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THE MONTH'S FEATURE:

GROUNDS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

(Turn to page 39)

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THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN UNIVERSITY

A fundamental feature of university life in Southeast Asia is that it has been imported from abroad, with ready-made value systems sometimes already crystallized in institutions, techniques, and attitudes. But academic values outside Southeast Asia are neither uniform nor unchanging, and the comparison of different colonial academic models is stimulating new thought in the region. The institutions in which these values are exemplified are no longer sacrosanct . . .

The imitation of foreign curricula, reading lists, and examination questions makes for unnecessary cultural conflict. One set of cultural and political ideas is approved academically; a quite different set finds expression in newspapers and in public life. And because the public is made to think of the university as mainly a source of factual knowledge, students *come to rely on memory and care little for principles* and techniques. It would seem to be wiser for the universities to make it quite clear that it is an important part of university training to change attitudes and to produce real professional people — doctors who can really cure, lawyers who can uphold the law, historians who can find out and interpret what happened.

(Continued on page 4)

■ What is wrong with the way the native Filipino language is now being developed as a national language? This article gives an answer.

NATIONAL LANGUAGE LAW

The development of the national language by the National Language Institute was assailed recently by Jorge B. Vargas, former executive secretary, as a violation of the Constitution, and "a reversion to the practices of the Dark Ages."

In a letter to MADYAAS Pro-Hiligaynon Society, Inc., a cultural, non-profit association of civic leaders from West Visayas, Vargas said that President Quezon, a Tagalog, wanted to build up "an acceptable common Filipino national language, not by inventing fantastic Tagalog words and phrases, but by enriching basic Tagalog with infusions from the other developed Filipino dialects like Hiligaynon, Cebuano, Bicol, Pampango, Samareño and Ilocano," Vargas said.

The former Malacañang official, who was known before the war as the Little President because he was

practically left by Quezon to run administrative affairs in the Palace, joined the Madyaas Society as a charter member.

He said he is ready to assist in all efforts to carry out the projects of the association, specially in the development of the national language according to the provision and spirit of the Constitution.

In his letter to Severino, president of MADYAAS Pro-Hiligaynon Society, Inc., Vargas traced the government efforts in the development of the national language, and bewailed that the institute today has departed from the original concept of the farmers of the Constitution.

He said: "As a first step in this direction, President Quezon appointed a Visayan, an ex-Supreme Court justice, Norberto Romualdez, as the first chairman of the Natio-

nal Language Institute. When Justice Romualdez retired, Quezon selected another Visayan-Spanish linguist, Jaime C. de Veyra, as the Institute's second chairman. To make up a truly national institute President Quezon, of course, also appointed able and scholarly representatives from the other regions of the country."

"In a recent past, however, the National Language Institute seems to have been reduced to one man, a Tagalog, who single-handedly has been, in my opinion, prostituting the purpose and intention of the original framers of the Constitution of setting up Tagalog only as a basis for, and not as the national language itself. Instead, the present trend is to go back to the stone age antediluvian Tagalog with its primitive vocabulary and limited alphabet of only twenty letters. If this tribalistic policy is ultimately and officially implemented, confirmed and/or enforced by our government, the Filipino learning to speak his national language will be forever prescribed to the absurdity and ignominy of not

being allowed to pronounce, among others, the letters "F," "V," the Spanish "C," or the diphthong "TH." He will also have to swallow the idiotic and backward Tagalog practice of lumping together such common and ordinary concepts as "husband" and "wife" into one and the same word — "ASA-WA" — instead of selecting and incorporating into the National Language from one of the cultivated dialects a distinct word for "husband" like "BANA" for instance in Hiligaynon.

"I am especially saddened by the fact that it had to be a Cebuano-speaking Visayan secretary of education (a Negrense at that!) who officially sanctioned the shameless misspelling of "Filipinas" and "Filipino" with a "P" instead of the educated, civilized and universally recognized "F." If many of us Filipinos have a congenital difficulty in correctly differentiating the pronunciation of the letters "F" and "P," "B" and "V" and "C" and "S," let us not compel all others to make the same error or condemn the entire nation to miserably mispel,

the name of our country. Let us call ourselves "Pelinos," and our country "Pelipinas" if we cannot help it, but for God's sake, let us be permitted to write the words correctly. Nobody ever chides the Spanish American for not pronouncing the letter "C" in the purely Castilian style, but in his written language "S" is never substituted for "C" where the correct Spanish spelling calls for it.

"It is high time, therefore in my opinion, that the users, students and scholars

of the other Filipino dialects organize themselves for the sanity to the all Filipino task purpose of returning some of formulating and developing our common National Language by demanding and insisting on a strict adherence to the basic lines originally conceived and specifically promulgated by our Congress under the authority of our national fundamental law, the Philippine Constitution, as recommended by President Manuel Luis Quezon. — *Manila Times*, Jan. 1969.

THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN . . .

(Continued from page 1)

The claim should be made. It may make the governments keener than ever to *have universities staffed by their own nations, who share the national aspirations; it may mean wrestling with difficult constitutional issues; but the right of the university, however constituted, to control the training of attitudes is one that should be fought for and won.* For the whole concept of professional codes, and of the training of professional responsibility, is still unfamiliar in many of these countries. Universities are seen as places where people can learn to pass examinations and so gain the knowledge formerly monopolized by Europeans. They are seen too few as places where values are created and attitudes changed. — *From the Southeast Asian University by T. H. Silcock, Emeritus Professor of Economics, Malaya U.*

■ To avoid election irregularities, here are some suggestions.

IMPROVEMENT OF VOTING SYSTEM

Why don't our politicians behave the way American or English politicians do? Why can they not learn the art of losing? The obvious answer is that if our elections were *relatively* free and clean — I use *relatively*, because American elections are not completely clean — it should be easy for any politician to concede defeat, it should be easy for the loser to accept the popular verdict.

That is the reason why I am for the recasting of the rules on elections — recasting them in such a way that the victor need not be ashamed of his triumph, since it is genuine, and the vanquished can graciously accept his defeat, since it is true.

I propose the following:

1. Voters should be registered only, as before, in the precinct of the place where they reside. Thousands of people in Manila, Quezon City, Rizal, Davao, and many other places did not know

where they could vote. The spectacle in the 1967 elections of a Commissioner of the COMELEC, not knowing the precinct where he could vote, is no longer funny. It could be tragic. A close fight in the United States may not culminate in violent uprising; but a closely contested electoral fight in the Philippines, with a razor-edge majority of 20,000 votes, let us say, in a Presidential election could spell violence.

2. Registration should stop well ahead of time, say, 60 days before the elections, and the voters' list should be immediately prepared so as to give the courts ample opportunity to decide inclusion and exclusion cases.

3. With the use of modern electronic machines, it should be possible to have a complete list, a master-list, of all voters in every city and municipality, indicating dates of birth, residence and other personal circumstances. It

would then be easy in every precinct to catch phantom and flying voters.

4. The rampant and expensive use of sample ballots can be avoided by a new system of paper ballots, such as they have in Los Angeles, California, which would allow for the use of mark-sensing machines.

5. With this system, polls can be closed earlier — say at 2 or 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and thereby avoid mischiefs committed in many places where there is no electricity.

6. Through the use of mark-sensing machines, which are relatively cheap, results can be immediately transmitted to regional centers in Mindanao, Visayas, and Luzon, where computers can be installed for immediate computation. These computers are available in the Philippines and can be had for rent. It should be possible to know the election results throughout the Philippines in 24 hours.

It is passing strange that in India, with such a tremendous area and an electorate much bigger than that

of America, election results are known within 24 hours. Certainly, there can be no excuse for slow, inaccurate returns in the Philippines.

But even with the use of mark-sensing machines and computers, it is still necessary — and probably even more imperative — that the polls be guarded zealously to prevent terrorism and mass frauds. The use of modern machines will be futile if voters are terrorized and precinct officials made to perform their duties under the gun. For no computer, no matter how sophisticated, can save us from the weight of our own vices and follies. If, as stated by the present COMELEC Chairman, the Philippine Constabulary can no longer be relied upon because of their partisan activities in the last elections, it should be possible — and I believe they will welcome it — to have our youth — particularly, the ROTC cadets, imbued with idealism and untouched by the long arm of corrupting politics — man the polls in 1969. This could be our most critical hour.

Involvement of the youth in public affairs could be the means of our redemption as a people. It is, to my mind, an oversimplification to say that they should avoid political activity. Millions of young Czechs, Vietnamese, Hungarians, Poles, and Africans are dying everyday for the right of a free and unfettered vote. It will not be too much — and I think they will want it — for the youth of the land to secure the exercise by the nation of free suffrage so they do not have to fight and die for it in the mountain fastnesses if we should by our own lack of vigilance and resourcefulness, lose that right.

In the last analysis, it is this that differentiates us from a dictatorship, whether of the extreme left or of the extreme right — namely, the right of a free, liberty-loving people to hold their public officials to account and to change them, at given intervals, of their own voluntary will.

Where our elected officials are elected through the ho-

nest and free exercise of the popular will, they are not beholden to the manipulators and agents of force and fraud. They do not have to enter into secret conspiracies after the elections to reward them for their notorious activities. They can exercise the duties of their office as free agents of the popular will, bound only by the dictates of their conscience and the mandate of a sovereign people. It is high time, I submit, we made politics — up to this point a term of disrepute — a respected and respectable calling in this land. Whether we like it or not, politics means public affairs, and as long as we are in society we cannot escape involvement in matters that affect the entire community. It is our joint responsibility — one that is both onerous and exalting — to spend the resources of mind and strength and spirit to bring about a more responsible, a more decent, and a more responsive governance of public affairs. — *Senator Jovito Salonga, portion of a speech, Manila Times, November 28, 1968.*

■ The weakness of the Philippine stand on Sabah is indicated here.

AMERICAN PRESSURE ON SABAH

The most welcome, though whispered, news from Malaysia is that the ailing Radhakrishna Ramani is finally giving up his 35 year-long Malaysian exile, to return to his native Madras, away from the cares of Sabah.

Ramani is the man who described the Philippine Sabah claim a compound of fantasy, fallacy and fiction at the United Nations; the same man who uttered the wittiest, if most sarcastic, remarks at the ill-fated Bangkok talks in which the Philippines had to call on the late services of Leon Ma. Guerrero, to make its side better understood in a bilateral discussion in which English, rather than Tausog, was the language used.

On the eve of the Bangkok negotiations, a much-concerned foreign office was seriously groping for an idea of what kind of negotiator this Ramani was, and in enthusiastic prose the cable

from the Philippine mission to the United Nations said:

"Born in Madras, India; educated at University of Madras and received the following degrees: Bachelor of Arts (Philosophy and English); Master of Arts (English language and Literature); Bachelor of Laws. Was admitted barrister at law of Middle Temple in London in 1929; practised law in Kuala Lumpur from 1930 to 1963 with exception of period 1942-1945 when he practised law in Madras.

"Member of legislative council of Federation of Malaya from 1948 to 1954 and served on numerous legislative committees dealing with post-war legislation and other constitutional developments in Federation of Malaya.

"President of International Commission of Jurists (Malaysian branch) and attended international law conferences at New Delhi, Tokyo, Rio de Janeiro and Athens.

"Deputy permanent representative of Malaysia to the United Nations in 1963, becoming its permanent representative in Nov. 1964. As president of the security council in May 1965 he was widely praised for his impressive forensic ability particularly during Dominican Republic crisis.

"A strict vegetarian, ailing but extremely intelligent and articulate."

What Ambassador Salvador P. Lopez in the U.N. did not have to add was that Ramani had soaked himself on the Sabah question since 1962 a year before the Malaysia federation was announced, which announcement was to start a 33-month-long border war with Indonesia and a similar duration of abnormal relations with the Philippines.

The "extreme intelligence" of Ramani was to become evident to the Filipino negotiators in Bangkok; it did not prevent them from confessing in their hotel rooms that the man was a full-strength demolition squad. At one instance when his cutting words were protested

by the Philippine delegation, the Malaysian spokesman explained that it was not Ramani's fault. Ramani, the spokesman explained, had a sharp tongue and a precise language; it was never the knife's fault if it was sharp.

All this serves to illustrate the climate that now prevails at Padre Faura as it is delightfully whispered that the old vegetarian is returning to his native India. To our diplomats, Ramani's absence is a better chance for our claim to Sabah — in case another round of talks is held, though that be most unlikely.

There may be a thousand and one ways of dispatching such a reaction without much comment; the more pertinent suggestion is that Philippine-Malaysian dialogue, or its absence, on Sabah can not rely over-much on personalities. Yet, in a way, such reaction serves to illustrate that the enthusiasm on the Sabah question is undimmed.

There may be a momentary suggestion that the Sabah question, let alone the current Philippine-Malaysian troubled relations may now

be shoved aside as a minor problem, the more one talks of future Philippine-American relations and Asian-American security arrangements. Yet this suggestion misleads. A heavy emphasis on Philippine-American relations does not offer a diversion from the Sabah question; it ratifies rather the need to find a resolution of that question which, in Washington's eyes, must now impair solidarity in the region.

As the Philippines preoccupies itself with its own anxiety about America's future role here, and the Pacific, so may Washington be expected to increase its pressure on us on this sensitive question.

But, whether the administration is as keen to receive that pressure as it is to solicit, it is something which by now it must be able to give an indication of. — *Francisco Tatad, Manila Bulletin Dec. 6, 1968.*

COOPERATION AMONG NATIONS

We have begun to realize that while self-help in individual countries is of crucial importance, we can achieve our larger purposes of improving the lives of our peoples through interdependence. Our faith in regional cooperation rests on this axiom — that the economic progress of any one country in Southeast Asia will be enhanced by collective regional development efforts. — *Ferdinand E. Marcos*

■ An astonishing Filipino female student shows her ability as a master reader.

OUR TOP SPEED-READER NOW IN U.S.

What can we do to honor our fifteen-year-old plucky Filipina girl who's No. 1 candidate for the *WORLD'S top speed-reader*? To all our students in all our high schools and colleges I say, Let's do honor to *Maria Teresa Calderon*. — *HOSTESS*

Did you read *The Weekly Nation's* (1/27) reprint of a *Milwaukee Journal Staff* article about her by William C. Nelson who called her the "fastest reader in the world?" Now I am privileged to share with you parts of her latest letter to her parents:

"I found out that I had to fly on to Chicago the following morning! I had to ask 2 days off, Monday and Tuesday. Schale paid for plane fare so I left Dubuque airport — Monday, February 3 at 8:40 a.m. As I got into Chicago, Leo picked me up. We went to China-town

to get *Siopao!* Then, proceeded to Schale's place. Dr. Schale plus 2 other speed-readers (10,000 wpm-20,000 wpm) and myself proceeded on to the Chicago Loop. Schale treated us to lunch at the Marina City Restaurant. It was exquisite! Then we went to the University at Illinois. There was this machine which recorded your eye vision. Reading pace, etc. This was. We had to read with one eye! We wore masks which covered our left eye. It was terrible. I had never tried reading with one eye in my whole life! They gave me a 6,000 word-short story "Devil and Daniel Webster." I read it at 80,000 words per minute and 100 per cent comprehension. Brother! I was shocked. Everyone was surprised too. After reading another article the day's work was done. Prof. Schale was so happy and in high spirits

she brought me to the apartment. Leo and I picked up Lil. We went out to eat at George Diamonds. I had a T-Bone steak then we watched the movie *Shoes of the Fisherman*. I enjoyed it. The book is a lot better though.

"Tuesday — flight for Minneapolis, Minnesota. Professor Schale with her Cadillac picked me up at the apartment at 7:45 a.m. We proceeded to Chicago's O'Hara Airport. We missed our flight due to the traffic jam. We ate breakfast and got on the 10:00 flight. Upon arriving at Minneapolis, we took a cab to the University of Minnesota. We met the famous Professors Alton Raygor and Kunes Brown who have written books on *Efficient Reading*. We had lunch on the campus. After lunch we proceeded on. They gave more photographic memory tests. No one had gotten a perfect score there. They gave me 5 seconds to observe the picture. Then each one asked specific questions — detailed ones! I got a hundred per cent. Then I was given the speed-reading test. I read at 80,000

words per minute! They (as well as I) were astonished! After the test, we proceeded to the airport for my flight back here.

"As you see, the past days have been busy. Now, I'm back to school to hit the books again. Phew!"

Let me quote Nelson's article which recounts how she was handed a pocketbook *How to Buy Stocks*. This would be a rugged test for the polite teenager who could possibly be the fastest reader in the world.

"Would you read the 19th chapter, 'What It Means to Speculate?' she was asked. 'Sure,' she replied, 'but first I'd like to see how many pages are in the chapter.' The black haired, effervescent little girl (she stands only 4 feet 10 inches and jokingly calls herself 'the dwarf') thumbed through the seven pages as her interviewer jotted down a few notes.

"He heard the pages flip over, then she said: 'All right, I'm ready.' OK, go ahead and read the chapter.' 'I already have.' 'You don't mean it.' 'Sure. Very inte-

resting. Now ask me some questions.'"

She had taken less than a minute to zip through a complicated chapter. The reporter had spent 15 minutes wading through it. The question-answer session delved into the distinction between speculation and gambling. Penny stocks. Cyclical stocks and the size of their dividend. Long and short term capital gains. Pyramid profits.

Her answers were correct ...and in detail. A talkative, down-to-earth girl, she even tossed a few of her own questions at the repor-

ter. "Don't be too surprised," she said graciously. "My father is a member of the Manila stock exchange and my older sister is an investment analyst in Chicago."

"I hope to work on the stock exchange this summer."

"The writer was convinced. Teresa, now a junior at St. Clara Academy, a Catholic girls' boarding school just east of Dubuque, is a remarkable girl."

So says Nelson. Teresa makes front page in *America*. HOW do we HONOR her? — *Manila Chronicle*, Feb. 15, 1969.

THE VETO POWER

The veto is a powerful political tool. There are no such political simpletons as would let it drop. — *Andrei Vishinski*

■ The problem is not new. It arises from many sources but specially from the *Mandarin system* creating "intense claustrophobia."

THE PROBLEM OF STUDENT VIOLENCE

As a historian Jacques Barzun is aware that American college campus violence is not new to this generation. He says that the impression one gets of students in medieval universities "is of an army of tramps, spongers, and hoodlums" and recalls that the faculty of the University of Virginia in 1825 petitioned the board for policemen to protect them from students. The era of relative peace on the American campus opened only at about the beginning of this century and ended in 1964.

But he adds: "To describe this tradition of violence is not to condone it but to encourage the search for causes."

In his own search for causes, Barzun pays scant heed to the Vietnam conflict, the civil rights debate, or the draft. More important,

he thinks, is the fact that modern society has created, without knowing it, a *mandarin system*.

"I mean by this that in order to achieve any goal, however modest, one must qualify. Qualifying means: having been trained, passed a course, obtained a certificate . . . The young in college were born into this system, which in this country is not much older than they, and they feel, quite rightly, intense claustrophobia. They have been in the groove since the sandbox."

Though he sympathizes with students in such a predicament, Barzun takes a firm paternalistic stand against what he calls:

". . . the arrogant pretensions and airs of holier-than-thou put forward by the institution goaders. They can seize the privilege of irres-

possibility if they will take the consequences. But they cannot turn it into a right to run the budget and lecture the trustees. Criticism is the student's prerogative under free speech, and they have it — though it seems at times a bit of effrontery also to claim sizeable subsidies from the administration in order to print daily insults about it."

The author notes a significant distinction between the protestors of the Thirties and those of today: "... the beardless Thirties were out to create a new world of which they had the blueprint. The hirsute Sixties are out to re-create themselves without a plan." And he challenges many of their current complaints. Of the widely heard demand for "relevance," he says:

"If a university is not to become an educational weather vane . . . it must avoid all 'relevance' of the obvious sort. The spirit of its teaching will be relevant if the members are good scholars and really teach. Nearly everywhere there is enough free choice among courses so

that no student is imprisoned for long in anything he cannot make relevant, if only he will forget the fantasy of instant utility. That fantasy is in fact what rules the world of credentials and qualifications which he so rightly kicks against."

Of the demand of earnest students that the university teach them "values," Barzun says:

"The wish is not so laudable as it sounds, being only the wish to have one's perplexities removed by someone else. Even if this were feasible and good, the practical question of what brand of values (i.e. what philosophy, religion, or politics) should prevail would be insoluble. It is a sufficient miracle if a college education, made up of many parts and many contacts with divergent minds, removes a little ignorance. Values (so-called) are not taught; they are breathed in or imitated. And here is the pity of the sophistication that no longer allows the undergraduate to admire some of his elders and fellows: he deprives himself of models and is

left with a task beyond the powers of most men, that of fashioning a self unaided."

The leaders of the student revolts will probably view such statements as those of a doddering oldtimer who has been a part of the establishment for much too long, but other students — the silent majority which still hopes to learn what it can from the older generation — will profit from them.

When he wrote *Teacher in America*, a quarter of a century ago, Barzun offered some pungent criticisms of administrators, saying among other things, "Nothing so strikes the foreign observer with surprise as the size and power of American collegiate administration." Now that he has been a dean and provost for a number of years, he offers his considered view of the administrative role:

"It sometimes seems to a university administration that their sole business is to keep students calmed down, the faculty on campus, and the neighbors contented. But administration is not troubleshooting, and these feats, though incessant and gruel-

ing, are only incidental. Administering a university has but one object: to distribute its resources to the best advantage. Resources here is not a genteel word for money. The resources of a university are seven in number: men, space, time, books, equipment, repute and money. All administrative acts serve this one purpose of stretching capital and dividing income fairly and fruitfully."

In his earlier book, Barzun was scornful of Columbia's Teachers College. In this one he mentions "the regeneration of Teachers College under the brilliant leadership of John Fisher (which) was probably helped rather than hindered by the intellectually inanimate state in which he found it."

In a chapter titled "Scholars in Orbit," Barzun reaffirms charges that have been made by many other writers: the Ph.D. program does not include an adequate preparation for the job of teaching, faculty promotions are based largely on research and publication, and within the faculty there is a con-

tinuous struggle between the young men in a hurry and the older men who are not yet ready to be pushed aside. But Barzun sees some improvement in at least one aspect of the Ph.D. program: "... the old monumental, life-sentence, eiderdown-quilt dissertation, which I described and deplored in *Teacher in America*, is receding into the past. Most departments approve only manageable topics and set limits to the number of pages that may be catapulted at a sponsor. The change has come partly in response to repeated urgings by graduate deans and partly in self-defense: the sponsor is swamped; he needs a pitchfork to turn over the papers on his desk and he therefore views with a lack-luster eye the student who has

chosen to tell all in twelve hundred typed pages."

It is not entirely clear what audience Barzun had in mind when he wrote his book. The chapter on today's students should appeal to a great many readers. The chapters on scholars and administrators will be of interest to most academic men and to some outside the university. But the large section of the book that deals with the financial problems of the contemporary private university in America seems less likely to hold the interest of anyone except administrators, university trustees, and potential donors, even though Barzun's analysis is a sophisticated one. — *By Paul Woodring in Saturday Review, December 21, 1968.*

OF RED CHINA'S THREAT

Our immediate problem in Asia is to enable neighboring countries to resist the crushing tropism of Communist China until they can develop a strong new system of their own. — *Salvador P. Lopez*

■ This article discusses the great importance of a library to education. A library of well-selected books and publications is the source of a university's strength, blood, and warmth; it is its lamp of learning.

THE IMPORTANCE OF A LIBRARY

I am here to rejoice with you that a great thing has been accomplished, and ask you a question: What kind of library is this going to be?

The successful transplanting of a new heart gives promise of renewed vigor and extended life to the academic organism which it serves. For truly the library building is the heart of any college campus, from which the life blood of learning flows to every other part of the organism.

A college may have a weak physical education department and still be great, but not a weak library! Its department of economics may be a withered hand, its English or history departments myopic eyes, its biology department a sour stomach, and its administration a slightly addled head, but if its li-

brary heart is adequately supplying the needed library materials, the college can function and fulfill a major part of its purpose — namely, education — in whatever other parts of the curriculum are healthy.

This library building is not really the library, in spite of the modern usage recorded in Webster's International, . . . *Library* in its original, etymological source derived from the Latin *Librarius*, "of books," implying any collection or assembly of books, and I am sure that President Meyer and his staff know this and mean to see to it that this fine building is increasingly supplied with the materials that are the essential muscle of the organ.

In using the term, "library materials," I meant that the modern library cannot be adequately supplied if

stocked ~~only~~ with books and other printed matter. Every library must stretch its budget somehow to include, to some extent, the era of recorded sound and sight. It is simply intolerable today to limit study of Shakespeare's plays to the printed text when there are magnificent sound recordings and even motion pictures available for library and classroom use. We cannot ever hear Lincoln's voice speaking the Gettysburg Address, but we can and should forever be able to hear Churchill speaking his immortal "blood, sweat, and tears."

Truly the records of history, of literature, and of science will never again be limited to the written or printed word, and whether film, microfilm, electronic tape, or plastic disc is the medium, the modern library must increasingly provide the means of preserving and serving these new forms to those who learn.

As for the librarian, his role has become, in spite of his best efforts perhaps, more nearly like that of the operator of a department store

or supermarket, checking in merchandise by label and checking it out by label. He does well even to keep his shelves in order and see that customers do not leave with items unaccounted for. Certainly, being a librarian is no longer, even in a small college, a part time job for one of the elder professors.

Even if one is not a librarian, he cannot be wholly unaware of what has been called the "information explosion," and the problem it presents to education in general and to the library in particular. For example, in the year I went to college (1923), the Library of Congress held 3,089,000 books, of which 89,000 had been added to the collections that year. Last year it held nearly 15 million books, over 400,000 of them acquired that year. In 1923 the Library of Congress had so few sound recordings that it did not even keep count of them, but last year it held 225,000, of which nearly 25,000 had been added that year.

As a teacher of literature and history, like many of my colleagues, I used to la-

ment my students' lack of background. But we must face the fact that although to read one book may have been sufficient for Thomas Aquinas, as he proudly insisted, that book is by no means necessarily the one to lead the lists of books that college freshmen should read today. I venture that there are at least ten books published in the last year which are more important for a college freshman to read *now*, and I will go out on a limb by naming two of them: *The Body*, a 552 page compendium of scientific knowledge by Anthony Smith and *Concerning Dissent and Civil Disobedience*, a 64-page paperback legal essay by Abe Fortas.

Oliver Goldsmith, observed two hundred years ago that "The volumes of antiquity, like medals, may very well serve to amuse the curious: but the works of the moderns, like the current coin of a kingdom, are much better for immediate use?"

The question "What kind of library?" is related to the question "What kind of curriculum?" which has been troubling the academic world as long as I can remember. The student rebellions on college and university campuses during the last two years have indicated pretty clearly two things: 1) whatever the faculty and administration may have thought was a good way to run higher education, a great many students (and some faculty) did not think so; and 2) the rebellious students have a great deal to learn. That's why I think Justice Fortas' book might well be required reading! The trouble with most of us is that we think we have already learned, until we are brought up against events which make it all too clear that we must continue, or begin all over again. — *Excerpts from the address at the dedication of the Heterick Memorial Library by Dr. Roy Basler, The Library of Congress.*

■ An American reporter wrote about General Gregorio del Pilar, the intrepid Filipino soldier and leader who died fighting for his country against a superior American force.

THE OLD FILIPINO

For more than a year now, government propagandists have fed the nation a lot of pap about that preposterous creature called the "New Filipino." What was wrong with the Old Filipino? The day before yesterday, we paused to honor an Old Filipino named Andres Bonifacio who valiantly raised the standard of revolt against Spain and fought selflessly for freedom until he was assassinated upon the orders of his ambitious rivals. Too many of the present-day "New Filipinos" about whom the administration talks so glibly were descended, not from Bonifacio, but from the breed of politicians who decreed his murder.

Today, the nation commemorates the 70th anniversary of the Battle of Tirad Pass and the memory of the men who went into battle against

the advancing American troops — all of them knowing that they would die. Were they not all Old Filipinos? The oldest of them all in wisdom and self-sacrifice was their young commander, Gen. Gregorio del Pilar, aged 22, who gave up all his dreams of youth and tomorrow in order that you and I might salvage some measure of hope and pride from the record of his generation.

I am not going to write a column today about Del Pilar and his men. Let an American war correspondent named Richard Henry Little of the Chicago Tribune, reporting on the battle from the other side, tell the story. It is one of the finest pieces of reporting I have ever read.

• • •

"It was a great fight," Little wrote from the field

on that day in 1899, "that was fought away up on the trail of lonely Tirad Pass on that Saturday morning of Dec. 2. It brought glory to Major March's battalion of the 33rd Volunteer Infantry who were the victors. It brought no discredit to the little band of sixty Filipinos who fought and died there. Sixty was the number that at Aguinaldo's orders had come down into the pass that morning to arrest the onward march of the Americans. Seven were all that went back over the pass that night to tell Aguinaldo that they had tried and failed. Fifty-three of them were either killed or wounded. And among them, the last to retreat, we found the body of young Gen. Gregorio del Pilar."

"We had seen him cheering his men in the fight. One of our companies crouched up close under the side of the cliff where he had built his first intrenchment, heard his voice continually during the fight urging his men to greater effort, scolding them, praising them, cursing, appealing one moment to their love of their

native land and the next instant threatening to kill them himself if they did not stand firm."

"Driven from the first intrenchment he fell back slowly to the second in full sight of our sharpshooters and under a heavy fire. Not until every man around him in the second intrenchment was down did he turn his white horse around and ride slowly up the winding trail. Then we who were below saw an American squirm his way out to the top of a high flat rock, and take deliberate aim at the figure on the white horse. We held our breath, not knowing whether to pray that the sharpshooter would shot straight or miss. Then came the spiteful crack on the Krag rifle and the man on horseback rolled to the ground, and when the troops charging up the mountain-side reached him, the boy general of the Filipinos was dead."

• • •

"We went up We saw a solitary figure lying on the road. The body was almost stripped of clothing,

and there were no marks of rank on the blood-soaked coat . . . A soldier came running down the trail."

"That's old Pilar," he said, "we got the old rascal. I guess he's sorry he ever went up against the Thirty-Third."

"There ain't no doubt about its being Pilar," rattled on the young soldier. "We got his diary and letters and all his papers, and Sullivan of our company got his pants, and Snider's got his shoes, but he can't wear them because they're too small, and a sergeant in C Company got one of his silver spurs, and a lieutenant got the other, and somebody swiped his cuff buttons before I got there or I would have swiped them, and all I got was a stud button and his collar with blood on it."

"So this was the end of Gregorio del Pilar. Only twenty-two years old, he managed to make himself a leader of men when he was hardly more than a boy, and at last he laid down his life for his convictions. Major March had the diary. In it he had written under the

date of December 2, the day he was killed: "The General has given me the pick of all the men that can be spared and ordered me to defend the pass. I realize what a terrible task is given me. And yet I feel that this is the most glorious moment of my life. What I do is done for my beloved country. No sacrifice can be too great."

• • •

"A private sitting beside the fire was exhibiting a handkerchief. 'It's old Pilar's. It's got 'Dolores Hoses' on the corner. I guess that was his girl. Well, it's all over with Gregorio.'"

"'Anyhow,' said Private Sullivan, 'I got his pants. He won't need them anymore.'"

"The man who had the general's shoes strode proudly past . . ."

"As the main column started on its march for the summit of the mountain a turn in the trail brought us again in sight of the insurgent general far down below us. There had been no time to bury him. Not even a

blanket or poncho had been thrown over him."

"A crow sat on the dead man's feet. Another perched on his head. The fog settled down upon us. We could see the body no longer."

"And when Private Sullivan went by in his trousers, and Snider with his shoes, and the other man who had the cuff buttons, and the sergeant who had the spur, and the lieutenant who had the other spur, and the man who had the handkerchief, and another that had his shoulder straps, it suddenly occurred to me that his glory was about all we had left him."



A few days after American

newsman Little filed his dispatch, a lieutenant of the US Eleventh Cavalry gave the body of the boy general proper burial with military honors and had a tombstone erected on which was written: "General Gregorio del Pilar; Killed at the Battle of Tirad Pass, December 2d, 1899; Commanding Aguinaldo's Rear Guard — An Officer and a Gentleman."

It is said that the most sincere tributes are those who come from your enemies. Here we have found recorded what Del Pilar's enemies thought of him and his men. What shall our enemies say of this generation of Filipinos? The answer is up to us all. — *Max V. Soliven in Manila Times, Dec. 2, 1968.*

THE THIRD COUNTRY TRAINING PROGRAM

Because of its similarity of climate, customs and environment, the Philippines is an ideal training center for the region. This Third Country Training Program, using Filipino skills, institutions and resources, will surely make a far-reaching contribution to the growth and economic development not only of Southeast Asia but to many young nations of the Middle East and Africa. — *Ouab Ratanavanija*

- When may an educational institution be considered a university in nature and purpose? This paper is an attempt to describe a general test, which needs a sort of orientation.

THE WHYS OF UNIVERSITY ORIENTATION

Our country will be much better off with an educational system, sufficiently comprehensive, aimed at what our people need as may be revealed in studies and perceptive observations carried out by persons qualified to develop educational institutions and courses especially fit to promote ideals and values deemed indispensable to the virility of the citizen and the nation. The form, substance, and structure of the cultural, social, political, and moral constituents of the life of our people should be moulded or erected upon patterns of our own choice and preference rather than on patterns furnished by outsiders. This is not to say that we should disregard or throw overboard everything foreign, for this action is impossible to carry out; and if it could ever be done, it is bound

to injure us in several ways. But we really have to realize that we have adopted foreign practices and notions uncritically simple because we want to ape the American or European no matter how offensive they may turn out to be to our ideals and values. In education, for instance, we have to admit that our schools, colleges, and universities up to now bear all the distinctive earmarks of their foreign counterparts imitated superficially and in several cases adopted thoughtlessly and with some degree of belief in their unproved excellence. Much of the poor or defective educational performance of Filipino students in general is traceable to this feature and practice of our schools in our efforts to transplant the heart of a system that the nature of

our conditions cannot accept and assimilate.

Educators of high caliber are called upon to undertake the innovative task. It is a task that challenges mind, the imagination, and vision. But educators, if true to their profession, should accept whatever measure of necessary sacrifice such task demands for its realization. We could not have seen the development of a strong germ of Filipino nationalism if its original champion in the person of Jose Rizal had preferred to enjoy the comforts and splendors of the centers of culture and civilization abroad instead of coming back to the modest environment of his country with all the discomforts and the relatively primitive conditions which had to be slowly changed and improved.

It is regrettable that present-day Filipinos with their higher education do not seem to see the meaning of Rizal's life in this light and to follow the example it offers to them. Many of them consciously avoid the educational and cultural challenges of our provincial

communities. There are even some who feel proud and superior in being associated with institutions that have put a superficial sympathy with our nationalistic efforts and that silently adopt a condescending attitude towards Filipino organs for higher education.

It is obviously a matter of personal egoism and convenience that causes many of us to ignore the challenge of patriotic service outside the metropolitan centers. We see in this aloofness the continued servility to colonial standards and values and the indifference to the more satisfying rewards of self-reliance which needs time, determination, and patience to produce superior results.

Foundation University of Dumaguete aims at leading the Filipino youth away from strictly colonial values by impressing on their consciousness the importance of self-dependence and the reacquisition of the best of national traits which are revealed in their history but which have long been over-looked and so may wither on the vine

if not rediscovered, nurtured, treasured, and refined.

Coming down to our work at this particular moment, we are now busy preparing our faculty members under the leadership of deans and heads of departments in preparing a comprehensive program of *University Orientation* for its faculty. It consists in a series of informal discussions, covering, among other, the following subjects: the meaning, nature, and purpose of a civic and secular university; the nature and method of the work of university teachers; the nature of the work required of its students; the need for adequate libraries, laboratories, and other facilities as instruments of university education the necessary qualifications, practices, and attitudes expected of university faculty members; and the essential conditions for the maintenance of a university atmosphere as both cause and effect of the intellectual and cultural improvement of the university population.

The need for a University Orientation as briefly described here is unavoidable

in understanding the essence of higher education for Filipinos. But it has not been realized, much less observed, in this country for several reasons: one is the obvious failure of those who establish and administer universities in this country to identify and distinguish the essential nature a university from that of a secondary school or a vocational or technical school. This failure arises from several causes. One of them is the absence of a tradition of devotion to intellectual work and excellence. A professional education which is really vocational in nature and purpose, commonly understood by many of our people as higher education, is really deficient in intellectual depth, breadth, and intensity. Law and medicine, for example, which were known in highly developed countries as the learned professions, are pursued in our schools more as vocational occupations calling for skills in action, manipulation, and outward observation rather than for intensive mental concentration and scientific or cerebral activity.

Another cause is a simplistic and purely literal interpretation of the provisions of the Philippine law that to be a university an institution should have at least four colleges and a graduate school plus a library of at least ten thousand volumes. These formal and mechanical conditions do not necessarily indicate that the institution is engaged in higher learning, that its administrators understand the mission of a university, and that its faculty is actually devoted to the pursuit of knowledge and the quest for truth. After meeting these legal requirements, an institution feels entitled to be called a university especially when it has attracted a large student enrollment and two or three teachers with doctorate degrees or diplomas. But formal conditions required by our statutes refer only to the external composition and appearance of the institution. They do not provide evidence of internal intellectual growth, educational activity directed towards the improvement of knowledge, and an academic atmosphere which

provides the mind of teacher and student with an intangible milieu that generates an actual intellectual ferment.

Coming down to the case of Foundation University, is there any real significance in the change of its rank from that of a college to that of a university? Has it ever occurred to its teachers, administrators, and students that a university should possess certain mark and attributes that it should possess by virtue of their devotion to learning and their interest in the quality of their performance? Or have they merely assumed that an institution automatically changes its character, purpose, goals, and procedures by the fact of the change of its name or by the fact that the Department of Education has authorized it to change its status from college to university? Is it realized by our educators that the rank of an institution of higher learning should not be awarded merely by reason of age and antiquity but should be merited by a satisfactory record of performance with-

in its area of educational work and scope of action?

It is time that we in this country should realize the importance of University Orientation to stir and awaken administration and faculty to the educational significance of this status. It is essential that through them, the students should be correspondingly aroused and indoctrinated. If they are not collectively made aware of the meaning of the change, it is because they have but a faint idea of what it is expected to be done in the field of higher education. But this condition should not remain uncorrected, if the university is to perform its proper role in the improvement of a people. Hence, it is intellectually unpardonable for an organization bearing the title of university without understanding its true character, purpose, and procedures as a higher institution of learning.

A college that bears the title of a university should have the intrinsic qualities and the essential conditions

of a high center of learning. If this is not the case, then what is called a university may be merely a glorified high school. It cannot practice, cultivate, and produce habits of self-education, self-analysis, and self-criticism. But a university has to engage in the work of free academic inquiry and in the pursuit of intellectual discovery. Its teachers and students must ever be exposed to intellectual stimulation so that they may learn to experience the ecstasy of mental, moral, and humanistic achievement.

Unless they understand the meaning of higher education and the mental energy and the moral stamina it demands, our universities and their students and teachers will merely spend useless hours and weeks of self-deception devoid of the benefits and value of intellectual stimulation and vigor. In that case, our institutions will not and cannot really qualify as *universities or higher institutions of learning.* — V. G. Sinco, in his *orientation lecture to teachers.*

■ This paper by a former President of the Philippines questions the correctness, sincerity, and practicality of the views on American-Philippine relations by Carlos Romulo, now Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Philippine Government.

QUO VADIS, ROMULOS?

By CARLOS P. GARCIA
Former President of the Philippines

(Continued from last month's issue)

ASIAN SUPERNATIONALISTS?

As far as I am concerned, our diplomacy for a "closer cooperation with Asian countries" should never be carried to the outcome of diminishing our political, cultural and commercial relation with the West. We must forever be connected with the world mainstreams of progress and abundant life and greater freedom, and most of these are in the West. Our supernationalistic Asianism should not quixotically blind us to reality and realism. Let us live with the whole world freely and forget about building great walls of China, Boxeristic movements, Arian supracialism and all that sort of isolationism or chauvinism.

Trade alienation from the U.S. would hurt us fatally while it is a mere scratch to the U.S. taking into account the fact that our trade with her is 50% of our world foreign trade while America's trade with us is only 1% of her total world trade. If Mr. Romulo's "New Ideology" is really for Philippines achieving "economic productivity, industrialization and modernization" common sense and not psychedelic vision will point the way — and that is to keep close with the Western countries advanced in the sciences, the arts and technology — things which they are using to plant their feet on the moon and thereafter explore other planets.

We are worried over the rapidly increasing population. Only by advanced science and technology, which no Asian country except Japan can supply, can we make it possible to colonize the land under the seas and utilize the immense food and mining resources under the oceans. Only by hitting the highways of progress opened up by Western science and technology can we hope to make a headway economically. It is imperative, therefore, that we identify ourselves with countries that can supply us advanced science and technology. The two greatest needs of our economic development program are capital and technology. We have to turn to our friends of the West to get these two essentials. At the present no Asian country except Japan can supply us capital and technology so badly needed to achieve economic productivity, industrialization and modernization.

In quotation number 7 above Mr. Romulo advocates the brand of diplomacy which would identify us

closely with our Asian neighbors in order "to formulate with them a common stand on questions affecting peace and economic development." With Communist China indisputably the giant in Asia promoting her own "master plan" to establish communist Chinese hegemony in Asia, and straining herself to be able to manufacture nuclear weapons to enforce her gigantic ambition, the questions of peace and war in Asia as well as economic development assume tremendous importance.

SMALL BANTAMWEIGHT

Is the Secretary batting for a "mutual stand" of the small bantamweight countries of Asia to face the Asian giant or subserve it? Assuming that the former is what he has in mind (as it is unthinkable for Filipinos to submit to a godless ideology) is the unified stand of these Asian bantams sufficient to stop Communist China from enforcing her plan to dominate absolutely in Asia? Frankly, all of these developing small countries in Asia together, without outside help will not be able

to stop Communist China from realizing her plan. It takes another heavyweight to fight a heavyweight. There was the case of David vanquishing a Goliath, but that was possible because of divine intervention, and there has been only one David since Biblical times.

Is it not, therefore, to our national interest to maintain and improve our relations with Western democracies, principally the U.S.A., which is admittedly the democratic giant capable willing and able to stand up in defense of democracy against any communist giant?

I am informed, that one of our sister small countries in Southeast Asia, Thailand, stands foursquare on the proposition that America should continue her presence in Asia if only to enable the rising democratic forces here to develop sinews for national self-defense. Would it not be to the interest of this Republic to adopt this gallant stand? Probably, the communist countries will ridicule this attitude as an act of puppetry. Our Secretary himself has had the bit-

ter experience of being so ridiculed. But if it is done in the national interest, why should the slings of invective and the shafts of ridicule stop us from the pursuit of our national interest? In matter of national survival since when have we allowed ourselves to be threatened, cajoled or ridiculed into the criminal neglect of our national defense?

NEW DIRECTION?

In conclusion, let us take a little excursion into history to reassess our relation with the U.S. in connection with Romulo's new direction of foreign policy.

The U.S., in 1946 voluntarily granted us our independence for which we had sacrificed innumerable lives and fortune. Is there any instance in history wherein mighty powers victorious in war voluntarily renounced their sovereignty over a weak people like the Filipinos? When China was a mighty power in Asia in her former imperial times, did she ever renounce her sovereignty over a palm of territory voluntarily? America did this!

And more transcendently important than this, she started the grand cycle of liberation, for all empires to relinquish their sovereignty over their colonies. As a result, England renounced her sovereignty over India, Ceylon, Malaya, Burma, etc. Because of this American example the cycle of liberation rolled on irresistibly to other continents until France relinquished her sovereignty over her vast empire in Africa and Indo-China. England also continues liberating her vast colonies in Africa, and Oceania. If the U.S. has done nothing else, but setting the example of a mighty nation renouncing voluntarily her sovereignty over her colonies after achieving victory in a great world war, that alone would entitle her to the eternal gratitude of freedom-loving peoples.

AGAINST PARITY

It is true that, in granting independence to our war-ravaged country, America exacted from us the Bases Treaty, the Parity Amendment and the Bell Trade Agreement. In the matter of the Parity Amendment, the true

majority of Filipinos were against it, and in the Senate, it would have been defeated if it had not been for the vote of one renegade Nacionalista senator who was won over by President Roxas to vote for Parity with the Liberals.

It would have been lost in the House of Representatives if the eight Socialist congressmen led by then Congressman Taruc and definitely against Parity, had not been expelled from the House before the voting on Parity, on charges that they had committed terrorism to get themselves elected. Let it be remembered that the Nacionalista Party stood against Parity, and were it not for those incidents mentioned above, there would have been no Parity Amendment.

The Bases Agreement negotiated with then Vice President and Secretary of Foreign Affairs Elpidio Quirino and ratified by the Senate, was accepted by the Filipinos at that time because, after the war, we were down and out and we were worried about our national

defense, but, above all, because Soviet Russia, at that time under the ruthless leadership of Stalin, was getting ready to invade all countries, at least with their atheistic ideology of communism. As early as 1945, Mr. Romulo and I were members of the Philippine delegation to the first UN conference in San Francisco and it was already apparent that Russia was getting ready for an "International Revolution" to impose communism all over the world. For the same reason we agreed to the Mutual Defense Pact.

It is also true that the Bell Trade Agreement though later softened by the Laurel-Langley Trade Agreement, was much too one-sided in favor of the U.S.A. It is equally true that the one half billion dollars given us for rehabilitation was conditioned on our approving the Parity Amendment. But then without justifying this American opportunism, I say that the Filipinos then were tender-hearted and profoundly grateful towards America after

- (1) she liberated us from the cruel Japanese occupation of four years, and after doing so,
- (2) she voluntarily relinquished her sovereignty over the Philippines and
- (3) after granting us independence she voted one half billion dollars to rehabilitate our destroyed country.

GRATITUDE TO AMERICA

For all these noble deeds, we Filipinos were melted in gratitude to America. I am not trying to defend America for her acts of unfairness now complained of by Secretary Romulo among so many. I am reminding you of the circumstances surrounding these events.

During the American regime in the Philippines of half a century, we enjoyed the most liberal treatment among all the colonies of the world at that time. She did not suppress the movement for independence that immediately followed the ap-

proval of the Cooper Bill which became the first Organic Act of the Philippine civil government. So many of the best Americans among them, Cooper, Hoar, Jones, Harrison, Tydings, McDuffy, and a constellation of many others fought and worked with us to achieve our goal of independence. When the big American trusts at the time wanted to exploit the Philippine natural resources for themselves, an American Governor-General in the person of Howard Taft, nipped the idea in the bud by proclaiming the famous Taft doctrine of the "Philippines for the Filipinos."

During her regime, she established a public system of education based on the instruction of the English language, and the Western culture of English has become the unifying language of the Philippines that has reduced a great deal the tribalistic divisions of the Filipinos at that time and inducted an awareness of the oneness and solidarity of the Filipino people. Up to now, this cultural force, introduced by the Americans, continues to

be the richest part of our cultural heritage, and remains as our medium of rapport with the progressive nations of the world.

That is America's record in the Philippines in a nutshell.

Is there any nation in Asia, from the biggest to the smallest that can boast of similar altruistic record? Why, then, should we part ways with America where hundreds of thousands of Filipinos have embraced American citizenship, mostly in Hawaii and the Pacific Coast and are enjoying the privileges of American citizenship?

I do not absolve the U.S. from the mistakes and the high-handed acts she has perpetrated against Filipinos. I do not condone some of the acts complained of by Mr. Romulo in his speech. In fact, I do maintain she must rectify without delay these unfair acts to improve her image in the eyes of small democratic countries.

But of one thing I am profoundly convinced and it is; that if we strike a balance

between the good and the bad things she has done for or against us, I can say without fear of successful contradiction even by ultra-nationalists that, by and large, she has done well by

us, and it is to the interest of this country to maintain and constantly improve the relations and ties of friendship between the U.S. and the Philippines based on equality and mutual respect.

PRINCIPLES IN ACTION

On no occasion call yourself a philosopher, nor talk at large of your principles among the multitude, but act on your principles. For instance, at a banquet do not say how one ought to eat, but eat as you ought. Remember that Socrates had so completely got rid of the thought of display that when men came and wanted an introduction to philosophers, he took them to be introduced; so patient of neglect was he.

And if a discussion arise among the multitude on some principle, keep silent for the most part; for you are in great danger of blurting out some undigested thought. And when some one says to you, "You know nothing," and you do not let it provoke you, then know that you are really on the right road. For sheep do not bring grass to their shepherds and show them how much they have eaten, but they digest their fodder and then produce it in the form of wool and milk; Do the same yourself; instead of displaying your principles to the multitude, show them the results of the principles you have digested. — *From the Manual of Epictetus.*

THE NEED FOR PRESS STANDARDS

The first paragraph of the first chapter of *The Manila Times Journalism Manual* by Jose Luna Castro says:

"In 1937, the settlers of New England had nothing more impressive in the way of spreading the news than the lung power of a civic-minded town crier. The burghers of Boston and Cambridge now and then received news pamphlets and London corantos' — single-sheet, two-page newsletters — from slow boats from Britain, but they were old and dog-eared back issues. The first printing press to be installed in New England was still in London and it was not to arrive until next year. Printing, in England as well as in the American colonies, was regarded as an occupation for mischief makers. Free speech had no legal standing. Publishers were yet to assert themselves as men of stature on the community.

"In England itself, the publication of corantos had been suspended, and the licensed press suppressed. The Germans meanwhile were issuing their *Messrelationen*, which were semi-annual accounts of not very news worthy events.

"It is a remarkable thing, but it was in 1637 when Tomas Pinpin, the Filipino printer, issued a newsletter in Manila."

The above clearly shows that we have an older press tradition than even the United States. It is the responsibility of publishers to make this old tradition great. Unfortunately, most of the publishers in our news journals not only cannot lead the press world to greatness but cannot even follow basic journalistic principles. In his *The Revolt of the Masses*, Jose Ortega y Gasset laid down what he called "the characteristic of our time" as the following: "Not that-

the vulgar believes itself super-excellent and not vulgar but that the vulgar proclaims and imposes the rights of vulgarity, or vulgarity as a right." This perfectly describes the situation in our press today.

Again from Ortega y Gasset; "To have an idea means believing one is in possession of the reasons for having it, and consequently means believing that there is such a thing as reason, a world of intelligible truths. To have ideas, to form opinions, is identical with appealing to such an authority, submitting oneself to it, accepting its code and its decisions, and therefore believing that the highest form of intercommunion is the dialogue in which the reasons for our ideas are discussed... An idea is putting truth in checkmate. Whoever wishes to have ideas must first prepare himself to desire truth and to accept the rules of the game imposed by it. It is no use speaking of ideas when there is no acceptance of a higher authority to regulate them, a series of stan-

dards in which it is possible to appeal in a discussion. These standards are the principles on which culture rests. I am not concerned with the form they take. What I affirm is that there is no culture where there are no standards to which our fellowmen can have recourse. There is no culture where there are no principles of legality to which to appeal. There is no culture where there is no acceptance of certain final intellectual positions to which a dispute may be referred. There is no culture where economic relations are not subject to a regulating principle to protect interests involved. There is no culture where aesthetic controversy does not recognize the necessity of justifying the work of art... When all these things are lacking there is no culture; there is in the strictest sense of the word, barbarism... Properly speaking, there are no barbarian standards. Barbarism is the absence of standards to which appeal can be made." — *Alejandro R. Roces, In Manila Chronicle, Feb. 9, 1969.*

- This paper indicates specific parts of the present Constitution of the Philippines that should be changed for improvement.

GROUNDINGS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

The year 1969 marks the 34th anniversary of the approval of the Constitution of the Philippines by the Constitutional Convention. This Constitution has served two stages of our national political life, the Commonwealth and the Republic. The first was the era of the Commonwealth of the Philippines which actually started in November, 1933, and ended on July 4, 1946, with a 3-year interruption occasioned by the Japanese Military Occupation of our country from 1942 to about the month of April, 1945. The second is the present era which started on July 4, 1946, the era of Philippine Independence. The only difference between the two eras with respect to our nation's status under the Constitution is that during the Commonwealth period the government of the Philippines,

while internally autonomous, had no control over certain matters such as foreign affairs, public indebtedness, and some emergency problems which were placed under the supervision of the American High Commissioner. But since Philippine Independence was declared, our government has been enjoying complete political freedom in all matters.

It is, therefore, obvious that we have had sufficient opportunity to observe how the present Constitution has worked in the hands of the Filipino people from 1935 to the present day. It has undergone a long and continuous practical test extending over one-third of a century. It has been used by elderly politicians, middle-aged leaders, and young possessors of power.

We may, therefore, ask these questions now: Has

this Constitution been successfully put into effect in the government of the country? Has it proved adequate to our needs and conditions? In the light of our experience, should this Constitution be retained in all respects? Obviously it is not possible to discuss these questions extensively at this time because they involve details that would take more time than what is available on this occasion. But in view of the coming constitutional revision in 1971, we shall indicate in a general way some basic points affecting the operation of our Constitution during the last 34 years.

To understand more closely the need for revising or retaining parts or all of the provisions of a constitution, it is important that we bear in mind the three essential parts, which every modern democratic constitution must contain. The first is the Bill of Rights which is an enumeration of the rights of every individual, citizen or alien, to be protected in his life, liberty, and property against arbitrary or unconstitutional action by the government; the second is the pro-

vision on the organization and principal functions of the government; and the third is the provision on the method of changing or amending the Constitution.

I do not believe that there is much to be said about the Bill of Rights in our Constitution now. I do believe, however, that practical means be so provided in expressed terms as to give them prompt application and strict enforcement against every violator regardless of his private or public position, his official rank, or his station in society. Our Constitution establishes a democracy; and the Bill of Rights represents an expression of the democratic belief in the dignity of man and the intrinsic worth of human life which should ever be upheld and respected.

It is in respect to the provisions on governmental organization and functions that our Constitution certainly needs some overhauling. This is a strong statement, and so it needs an intelligent and thorough discussion when the proper time comes.

But in a general way it may be categorically mentioned on the basis of what we have actually experienced during the last 34 years, that the organization and functions of the office of chief executive and the legislature of the Philippines call for serious alterations for the development of a truly responsive, effective, and honest administration and legislation for the country.

In regard to the executive or the Presidency, we have to admit that its powers are broad and extensive. The same observation applies to those of Congress. This legislative organ is vested with too many powers without any limitation whatever outside of the specific restrictions stated in the Bill of Rights which refer only to individual cases. It should be said that even in this field of restrictions, there are no effective sanctions which give sufficient assurance to the individual or the people against legislative excesses and abuses to put an end to legislative evils. The vagueness of the extent of the powers of taxation and the police power lends it-

self to excessive or abusive legislative or executive exercise of these prerogative privileges. It leads to an irresponsible curtailment of individual rights for no clear fulfillment of essential public purpose and no reasonable assurance of honest execution of declared public policy often used to hide ulterior motives.

With these background, we are therefore justified to raise this question: How could we put effective constitutional safeguards against intentional, fraudulent, or stupid acts of legislative chicanery and official malfeasance committed under forms of legislative authority? In my opinion this could be done to a certain extent by reducing the scope of congressional authority from a general grant of legislative powers to a grant of carefully enumerated legislative powers analogous in principle and purpose to the grant of enumerated powers to the federal Congress under the American Constitution. This is precisely an appropriate time for this change because the country has been quite frequently informed in a ge-

neral way about the advantages of the system of decentralization. In principle decentralization is limitation of national powers and proper distribution and allocation of residuary subjects of authority among local or smaller units of government.

We have often heard the oft-quoted statement of Lord Acton which runs: "Power corrupts; and absolute power corrupts absolutely." The proof of this statement appears quite evident in our country today in which high public officials have openly forgotten the democratic maxim that public office is a public trust and should never, therefore, be used for the enrichment of the office holder, be he a President, a senator, a congressman, a governor, a mayor, or any other office holder. Indeed, it is no longer a secret that a number of Filipinos run for public office merely for the purpose of enriching themselves. Apparently they have but scant use for the principle that a public office is a public trust. Persons aspire to hold high positions in the government without even thinking whe-

ther they have the proper intellectual, civic, and moral qualifications to perform the functions attached to them. Public positions attract many of them not because of the opportunities for service but because of the opportunities for improving their personal financial condition and their social or economic influence and prestige. In the words of an American commentator, to such persons public office is a *public lust*.

The constitutional provisions on the office of President of the Philippines were partly influenced by the exaggerated popularity of the dictatorships at the time the Constitutional Convention met in 1934. That was around the period when dictators were able to maintain effectively peace and order and to produce some improvement on the living conditions of the masses in their country thru ruthless action even to the extent of depriving the people of much of their basic freedoms. At a time when the world was suffering from a terrible economic depression, the temporary success of the dictators, specially Germany's

Hitler and Italy's Mussolini, made a strong impression on the leaders in many other countries, including unfortunately the Philippines. Their visible record of sensational achievement in suppressing labor troubles, maintaining normal production of factories, keeping the regularity of the movement of trains and other public vehicles, preserving strictly national discipline and order, providing workers with three meals a day, and reducing poverty and destitution urban and rural areas deflected the attention and feeling of most people from official abuses, from the sufferings of certain elements, and from inherent evils of authoritarianisms. In nations beset by spreading misery and economic chaos, the apparently beneficial results of totalitarian practices produced followers among heads of states in various degrees. Even President Franklin Delano Roosevelt had found it expedient to adopt many of the methods of highly centralized authority in order to hasten the recovery of the American people from the unprecedented economic crisis.

The Philippines could not escape the general influence of the times. Her leaders felt the popularity of strongly centralized authority in a chief executive. Hence, the powers given to the office of the President in the Constitution then being formulated were magnified to a much greater extent than what is good for a free and democratic government.

With the exception of certain new provisions on social, economic, and educational subjects, the Constitution of the Philippines is basically a copy of the Constitution of the United States with respect to the system of government administration. It is what is known as presidential system. The powers of the President of the United States have been copied and vested in the President of the Philippines. But while in the United States, which is a federal organization, its President is given only those powers directly affecting the national affairs, in the case of the President of the Philippines, the powers given him by our Constitution include not only powers necessary for the

administration of the nation but also powers over local governments which in the United States are left to the governments of the different states. Hence, the powers of the President of the Philippines include the totality of the powers of the President of the United States and those of the governors of the different states.

Studying the conditions of the countries and their governments organized during the last 20 or 25 years all over the world, the eminent American scholar Henry Steele Commager stated: "It is sobering, but not surprising, that of the sixty some nations that have come into existence since 1945, not one has adopted the American form of government." The conclusion has been that the American presidential system of government is not suitable for countries other than the United States.

In this country of ours, however, not one voice has been seriously raised over the last few years advocating a different system than what we have copied from the United States with the exception of that of former

President Sergio Osmeña, the late Senator Claro M. Recto, the late Senator Jose Laurel, and the former Senator Manuel Briones. Their advocacy for a system of parliamentary government appropriate to our political needs and innate inclinations finds strong support from their mature experience in public life and from their keen observation of the political psychology of the Filipino people.

It is time that we extend the scope and depth of our studies to other systems of government for our country. The results of such studies may then be presented and considered in the Constitutional Convention which will be held in a year or so from today. It is time that we should avoid as much as we could the organization of a system which enables a man to say: "What are we in power for?" It is time that some constitutional means be adopted to prevent an official to use his post "to provide for his future." What we have been experiencing requires a different legislative organization, an organization vested with enumerat-

ed and specific powers rather than one vested with general legislative powers so as to reduce as much as possible the misuse of vast privileges and the abuse of an unlimited discretionary authority over all kinds of subjects. In addition, we should define a more meaningful set of qualifications for public officials in order that our country could have the benefit of the services of men of mature experience, of honest convictions, and of high intelligence, character, and education. With such type of men in public office, we will have government officials who will tend to behave not as masters but as responsible servants of the people.

Suffrage is a right that should not be indiscriminately granted to all citizens regardless of their maturity, their sense of responsibility, their intelligence and education, their stake in the orderly condition of the community, and the degree of

their consciousness of the nature of public office as a public trust. The gross misconception of democracy as the rule of a majority formed and created by the ignorant, the semi-literates, the half-wits, the indifferent, the bribe-takers, the trouble-makers, the hoodlums, and thugs is not worth defending, preserving, and observing. It is erroneous and must be avoided. It is not the authentic idea of democracy as the institution designed for the protection of the dignity of man and the worth of the human life. Democracy cannot be established and realized by the most adroit mechanical and procedural devices of electoral regulations. The new Constitution must give emphasis on the personal qualifications of the voter and on a strict adherence to their observance.

These, in brief, are some of the grounds which should be considered in revising the Constitution of the Philippines. — *By V. G. Sinco.*

DIPLOMA MILLS IN OUR SOCIETY

The Director of the Bureau of Private Schools, Mr. Narciso Albarracin, has ordered a resurvey of some private institutions of learning under his supervision, "to determine," according to a news report, "if conditions existing at the time of recognition of (the) courses offered or at the time of (the) approval of (the) status of colleges and universities are still being maintained."

Director Albarracin wants to know, in other words, which schools have developed into seats of learning and which have degenerated into diploma mills. It is important to make the distinction, for the limited facilities and personnel in the hands of the bureau should be used, perhaps exclusively, in the rigid policing of the diploma mills to put an end to their standing as filling stations and assembly lines.

The good ones among the private colleges and universities need not be guarded as if they were potential criminals, neither should they be subjected to such rules and regulations as will prevent them from entering upon unorthodox but progressive experimentations.

They are easily known by the quality of their laboratories and libraries and, more important, by the attitude of their governing bodies, and if they are worthy, they are a necessary adjunct to the educational system of the country.

It is the diploma mills — and these abound in the downtown area of the bustling city — which pose grave and eternal problems to the community. Their factory standards which dictate that no obstacles should be placed to the entry of as many students as possible and which prohibit the holding of any

sort of qualifying examinations are a major factor in the emergence of novel but hardly respectable values.

The students they turn out, by the very nature of the slipshod education to which these have been subjected, easily graduate into that class of citizens who live barely within the margin of the law.

Unfortunately, because of the increasingly vast number of the diploma school graduates, the government is compelled, if only for political reasons which are almost always confused with democratic principles in these parts, to draft them into the public service.

The result is an appalling inefficiency. This is manifested as much in corrupt practices as in the handling of routine matters, particularly those in which the unconnected people are involved.

The other more serious result is the transformation of diploma mill standards into social values against which the thinking and behavior of civil servants are usually judged.

In a way, the effort of Director Albarracin to do something to identify the sub-standard colleges and universities will go much deeper than his inspectors realize. The simple act, for instance, of enforcing the rule regarding the size of classes and the rule governing the qualifications and teaching load of instructors and professors might be the first long step toward reform and improvement.

It is unwise to predict that the Director will be heeded by the owners and operators of the diploma mills. After all, he will touch them where it will hurt most — the pocket-book.

Like any manufacturer, the diploma mill owners and operators are after the preservation of a high rate of profit. And this can be done only by lowering production cost, and this means keeping the sizes of classes inhumanly large and the wages of the teachers as close to the basement as possible.

It is comforting to imagine that the Director of

the Bureau of Private Schools has entered upon a crusade. For nothing but a crusade will clean large sector of private education. And nothing like a crusade will prevail against the powerful and politically influential groups which reap vast profits at the expense of students, and ultimately, of society.

But will a crusade against educational money-maker which are also a source of funds with which to corrupt the electorate in an election year gain any headway? The fact that this question must needs be asked illustrates to what extent the scale of values by which the people abide has deteriorated. — *I. P. Soliongco, Manila Chronicle, Feb. 15, 1969.*

OF GOVERNMENTS

Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and must therefore trust the governed — they must have no choice but to trust them. — *Thomas Jefferson*

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