pupil, inspire the brilliant and ambitious student, and instil in the others a love for learning.

One need not point out here the possibility that a person may meet a poor teacher and that such a meeting can inflict damage on his character. But certainly it should be remembered that one recalls, later in his life, those teachers who have in-



spired him and pointed out to him the good and beautiful things in life. Long after he has forgotten that he had particularly difficult times with a bad or temperamental teacher, he remembers how one teacher showed him where to go that he may best make use of his native potentials.

Indeed, while he should never forget how to derive an equation or how to analyze a piece of literature, he always remembers though vaguely that one teacher out of many others had been able to remove the subject — be it mathematics, literature, or law — out of its dim and musty nook and place it alongside other fields of knowledge thereby impressing upon him its particular significance and beauty.

One writer has succinctly described the essence of a good teacher — “a teacher of men, not surveyor of mere facts.” He is one who regards his pupils and students as human beings and holds himself before them as one. He is one who has succeeded in resolving this dilemma — that of being objective, presenting to his pupils aspects and pro-

blems of truth and learning without advocating for one or the other and, at the same time, being able to make his pupils understand that certain values and concepts must be respected and that he himself has deep convictions about them.

Take one kind of teacher — that one who concerns himself with man's history and man-made institutions. Certainly, the good teacher is able to take the records of ancient men and events and give them life — not simply by forceful and vivid discussion of factors which caused this civilization to flourish and that one to crumble. He distills from the archaic and the dim past the values and truths which are as valid then as now. At the same time, he is able to point out that absolutes have little significance but that ideas and concepts change with every change of society and with every passing generation. And yet, the good teacher makes his pupils realize that certain values — “good” ones — have a certain attraction such that men in practically every stage of history have espoused them and built civil-

izations, or at least, social groups with them.

Or take the scientist — that teacher who has spent his life learning the physical forces, seen and unseen, constituting the universe. Here, as in other fields of knowledge, the function of the good teacher, as well as his value in a person's spiritual and intellectual growth, is to show that science is but one aspect of knowledge and that it represents by himself the efforts of men from different societies and generations. As such — that is to say, as part of a greater man-made whole and as the result of different minds — science has values associated with man. The scientist, however, realizes and makes his pupils so realize it, that the forces of the universe have been at work long before an animal such as man came into existence and will subsist long after he has become extinct. Humility, therefore, is only one of the many virtues which the scientist inculcates in his pupils.

While the scientist, as a good teacher, has an obligation to lay bare the facts, he has the more important responsibility of making his pupils realize that there are physical forces which can destroy or improve men. This, one ultimately discovers, is the primary function of the good teacher. He does not merely convey men's thoughts, words, and deeds. The study of this, one writer has said, does not in itself help man to do, say and think what is right. The good teacher helps the pupil develop a sense of judgment and perspective which, the same writer has said, will enable the student to evaluate his own experience. This is, he said, a task which must be own his responsibility and which no teacher can do for him. One may however add that the good teacher can prepare the student for this task. And one realizes much later in one's life that this is how some teachers are remembered and others forgotten.

Viewed from the heights of reason, all life looks like some malignant disease and the world like a madhouse. — Goethe.

■ As an instrument for suppressing thought, other than the thoughts doled out for public acceptance, TV has the advantages of an established and unchallengeable Church.

## TELEVISION: THE NEW OPTIUM OF THE PEOPLE

MAURICE WOODS

Much has been said about the influence of TV on people, not enough about the influence of people on TV. People get the TV they deserve, just as they get the Government they deserve. In future they may get both in the same parcel.

For TV is an all-purpose drug. It can wake people up and it can send them to sleep. It could be the most powerful political awakener since the bicycle took revolution to Africa, or it could turn us into pigs and let Circe rule the island.

The dangers advertise themselves as loudly as any commercial. Among the most insistant is the possility that TV will enable the majority to tyrannise even more effectively than now. The very

fact that men own TV sets enlarges this fear: Hungry men do not make a thoughtful opposition, but at least they make an opposition: those who are having it good can be persuaded to praise God from whom all consumer goods flow. But a TV set is not merely a possession; it is part of the apparatus of persuasion. It is a powerful preacher of the doctrine that material prosperity is an end in itself. Too firm believers in this doctrine are not troubled by Lenin's question "Who, whom?" So long as it pays them they are content to be whom, leaving the business of being who to the majority their votes keep in power.

It is not, of course, a new problem. Only the TV is

new. The problem is at least as old as the Greeks. In our time it is at least as old as John Stuart Mill, who might have been foreseeing televised culture when he grew perturbed at the power of collective mediocrity. What you may ask, is wrong with collective mediocrity? Has there ever been a time when popular culture rose above the mediocre? The point is that the culture purveyed by the TV set is not popular culture in the sense of having sprung from the people. It has been given to the people as the lowest common denominator of their fantasies.

Men's attitudes are immeasurable. Their opinions do not change as visibly as litmus paper. It must be many years before anyone can make even a guess at the extent to which TV alters the political life of a nation. Its effect on the adult mind can at present only be inferred from the more precise work done with children. The report brought out by H. T. Himmelweit in 1958 on "Television and the Child" made the positive assertion that TV influences the way children think and

the judgments they make. It is safe to assume that the adult does not go wholly unscathed. Assuming, then, that thoughts and judgments are affected, it is permissible to guess that thoughts become compressed within limits set by the communicators, and judgments brought into line with those favoured by the majority.

The tendency, in fact, is to produce conformity of thought and feeling in a society which can be democratic only so long as a fruitful interplay of conflicting thoughts and feelings is encouraged. The moment the original thinker becomes a laughing-stock, or the rebel an outcast, tyranny is on the way in. This is not conjecture, but experience. The brief but bateful triumph of McCarthyism in the United States is a case in point. Galloping conformism brought American democracy almost to its death-bed. The patient's constitution was sound, and it survived: would its recovery have been so swift if thoughts and feelings had lain-congealed in a national mould for several decades? If there had been se-

veral decades, instead of several years, of TV?

Less spectacularly, the habit of conforming with conventional attitudes could give conservatism virtually perpetual ascendancy in any country. Conservatism demands no thought, simply obedience. As an instrument for suppressing thought, other than the thoughts doled out for public acceptance, TV has the advantages of an established and unchallengeable Church.

There are gleaming examples of the immunity of pre-TV democracies to unseen propagandists. One of the distinguishing marks of a democracy is its willingness to allow its citizens to listen to any half-truths from any source, knowing that the mental sinews strengthened by debate will be strong enough to resist. It was not only confidence in the patriotism of soldiers and civilians which gave Lord Haw-Haw the freedom of the wartime air. Hearts were judged to be right, but heads were also known to have been screwed on firmly by the democratic habit of

weighing and selecting arguments.

Totalitarian regimes cannot expose their people to opposing views, because the beliefs sustaining totalitarianism are mere lodgers in the individual's mind. They have not grown there: they have been put there. So long as nothing disturbs them, the regime is safe. The attitudes likely to be built up in the democratic citizen by years of watching TV bear some resemblance to the beliefs of a totalitarian society. The uncritical assimilation of ideas presented on behalf of the majority could wither the faculty of judgment and prevent that radical re-examination of society on which democracies rely for their periodic rejuvenation.

We can still doubt whether TV is having this effect on the electorate. We cannot doubt that it is having an uncanny effect on politicians. They regard it as a potent means of enticing voters on to the hook. It has never mattered much to politicians how the voter is hooked, so long as they can land him. If reason serves, reason will be employed: if not, promis-

es, flattery and fervour will do as well. These ancient devices are a legacy of the hustings. TV has devices of its own. What worked well on a platform with a brass band, with mass emotion, opportunist oratory and spontaneous repartee, does not work at all when the suppliant is in a box by the fireside, addressing a family trapped between the cowboys and the quiz. A policy or a party image must be sold, as other merchandise is sold. The politicians now have schools to teach them slickness.

The cardinal rule is to divert attention from hard facts to delectable fancies. Hair-cream is not sold by mentioning its popularity among dustmen. It has to be associated with ambition. The young man with the shining mane has a car which he could only have bought out of an enormous salary, he is pestered by beautiful girls, and his social status is rising. What they are selling is not hair-cream but a lucky charm. The appeal is not to reason, but to a submerged reverence for magic which is inimical to democracy, yet is

now being played upon more forcefully than was possible before TV was invented.

Cleverly handled, the medium is capable of conferring a halo on the shoddiest consortium of careerist nobodies. The party likeliest to win in an election would be the one with the least respect for the truth. At best, a television campaign could so befuddle the voter that he failed to distinguish the honest men from the knaves. Not that there would be much incentive to honesty, when rewards went to the underhanded. Yet even this is not the greatest peril. A party which merely used the screen to hypnotise the electorate into accepting its policies might still have sound policies to offer: the real fear is that the parties might grow to look like their own picture of themselves.

That is the pessimistic prospect. There is also an optimistic prospect. For TV could yet have precisely the opposite effect. The free mind has surely not outlived centuries of subversion and intimidation to be ensnared so easily by this new instrument of conformism. Once

the public learns the rules, once discrimination sets in, the individual is just as capable of using the communicators as the communicator of using the individual.

The world's agonies are delivered daily to the living-room. Statesmen who were once blurred photographs in newspapers squat in the corner and are scrutinised. Science has hopped out of the unopened text-book and displays itself as a living force. Art imposes itself on the notice of people who never entered a gallery. There are few human activities concerning which some information, however processed, does not percolate to minds hitherto unreceptive. Are we to be so misanthropic as to deny that the public will make good use of this information?

By making two blades of knowledge grow where only one grew before, TV has the power to enlarge the meaning of the phrase "informed public opinion". Hitherto only a small section of the

electorate could lay claim to independence of thought, for independence rests on knowledge. The more knowledge the ordinary man acquires, the greater his capacity to question the opinions and attitudes forced upon him. TV thus has the paradoxical ability to defeat itself, at its own game, to keep at bay the majority dictatorship which threatens to arise in a self-satisfied and unthinking democracy.

Indeed, instead of being the new opium of the people, TV will probably turn out to be a political alarm-clock. The gloomy view is tempting in this first decade of its reign, but if we remember that the viewers are maturing all the time, absorbing unfamiliar facts, seeing through false personalities, detecting the aces hidden up sleeves, the next decade looks promising. Whatever its ultimate effect on social and political attitudes there can be no hating an invention which makes people interested in the world's affair.—*Contemporary Review*.

The times demand that the media of communications be as free and as objective as possible. But our newspapers have betrayed their responsibility. Why?

## THE NEED FOR ENLIGHTENED JOURNALISM AND JOURNALISTS

### I

While admittedly science and technology have shrunk the world to such an extent that only hours separate the capitals of Europe and Asia from the regions of Africa, the abyss which separates men's minds is still as wide as it was when Rabelais, more than three centuries ago, observed that "half the world does not know how the other half lives." The bridges spanning that abyss, the media of communications which supposedly have enabled men to know one another better, are at best frail and at worst illusory and deceptive. They are frail because they are of bad materials, they are deceptive because often they give only the illusion that the abyss has been spanned.

The newspapers, which, more than the radio, television or films, reach the great-

er number of people, have often been the harbingers of that false sense of knowledge between men. The abyss between their minds, if we may be allowed to pursue the metaphor further, may also be taken as the abyss between the two worlds, the East and the West, which, both ideologically and culturally speaking, have never spanned that chasm with a suitable bridge which would bring them together. And in this pitiable state of affairs, the future, if ever there will be a future, will heap most of the blame on the newspapers.

For either wilfully or otherwise, the newspapers, in spite of the fact that they hold the power to bring East and West together and perhaps bring about a better understanding between men, have done nothing less than the opposite. In this they have betrayed



their responsibility, not only to nations or to groups of nations, but potentially to the whole world. For today when there is greater need for sanity, when the world stands at the brink — facing its greatest test of whether men will turn their rockets to heaven or to each other, the newspapers have saddeningly added only to the madness which threatens to possess us. They have fanned the waves of hysteria through false reports, they have set nations upon another through such examples of journalism which characterized the coverage of the Congo crisis.

The newspapers are the books of the people, and the people learn what to think, what to say, what to demand through the newspapers. The enlightened newspapers know that an enlightened people creates an enlightened nation, and an enlightened nation may bring enlightenment to the whole world, in this age when one example may turn the rest. But if the newspaper condones the prejudices of the people, and reports the news according to the conformist temper, then what enlightenment can follow?

The Cuban affair is not an isolated case. Just as the newspapers which reach us did not give us the full picture in Laos, or the Congo, or in Berlin, so did they present to us a lop-sided view of Cuban-American relations. Perhaps this is forgivable, if we presume — and indeed it is a presumption — that the majority of the people think for themselves and do not listen to one-sided interpretations of world or domestic affairs. If we may presume that this is so, then the picture becomes brighter, it seems, for given the information, one may draw his own conclusions.

But again in this regard we find ourselves against a wall: the newspapers, more often than not, have been proven to accept rumor as fact, opinion as actuality. For the cardinal sin of the newspapers is not that they do not inform, but that they mis-inform. Perhaps it would not be unfair to say that the muddled world situation, the spectacle of man on the brink of annihilation, can partly be blamed on the fact that the newspapers have unwittingly or otherwise failed to present

the accurate and complete picture of foreign situations.

But all this may sound too far-off, too unnatural. The world situation, one may say, is not that bad. This is the consolation of those who live in a fool's paradise: of those who hold the blanket of false security over their heads, refusing to accept that the blanket offers no protection at all. If the newspapers were accused before a court for the gravest crime they have committed against men and nations, the charge would most probably be not that of giving men a feeling of insecurity, but that of lulling them into a false sense of security, which is the more dangerous. It is the more dangerous in that it makes men content in their complacency, exultant in their ignorance. And ignorance, in this age when so much is at stake, is the sin against the Holy Ghost. If men are ignorant of such world affairs as the Berlin crisis (or of affairs in Laos where a Congressman at one time wanted to send Filipino troops to); unknowingly ignorant, but cajoled into believing that they are wise,

then they become content, reasoning thus: I know, I am wise, therefore, there is nothing to fear.

Knowledge brings security, one is secure in knowing what the stakes are, what may happen next, and how to remedy mistakes and to act accordingly. But if the knowledge is false, then one is led into a false sense of security: one merely thinks he knows what the stakes are, what may happen next, what to do. Such false knowledge leads to false remedies: a case of applying the wrong cure for the wrong ailment. Those blinded by the harsh light of reality will stumble into the pit. The Romans refused to heed the signs of collapse; the foundations crumbled before they could apply the appropriate remedy. Centuries later, the Germans were beaten up to a frenzy of hatred against the Jews, only to wake up four years later to find millions of Jews dead and burdens to their conscience.

One may well ask at this point: but it is possible that whole nations may be led to believe a false idea? The willful manipulation of pub-

lic opinion known as propaganda has proven this time and again. Hitler managed to stir a whole nation behind an irrational cause, was able to whip it into a frenzy of hate. At home, here in the Philippines, one has only to look around to answer this question: the witch-hunter prospers as he condones the prejudices of the mass and is condoned by the newspapers. The elite resists all efforts to be dislocated, as their benevolent images are flashed before the public eye, while they steal the shirt off the people's backs. The alien gains more and more power as he is painted as a wholesome image by the newspapers before the people he exploits. The intellectuals are at bay, the non-conformists pilloried. All this through those organs which form, remold and sway public opinion.

The greater mass of people cannot buy books, cannot afford radios or television sets. They turn to the newspapers. The newspapers, by condoning their prejudices, by clouding the facts, have helped create a people without identity, a

people still plagued by medieval fears, a people ignorant and complacent, fighting the wars of other people and an easy prey to exploiters, both national and alien.

One may well ask: why have the newspapers betrayed their responsibility?

## II

What is the ideal newspaperman? He is preferably a college graduate, has had a liberal education in the sciences, the arts, politics. His work requires a depth of feeling, an intellect of broad horizons capable of understanding.

Unfortunately, it seems that this ideal newspaperman does not exist, or if he does, may find himself lost among the not-so-ideal, and presumably corrupted by them. For perhaps the biggest factor to which we can attribute the failure of newspapers to live up to their ideals is ignorance. The newspapers are full of it everyday: narrow-minded editorials, smug, mediocre columns, slanted news reports, propaganda material taken for fact.

A case in point is the confusion in terms which mani-

fested itself during the celebrated witch-hunt of the last pre-election witch-hunting season: the newspapers did not bother to clarify the confusion but added to it. The isms were mixed up and made as one, producing the tongue-twisting combination of this ism: atheism-agnosticism-communism-socialism. The newspaper became, unwittingly or otherwise, an instrument to mirror the prejudices of the mass, an instrument to make them feel safe and arrogant in their ignorance.

And then one still remembers the American coverage of the Cuban "invasion" which was swallowed by the Filipino press with the gullibility of school children.

It is such ignorance that should be remedied, such gullibility that should be stopped in our newspapers. But if one will do this, then one must reform the members who make up the newspapers: the men behind it make the newspaper what it is. The uneducated, even those who have diplomas from some diploma mill, whose perspectives are limited to reading and writing and

adding a column of figures, should not become newspapermen. The world does not encompass merely one's self: one knows that there are other people, other feelings besides one's own: this the newspaperman must know. But when his prejudices are many and varied, his intellectual horizons limited, his misconceptions legion, then he has no place in a newspaper.

### III

The newspaperman's participation in the propaganda war is either unconscious or deliberate. In the first case it involves ignorance, the inability to distinguish news from propaganda. In the second, it is part of a campaign into which the newspaperman must be above even the cold war between East and West. Over and above his partisan feelings in his duty to report the news objectively, to comment on it and to interpret it regardless of his affiliations. But often, while the newspaperman may himself know this, other factors may force him to submit; to write or print propaganda material. The

publisher may stand to lose something or may have common interests with either side: in which case, the publisher takes a hand in the actual running of the paper, decides which editorials are to be printed, which news to be given prominence or suppressed. This is direct, unveiled control of the power of the printed word.

On the the other hand, the newspaperman may be pressured indirectly: he may censor himself, or may write according to what he knows the advertisers want. Or it may be more petty. It may be personal propaganda for the publisher and may take the form of suppression or manufacturing of news, or slanting it and weighing it down on one side's favor, or it may involve fuzzy logic in the editorial pages, or prejudiced opinion in the columns.

Thus the newspaper becomes, in the first case, an organ for the ideological war and in the second, a second shadow of the publisher, following him everywhere and bending to his will. Such an arrangement, in either case,

breeds the kind of newspapers which do not properly belong in any society which seeks to improve itself. For they are weak and timorous newspapers which take no sides but their own, they choose, to straddle the fence instead of being involved in issues as protagonists.

Thus the newspaper may take issue on such a thing as dope-peddling. Everybody hates dope: that is as safe a line to take as any. So they campaign against dope. Well and good. But it stops there. In issues where the lines are not as well defined, where the difference between colors is not as sharp as the difference between black and white, but is often subtle, the newspaper merely reports or chooses to be silent. Thus a big newspaper chose to be non-committal over the witch-hunt in 1961 in the State University. While the other newspapers were against it or for it, it chose to be silent. Such a newspaper is worse than that which betrays its prejudices for it allows for no formation of public opinion.

#### IV

Perhaps the historian who shall record this age will say, if indeed newspapers are the mirror of the age, that this was a confused age: an age of ignorance primarily. For if indeed newspapers must mirror the society in which they exist, then our newspapers will not speak well of our society.

But then are newspapers solely the mirrors of society? Are they not part too of society and therefore to a certain degree responsible in shaping it? The prejudices may exist but they can be given new form, new strength; or else diminished by the newspapers. The alien exploiters may already be strongly entrenched in the nation's economy, but they can still be strengthened or else weakened by the newspapers. But it has often been the former that the newspaperman chooses. This has been so, is so and probably will be so if newspapers and newspapermen continue to be vehicles of ignorance and of the will of their publishers. This will always be so

as long as the big publishers use newspapers to protect or advance their other businesses. This will always be so as long as the newspaperman voluntarily submits to censorship. This will always be so as long as the newspapermen continue to be as ignorant and as bigoted as the people they are supposed to enlighten. This we must consider: the newspaperman's profession demands not that he conform but that he think, that other than imbibe the vices of his society, he has the choice of attempting its improvement through the press whose power is almost unlimited.

The only remedy for ignorance is of course education: education in the arts, education in sciences, education in politics. But let us not deceive ourselves into thinking that the man offered such an opportunity for self-improvement will necessarily grow into a fine newspaperman. Education merely molds what is already there; it cannot supply what is missing. The newspaper therefore which would carry out its task of enlightening the people, will look not on-

ly at the diploma but at the man. The man will show himself as he really is: whether fanatic or liberal, ignorant or wise. The newspaper will have to be rigid with its requirements. The responsibility which accompanies the power of the writer is great but cannot be shouldered by the weak. The ability to write fast copy is not enough, as apparently it is today. The ability to think, must not be only one, but the primary consideration.

But even the educated will find himself against a wall often: he has to eat too and his children have to be fed. This can be remedied by the organization of newspapers subsidized by the government which will therefore be fearless both against the government and against the other segments of society. In the Philippines such a set-up is highly favorable. The freedom of the press in the country is such that the government, if it should subsidize a newspaper, cannot possibly restrict it. When strict codes and trustees in a newspaper are set up, the possibility of political pro-

teges entering the newspaper becomes nil. Independent from corporations and from businesses and able to survive without advertising, that newspaper will be ideal, with the newspaperman well assured that he will not suffer regardless of whom he hurts. He will be the ideal fiscalizer, the ideal chronicler of the age and the uninhibited thinker, able to view both sides of any issue and to take sides without fear of reprisal.

Such a government-subsidized newspaper will mean the nationalization of the press first, then its independence from the big publishers. Definitely, the need for nationalizing the press has never been greater than it is now. The aliens who would control whole nations through economic exploitation have certainly made use of newspapers for that purpose. Nationalization, as a first step, will mean at least that the media of communication will not be monopolies of aliens. It will be a step towards the rediscovery of ourselves and towards complete independence.

- More and more Asian newspapers are being made to conform as petty bureaucrats assume new role of intimidators and censors.

## PRESSURES ON ASIAN EDITORS

ROHAN RIVETT

Editors and publishers in most countries of non-communist Asia are probably facing their most difficult period since the liberation struggles were won.

We have now reached a point in many countries where we may further jeopardize the remaining traces of freedom enjoyed by an editor simply by naming him and stating his problems.

Cholera, yaws and beriberi spread fast in Southern Asia. Government attempts to trammel and subjugate the press have been just as infectious.

The spectacular extreme has been achieved by the Soekarno government of Indonesia. Six or seven years ago, there were more than a score of daily and weekly papers expressing a vigorous variety

of viewpoints, from extreme left to extreme right. Today, the Indonesian press is entirely gagged. It is harnessed to the chariot wheels of the Soekarno machine and virtually nothing can be read in it which can embarrass members of the government or the bureaucracy.

### *Pretences abandoned*

In Indonesia, even the pretences have been abandoned. The national news agency has been controlled and is dominated by cabinet ministers. Yet, in other Asian countries with more subtlety and heed for appearances, a variety of pressures are being used to force the courageous, exposing, protesting editor into line.

In one country, relatively renowned for freedom of the

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press, there have been minatory remarks about powers enjoyed by the chief executive to control political columnists and those who publish their writing. In another, a couple of quite mild and strictly fair objections to government policy have led to presentation of demands for books and tax returns going back a number of years. The amount of information demanded alone can militate against effective working of this newspaper.

What is even more alarming to many Asians publishers and editors is the emergence of the provincial or local civic boss and his chief bureaucrats as intimidators and censors. The matter is often not known to the central government but there are police raids at night, threats and occasionally physical violence against editors and correspondents. Official "warmings", which are nothing short of blackmail, have become increasingly common.

What seems most alarming in several countries is that the situation has now deteriorated so far that the wronged newspapers and news-

papermen dare not disclose their hardships to the rest of the press at home or abroad. Worse still, there are large areas where their colleagues, knowing and resenting what is being done, are still too fearful to publish the facts.

If one might draw a rough graph of overall freedom of the press in non-communist Asia, it might be shown to have climbed steeply and cheerfully from about 1947 until six or seven years later. Then there was a marked leveling-off and, ever since, I fear, an undeviating but perceptible downward trend in the majority of areas.

It is very easy and most unhelpful for the overseas visitor to criticize.

The surprising and heartening thing is that in towns and cities all over Asia, there are still so many publishers, editors and working journalists, fiercely conscious of the threat, courageously resisting it and looking around for new armholds and support in their fight against the current.

However, when you get below the surface, you find that a similar pattern of news-

paper behaviour has helped in the undermining of the press by totalitarian-minded politicians.

Among familiar factors damaging the press are: —

- a) Blackmarketing of news-print and faking of circulation and, therefore, consumption figures;
- b) Soliciting of central government, city or municipal advertising.
- c) Suppression of matter embarrassing to the groups supported by the paper;
- d) Irresponsible reporting.

None of these activities are unknown in western countries with far older traditions of press conduct and press freedom.

It would be utterly wrong to suggest that the South Asian press as a whole bears responsibility for the gradual but general whittling down of its freedom by the political authority, particularly in the last two or three years.

It is easily understood that the great nationalist leader, who has been a champion of freedom of the press in the days of "colonial" domination, finds it awkward and embarrassing when his political opponents use this free-

dom of the press to criticize measures which he sincerely believes to be in the best interests of his emergent people.

The tempting example of the world's various dictatorships is always at hand. In Southern Asia today, many political leaders, both military and non-military, are inclining to the view that freedom of the press is a nineteenth century luxury which has no relevance amid the desperate needs of twentieth century Asia. They are now unmindful of the disasters which befell those masters of a muzzled press, the dictatorial governments of nazi Germany, Italy and Japan, destroyed in the 'forties'.

It is extremely grim that, in 1962, one should find, in countries which nominally still pretend to freedom, an editor who looks you in the eyes and says:

"I never know, when I leave home in the morning, if I shall see my wife and children again in the evening."

or "I expect several of us, including myself, will have to go to jail before things are any better."

There are still informed, thinking liberals in Asian cabinets and even in the military cabals that now enjoy complete control in several of these countries.

These men realize the dangers to the development of their countries of destroying criticism, controversy and exposure of grievances.

They realize how easily in nations, where there is a great shortage of skills, training and general knowledge, government and bureaucracy, protected from criticism, can obstruct progress and development. The history of Asia, from Turkey across to China, is replete with examples of the damage so done under the empires of old.

But these enlightened men are in a minority. The power-hungry, the unsure, the ambitious demagogues, having once got themselves into the saddle, now prove themselves the first to turn on the healthy criticisms and exposures by the press which often helped them attain office.

In Asia today, these men are increasingly the influential majority. Hence, real and vivid fears, often backed by

bitter personal experience, have invaded scores of newspaper offices and executive desks.

The scared publisher is quickly revealed. His editorials steer clear of "sticky" subjects. Passion and fervour appear only in support of official government projects. Columnists are warned about those banderilla paragraphs which are the spice and highlight of good political columnwriting about the powerful. The opposition parties (where such exist!) get less space.

In short, the paper is at pains to conform. This carefully ordered conformity is the muzzle of total frustration for the conscientious journalist who believes his job is to expose and inform.

Quite apart from the plight of many Asian newspapermen today, this tendency is an immense threat to the solution of free Asia's crying needs during the remainder of the twentieth century. The far-sighted in Asia see this clearly.

How can publishers and editors in the western world strengthen their hands?

The most bloodcurdling crimes are done not by criminals but by perfectionists. This article provides an answer.

## THE UNADJUSTED MAN

*— last refuge of  
civilization's  
secret fires*

PETER VIERECK

Today Americans have no outer or geographic frontier left to conquer. This pushes us, instead, to increasingly inward conquests. Therefore, let us stop being defensive, stop being apologetic about affirming the dignity and importance of the so-called impractical: namely, the humanistic and the spiritual studies. Today, in the campus curricula, they receive more lip service than a decade ago but they are more squeezed in practice. These curricula reflect an atomic age which puts a new premium on the technician and on practical outer applications of inner theory. Yet without the understanding of man's inner nature, which impractical art

and literature gives us, and without the inner ethical restraint which religion gives us, our outer practical and mechanical progress is paving our road to hell with good inventions.

The number of cells in the brain and the number of the stars in the universe are said to be exactly equal in number. So-and-so-many trillion units apiece. From this unprovable fancy emerges a metaphor: the gigantic dream versus matter is balanced exactly evenly, at the fulcrum of the forehead. Soul versus cosmos: imagine them balancing with a one-to-one correspondence between the units without and within the skull;

between the stars and the no less radiant brain-cells.

This true metaphor is defied—this scale is upset—by any philosophy which deems either side of the equal scale as "more real." If this were a universe of the Middle Ages, I might argue against one-sided overemphasis on the inward dimension. But in the case of America, there is no danger of overweighing the inner side, the esthetic and spiritual side. America's danger is overemphasis of the outward side: the star-matter, not the gray-matter.

The dimension behind the forehead has two functions: the unleashing function of creative imagination, and the restraining function of the Christian-Judiac ethic. These two different functions of inwardness are often found apart and often battle each other in an inner civil war. Yet, even when at war both need each other. Neither is enough by itself to sustain a culture. The esthetic imagination without ethics degenerates into irresponsible, anti-social bohemianism; ethics without beauty degenerates into the "seven deadly virtues" of a preachy, devitalized

aridity. Here it seems appropriate to recall the so-to-speak deathbed-repentance of a very great thinker who had neglected inwardness. I wonder how many of my readers will reorganize its author:

If I had my life to live over again, I would have made a rule to read some poetry and listen to some music at least once a week; for perhaps the parts of my brain now atrophied would thus have kept active through use. The loss of these tastes is a loss of happiness and may possibly be injurious to the intellect, and more probably the moral character, by enfeebling the emotional part of our nature. This was no ivory-tower esthete speaking, but a great scientist and a rather hard-boiled one. Namely, Charles Darwin.

When I hear of our American delusion of "producing" creatively by expensive outer equipment instead of unbuyable inner equipment, I remember my first meeting with Albert Einstein, seeing him in New York, strolling along Riverside Drive, absentmindedly scribbling notes on the back of a torn old envelope. From a scrawl on a

penny's worth of scrap paper, by a man whose inner genius was never adjusted away at age six, and not from tears endowed by foundations with electric typewriters and filing systems came the greatest scientific discoveries of the century, including those super-practical H-bombs. In short, without an ornery, unadjusted inner spark, our present drive for outward techniques is not enough to save us either spiritually or militarily.

Let us educators not be intimidated by the practical folk the so-called realists and experts. Let us not be afraid to listen to the so-called impractical people, the so-called unrealistic people. Every overadjusted society swallows up the diversities of private bailiwicks, private eccentricities, private inner life, and the creativity inherent in concrete personal loyalties and in loving attachments to unique local roots and their rich historical accretions. Apropos the creative potential of local roots, let us recall not only Burke's words on the need for loyalty to one's own "little platoon" but also Synge's words, in the

Ireland of 1907, on "the springtime of the local life," where the imagination of man is still "fiery and magnificent and tender." The creative imagination of the free scientists and free artists requires private elbow-room, free from the pressure of centralization and the pressure of adjustment to a mass average. This requirement holds true even when the centralization is benevolent, and even when the mass average replaces sub-average diversities.

Admittedly certain kinds of diversity are perfectly dreadful; they threaten everything superior and desirable. But at some point the cure to these threats will endanger the superior and the desirable even more than do the threats themselves. The most vicious maladjustments, economic, moral, or psychiatric, will at some point become less dangerous to the free mind than the overadjustment needed to cure them.

In the novel and in the poem, the most corrupting development of all is the substitution of technique for art. What once resulted from the inspired audacity of a heartbreakingly lonely crafts-

man is now mass-produced in painless, safe, and uninspired capsules. This process is taking over every category of education and literature. The stream of consciousness for which James Joyce wrestled in loneliness with language, the ironic perspective toward society which Proust attained not as entertainment but as tragedy, the quick, slashing insights for which a Virginia Woolf or a Katherine Mansfield bled out her heart, all these intimate personal achievements of the private life are today the standard props of a hundred hack imitators, mechanically vending what is called "*The New Yorker*-type story." Don't underestimate that type of story; though an imitation job, it is imitation with all the magnificent technical skill of America's best-edited weekly. And think of the advantages: no pain any more, no risk any more, no more nonsense of inspiration. Most modern readers are not even bothered by the difference between such an efficient but bloodless machine job and the living product of individual heart's anguish.

What then, is the test for telling the real inspiration

from the just-as-good, the coffee from the Nescafe? The test is pain. Not mere physical pain but the exultant, transcending pain of selfless sacrifice. The test is that holy pain, that brotherhood of sacrifice, that aristocracy of creative suffering of which Baudelaire wrote. "*Je sais que la douleur est l'unique noblesse.*"

In other words, in a free democracy the only justified aristocracy is that of the lonely creative bitterness, the artistically creative scars of the fight for the inner dimension against outer mechanization:—the fight for the private life.

Nothing can mechanically "produce" unadjustedness. But at least some studies—the "impractical" literary classics—provide it with more fertile soil than does "education for citizenship." The latter slogan has led to over-adjustment in life, McCarthyism in education. The stress of many liberals on teaching ephemeral civic needs instead of permanent classics gave the antiliberal demagogues their opening for trying to terrorize education into propagandizing "Americanism."

What "progressive education" forgot was this: its favorite word "citizenship" would often be defined in practice not by some lofty John Dewey but by some thought-controlling politician, interested in garnering not wisdom but votes.

Yet all these seemingly irresistible pressures of overadjustment can be triumphantly resisted, after all, if the Unadjusted Man makes full use of his many available burrows. I am thinking of Kafka's story, "The Burrow." The very vastness of America's machinery of depersonalization makes it easier in America today than in "old cultured Europe" to safeguard undisturbed the burrows of the creative imagination. They often occur where least expected: in the drabest, most bustling metropolis.

To rely on burrows does not mean to become isolated, deracinated. Such sane asylums for individuality, spreading contagious health amid mechanized conformity, need never degenerate into the inhuman aloofness of the formalist, ivory-tower pose, so long as their

quarrel with America remains a lovers' quarrel.

Without the inner dimension, outer civil liberties are not enough. We can talk civil liberties, prosperity, democracy with tongues of men and angels, but it is merely a case of "free from what?" and not "free for what?" if we use this freedom for no other purpose than to commit television or go lusting after supermarkets. In contrast with earlier eras ever more colleges want to know: is the applicant well-adjusted, a good mixer, chockful of leadership qualities? To any student reckless enough to ask my unstreamlined advice, I can only growl: "Why not for once have the moral courage to be unadjusted, a bad mixer, and shockingly devoid of leadership qualities?"

From being well-adjusted for its own sake, what a short step to becoming overadjusted: the public-relations personality of public smile, private blank. In effect, an ecstasy of universal lobotomy. This kind of overadjustment does not mean merely the stampedes toward "normalcy" that have periodically characterized our less mecha-



nized past; rather, the new trend means a bed-of-Procrustes, shaped by a continuous secret Gallup Poll, for whose pseudo-norms our genuine inner spontaneity is continually slaughtered.

From this trend a new American idol emerges: the Overadjusted Man. Against it a new liberator emerges, a bad mixer and scandalously deviod of "education for citizenship": the Unadjusted Man. Unadjustedness seems the only personal heroism left in a machine-era of which William Faulkner said at Stockholm: "We all had better grieve for all people beneath a culture which holds any machine superior to any man."

Today the humanist, the artist, the scholar can no longer be the prophet and seer, the unriddler of the outer universe; modern science has deprived him of that function. His new heroism, unriddling the inner universe, consists of this: to be stubbornly unadjusted toward the mechanized, depersonalized bustle outside. The Unadjusted Man is the final, irreducible pebble that sabotages the omnipotence of

even the smoothest running machine.

The unadjusted should not be confused with the maladjusted, the merely crotchety; nor with the flaunted grandstand-nonconformity of bohemia's "misunderstood genius" act. The alternative to these mere caricatures of the Unadjusted Man is a viewpoint more selective in its non-adjusting—a viewpoint whose coin has two reciprocal sides: adjustment to the ages, nonadjustment to the age. The meaningful moral choice is not between conforming to the ephemeral, stereotyped values of the moment but conforming to the ancient, lasting archetypal values shared by all creative cultures.

The sudden uprooting of archetypes, which had slowly, painfully grown out of the soil of history, was the most important consequence of the world-wide industrial revolution. This moral wound, this cultural shock was even more important than the economic consequences of the Industrial Revolution. Liberty depends on a substratum of fixed archetypes, as opposed to the arbitrary shuffling

about of laws and institutions. The distinction holds true whether the shuffling about be done by the *a priori* abstract rationalism of the eighteenth century or by the even more inhuman and metallic mass-production of the nineteenth century.

Not in the sense of any political party (least of all America's Old Guard Republicans), nor in the sense of intolerant social prejudices, but in the sense of a pessimistic view about perfecting outward social progress and in a preference for inner spiritual and cultural growth, in that nonpolitical, nonreactionary sense, the inner dimension of man tends toward a conservative rather than liberal view of human nature. "How can a mere political innovation," asked Nietzsche, "ever suffice to change men once and for all into happy inhabitants of the earth?"

So long as people believe in the perfectibility of outward society, they will continue to use those freedom-destroying "bad means" (totalitarianism) that promise "good end." According to the quickest short-cut to this

the perceptive Polish poet and anti-Communist, Czeslaw Milosz, "A gradual disappearance of the faith in the earthly paradise which justifies all crimes is an essential preliminary to the destruction of totalitarianism." By rejecting the possibility of an earthly paradise, cultural conservatism rejects all brands of Rousseauistic perfectibility of man, rejecting the *a priori* utopias not only of Jacobinism and of socialism but also of doctrinaire laissez-faire capitalism.

Earth is one of the uninhabitable planets. Unlike the habitable ones, Earth is a planet with a built-in cellar of error, death, decay. If frail children scrawl blueprints of progress on the ceiling, how will that conjure away the reality of the house, including the ceiling itself, rest on the foundation of that cellar of error, death, decay? Just as our planet is uninhabitable, so our society is indefensible. This is the stubbornly conservative, and un-Jeffersonian, truth of the human condition. Yet somehow we must live. Then is any social betterment possible at all? Sustained better-

ment never; fluctuating betterment often. Gradual, limited reform can indeed be accomplished, always working within a rooted framework, moving always from particular to particular. Such humane reforms can be achieved and urgently ought to be. We must build what society we can out of what clay we have: the clay of decay, the clay of frailty and constant unpredictable blunder.

But the good builder builds with the clay at hand; never does he pile up utopias from some ideal airy clay that does not exist on his particular planet. *The most blood curdling crimes are done not by criminals but perfectionists.* Criminals normally stop killing when they attain their goal: loot. Perfectionists never stop killing because their goal is never attainable: the ideal society.

It is not a question of being inhumanely blind to the monstrous faults of the order, of all old orders. It is simply a matter of learning inductively the impossibility of any new program too sweeping, any progress long sustained. Only dead chemicals can be sweepingly reorganized, sus-

tainedly perfected; everything alive is indefensible because infinitely precarious. Humanity is willful, wanton, unpredictable. It is not there to be organized for its own good by coercive righteous busybodies. Man is a ceaseless anti-managerial revolution.

Whenever enlightened reformers expect the crowd to choose Christ, it cheers for Barabbas. Whenever some Weimar Republic gets rid of some old monarchy, the liberated crowd turns its republic over to some Hitler. Then what consolation remains for the brute fact that sustained progress is impossible? Sheer self-deception is the hope of overcoming man's doom by founding a more exact social science. How can there ever be an exact science dealing with man? Science is exact when dealing with predictable chemicals; only art can deal with flesh. There are indeed consolations for man's precariousness, but they consist not of trying to end it but of learning to find in it not only the lowest but the highest reaches of the spirit, not only cruel social wrongs but the holy welding-flame of

the lyric imagination, transfiguring frailty into beauty. This is the Baudelairean truth that the best roses grow from manure.

The refusal of society to be a social science, outwardly conditioned, its insistence on remaining an art, inward, spontaneous, unpredictable—all these human realities forever wreck the most scientific polls and blue-prints. The Economic Man of Smith and Marx, with his famous Economic Motives, has never existed. You can only achieve the goals of outward materialism by an inward idealism. You can only make lasting your outward economic gains

by inward values that subordinate economic gains to individual freedom. If you base society on the idea of techniques and economic gains, then you lose not only the freedom but the economic gains. Without spiritual know-why, you lose even your technical know-how. In place of the economic capitalist philosophy of Adam Smith and its parallel, the economic socialist philosophy of Marx the world through trial and error will come to see the *economic necessity of an anti-economic philosophy*, the material necessity of antimaterialism. Pragmatism is unpragmatic; it won't work.—*The Saturday Review*.

Freedom of teaching and of opinion in book or press is the foundation for the sound and natural development of any people. The lessons of history—especially the very latest chapters—are all too plain on this score. It is the bounden duty of everyone to stand with every ounce of energy for the preservation and enhancement of these liberties and to exert all possible influence in keeping public opinion aware of the existing danger.—Albert Einstein.

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