ASIAN STUDIES

VOLUME II NUMBER 1 APRIL 1964

Asian Studies

Volume II Number 1
April 1964

DEDICATION

THIS ISSUE OF THE ASIAN STUDIES

Is dedicated

TO PROFESSOR EMERITUS, DR. TOMAS S. FONACIER

On the Occasion of his Retirement

From the University of the Philippines

As a Token of our Esteem and Appreciation

For his Keen Interest and Concerted Efforts

in the Development

OF THE INSTITUTE OF ASIAN STUDIES

As its Chairman during the Initial Phase

of its Growth.

Asian Studies

Asia in perspective
Vol II, No. 1 April 1964

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ASIAN STUDIES IS PUBLISHED THREE TIMES A YEAR—
APRIL, AUGUST AND DECEMBER—BY THE
INSTITUTE OF ASIAN STUDIES OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES
QUEZON CITY, PHILIPPINES

CORRESPONDENCE ON EDITORIAL MATTERS
AND SUBSCRIPTIONS
MAY BE ADDRESSED TO THE MANAGING EDITOR
ASIAN STUDIES, THE INSTITUTE OF ASIAN STUDIES,
U.P. POST OFFICE, QUEZON CITY,
PHILIPPINES.

SUBSCRIPTIONS: ₱6.00 PER YEAR IN THE PHILIPPINES
$3.00 ELSEWHERE; SINGLE COPIES ₱2:50
IN THE PHILIPPINES; $1.50 ABROAD.
BACK ISSUES ARE AVAILABLE.

EDITOR'S NOTE

We are pleased to announce that beginning with this issue, the *Asian Studies* will come out regularly three times a year – April, August, and December. The maiden issue of the journal came out in December of last year. It was favourably received both at home and abroad. We found ready response to our request for contributions to this and subsequent issues; initial misgivings were dispelled by this hopeful trend. With this issue, the *Asian Studies* formally enters the ranks of periodicals devoted to the advancement of scholarship in studies on Asia.

The editorship of the journal will rotate among the members of the faculty of the Institute of Asian Studies, each member taking turn in editing an issue or two at a time. In this manner we hope to broaden the coverage of various disciplines and attract increased participation of scholars interested in this field.

As may be noted, a large part of the contributions in this issue is composed of papers read in various seminars held during the Asia Week celebrations in the University from November 27 to December 6, 1963. It was our desire to print most of the papers read at the time; however, it is regretted that limitation of space among others constrained us to include only a few of them. We are particularly grateful to Professor Priscilla S. Manalang of the Graduate College of Education of the University, who prepared a summary report of the seminar on Education in Asia and Mrs. Esther Samonte-Madrid for her manuscript on the Performing Arts of Southeast Asia but which could not be accommodated in this issue. Mr. John A. Larkin, Fulbright Scholar, also deserves our thanks for bringing to our attention Luther Parker's report on the Negritos, and for conceding to our request to write an introduction and to annotate the report inspite of his busy research schedule.

Contributions to the August and December numbers of this year far exceeded our expectations. That there is much scholarly work being done on Asia is indeed a source of great encouragement. The issues for 1965 are now being planned; the *Asian Studies* will certainly welcome contributions.

A. S. R.

PART I

". . . The growth of civilization demands a corollary development of values and viewpoints that should interpret for man, whether he be situated in the West or East, as he lives out his quotidian of existence, the meaning of his efforts and his very breath. And since our interest is in the creation of one world we cannot further fragmentize this . . . we must address ourselves to the whole human race . . . ."

INDIA AND THE CRISIS OF OUR TIME *

CARLOS P. ROMULO

IT HAS BEEN my pleasure to come to India, and to Delhi University, in particular, and I accept humbly this degree which you have conferred upon me. I affirm it as symbolic of this my visit to India.

No country could so much challenge the mind as India, its ancient civilization, its philosophy, its enlightened and cogitative participation in the world politics at the present time, its profound humanism which pervades the direction of its national progress and the multifarious activities of its national life – these aspects of the civilization of India provide a constant challenge to one's power of thought and interpretation.

I do not mean that India's mode and structure of life are something to be interpreted, analyzed, explained away and thus sufficiently comprehended by a foreigner. It is possible for one from another country to perhaps do this, too. For instance, one notes the extent and depth of the scholarship that has been devoted to the civilization, history, and culture of India by foreigners: Americans, Europeans, as well as Asians. But this is not what I mean. I intend, rather, to make reference to what Mahatma Gandhi calls "what India is trying to say to the world."

Of course, the crisis of our contemporary world requires that every country search its own conscience and adopt such action as would lead to the condition we all desire. But in this endeavor we do not contend with, or think, of the requirements of the present alone and thus commit the fallacy typical of Western man, the tendency to consider the present as the only "reality." It is most often said that the crises of our

* Address delivered at a special Convocation of Delhi University, India, upon accepting the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, *honoris causa,* on February 11, 1964.

era are the consequences of the effort of an age to construct a civilization commodious to contemporary values and needs, and to the realities and necessities that have been the logical results and effects of the Industrial Revolution.

If this is so, then we need to have some basic values upon which to build that civilization. We need to have a unity, a philosophy by the logic of which we could justify contemporary aspirations and determine our future activities.

Let me at once say that I have not come prepared with that philosophy or with that formula. So much of the confusion of our day derive from the tendency of individuals to engage our time in an outrageous and energetic messianism. As a Western philosopher, who is so much in the minority insofar as his political viewpoints are concerned, has declared: "The trouble with our times is that the intelligent is so full of doubts and the stupid is so full of certainties."

Rather than add to the troubles of our times, therefore, I shall simply confine myself to noting the contradictions of our age, and it is my wish to adumbrate these against the philosophical context of India; against the values and principles of a civilization that arose 3,000 to 6,000 years ago. I take sanction for doing this from some recent prophesies expressed by Arnold Toynbee to the effect that when—within the next fifty years—"the whole face of the planet will have been unified politically through the concentration of irresistible military powers in some single set of hands," then that time would have been the signal moment for a great spiritual rebirth. In this anticipated Renaissance, India might lead, for, said Professor Toynbee, the center of power would "ebb back from the shores of the Atlantic to the Middle East."

Now the most immediate—and perhaps the most obvious—aspect of our age is the great disequilibrium in the economic and material situations of our various societies. Here the West can not be taken as a single unitary bloc for which a generalized notion of actual prosperity may be posited, because economic discrepancies also exist between the various nations in the West.

But taking the world as an entire entity, it is possible to say that the great dislocation exists in the comparative relationship between the societies of the West and the societies of the Afro-Asian continent. This is easy to account. The results and effects of the Industrial Revolution were not immediately extended to our Afro-Asian societies. Colonialism and imperialism created a tremendous impact on the economic, political, and social structures of our societies, but it is also true that colonialism

did a lot to hinder the development of these societies through the adoption of a political policy that perpetuated in these societies an explosive rather than a productive or competitive economy.

The protection which the British government provided for British industry in the early years of the 19th century amounted to a death blow to the famous traditional Indian textile industry; British colonial power brought a flood of British products into India society, and railways built across India made it possible, in the words of A.R. Desai and P.K. Gopalakrishnan, for Britain "to deliver the goods."

In the same way, home industry in most parts of Burma also gradually gave way to the import of cotton prints from England; in my country, the Philippines, the new cultural orientation resulted in a greater demand for American goods. To mention these facts is not to indulge in politics, but merely to refer to obvious historical facts.

At any rate, what is significant here, is that the uniform colonial experience of our various societies in Asia accounts for what I have called the material disequilibrium of our world. The consequence of this discrepancy is that the humanism that these societies have come to affirm, the humanism that was traditional and native to their collective sensibilities, is now confronting the extraordinary magnitude of science and technological realities that have been evolved in the West and that are gradually producing an impact upon Asian experience.

Our societies are not prepared to cope with these realities. Science—and the technology that comes with it—imply not only a new milieu for our Eastern sensibilities and values, our creed and our philosophies, our habits of mind, our cultural suppositions and assumptions. It does not only provide a changed context for our lives but, more radically, it implies a new manner of response, a new structure of experience, and different modes of thought and points of view.

This new challenge to our perceptions calls for a reorientation of our conduct and morals, of the possibilities which we have formulated for ourselves and of the terms of our political and cultural life. At the same time, we are coming more and more to feel that the West has not adequately or sufficiently matched its science and advance in technology with an equally sufficient philosophy or with a humanism that is complex enough and various enough for the changed context of the life of man in contemporary society. The result is a fragmentation of experience—a deep moral and spiritual crisis which has come to pervade the tone and despair of Western literature; the terrible alienation of Self in our crowded societies.

This sense of fragmentation, too, has recently been the subject of an angry debate between C.P. Snow and Professor Leavis. A society capable of creating its own energy through atomic power, and no longer dependent on solar source as we have been formerly wont to depend; a human community and organization dependent on the wisdom of the people for its direction and guidance, requires, indeed, a firmer ethical and philosophical anchorage in the roadstead of a more pervasive and a more compassionate form of enlightenment.

It has been said that human nature is permanent, that it is immutable. But it is equally true that new forms of human organizations create a different impact on the human personality and suggest corresponding alterations in morality, ethics, and even in consciousness. Ortega y Gasset, in his influential book, *The Revolt of the Masses,* has identified the emergence of modern man—a definitely new image, according to the Spanish philosopher—with the advent of the Industrial Revolution.

If we concede this idea, then we must at once impress upon our consciousness that unlike the motor vehicles and the factory machines and jet transportation, man cannot be reduced into the component parts of a mechanical invention. Besides having a consciousness of the facts of his universe, he must come to terms with the extent of the meaning of his existence and of his own importance. As Dr. Radhakrishnan has cogently affirmed:

> "A human being is not to be regarded as a mere lump of flesh and bone, controlled by conditioned reflexes and social pressures, not merely an economic being—though there are fundamental economic needs to be satisfied. We eat in order to live and we wish to live on planes other than economic also. In other words, we have to admit the reality of a spiritual dimension."

Even learning too, we might add, must be humanized. For "mere intellectual knowledge is not sufficient for welding the people of the world into a single human community."

We have experienced the colonial policies of the West and its politics, and we have found these—in the course of our experience—to be quite wanting in humane regard, in warmth and generosity, in any profound philosophical insight insofar as its interests are concerned. This is not to point to a definite bankruptcy of humanism in the West but merely to allude to the fact that its humanist tradition has not been equal to the crisis created by its scientific advance.

Western politics has been found very recently—and by Westerners themselves—to be in itself contradictory: the political affirmation of equality of the various constitutions of its nations have been found not to have

been adequately extended and sufficient unto all. It vacillates sometimes where questions of national self-determination and survival are concerned. Its impartiality is not always just on questions of civil rights, of equality before the law, of full opportunities. Freedom for all peoples, in more recent times, comes still as a surprise to its political and moral consciousness.

While, therefore, we can look up to the West for its science and its technology, its weapons and ballistics and endeavor to approximate its material progress within our own societies in our effort to help the cleavage between the advantages enjoyed by the human fact in Western societies and in ours, we are nevertheless always left bereft of a corresponding philosophy, a humanistic and moral outlook that we expect to evolve out of advances in science and technology.

To mention all these is not, again, to indulge in invidious comparisons in an attempt to make the West appear in a disadvantageous position. Our interest in noting these facts is no different from the concern of Thoreau when he criticized the commercialism of the society of his time and contrasted the harried and hurried civilization that it was then evolving with the promise and possibilities and order that the literature, the philosophy and the ethical precepts of the East offered.

Nor is it any different a concern from that of Rousseau's, the Father of the French Revolution, when he affirmed the image of man and indicated the shackling effects of society, traditions, and conventions: man is born free, he declared, but everywhere he is in chains. The shocking fact of man that he discovered in his own place and time required a necessary cry of moral outrage on his part. Our concern is no different.

What, therefore, do I mean by this insistence on a corresponding ethics or philosophy to the advances of our world in science and in medicine; in technology and weapons; in cars and refrigerators and electrical equipment? What I am trying to suggest is this: that the growth of civilization demands a corollary development of values and viewpoints that should interpret for man, whether he be situated in the West or East, as he lives out his quotidian of existence, the meaning of his efforts, of his very breath. And since our interest is in the creation of one world, we cannot further fragmentize this ideal by again dividing mankind between East and West, but we must address ourselves to the whole human race and make the deficiencies of our civilization a universal concern.

The history of mankind provides for us an evidence that each civilization that man affirms, each form of human organization that man establishes has always been attended by the resurgence of ideas and art.

The monarchies and the theocratic states, however we may disagree with the forms or their organizations and the human fact within their communities, needed a philosophy to sustain and justify them. The justifiers of the republican states, of democracy, are more familiar and relevant and cogent to us: John Locke, Voltaire, Thomas Paine, Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill, Adam Smith, Karl Marx, etc. But up to now we are still living under the benefits and errors of their systems.

It hardly needs pointing out that John Locke's empiricism has been excessively modified in the realm of philosophical thought; that while Mill's idea of civil society and his perception of the bland and sly tyrannies that, inspite of their democratic commitments, could nevertheless be instituted within them is modern, he did not, however, warn us enough about the realities that were soon to be established and discovered in our midst; that while the ideas of Karl Marx are still being debated at the present time, there are several areas of human life about which he had been silent.

The growth of our civilization, therefore, points to a necessary philosophy; a necessary system of ideas, of values, and of ethical affirmations that could serve as the foundation of the culture and socio-economic structures that we shall have been able to attain. Since we are all concerned with the means of organizing the human community under the auspices of peace, greater freedom, fraternity and economic prosperity, it is perhaps also for us to inquire whether our contemporary schemes and intentions are paying attention to the intellectual and spiritual needs and values which that desired community would necessitate.

It is for this reason that I decided to express these thoughts in India. India is a secular state, yet it is a profoundly religious nation. It has been successful, therefore, in resolving a constant source of crisis in democratic states: the need for keeping social institutions secular and at the same time respecting the spiritual or doctrinal commitments of the people.

And then, there is the paradox of our age that while we all endeavor to shape a universal history and civilization, participated in by various nations with different creeds and ideologies, we are constantly threatened, nevertheless, by the possibility of fragmentation.

Indian political thought has always affirmed unity. In 1928, Gandhi declared: "After long study and experience I have come to the conclusions that (1) all religions [illegible], (2) all religions have some error in them, (3) all religions are almost as dear to me as my own Hinduism. My veneration for [illegible] is the same as for my own faith."

And wasn't it Tagore who affirmed that Truth expresses itself in unity?

In speaking of the crisis of our time, I have no ready answers. It is for this reason that I endeavored to utter these thoughts aloud here in India—a country which Hegel, whose philosophy is perhaps one of the most influential in our civilization, has called "an imaginative aspiration" "a fairy region" and "an enchanted world." I have expressed myself here if only to address these concerns about our world; these puzzlements and private cogitations on the spirit of philosophy and ethics in this ancient civilization.

I am grateful to Delhi University for symbolically conferring on me the right to learn and to be instructed in the great school of Indian thought and precepts. In the spirit of this doctorate degree, I intend my remarks to be my first academic questions. With this symbolic conferment, I shall in the future feel free to ask, to consult, and to seek guidance from what Mahatma Gandhi has called "what India has to say to the world."

". . . . Nationalism is inevitable as a principal driving force in new nations. Current nationalism differs sharply from the older imperialist nationalism of earlier in the century . . . ."

ASIAN NATIONALISM: THREE CASE STUDIES *

JOHN H. ESTERLINE

I

Some reflections on the role of Mid-20th Century Nationalism

THE TRAGEDY of World War II is, in a large measure, the consequence of a rampant and virulent nationalist imperialism in Germany, Italy and Japan.

Towards the end of World War II the attitude of the community of nations towards nationalism was personified in the UNESCO concept—that of (a) the universality of human culture; (b) that science knows no boundaries; (c) the notion of policing national systems of education for evidences of hates and prejudices. All these are heavily anti-nationalist and pro-internationalist concepts.

The immediate post-war era was marked by self-repudiation of imperialism on the part of the great powers and orderly movement toward self-government for the remaining colonial areas.

Self-government speedily led to independence, with India and Pakistan leading the parade in 1947. Ceylon achieved its independence in 1948. Movement became an avalanche, aided by the realities of the world-wide population explosion, and the revolution of rising expectations. From some 50 nations in the original UN, the sovereign powers in the organization now total 114.

Nationalist movement after World War II was characterized by:

(a) A shift from an imperialist-nationalism to a psychological and sociological nationalism—a search for identity, a demand for acceptability, and insistence upon equality.

(b) An intensive economic nationalism, well intentioned, of course, but which could become counter productive when, for example, industrialization is forced upon certain less sophisticated economies.

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* One of the lectures delivered in the Lecture-Seminar Series sponsored by the Institute of Asian Studies during the academic year, 1963-1964.

(c) Paradoxically, the new nationalism is producing literally scores of new nations, each attempting to constitute a viable economic complex, at exactly the time in history when the established and developed powers plainly recognize they cannot, in and of themselves, survive as non-interdependent economic and social entities. About as much reason is afforded for Gabon to be an independent and sovereign power as for the island of Samar!

Post-war nationalism in many cases is also characterized by unfortunate excesses. Sometimes the drive toward a national identity has led to intolerance of other identities, thus the emergence in some new nations of the most severe minority problems in modern history. Moreover, such problems have tended to be of greatest intensity in states where nationalism is of the greatest intensity—for example, the Jews in Egypt, the Muslims in India, and the Chinese in some countries of Southeast Asia.

Nationalism in some cases also tended to particularize cultural values and to equate these with national history at the expense of the history of man. Also visible in nationalist efforts is a tendency "to prove themselves" *vis-a-vis* the more developed societies—to discount, to reject, and even to discredit the political, social, intellectual and economic contributions of the West to any particular emerging country.

Conversely—in an age of technological breakthrough in electronics and aerospace, of revolution in communications and of invention and discovery on every hand—some new nations have employed a facade of dramatic modernism to advertise national progress with plush hotels, elaborate governmental TV networks, unprofitable national flag airlines and other expensive expressions of national pride. But often, these only conceal an unwillingness of nationalist leaders to come to grips with basic national economic and social problems.

Too often, also, nationalist leaders employ what amounts to demagoguery to keep aflame the national *spirit*. They indulge in rash promises, excite antagonism and weaken the concept of collective responsibility.

Finally, some forms of extreme contemporary nationalism, by favoring *national fronts* which discourage free political party activity, weaken democratic expression and sometimes unwittingly set the stage for communist penetration and take-over through state machinery which facilitates such take-over.

II

The Setting ... ...ionalism in Three Countries

IN INDIA, the society in which the phenomenon of nationalism developed was characterized by some 150 years of colonial rule by one coun-

try; a tradition of free expression and free institutions; both violent and non-violent manifestations of nationalist spirit. Also, the Indian experience reflected a substantial pre-colonial political history, a formidable intellectual tradition, a rich cultural heritage; and, the emergence of a towering nationalist leader—Mohandas Gandhi.

In Ceylon, the society in which the phenomenon developed was characterized by a similarly long period of colonial rule, but by three countries. Therefore, institutions and mores reflect Portuguese, Dutch and British influences—although the latter are by far the strongest. There was a similar history of free institutions and responsible government. There was no pronounced pre-independence nationalist movement, but a friendly and non-violent separation from the authority of the British crown. Political and social history was dominated by fear of India, accompanied by communal strife between Buddhist Sinhalese and Hindu Tamils. The cultural heritage was marked by the influence of Buddhism. Then there was also the obvious fact that Ceylon had no particular national hero.

In the Philippines, the society in which the phenomenon developed was characterized by the more than 300 years of Spanish authoritarian rule, followed by almost 50 years of liberal American administration. Then there was the passionate addiction to Western political and institutional forms in reaction to Spanish authoritarianism and in response to American administration. A nationalist revolution took place *before* the American occupation, the first such revolution in Asia and canalized into a long-term constructive force during the US occupation. The Philippines has a very complex anthropological history which produced a multi-ethnic society. Also, cultural history was greatly influenced by Catholicism. Its nationalist heroes lived, wrote and died during a revolution which preceded independence by several generations.

III

The Course of Post-Independence Nationalism

IN INDIA, initial reaction against foreigners was manifested in restrictions against investment, elevation of Hindi to be the national language, *Indianization* of business firms, and socialization of a significant segment of economic production. India adopted a non-involvement, non-alignment, neutralist foreign policy. She accepted economic assistance from both the United States and the Soviets. She retained Commonwealth ties and, internally, Western parliamentary, social and political institutions. It also tried revivification of the Indian cultural heritage, and an enormous effort to industrialize the nation.

Ceylon's initial nationalism was not anti-foreign, and it continued a government basically the same as before independence. It was oriented toward the Free World and tolerated foreign investment and business Ceylon retained Commonwealth ties and, internally, Western parliamentary, social and political institutions. It worked toward reviving the Buddhist cultural heritage. However, there was no serious effort to industrialize. Additionally, in the mid-fifties a neutralist, ultra-nationalist group emerged.

In the Philippines, the initial desire to maintain political and economic ties with the United States was exemplified by military and trading arrangements concluded in 1947 and 1955. This meant the retention and vigorous expansion of a liberal Western political type of democracy. The initial series of governments were preoccupied with internal stability, e.g., the Huk rebellion, reconstruction, etc. There has also been a revivification of folk heritage. In the mid-fifties, a neutralist, ultra-nationalist group emerged.

IV

The Political Situation in Mid-1964

IN INDIA there has been an almost complete turnabout: India now welcomes foreign investment, is resigned to the continuation of English, and countenances the revival of British and other foreign interests.

The non-alignment policy of the mid-fifties has been shelved, particularly as a result of the Chinese Communist border incursions, with a concommitant increase in cooperation with the West.

There is now recognition of a continued need for massive assistance, e.g., one shipload of wheat each day from the U.S. indefinitely, in order to meet problems of population explosion and economic development. India also recognizes the need to intensify efforts to prevent or lessen outbreaks of communal disorder and it recognizes the interdependence of nations.

In Ceylon there was an ascendancy of the ultra-nationalists during the mid-fifties. They inaugurated detailed and far-reaching economic and social programs designed to deify nationalism, and to socialize the economy. They tended to discriminate against minorities. There was a significant deterioration in the economic situation, compounded by aroused feelings over expropriation without compensation of properties of foreign business.

Ceylon consciously drifted in its foreign policy orientation towards Communist China, and practically abandoned neutralism. There were

significant anti-democratic internal developments. These included arbitrary press laws, interference with personal liberties, and arbitrary expropriation of property.

The Philippines surmounted the period of anti-foreign, closed-society nationalist tendencies of the late fifties and continued pro-US policies, tempered by addition of pro-Asian orientation as well. The nation emerged as a new leader in Southeast Asia, with a conspicuous and phenomenal record of economic growth.

The Philippines recognized the need for reforging a permanent frame of economic and political reference, both with the United States—the Laurel-Langley Agreement ends in 1974—and with the rest of the world.

Conclusions

We conclude, therefore, that nationalism is inevitable as a principal driving force in new nations. Current nationalism differs sharply from the older imperialist-nationalism of earlier in the century. The transition in developing new relationships with former colonial powers is easier in those countries which accomplished their nationalist revolutions before or simultaneous with independence.

Nationalistic excesses can cause real setbacks to the orderly and democratic development of emerging nations.

". . . We are prone to imagine that the problem of freedom lies in gaining more and more freedom from external restraints—social, political and moral . . . but we have also the more important . . . task of acquiring and realizing our own individual selves and become . . . more free in our mind, in our spirit . . .."

FREEDOM AS A FACTOR IN INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT *

DR. KALI PRASAD

ACTIVITY IS THE most fundamental characteristic of human experience. Long before the infant is born it engages in activity in response to inner pressures and external stimuli in his pre-natal environments. Birth marks only a crisis in its life, a traumatic experience. For it represents entry into an alien world, a strange complex of chaotic forces which require a completely new mode of orientation and adjustment. From the self-subsistent economy of the intra-uterine existence in which everything is provided for in a pre-fabricated fashion, such as food, shelter, conditioned temperature and a secure but limited field for operational movement, the newly born infant enters in a world of adventure and uncertainty. Here there is incessant rain of atmospheric stimuli which demand continual reactive responses and adjustments. Learning has to occur very fast and the capital-fund of already acquired experience has to be utilized to the fullest extent. Stresses and strains inevitably occur and they make for individuality and character as also their distortions.

Activity-Restraint Continuum:

While activity demands unlimited freedom of movement, the field of operation is always limited. Indeed without this limitation activity itself would become impossible. For activity is a reactive response to internal needs and external pressures. It involves *selection* of appropriate movements, especially those that would *effectively* meet the needs, and the elimination of those that on trial–error are found to be unsuccessful or unrewarding. The selected activity or movement or course of action is a function of initial effort organized in the limited framework of the field of operation. In thus learning to coordinate his project of action

* Abstract of a speech delivered in the regular Lecture Forum Series at the Institute of Asian Studies on July 18, 1963.

to the requirements of the situation, the individual is already beginning to experience the meaning and implications of freedom. By and large, these are represented by restraints, restrictions and, what would be called in the future, responsibilities.

'Vectorial' and 'Scalar' Concepts of Freedom:

Sometimes freedom is taken in a 'Vectorial' sense, i.e., it is understood to be completely unlimited. According to this view any restriction is a threat to freedom. But one has to recognize that not only 'unchartered freedom tires' but that it is impossible. We have mentioned that freedom assumes a field for activity which occurs in relation to ends and goals, and these in turn are achieved by overcoming obstacles and hindrances. The exercise of freedom assumes certain conditions without which freedom is unintelligible. For instance, the general right to say 'what one thinks' is often restricted by demands of prudence and custom and cultural modes. Freedom is not abrogated when one takes into account such conditions. Indeed it is these conditions (restraints) that lend significance and content to freedom.

Three Levels of Freedom:

There may be three levels of freedom: i) Psycho-biological; ii) Cultural and, iii) Moral or Spiritual.

At the psycho-biological plane the physical and biological needs (the 'instincts') demand freedom of satisfaction. But their satisfaction requires a suitable environment. In this environment there are others who likewise demand freedom of satisfaction. This must inevitably lead to adjustment or conflict. Hobbes thought that conflict was the 'original state' and that adjustment came later, i.e., if at all. This is not necessarily true. History shows that conflicts and tensions, when they occur, do resolve themselves, that an equilibrated or adjusted society is at least an equally original state (if not really primordial). Actually, conflicts and tensions occur *because* there is an unceasing attempt to secure stability, not *vice-versa* as Hobbes thought. Here it may be pointed out that to desire (demand) stability is as much a *need* (instinct) as anything else. Stability is a function of understanding and cooperation and adjustment. It implies not only freedom to adjust relations but also recognition of *limitations* inherent in this process. In every act of freedom there lies as its basis factors that limit it.

This limitation arises from the inevitable process of socialization of these needs and drives. The socialization process, while modifying their character in some ways, offers them opportunity for richer and fuller ex-

pression. This suggests the essential role of others in an individual freedom of satisfaction. In this regard the view of Freud that the individual comes fully equipped with all his drives and needs in an environment where others are mere "objects" to fulfill them is unsatisfactory. Here the relation is one-sided and egocentric. The psycho-analytical theory overlooks the fundamental fact that an individual finds his true development in his group, in his social-cultural milieu. This *cultural aspect* of freedom is very important, because it qualifies freedom in the context of prevailing norms and values in a particular culture. Similarly, the moral and spiritual contexts qualify freedom in a society. The concept of freedom consequently can hardly be understood without these contexts.

We have said that the growth of the individual depends upon the structure of the group in which he has been brought up. Broadly speaking, a group may be looked upon as either dominantly paternal or fraternal. A paternal group is characterized by an attitude of ambivalence, authority, dependence and submissiveness to the parent or the parent substitute. A fraternal group on the other hand permits the individual to develop not at the cost of another, not as a privileged elite but as an individual amongst others, who is destined to play his role in the group where equality of opportunity and freedom are stressed. In such a group men are guided not by anxiety or fear of destruction, nor are they dominated by authoritarian modes. They do not feel isolated or alone and do not develop anxiety or existential isolation. They do not feel alienated and do not suffer estrangement from society. They feel free to grow and to realize their possibilities to the fullest extent.

The development from the paternal to fraternal group is often marked by transitional processes in which there are conflicts and tensions, chaos and confusion. This development is often paralleled by economic and industrial development where the modes of production determine, to a large extent, the patterns of the group structure and its activities, no less than its norms and values. In this development there are resistances stemming from within the individuals themselves. For instance, there is a strong emotional resistance to relinquish the comforts of maturity "sweet, self-pity, childish-helplessness and irresponsibility, emotionalism unrestrained by reason." Often we find great reluctance to emerge from this state of childish dependence to the responsibilities of a mature society. In this connection it would be interesting to see how the child grows and how there is a development from the undeveloped personality to a grownup and mature personality. One might see that at least a social age of 15-plus might be attained before an individual can function as a grownup person in a mature and fraternal society.

TYPICAL SCALES OF SOCIAL AND PERSONAL AGES PRODUCED IN CLASS OR GROUP-DISCUSSION

Social Age (Identification)			Personal Age (Identity)
15+	Identity highly developed	Adult—age of wisdom begins	15+
15	Active in society	Ambition, growing sense of balance	15
12	Interest in neighborhood beginning of responsibility	Begins to assert whole personality	12
10	Age of conformity with environment (good or bad)	Growing intellectual intensity and personal values	10
6	Would like to be anti-social but dare not	Growing emotional intensity	6
4	Resorts to violence when in a temper	Can tell right from wrong	4
2	No identification	Completely egocentric and self.assertive	2

HOW THE HUMAN PERSONALITY GROWS FROM THE UNDEVELOPED TO THE HIGHLY DEVELOPED

Social Age (Identification)			Personal Age (Identity)
15 12	Growing social personality	Personality developing	15 12
10 8 6	Keeping up with Joneses A-social	Personality underdeveloped	10 8 6
4 2	Anti-social	Personality un-developed	4 2

The Fear of Growing up:

The prospect of reaching social maturity is not unfortunately attractive to every individual because it implies leaving behind the security and comfort of dependence, and going out on one's own. Social adulthood imposes upon a man certain responsibilities which can be met only after he gives up his emotional dependence on authority. Faced with this situation, a number of people would simply refuse to grow up. The I-ego remains dominant with them as with a child and their behaviour is characterized by ambivalent attitude of domination, stubbornness, cruelty.

etc., on the one hand, and sheepish dependence on authority, security and submissiveness, in general, on the other. When such people become leaders in their group they usually function as authoritarians. Even if they are placed in this position by some kind of a democratic process they continue to behave as immature adults with all the psychological paraphernalia associated with children varying in their age from 2 to 10 years. There are many patterns of such a personality but all of them are characterized by emotional instability, dependence feelings, Narcissism, excessive tendency to projection, fanaticism, etc. These are individuals representing arrested growth or regressions in their development.

Pathology of Growth:

It is not possible to go into details about the distortions and deviations that occur in the developmental process. But it is important to recognize some well known psychological mechanisms that operate in pathological thinking and behaviour and obstruct the individual's development and his freedom. One such process is known as *paranoid thinking* (behaviour). The man who tells us that everybody is against him or after him, that his friends and even his wife are conspiring to overthrow him if not to murder him will be recognized by psychiatrists as insane. On what basis does he come to those conclusions? Obviously, there is no factual basis, but it is *possible* that such a conspiracy could exist although it is so highly improbable that only an insane person will entertain its possibility. The paranoid, however, is mercilesly logical and he cannot be argued out of the mere theoretical and phantastic possibility that he entertains. This is an extreme illustration but there are elements of paranoid thinking in many people who have not grown up.

The second mechanism which threatens realistic and effective thinking or behaviour is known as *projection*. Everybody knows how a person who is himself prejudiced or hostile or destructive will accuse others of these. Many human relationships are soured by this attitude.

Sometimes projection may be mixed up with paranoid thinking and the result is a dangerously explosive psychological mixture which prevents sane and rational behaviour.

The next mechanism is *fanaticism*. A fanatic is one who appears to have genuine conviction in his own ideas and in the "content of his assertions." The fanatic is a highly narcissistic person who keeps himself sheltered from the approaches of reality. He builds up an idol, an absolute to which he not only surrenders completely but makes it a *part of himself*. He represents an arrested individual at the ages between 2 and 4.

Another mechanism which may also be mentioned is the familiar mechanical thinking resulting in *doublethink* i.e., holding-on-to too con-

tradictory beliefs at the same time. For instance, people give support to rigid hierarchies and believe in a classless society; or with an elaborate apparatus of a power-state, people believe in the withering away of a state; or believe in non-violence along with attitudes and postures associated with violence.

Such pathological thinking is common today and specially in a transitional society where norms and values are changing rather rapidly. It is not merely dangerous to the individual but it is even more fatal in a group, which is still organizing itself. In a democratic pattern the mischief which such pathological behaviour might inflict is enormous. There is a danger because the individual does not grow, and also because he is not able to appreciate the advantages of normal growth and development which are associated with freedom and democracy. This leads to a number of questions which might be raised.

What is freedom as human experience? Is the desire for freedom inherent in human nature? How does this desire express itself in different cultures? Is freedom the absence of restraints or is it something more positive? What are the social and economic factors that lie at the root of this desire? Can freedom become a burden too heavy to carry and hence something to escape from? Along with the desire for freedom, is there not also a desire for submission? Is submission always to an overt authority, or also to internalised authorities like conscience, duty, inner compulsions, and anonymous influence like public opinion? Is there a hidden pleasure or satisfaction in submitting; what is its nature? Is there an insatiable lust for power? What is its source? Is it vital energy or is it some kind of weakness or inferiority, an inability to experience life in its wholeness and comprehensiveness, that lies at the base of this *fear of* freedom?

These questions have been asked before but most of them are difficult to answer. We shall not attempt a review of these answers but may offer brief comment on some of them. It is a remarkable paradox of contemporary times that while there have been persistent and continuous battles to win freedom in many countries, there have also been willing, conscious and unconscious, surrender of freedom once it has been acquired, as if it was a suspicious gift which the individual could not keep.

Dialectical Property of Freedom:

One might observe a dialectical property in the development of freedom. Modern society has affected man in two ways at the same time; he has become independent, self-reliant, critical and ego-centric on the one hand, and isolated, alone and afraid, on the other. The two processes

have gone on together and are two aspects of a dynamic system, viz., the individual. It is sometimes difficult to see both these aspects, especially the *inner* processes. We are prone to imagine that the problem of freedom lies in gaining more and more freedom from external restraints--social, political and moral. This is traditional freedom which undoubtedly has to be increased and maintained, but we have also the more important and difficult task of acquiring and realizing our own individual selves and become more and more free in our mind, in our spirit and soul. This is sometimes known as spiritual freedom. All other types of freedom are but stages toward this ultimate goal.

The early stages in the development of this freedom are represented by movements toward the emancipation of man from external bondage. In Europe the industrial revolution was such an attempt. This revolution introduced a system of technology that stressed individual-achievement as well as cooperative effort and superseded traditional modes of production and along with them also traditional mores, norms and values. The industrial system developed capitalism as its basic tool and this gave considerable emphasis on enterprise, adventure and freedom to innovate—qualities which prepared the individual to realize his intrinsic worth—what Protestantism had done to free man spiritually, capitalism was doing mentally, socially and politically. Economic freedom was the basis for the other freedom. The protestant ethic was the foundation of this freedom (Max Weber). Man became free from the bondage of nature, and superstitions, and gained confidence in his own powers and capacities.

While this was one effect of capitalism, there was another side to the picture. Individualism fostered by this system not only implied freedom to do certain things but also freedom from other man and things. While precious in itself this independence emphasized the "aloneness" of the individual, his isolation and his consequent fear of freedom. Having destroyed the traditional security-system a new support had not yet materialized and this naturally meant isolation and fear—all the more frightening because it was psychological. "Modern man's feeling of isolation and powerlessness is increased by the character which all his human relationships have assumed. The concrete relationship of one individual to another has lost its direct and human character and has assumed a spirit of manipulation and instrumentality. In all social and personal relations the laws of the market are the rule."

Existential Anxiety and Loneliness:

All this is reflected in a philosophy of life which uses the concepts of anxiety, 'fear and trembling,' disgust and 'sickness unto death' to empha-

size the purely *subjective* character of reality, the extreme freedom which the individual can experience is the only fundamental reality of death, the final and the most authentic experience of life (Heidegger and Sartre). And yet man must go on leaning *not upon himself* (for he is too weak to bear the burden) but on something or someone else to give him support (Kierkegaard, Jaspers, Camus). In this way there is some mitigation of the oppressive sense of loneliness. For the surrender of freedom is compensated by the much needed feeling of security and assurance given by the external support. This might offer some explanation of the desire to be free and yet dependent, to rebel against authority and yet submit to authoritarian postures.

Freedom and Democracy

The increasing isolation and powerlessness brought on by economic conditions in contemporary culture lead to escape either into authoritarian ways or to compulsive conformism. In either case the individual is suppressed and has little opportunity for development. Spontaneity and the freedom to grow suffer and his potentialities are dwarfed. Either of these represent systems where the individual cannot develop fully. This development is possible in a system where there is escape for free, creative activity. The democratic pattern offers this opportunity by creating the economic, political, and cultural conditions for the full development of the individual—wherever this system has been established it developed primarily in the framework of *economic* needs. These needs *are obviously based* on the *acquisitive* character of our desires which make *competition* an inevitable virtue. In this economic context aggressive competition, enterprise, and success-at-all-costs, are values in which the individual is trained from his early childhood. The processes of education and socialization seem to emphasize this market-mentality or market-morality in present-day democracies. Values that make for the realization of the individual's other capacities, such as *cooperation, mutual respect, self-sacrifice, humility, love,* etc., do not get much chance for development. It is expected that the democratic structure can be so organized as to make their development possible and even necessary. Along with economic planning there has to be *'planning' of non-economic and intangible factors.* This planning is not regimentation or indoctrination or brainwashing, but a planning or organization of human resources and the spiritual forces that lie buried in each individual in such a manner that humanity as a whole moves up in a higher dimension and at a higher level of life. This is no dream or phantasy, for we feel that democracy has enormous possibilities which have yet to be realized. There may be no retreat but a move forward in the confidence that the enlargement of

freedom of the individual in a democracy would make for his fullest development.

Prospect of Democracy

We have noticed the paradox in contemporary times that while there has been continuous struggle to win freedom, there has also been a surrender of this freedom once it has been attained. A number of *coup' d'etats* have occured paradoxically again to establish "peoples" democracies. One may ask for an explanation of this paradox. At least a partial explanation is suggested in terms of the familiar social-psychological category of *security*. People who have had their anchorage in traditional security-systems and who have been accustomed to dependence upon authority figures for ages suddenly found themselves thrown on their own resources once their time-honoured refuge was lost. Like a prisoner under-going a life sentence who has been suddenly set free finds himself dazzled by his freedom and returns to the security of his prison, in the same way after having won freedom, the new countries find themselves unequal to the responsibilities of independence. Hence the acceptance of authoritarian rule as a kind of a reversal or regression to the benevolent strength of a paternal figure which guarantees security and relieves people of their uncertainty and anxiety. This situation occurs because the new security structures associated with democracy have not yet developed fully. And as long as this continues there would be a tendency toward the acceptance of authority and dependence on it. This does not mean a retreat of democracy but a further elaboration and organization of its content.

In an earlier part of this paper mention was made of existential anxiety and loneliness of man. It was said that, not being able to face his responsibilities, man has to throw himself upon something or someone else to give him support. This prompted the desire to seek something or someone outside oneself to give support; and this was the genesis of the phenomenon of emergence of authoritarian systems and dictatorship. In this circumstance it is said that either one has to accept the position that there is no freedom at all or that freedom could exist only by surrendering oneself completely to an external, possibly other–wordly authority (God). This existentialist thesis, however, is entirely nihilistic. The alienation and the consequent anxiety stemming from lack of stable source of security need not necessarily mean the denial of freedom and its possibility. If the democratic system inevitably implies a greater and greater sharing and participation by the individual in the life of the group, by the same token the individual can develop alive and satisfying relation-

ships with other fellow-men around him. In this sharing in the life of others he would find his own fulfillment.

The thesis of this paper is that the concept and the process of democracy has not been fully elaborated; that so far we have been content with enlarging only one dimension of this concept, namely, the *economic dimension.* In developing this dimension there may be a tendency to overemphasize material factors associated with it (namely: highest production, efficiency, standardization, competition, etc.). But economic democracy with its inevitable market mentality and market morality does *not* represent the *whole content of the concept.* Values that make for the realization of the individual's other capacities such as *self-sacrifice, toleration, humility, love, respect* and *sanctity of the person,* etc., need an equal emphasis.

All this would need a re-orientation of the various socialization proceses like, family upbringing, education, community organization, communication system, etc. Once the individual is trained and oriented into these other dimensions of his democratic existence he would find that he has struct new roots and has found new security systems for himself. This would also mean that democracy is a system of new culture, for it is a whole way of life. The hope of democracy lies in exploring and elaborating the *multi-dimensional character of the concept.* We have to guard against accepting its too restricted meanings; we have to understand it in a sense such as would permit room for the fullest development and flowering of the possibilities of man.

". . . India presents to Asia the possibility of democratic development which Red China, committed to militant Communism, can not and will not tolerate. In its bid to bring South and Southeast Asia under its ideological hegemony . . . . China sees in India a most serious obstacle . . . ."

DEMOCRACY IN INDIA: SOME ACHIEVEMENTS AND PROBLEMS*

SIB NARAYAN RAY

IN THE CONTEXT of contemporary Afro-Asian developments India stands out by its combination of political stability with democratic growth. The combination certainly has not been easy of achievement, nor is it without serious threats from within or without. None-the-less, India's political record of the last decade and a half presents on the whole a hopeful contrast to many of her neighbours who have either known no internal peace or have fallen under one form of dictatorship or another.

Of course, India has not been lacking in factors which usually lead to chaos or invite despotic rule. On the contrary, they are still present in unhappy profusion. India has a total of 845 languages and dialects; the major linguistic groups number a dozen and vary in size from five to about 140 million speakers. As to religion, although Hindus are in absolute majority (about 84%), they are divided into an endless number of sects, castes and subcastes. Moreover, there are more than 43 million Muslems, about 10 million Christians, and over 7 million Sikhs. Then there is the inherited problem of the Scheduled Castes (in someways comparable to the Negro in the United States); treated traditionally as "untouchables" by caste Hindus and segregated in every way; they number today 64.5 million. Besides, there are the Scheduled Tribes (comparable to the aborigines in Australia) who number about 30 million. When one also remembers that the living standard of the overwhelming majority of the people is submarginal (the country's per capita income today being about £A 31), that 76% of the people are still illiterate, and over the last ten years the population has increased by 21.5%, it seems nothing short of a miracle that such a country should at all be able to achieve and main-

* This paper was read during the regular Lecture Forum Series held at the Library of the Institute of Asian Studies on January 17, 1964.

tain political unity and stability and strive consistently in the direction of peaceful democratic advancement.

At independence India's future certainly did not look very bright. The British were leaving behind them over 600 big and small native princely states covering two-fifths of the land and nearly one-fourth of the population, ruled by hereditary princes, who would become independent with the lapse of the British paramountcy and could threaten India's *balkanization.* What was called British India had been partitioned into two dominions, India and Pakistan, bringing in its trail large scale communal riots in both and massive movements of refugee populations. Then in January, 1948, India's most charismatic political leader, Mahatma Gandhi, was assassinated by a Hindu fanatic. Soon after in February the Indian Communist Party, following the militant Zhdanov line laid down by Moscow, launched on a course of insurrection, guerilla warfare and industrial sabotage. While the Communists were mostly active in the coastal areas and in the South, the extreme Hindu Communal right wing was being reconstituted in the North and in central India under the leadership of a fascist type organization, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, which in 1948, claimed a disciplined membership of between four to five hundred thousand. A year after independence, it thus looked as if India's future was as bleak as that of most South and South East Asian countries.[1]

And yet by 1952 the position had changed substantially so much so that India could hold its first general elections (1951-52) on the basis of adult suffrage. Foreign observers who came to study the experiment reported almost unanimously that the elections were "fair and free by recognized western democratic standards". Of the 176 million eligible voters slighty more than 50% actually voted. According to Professor Palmer, the first Indian elections "were an encouraging demonstration that masses of voters, mostly illiterate, could act with dignity and with a fair measure of judgment in selecting those who would represent them in the Central Parliament and the State Assemblies".[2] That the elections were conducted in such good order were due among other things to two fortunate factors. India inherited from the British an administrative system of proved integrity and efficiency. Though admittedly not adequate to the new tasks of a developing society, it none-the-less proved good

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[1] For a description of India at independence see L. Mosely, *The Last Days of the British Raj,* Weidenfeld and Nicolson. For the Communists and the Hindu extremists, see M. R. Masani, *The Communist Party of India—A Short History,* Derek Verschoyle, and J. A. Curran, *Militant Hinduism in Indian Politics,* Institute of Pacific Relations, New York.

[2] Norman D. Palmer, *The Indian Political System,* Allen & Unwin, 1961,

enough for even specialists like Paul Appleby to rate the young Indian republic "among the dozen or so most advanced governments of the world".[3] Secondly, thanks to the spread of modern university education and the long experience of organized peaceful struggle for self-government, India had produced a sizeable political intelligentsia which appreciated the values of democracy and possessed a fair knowledge and experience of democratic political behaviour. Between the India Independence Act of 1947 and the first elections, Indian political leaders, working under tremendous handicaps, have had at least four significant achievements to their credit. The princely states were merged and integrated with the rest of India and their autocratic systems replaced by responsible government.[4] Except in West Bengal, the refugee problem was largely solved through re-settlement in various parts of the country. India evolved a written Constitution (1950) unambigiously committed to the principles of parliamentary democracy. And it drew up its first Five Year Plan of economic development (1951-56) to "raise living standards and open out to the people new opportunities for a richer and more varied life".[5]

Thus by 1952 India had virtually emerged from its uncertain years of trial and strife, and was well launched on a course of stable democratic growth. In the following decade, further political consolidation has been achieved through more rational re-organization of the federated units of the Republic. This has gone hand in hand with efforts to strengthen the democratic foundations which were clearly laid in the Constitution. According to the Preamble, the basic objectives of the Republic were: "to secure to all its citizens justice, social, economic and political; liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship; equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation". These objectives have been spelled out in the form of Fundamental Rights guaranteed to every citizen irrespective of "religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth, or any of them," and in the Directive Principles of State Policy.

That the Constitution was not just a pious gesture is amply shown by the evidence of the last thirteen years. Three general elections have already taken place, and to quote Palmer again, "measured by one of the severest tests—the holding of free, direct, general elections—democracy in India worked".[6] Despite strong pressures from extremist groups and

[3] Paul H. Appleby, *Public Administration in India,* Delhi.

[4] For a detailed account, see V. P. Menon, *The Story of the Integration of Indian States,* MacMillan, 1956.

[5] For the Constitution and the Five Year Plans, see M. V. Pylee, *Constitutional Government in India,* Bombay, and H. Venkatasubbiah, *Indian Economy Since Independence,* Second Revised edition, Asia Publishing. Bombay, 1961.

[6] Palmer, Ibid, p. 233.

divisive forces, the rights to freedom of expression, association, movement, occupation, etc., have not in the least been curtailed. The universities enjoy complete academic freedom; the Press is as independent as in Australia or any Western democracy; opposition political parties and groups function without any restrictions other than those which equally apply to the party in power. The Indian judiciary is universally acclaimed for its independence and integrity; and the highest courts in the land have generally proved to be the most reliable defenders of the rights of the citizens against any arbitrary encroachment by the government. Moreover, important steps have been taken to promote and strengthen democratic institutions at the village level. The three-tier system of village *panchayats, panchayat samitis* and *zila parishads,* adopted by most of the states, is intended to develop in rural areas effective units of local self-government which would also serve as "institutions for securing social justice and fostering corporate life." [7] By 1961 over 193 thousand elected *panchayats* were set up in the country. Owing to the backwardness and passivity of the rural people many of the *panchayats* unfortunately are still not functioning satisfactorily; but the process has been started, at least on the institutional level, which may eventually make grass-roots democracy a reality in India.

Significant advances have also been made in containing centrifugal forces and in diminishing age-old forms of social inequality and injustice. The problem of multi-linguism still continues to baffle the Republic; but its urgency and divisive potentialities have been noticeably reduced in recent years, thanks to a more rational re-organization of the states on linguistic basis with guarantees to linguistic minorities in each state, and even more to the sensible policy of continuing English along with Hindi (the most widely spoken language of the Union). The secular approach laid down in the Constitution and followed in practice by the Union and the State governments has greatly blunted the edge of communal and sectarian conflicts. "Untouchability" has been legally abolished and its practice forbidden in any form. Special protection and safeguards are provided for Scheduled Castes and Tribes.[8] Seats for their representatives are reserved in the Parliament (107 out of 500) and in the state Legislatures (693 out of 3196). Also posts are reserved in Government services (in 1962, more than 330 thousand persons belonging to these castes and tribes were in governments service); and many steps are being taken to provide them with increased educational facilities and economic oppor-

[7] See R. L. Khanna, *Panchayat Raj in India,* Chandigarh; also S. K. Dey, *Panchayat Raj* - a synthesis. Asia Publishing House. Bombay, 1961.

[8] See [illegible] XVI of the Constitution of India entiled *Special Provisions Relating to* [illegible] *Classes.*

tunities. There have also been important changes in the pattern of land-ownership. In the past between the actual tiller and the state there were several intermediary landlords. This pernicious system has been largely abolished, and various measures taken for providing security of tenure and ownership to agriculturist-tenants. Ceilings on land-holding have been imposed in all the states except Punjab, and the surplus lands thereby made available have been leased out to landless agricultural workers. The vicious hold of private moneylenders on peasants is now almost completely broken; at the end of the Second Five Year Plan, loans issued to farmers through Cooperatives amounted to about £A200 million (an increase of 773% over advances given in 1950-51).

Slowly, but unmistakeably, therefore, a peaceful democratic revolution is under way in India. However, in one vital field, the progress so far is admittedly unsatisfactory. After ten years of planned effort, there is little improvement in the general standard of living. Between 1951 and 1961, national income increased by 42% while per capita income increased by only 16%. It is true that the actual growth potential built up in the economy during this period is not negligible. Thus, for example, production of iron ore has gone up from 3.2 million tons to 10.7 million, of coal from 32.3 million to 54.6 million, of steel ingots from 1.4 million to 3.5 million tons, of power (installed capacity) from 2.5 million kw. to 5.7 million, and particularly significant, of graded machine tools from about £AO.34 million worth to about £A5.5 million. The index of industrial production has risen by 94%, and the growth and diversification of industry have been quite remarkable. But under-employment in the countryside still remains as baffling a problem as ever, and since even today rural population constitutes 82% of the total, most of the people continue to live in appalling poverty. The most obvious reason for the failure to improve general living conditions is the phenomenal increase of population from 360 million to 439 million in a decade. While there are many more mouths to feed, index of agricultural production has gone up by only 41%.

Failure to tackle the problem of mass poverty is thus the greatest weakness of Indian democracy. For this the planners are partly responsible (e.g., their neglect of small-scale rural projects and village industries, their obstinate refusal to plan effective birth-control measures, etc.), but the more fundamental reason would seem to be the stranglehold of a self-abnegating tradition in the countryside. As Kusum Nair has rightly pointed out, in India "a great majority of the rural communities do not share in the concept of an everrising standard of living. The upper level they are prepared to strive for is limited, and it is the floor

generally that is bottomless."[9] Consequently, without a radical change in their attitudes, beliefs and behaviours, induced prosperity, even if achieved to a limited extent by the introduction of new tools and techniques, will not become a self-generating process. "The basic problem, therefore, of how to bring about rapid change in a people's social and economic values within the framework of democratic planning, remains."[10] This points to the other basic problem that while India, on the whole, has a democratically committed and relatively competent leadership at the top, it has yet to produce such leadership at lower levels of responsibility without which the transformation of a stagnant, fatalistically oriented, caste-ridden society into an effective, self-propelling grass-roots democracy is hardly conceivable.[11] Thus the future of Indian democracy is vitally tied up with a socio-cultural renaissance in the rural areas.

Besides its internal weakness, Indian democracy also faces a major threat to its survival and growth from the aggressive expansionism of Communist China. India presents to Asia the possibility of democratic development which Red China, committed to militant Communism, cannot and will not tolerate. In its bid to bring South and South-east Asia under its ideological hegemony, if not under political domination, China sees in India a most serious obstacle. Its massive attack on India in October, 1962 was made after long and careful planning and was another phase of its unfolding expansionist strategy which had begun with the forcible seizure of Tibet and the war in Korea. India's ability to defend itself against this threat depends at least as much on the effective support and cooperation of the free world as on its own determination, resources and leadership.

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[9] Kusum Nair, *Blossoms in the Dust; the human factor in Indian development.* F. Praeger, N.Y., 1962, pp. 192.3.

[10] *Ibid,* p. 197.

[11] An excellent symposium on various aspects of this problem is: Richard L. Park and Irene Tinker (Eds.) *Leadership and Political Institutions in India,* Princeton, N.Y., 1959.

"While a people preserves its language, it preserves the marks of its liberty."
(Jose P. Rizal, *El Filibusterismo)*

SENTENCE PATTERNS OF THE TEN MAJOR PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES *

ERNESTO CONSTANTINO

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Aims. This paper has two principal aims: (a) to present a concise descriptive analysis of the sentence patterns of the ten major Philippine languages, and (b) to provide a comparative list of sentences in the ten languages which illustrate these patterns.

This paper is divided into three parts: (a) Part I, which is the introduction; (b) Part II, which presents the analysis of the sentence patterns; and (c) Part III, which contains the list of sentences in the ten languages which illustrate the sentence patterns.

2. Languages. The ten major Philippine languages are: Tagalog (TAG), Sebuano (SEB), Ilukano (ILK), Hiligaynon (HIL), Waray (WAR), Bikol (BKL), Panggasinan (PNG), Kapampangan (KAP), Ibanag (IBG), and Tausug (TAU). The informants for these languages come from the following places: Manila, Quezon City and Mandaluyong, Rizal for TAG; Dumaguete City for SEB; Barrio Mayantoc, Camiling, Tarlak for ILK: Iloilo City for HIL; Tacloban City for WAR; Naga City for BKL; Linggayen, Panggasinan for PNG, San Fernando for KAP; Ilagan, Isabela for IBG; and Jolo, Sulu for TAU.

3. Consonants and Vowels. The following consonant phonemes occur in the ten languages; /p t k q (glottal stop) m n N (velar nasal) s h l r w y/. In addition to these consonants, IBG has /f v/ and TAU has /j/ (voiced alveopalatal affricate).

The vowel phonemes /i a u/ occur in all the ten languages. In addition to these vowels, TAG, BKL, IBG, and KAP have /e o/, and ILK and PNG have /ɨ/ (mid central in ILK, and high back unrounded in PNG).

4. Stress and length. At least one phoneme of stress and one phoneme of length occur in each of the ten languages. The stress phoneme will be

* The paper was read during the Asia Week seminar on *Life and Culture in Asia*, December 5, 1963.

represented by /'/ placed over the syllable peak or vowel; the phoneme of length will be represented by /:/ placed immediately after the syllable peak. Stress is always accompanied by length and high pitch, but length may occur independently of stress. The length which accompanies stress will not be represented in the phonemic transcription of the sentences.

5. IPs. Three pitch levels (PLs), low /1/, mid /2/, high /3/, and three terminal contours (TCs), rising /↑/, fading /↓/, sustained /→/, occur in each of the ten languages. Two or more PLs and one TC form an intonation pattern (IP). The following phonetically similar IPs occur in each of the ten languages: / (2)32 ↓/, / (2)32 ↑ /, / (2)32→ /, and (2)33 ↓ These three IPs will be represented in the sentence transcription by the following familiar symbols: period (.) for (2) 32 ↓, question mark (?) for (2) 32 ↑, comma (,) for (2) 32 →, and exclamation mark (!) for (2) 33 ↓. Other IPs will be represented by their constituent elements, i.e. by their PLs and TCs.

6. The Sentences. The sentences in the ten languages are transcribed in phonemic symbols with the IP mark at the end. In Part III of this paper, the structurally (and semantically) equivalent sentences in the ten languages are placed one after the other in this order: TAG, BKL, WAR, SEB, HIL, TAU, ILK, IBG, PNG, KAP. The English translation of the equivalent sentences occurs immediately after the TAG sentence. The Equivalent sentences are then grouped according to the sentence patterns they illustrate, following the order in which the patterns are analyzed in Part II of this paper. The group of equivalent sentences are then numbered consecutively; one number is given to each group of equivalent sentences. In the descriptive analysis of the patterns, the illustrative sentences will be referred to by their numbers.

II. ANALYSIS

7. Sentence Classification. Based on their structure, the sentences in the ten major Philippine languages are classified into (a) simple, (b) complex, and (c) compound. Simple sentences contain a simple clause (i.e. one predicative construction) or a nonclause (i.e. no predicative construction). Complex sentences contain two simple sentences.

8. Simple Sentences. [(1)–(94)]. Based on their structural or transformational relation to each other, simple sentences are classified into (a) situational, (b) equational, and (c) identifying. The situational sentences may be taken as the basic (or "kernel") sentences from which can be derived the equational sentences, from which can be derived the identifying sentences.

9. Situational Sentences. [(1)–(56)]. Based on their ICs, situational sentences are classified into predicative and non-predicative. Predicative sentences have a subject and a predicate as immediate constituents (ICs) [(1)–(74)]. Non-predicative sentences do not have a subject and a predicate as ICs [(75)–(94)] i.e. predicative sentences are clauses, non-predicative sentences are not clauses.

In predicative sentences, the subject constituent normally occurs after the predicate constituent. The reversed order is marked either by a particle (/ay/ in TAG) or a sustained TC /→/, or both [(1)]. In KAP if the subject is a noun, a third person pronoun in cross reference to the subject noun occurs immediately after the head or center of the predicate in any order, except in equational sentence.

10. Predicative Sentences [(1)–(74)]. Based on the head of the predicate, predicative sentences are classified into verbal and nonverbal. Verbal sentences have an unmarked verb (i.e. a verb which is not preceded by an article or a demonstrative) as head of the predicate. Nonverbal sentences do not have a verb as head of the predicate. The subject of both verbal and nonverbal sentences is a marked noun (i.e. a noun which is preceded by an article or a demonstrative).

Verbal sentences are divided into active and passive, while nonverbal sentences are divided into nominal, adjectival and other sentence types.

11. Active Sentences [(1)–(20)]. These are sentences in which the predicate verb is an unmarked verb and the subject is a marked noun which is the doer of the action expressed by the verb. An active verb is one in which an active affix occurs. Each of the ten languages has several active affixes.

The active verbs may occur with or without a complement [(1)]. A group of active verbs may occur with a goal complement (preceded by /naN/ in TAG [(2)]. Another group may occur with an agentive complement (preceded by /sa/ or /dahil sa/ in TAG) [(7)]. Still another group of active verbs may occur with a reciprocal actor complement (preceded by /sa/ in TAG) [(8)]. Any active verb may occur with a benefactive complement (preceded by /para sa/ in TAG) [(3)] and a locative complement (preceded by /sa/ in TAG) [(4)] with or without any of the other complements. With some active verbs, the occurrence of a locative complement is obligatory. [(6)]. These verb groups are not mutually exclusive, i.e., some verbs may belong to two or more groups.

Some active verbs require a plural subject [(9)].

12. Passive Sentences [(21)–(34)]. These sentences have an unmarked passive verb as head of the predicate and a marked noun as subject. The

subject noun is not the doer of the action expressed by the verb, but the one affected by the action. A passive verb is one in which a passive affix occurs. There are several passive affixes in each of the ten languages.

Any of the complements that occur in active sentences plus an actor-complement (preceded by /naN/ in TAG, [(21)]) may occur in passive sentences. But one of these complements except the actor complement, may become the subject of the passive sentence, in which case it drops the complement marker and takes the subject marker (an article or a demonstrative).

Passive verbs co-occur with certain (active) complements as subjects depending on the affixes that occur in them. One group of passive verbs co-occurs with a goal subject [(21)]. A second group co-occurs with a benefactive subject [(35)]. A third group co-occurs with an instrumental subject [(28)]. A fourth group co-occurs with a locative subject [(26)]. A fifth group co-occurs with an agentive subject [(29)]. Finally, a sixth group of passive verbs co-occurs with a reciprocal actor subject [(30)].

13. Nonverbal Sentences [(35)–(56)]. The two principal nonverbal sentences are the nominal and the adjectival. Nominal sentences have an unmarked noun as head of the predicate and a marked noun as subject [(35)–(38)]. Adjectival sentences have an unmarked adjective as head of the predicate and a marked noun as subject [(39)–(44)].

Other nonverbal sentences are (a) prepositional, in which the predicate is a prepositional phrase [(45)–(47)]; (b) locational, in which the predicate is any one of two morphemes, one denoting existence, the other non-existence, with a following place noun as subject [(35)–(38)]. Adjectival sentences have an unmarked adjective as head of the predicate and a marked noun as subject [(39)–(44)].

Other nonverbal sentences are (a) prepositional, in which the predicate is a prepositional phrase [(45)–(47)]; (b) locational, in which the predicate is any one of two morphemes, one denoting existence, the other non-existence, with a following place noun or adverbial pronoun [(48)–(53)]; (c) possessive, in which the predicate head is a possessive pronoun [(54)]; (d) adverbial, in which the predicate is an adverb or an adverbial pronoun [(55)–(56)]; and (e) quantitative in which the predicate head is a numeral or quantity expression (no example in the sentence list).

14. Equational Sentences [(57)–(66)]. These sentences may be divided from predicate situational sentences by placing an article before the predicate of these sentences and putting it (the marked predicate) before the subject constituent. The preposed predicate becomes the subject of the new (equational) sentences, and the postposed subject becomes the pre-

dicate. Thus, the subject and the predicate of equational sentences are each preceded by markers. Equational sentences are also simple predicative sentences.

15. Identifying Sentences [(67)–(74) 6]. These sentences are formed by simply dropping the article or demonstrative preceding the predicate of equational sentences. The de-articles predicate remains the predicate of the resulting identifying sentences. Identifying sentences are also simple predicate sentences.

16. Nonpredicative Sentences [(75)–(94)]. These are sentences which do not have a subject and a predicate as ICs, i.e. they are not clauses. They are classified into the following: (a) elemental, which consists of a verb belonging to a closed class of verbs denoting elemental or natural events, usually with a modifier [(75)–(80)]; (b) descriptive, which consists of an adjective belonging to a closed class of adjectives denoting natural phenomena, with a modifier [(81)–(82)]; (d) existential, which consists of a morpheme or word denoting the existence or non-existence of the noun following it, usually with a locative phrase [(87)–(92)]; and (e) exclamatory, which occurs with an exclamatory IP, i.e. /(2)32 ↓'/ or simply (!) [(93)–(94)].

17. Complex Sentences [(99)–(112)]. These are sentences in which one or more included sentence constructions occur. The included sentence may be the subject of the whole complex sentence [(111)], or it may be the goal of the verb of the complex sentence [(112)]. The included sentence may also be the modifier of the other sentence construction in the complex sentence [(100)].

Complex sentences in which the included sentence is the modifier of the other sentence are attributive constructions; the two ICs are the two sentences, one of which modifies the other. Complex sentences in which the included sentence is the subject of goal of the verb of the complex sentence are predicative constructions.

18. Compound Sentences [(95)–(98) Y]. These have as ICs two sentence constructions joined together by a coordinator, with the sustained TC /→/ usually occurring immediately after the first constituent. Compound sentences are coordinate constructions whose ICs are sentence constructions.

19. Summary. Summarizing briefly, the sentences in the ten major Philippine languages are classified into simple, complex, and compound. The simple sentences are divided into situational, equational and identifying. The situational sentences are divided into predicative and nonpredicative. The predicative sentences are divided into verbal and non-

verbal. The verbal sentences are divided into active and passive. The nonverbal sentences are divided into nominal, adjectival, prepositional, locational, possessive, adverbial, and quantitative. Finally, the nonpredicative sentences are divided into elemental, descriptive, temporal, existential, and exclamatory.

PART III. SENTENCES

A. SIMPLE SENTENCES

(a) Active Sentences

[(1)–(20)]

TAGALOG (TAG.)	BIKOL (BKL.)	WARAY (WAR.)	SEBUANO (SEB.)	HILIGAYNON (HIL.)	TAUSUG (TAU.)	ILUKANO (ILK.)	IBANAG (IBG.)	PANGASINAN (PNG.)	KAPAMPANGAN (KAP.)
1. tumakbó qaN káso qaN kásoy tumakbó.	nagdalágan qan dayúq. qan dayúq, nagdalágan.	dinmalágan qan qidúq. qan qidúq, dinmalágan.	nidalágan qaN qirúg. qaN qiruq, nidalágan.	nagdalágan qaN qidúq. qaN qidúq, nagdalágan.	dimágan qin qirúq. qin qirúq, dimágan.	nagtaráy dyay kásu. dyay kásu nát nagtaráy.	nakkarúq qik kítu. qik kítu, qe nakkarúq.	bimmatík su qasú. say qasú, bimmatík.	mémulayí ya yiN kásu. qiN kásu, mémulayí ya.
(The dog ran.) (Idem.)									
2. kumáqin naN maNgá qaN bátaq.	nagkakáan nin maNgá qan qákiq.	kinmáqun hin máNga qan bátaq.	nikáqug máNga qaN bátaq.	nagkáqun saN páhuq qaN bátaq.	kimaqún mampallám qin batáq.	naNán ti máNga dyay qubíN.	kiminán tu máNga qi qabíN.	qaNáy maNgá su qugáw.	méNan yaN maNga qiN qanák.
(The child ate a mango.)									
3. bumilí naN bulaklák qaN bináta pára sa dalága.	nagbakál nin búrak qan sultíru pára sa darága.	pinmalít hin bukád qan ulitáwu pára han darága.	nipalít qug búlak qaN qulitáwu pára sa dalága.	nagbakál saN búlak qaN sultíru pára sa babáyi.	namí sumpíN qin subúl pára ha bujáN.	gimmátaN ti sábuN dyay barú pára kadaydyáy balasaN.	giminátan tu láppaw qib bagitóley pára tam maginÁney.	qaNalíw na rúsas su balunlakí párad marikít.	sinalí yaN sampága qiN báintáu pára kiN dalága.
(The bachelor bought some flowers for the lady.)									
4. nagbigay naN bigás sa pulúbi qaN qasindéro.	nagtaqú nin bagás sa qalabádu qan qasindíru.	hinmátag hin bugás ha makililímus qan qasindíru.	nihátag qug bugás sa púbri qaN qasindíru.	naghátag saN bugás qaN qasindíru sa púbri.	naNdíhil bugás qin taglupáq ha miskín.	naNtíd ti bágas dyay qasindíru kadaydyáy na pubrí.	naNiyáwaq tu baggáq tam mallimús qi hasyendéro.	qaNitir na bilás qid payábul su qasindíru.	minyé yaN qabyás kiN pulúbi qiN qasindéru.
(The landowner gave some rice to the beggar.)									
5. pumútol naN káhoy qaN táqo.	nagputúl nin káhuy qan táwu.	qinmutúd hin káhuy qan táwu.	niputúl qug káhuy qaN táwu.	nagbísqak saN káhuy qaN táwu.	qimutúd kahúy qin taú.	gimmúpuN ti káyu dyay táqu.	naggappóq tu káyu qit tóley.	nanputír na kyiw su tuqú.	me:mútut yaN dútuN qiN táu.
(The man cut wood.)									
6. pumuntá qaN kambíN sa búkid.	nagdumán qan kandíN sa qumá.	kinmádtu qan kándiN ha búkid.	niqadtú qaN kándiN sa qumá.	nagkádtu qaN kándiN sa qumá.	myattú qin kambíN ha qumá.	napán dyay kaldíN qidyáy ta:ltálun.	minéy qik kanzíN tav vukíg.	limmá may kandíN qid qálug.	mintá ya yiN kambíN kiN taldáwa.
(The goat went to the field.)									
7. namatáy qaN hári sa tíbi.	nagadán qan hádiq sa tíbi.	namatáy qan hádiq hin tíbi.	namatáy qaN háriq sa tíbi.	napatáy qaN háriq saN tíbi.	myátay sakít linís qin sultán.	natáy dyay qári ti sárut.	natéy qip patúl tat tíbi.	qinatíy su qári qid tíbi.	me:té ya yiN qári keN tíbi.
(The king died of tuberculosis.)									
8. nakipagqúsap qaN kunsihál sa qalkálde.	nakipagqúlay qan kunsihál sa qalkáldi.	nakigswírti qan kunsihál ha qalkáldi.	nakipagsúlti qaN kunsihál sa mayúr.	naghámbal qaN kunsihál sa alkáldi.	namissará qin kunsihál ha mayúr.	nakisaríta dyay kunsihál kadaydyáy mayúr.	nakibbída qik konsehál ta qalkálde.	qakituNtúN su kunsihál qid míyur.	mékisábi ya yiN konsehál kiN qalkáldi.
(The councilor talked to the mayor.)									
9. nagqúsap qaN kunsihál qat qaN qalkálde.	nagqúlay qan kunsihál saká qan qalkáldi.	nagswírti qan kunsihál Nan han qalkáldi.	nagsúlti qaN kunsihál qug qaN mayúr.	naghambalánay qaN kunsihál kag qaN qalkáldi.	nagbissará qin kunsihál qibán mayúr.	nagsaríta dyay kunsihál kin dyay mayúr.	nabbída qik konsehál qanná qi qalkálde.	nantuNtúN su kunsihál tan say míyur.	mi:sábi la riN konsehál qampó iN qalkáldi.
(The councilor and the mayor talked to each other.)									
10. gumandá qaN báhay naN pulís.	naggayún qan harúN kan pulís.	hinmúsay qan baláy han pulís.	nanindut qaN báy sa pulís.	nagtahúm qaN baláy saN pulís.	limiNkát qin báy sin pulís.	pimmintás dyay baláy ti pulís.	nammakastá qib balé nap pulís.	dimmakip may qabúN na pulís.	mesantíN ya yiN balé na niN pulís.
(The house of the policeman became beautiful.)									

	TAGALOG	BIKOL	WARAY	SEBUANO	HILIGAYNON	TAUSUG	ILUKANO	IBANAG	PANGASINAN	KAPAMPANGAN
11.	nagíN bató qaN prínsipéN matápaN. (The brave prince turned into stone.)	nagin gapú qan prínsipíN maqísug.	nahímuq Na batú qan prínsipí Na maqísug.	nahímuN batú qaN prínsipíN maqísug.	nahímuq Na batú qaN prínsipí Na maqísug.	nahináN batú qin qanák salután maqisúg.	nagbalín Na batú dyay prínsipí Na naturíd.	nabbalí tu batú qip prínsipé Na mapórey.	nanmáliw ya batú su prínsipíN masíbig.	mégiN batú ya yiN prínsipíN matápaN.
12.	minálas qaN sabuNéro, qaN sabuNéroy minálas. (The cockfighting addict became unlucky.)	dinimálas qan parabuláN. qan parabuláN, dinimálas.	gindimalás qan parabuláN. qan parabuláN, gindimalás.	gidimalás qaN palabúlaN. qaN palabúlaN, gidimalás.	gindimálas qaN manugbuláN. qaN manugbuláN, gindimálas.	kyábisahán qin bulaqúg. qin bulaqúg, kyábisahán.	nagdimalás dyay mannakibúlaN. dyay mannakibúlaN kit nagdimalás.	nabwísiq qim minaggalyéra. qim minaggalyéra, qe nabwísiq.	qamálas su bulaNíru. qamálas su bulaNíru.	médimálas ya yiN sabuNéru. qiN sabuNéru, médimálas ya.
13.	qinantók qaN gwárdya. (The guard became sleepy.)	tinuNkáq qan bantáy.	ginpiráw qan gwárdya.	gitulúg qaN gwárdya.	gintuyúq qaN gwárdya.	kyarú qin magjajagá.	nagduNsá dyay gwardyá.	nattummóq qig gwárdya.	timmimig su gwárdya.	mitundúya yiN banté.
14.	nagabihán qaN maNá bátaq. (The children were overtaken by night.)	nabaNgihán qan maNá qákiq.	nagabqíhan qan maNá bátaq.	nagabqihán qaN maNá bátaq.	gingabqihán qaN bátaq.	kya:rúman qin maNa bataq.	narabyán dagidyáy qubbíN.	nagabyán qi qabbíN qirá.	qalábiqan qiráy qugúgaw.	ke:béNyan la riN qának.
15.	naqulanán qaN maNá damít. (The clothes got wet in the rain.)	naquranán qan maNá báduq.	naquranán qan maNá báduq.	naqulanán qaN maNá sininaq.	naqulanán qaN maNá báyuq.	kyáulanán qin maNá bajúq.	natudwán dagidyáy lúput.	no:nónan qis sinnún qirá.	naquranán qiráy kawis.	miyuránan la riN málan.
16.	nagpaqiyák sya naN, bátaq. (He caused a child to cry.)	nagpahibíq sya nin qákiq.	nagpatuqúk hiyá nin bátaw.	nagpahílak sya qug bátaq.	nagpahibíq sya saN bátaq.	nagpataNís sya batáq.	nagpaqíbit ti qubíN.	nappatáNi yayyá tu qabbíN.	nanpaqakís na qugáw.	pépakyák yaN qanák.
17.	nagpakáqin naN karné sa qáso qaN dalaga. (The lady fed meat to the dog.)	nagpakakán nin kárni sa dayuq qan darága.	nagpakáqun hin kárni ha qidúq qan darága.	nagpakáqun qug kárni sa qirúq qaN dalága.	nagpakáqun saN kárni sa qidúq qaN dalága.	nagpakaqún qin bujáN sapíq ha qirúq.	nagpakán ti karní qidyáy qásu dyay balásaN.	nappakán tu kárne tak kítu qim magiNáney.	nampakáy karní qid qasú may marikít.	pépakán yaN karní qiN dalága kiN qásu.
18.	nagpabúnot naN Nipin qaN dalága. (The lady had her tooth pulled out.)	nagpagábut nin Nípun qan daraga.	nagpagábut hin Nípun qan darága.	nagpaqibút qug Nípun qaN dalága.	nagpagábut saN Nípun qaN dalága.	nagpalarút qipún qin bujáN.	nagpagábut ti Nípin dyay banaN.	nappabattúl tu Nípan qim magiNáney.	nampabagút na Nipín su marikít.	pépabagút yaN qipán qiN dalága.
19.	nagpagandá qaN prinsésa. (The princess made herself beautiful.)	nagpagayún qan prinsésa.	nagpahúsay qan prinsísa.	nagpagwápa qaN prinsísa.	nagpagwápa qaN prinsísa.	nagpaliNkát qin dayáN dayáN.	nagpapintás dyay prinsísa.	nappakastá qip prinsésa.	nampagaNgána may prinsísa.	migpakalagú ya qiN prinsésa.
20.	nagpágandáhan naN baró qaN dalawáN dalága. (The two ladies competed in the beauty of their dresses.)	nagpagayúnan nin báduq qan duwáN darága.	nagpahusáyay hin báduq qan duhá Na darága.	nagpatsadaháy qug sinínaq qaN duhá kadalága.	nagpatahumtahúmay saN báyuq qaN dwa kababáyi.	nagpaliNkatán bajú qin dwá bujáN.	nagpinapintásan ti bádu dagtí dwá Na bábbalásaN.	nappakastá tu barwási qid dwá Na magiNáney.	nampalyágay kawas may dwáran marikít.	migpasantíN laN báru riN qadwáN dalága.

A. SIMPLE SENTENCES
(b) Passive Sentences
[(21)–(34)]

	TAGALOG	BIKOL	WARAY	SEBUANO	HILIGAYNON	TAUSUG	ILUKANO	IBANAG	PANGASINAN	KAPAMPANGAN
21.	kináqin naN bátaq qaN maNgá.	kinakán kan qákiq qan máNga.	ginkáqun han bátaq qan máNga.	gikáqun sa bátaq qaN máNga.	kináqun saN bátaq qaN páhuq.	kyáqun sin batáq qin mampallám.	kinnán dyay qubiN dyay maNga.	kinán na qabbíN qim máNga.	kináy qugáw su maNgá.	pe:Ná ne niN qanák qiN maNgá.
	qaN maNgáy kináqin naN bátaq.	qan máNga, kinakán kan qákiq.	qan máNga, ginkáqun han bátaq.	qaN máNga, gikáqun sa bátaq.	qaN páhuq, kináqun saN bátaq.	qin mampallám, kyáqun sin bátáq.	dyay maNga, kinnán dyay qubíN.	qim máNga, qe kinán na qabbíN.	say maNgá, kináy qugáw.	qiN maNgá, pe:Ná ne niN qanák.
	(The mango was eaten by the child.) (Idem.)									
22.	binilí naN binata qaN bulaklák pára sa dalága.	pigbakál kan sultéro qan búrak pára sa darága.	pinalit han quilitáwu qan bukád pára han darága.	gipalít sa qulitáwu qaN buláq pára sa dalága.	gimbakál saN sultíru qaN búlak pára sa dalága.	biní sin subúl qin sumpíN pára ha bujáN.	ginátaN dyay barú dyay sábuN pára kadaydyáy balásaN.	ginátan nab bagitóley qil láppaw pára tam magi-Náney.	sinalíw na balunlakí su rúsas párad marikít.	se:lí ne niN báintáu qiN sampága pára kiN dalága.
	(The flower was bought by the bachelor for the lady.)									
23.	qibinigáy naN qasindéro qaN bigás sa pulúbi.	pigtaqú kan qasindéro qan bagás sa qalabádo.	hinátag han qasindíru qan bugás ha makililímus.	gihátag han qasindíru qaN bugás sa púbri.	hinátag saN qasindíru qaN bugás sa púbri.	pyágdihíl sin taglupáq qin bugás ha miskín.	qintid dyay qasindíru dyay bagás kadaydyáy napubrí.	niyáwaq na hasyendéro qib baggáq tap póbre.	qintir na qasindíru su bílás qid payábul.	binyé ne ning qasindéru king pulúbi qiN qabyás.
	(The big landowner gave some rice to the beggar.)									
24.	pinútul naN táqo qaN káhoy sa pamamagitan naN qiták.	pigputúl kan táwu qan káhuy nin súndaN.	qinutúd han táwu qan káhuy hin súndaN.	qinputúl sa táwu qaN káhuy qug súndaN.	tinapás saN táwu qaN káhuy paqági sa bináNun.	yutúd sin táqu qin kahúy qibán quták.	ginúpuN dyay táqu dyay káyu kadaydyáy bunìN.	ginappóq nat tóley qik káyu tap palataw.	pinutír na tuqú su kyíw na baráN.	pinútut ne niN táu qiN dútuN kiN paláN.
	(The wood was cut by the man by means of a bolo.)									
25.	qibinilí naN binata qaN dalága naN bulaklák	qibinakál kan sultéro qan darága nin búrak.	pinalít han qulitáwu qan darága hin bukád.	gipalitán sa qulitáwu qaN dalága qug bulák.	binaklán saN sultíru qaN dalága saN búlak.	biníhan sin subúl qin bujáN sumpíN.	qiNgatáNan dyay barú dyay balásaN ti sábuN.	qiginátan nab bagitóley qim magiNáney tu láppaw.	qinsaliwáy balunlakí may marikít na rúsas.	se:í neN sampága niN báintáu qiN dalága.
	(The bachelor bought flowers for the lady.)									
26.	binigyán naN qasindéro qaN pulúbi naN bigás.	tinaqwán kan qasindéro qan alabádo nin bagás.	hinatágan han qasindíru qan makililímus hin bugás.		hinatágan saN qasindíru qaN púbri saN bugás.	díhilán sin taglupáq qin miskín bugás.	qinikkán dyay qasindíru dyay napubrí ti bagás.	niddán nah hasyendéro qip póbre tu baggáq.	qinitdáy qasindíru su payábul na bílás.	dinyá neN qabyás niN qasindéru qiN pulúbi.
	(The beggar was given some rice by the big landowner).									
27.	qibinigáy naN qasindéro qaN bigás sa pulúbi.	qitinaqú kan qasendéro qan bagás sa qalabádo.	ginhátag han qasindíru qan bugás ha makililímus.	gihátag sa qasindíru qan bugás sa púbri.	ginhátag saN qasindíru qaN bugás sa púbri.	pyágdihíl sin taglupáq ha miskín bugás.	qintid dyay qasindíru dyay bagás kadaydyáy napubrí.	niyáwaq nah hasyendéro qib baggáq tap póbre.	qintir na qasindíru may bílás qid payábul.	binyé ne niN qasindéru qiN qabyás kiN pulúbi.
	(The rice was given by the big landowner to the beggar.)									
28.	qipinamútol naN táqo qaN qiták naN káhoy.	qipinamutúl kan táwu qan sundaN nin káhuy.	ginpaNutúd han táwu qan sundaN hin káhuy.	gipamutúl sa táwu qan súndaN qug káhuy.	gingpangtapás saN táwu qaN binaNun sa káhuy.	pyáNutúd kahúy sin táqu qin quták.	pinaNgúpuN dyay táqu dyay bunìN ti káyu.	pinagappóq nat tóley qip palataw tu káyu.	qimpamutír na tuqú su baráN qid kyíw.	pe:mútut neN dútuN niN táu qiN paláN.
	(The bolo was used by the man in cutting wood.)									

	TAGALOG	BIKOL	WARAY	SEBUANO	HILIGAYNON	TAUSUG	ILUKANO	IBANAG	PANGASINAN	KAPAMPANGAN
29.	qikinamatáy naN hári qaN tíbi.	qikinagadán nin hádiq qan tíbi.	kinamatyán han hádiq qan tíbi.	gikamátyan sa háriq qaN tíbi.	kinamatyán saN háriq qaN tíbi.	kyámatáy sin sultán qin sakít linís.	qimpatáy dyay qári ti sárut.	qipinatéy nap patúl qit tíbi.	qimpatéy na qári su tíbi.	kématé ne niN qári qiN tíbi.
	(The king died of tuberculosis.)									
30.	kinaqúsap naN kunsihál qaN qalkálde.	kinaqúlay kan kunsihál qan qalkálde.	ginkaswírti han kunsihál qan qalkáldi.	gisultíhan sa kunsihál qaN mayúr.	hinambalán saN kunsihal qaN qalkáldi.	bissarahán sin kunsihál qin mayúr.	kinasaríta dyay kunsihál dyay mayúr.	kinibbída nak konsehál qi qalkálde.	pakitúNtuNán na kunsihál su míyur.	pékisabyá ne niN konsehál qiN qalkáldi.
	(The councilor talked to the mayor.)									
31.	pinaqiyák nya qaN bátaq.	pinahibíq nya qan qákiq.	ginpatuqúk níya qan bátaq.	gipahílak níya qaN bátaq.	gínpahibíq níya qaN bátaq.	pyátaNís nya qin batáq.	pinagíbit na dyay qubíN.	pinatáNi na qi qabbíN.	pinaqakís tu may qugáw.	pépakyák ne qiN qanák.
	(He caused the child to cry.)									
32.	pinakáqin naN dalága qaN qáso naN karné.	pinakakán kan darága qan dayúq nin kárne.	ginpakáqun han darága qan qidúq hin kárni.	gipakáqun sa dalága qaN qirúq qug kárni.	ginpakáqun saN dalága qaN qidúq saN kárni.	pyákaqún qin qirúq sa sapíq sin bujáN.	pinakán dyay balásaN dyay qásu ti karní.	pinakán nam magiNáney qik kítu tu kárne.	pinakáy marikít may qasúy karní.	pépaká neN karní qiN qásu niN dalága.
	(The lady fed meat to the dog.)									
33.	pinagandá naN prinsésа qaN saríli nya.	pinagayún kan prinsésa qan sadíri nya.	ginpahúsay han prinsísa hiyá laNáhaw.	gipagwápa sa prinsísa qaN qíyaN kaqugalíNun.	ginpatahúm saN prinsísa qaN láwas nya.	pyáliNkát sin dayáN dayáN qin barán nya.	pinapintás dyay balásaN ti bagí na.	pinakastá nap prinsésa qib bagí na.	pinagaNgána na prinsísa su lamán tun díli.	pépalagú ne niN prinsésa qiN saríli na.
	(The princess made her own self beautiful.)									
34.	qipinakáqin naN dalága qaN karné sa qáso.	qipinakakán kan darága qan kárni sa dayúq.	ginpakáqun han darága qan kárni ha qidúq.	gipakáqun sa dalága qaN kárni sa qirúq.	ginpakáqun saN dalága qaN kárni sa qidúq.	pyákaqún sin bujáN qin sapíq ha qirúq.	qimpakán dyay balásaN dyay karní qití qásu.	nípakán nam magiNáney qik kárne tak kítu.	qimpakáy marikít su karníd qasú.	pépakáne niN dalága qiN karní kiN qásu.
	(The lady fed the meat to the dog.)									

A. SIMPLE SENTENCES
(c) Non-Verbal Sentences
[(35)–(56)]

35.	qabugádo qaN kapatíd ko. qaN kapatíd koy qabugádo.	qabugádu qan túgaN ku. qaN túgaN ku, qabugádu.	qabugádu qan búgtu ku. qan búgtu ku, qabugádu.	qabugádo qaN qigsúqun ku. qaN qigsúqun ku, qabugádo.	qabugádu qaN qútud ku. qaN qútud ku, qabugádu.	qabugáw qin táymaNhúd ku. qin táymaNhúd ku, qabugáw.	qabugádu dyay kabsát ku. dyay kabsát ku, kit qabugádu.	qabugádu qiw wagíq. qiw wagíq, qe qabugádu.	qabugádu su qagík. say qagík, qabugádu.	qabugádu ya yiN kapatád ku. qiN kapatád ku, qabugádu ya.
	(My brother/sister is a lawyer.) (Idem.)									
36.	bálo qaN mistísa.	bálu qan mistísa.	bálu qan mistísa.	balú qaN mistísa.	bálu qaN mistísa.	balú qin mistísa.	bálu dyay mistísa.	bálu qim mestísa.	balú su mistísa.	byúda ya yiN mistísa.
	(The *mestisa* is a widow.)									
37.	hapón qaN hardinéro nilá.	hapún qan hardinéro nindá.	hapún qan hardiníru níra.	hapún qaN hardiníru níla.	hapún qaN hardiníru níla.	jipún qin maghináN nilá.	hapún dyay hardiníru da.	hapón qi hardinéro da.	hapún su hardiníru da.	qapún ya yiN qardinéru da.
	(Their gardener is a Japanese.)									
38.	mánunulát si hwána.	parasurát si hwána.	parasúrat hi hwána.	manugsúlat si hwána.	manunúlat si hwána.	manunulát hi hwána.	mannúrat ni hwána.	gumattúraq si hwána.	managsúlat si hwána.	manyúlat ya yi hwána.
	(Juana is a writer.)									

TAGALOG	BIKOL	WARAY	SEBUANO	HILIGAYNON	TAUSUG	ILUKANO	IBANAG	PANGASINAN	KAPAMPANGAN
39. magandá qaN gupít mo. qaN gupit mo, magandá. (Your haircut is beautiful.) (Idem.)	magayún qan bulúg mu. qan bulúg mu, magayún.	mahúsay qan qarút mu. qan qarút mu, mahúsay.	patsáda qaN guntíN mu. qaN guntíN mu, patsáda.	matahúm qaN guntíN mu. qaN guntíN mu, matahúm.	maliNkát qin kúlti mu. qin kúlti mu, maliNkát.	napintás ti púkis mu. ti púkis mu, kit napintás.	makastá qi qusíq mu. qi qusíq mu, qe makastá.	balibáli su kaqlím. say kaqlím, balibáli.	masantíN ya yiN gupít mu. qiN gupít mu, masantíN ya.
40. magandá qaN dalága. (The lady is beautiful.)	magayún qan darága.	mahúsay qan darága.	gwápa qaN dalága.	matahúm qaN dalága.	maliNkát qin bujáN.	napintás dyay balásaN.	makastá qim magiNáney.	magaNgána su marikít.	malagú ya yiN dalága.
41. makísig qaN binátaq. (The bachelor is handsome.)	gwápu qan sultéro.	gwápu qan qulitáwu.	gwápu qaN qulitáwu.	gwápu qaN sultíru.	maliNkát qin subúl.	nataráki dyay barú.	makastá qib bagitóley.	gwápu su balunlakí.	masantíN ya yiN báintáu.
42. masalitá qaN magqasáwa. (The husband and wife are talkative.)	matarám qan magqagúm.	mayakán qan magqasáwa.	palasúlti qaN magqasawá.	palahambál qaN magqasawá.	mabissará qin magqasawá.	nasaqú dagidyáy qagassáwa.	masimúq qim magatáwa.	malabír su sanqasawá.	masalíta la riN miyasáwa.
43. mapagbiró qaN duktór. (The doctor is fond of joking.)	masubá qan duktór.	maqintrimís qan duktúr.	tiqawán qaN duktúr.	palaláhug qaN duktúr.	malaNúg qin duktúr.	managaNáw dyay duktúr.	minallafúg qid doktór.	magaláw su duktúr.	mapamíru ya yiN doktór.
44. ga:lísin qaN bátaq. (The child is susceptible to scabies.)	lugádun qan qákiq.	katlún qan bátaq.	ginukáq qaN bátaq.	katulúm qaN bátaq.	kyákagutgút qin batáq.	gagaddilɨn dyay qubíN.	ginuríg qi qabbíN.	giríyɨn su qugáw.	galisán ya yiN qanák.
45. pára sa dalága qaN bulaklák. qaN bulaklák qay pára sa dalága. (The flower is for the lady.)	pára sa darága qan búrak. qan búrak, pára sa darága.	pára han darága qan bukád. qan bukád, pára han darága.	pára sa dalága qaN búlak. qaN búlak, pára sa dalága.	pára sa dalága qaN búlak. qaN búlak, pára sa dalága.	pára ha bujáN qin sumpíN. qin sumpíN, pára ha bujáN.	pára kadaydyáy balásaN dyay sábuN. dyay sábuN kɨt pára kadaydyáy balásaN.	pára tam magiNáney qil láppaw. qil láppaw qe pára tam magiNáney.	párad marikít su rúsas. say rúsas, párad marikít.	pára kiN dalága ya yiN sampága. qiN sampága, pára ya kiN dalága.
46. tuNkól sa prisidénte qaN balítaq. (The news is about the president.)	dapít sa prisidénte qan barítaq.	tuNúd han prisidínti qan nutísya.	tuNúd han prisidínti qan balítaq.	párti sa prisidínti qaN balítaq.	sabáb ha prisidínti qin habál.	maypaNgɨp ti prisidínti dyay dámag.	naggafú tap presidénte qim makkagí.	nípaqakarɨd prisidínti su balíta.	tuNkúl ya kiN presidénti qiN balíta.
47. haNgáN liqíg qaN túbig sa qíloq. (The water in the river is up to the neck.)	sagkúd líqug qan túbig sa sálug.	tapaliqúg qan túbig ha salúg.	hásta sa líqug qaN túbig sa subáq.	qásta sa líqug qaN túbig sa subáq.	sampáy liqúg qin tubíg ha súg.	pagattɨNNɨd ti danúm dyay karayán.	qaddé tav vulláw qid danúm tak kagayán.	qaNgád tiNNɨr su danúm qid qílug.	qaNgaN bátal ya yiN danúm kiN qílug.
48. nása búkid qaN kambíN. qaN kambíN qay nása bukid. (The goat is in the field.) (Idem.)	yáqun sa qúma qan kandíN. qan kandíN, yáqun sa qúma.	qádtu ha búkid qan kandíN. qan kandíN, qádtu ha búkid.	náqa sa qúma qaN kándiN. qaN kándiN, náqa sa qúma.	qaráq sa qumáq qaN kandíN. qaN kandíN, qaráq sa qumáq.	ha qumá qin kambíN. qin kambíN, ha qumá.	qaddaddyáy ta:ltálun dyay kaldíN. dyay kaldíN kɨt qaddaddyay ta:ltálun.	qiggá tat talón qik kanziN. qik kanziN qe qiggá tat talón.	walád qálug su kandíN. say kandíN, walád qálug.	qatyú kiN taldáwa qiN kambíN. qiN kambíN, qatyú kiN taldáwa.

	TAGALOG	BIKOL	WARAY	SEBUANO	HILIGAYNON	TAUSUG	ILUKANO	IBANAG	PANGASINAN	KAPAMPANGAN
49.	walá sa búkid qaN kambíN.	máyuq sa qúma qan kandíN.	waráy ha búkid qan kandíN.	waláq sa qumá qaN kándíN.	waláq sa qumáq qaN kandíN.	wáy ha qumá qin kambíN.	qawán qidyáy ta:ltálun dyay kaldíN.	qawán tat talón qik kanzíN.	qaNgapud qálug su kandíN.	qaláyu kiN taldáwa qiN kambíN.
	(The goat is not in the fields.)									
50.	nandíto qaN duktór.	yáqun qigdí qan duktór.	qánhi qan duktúr.	níqa qaN duktúr.	qarí qaN duktúr.	yári qin dúktur.	qaddadtúy dyay duktúr.	qiggá tawé qid doktór.	wadyá su duktúr.	qatyú kéni qín doktór.
	(The doctor is here.)									
51.	walá ríto qaN duktór.	mayuq qigdí qan duktór.	waráy dínhi qan duktúr.	waláq dínhi qaN duktúr.	waláq dirí qaN duktúr.	wárri qin dúktur.	qawán ditúy dyay duktúr.	qawán tawé qid doktór.	qandidyáy duktúr.	qaláyu kéni qiN doktór.
	(The doctor is not here.									
52.	mey bulaklák qaN dalága. qaN dalágay mey bulaklák.	qigwáN búrak qan darága. qan darága, qigwáN búrak.	may bukád qan darága. qan darága, may bukád.	may búlak qaN dalága. qaN dalága, may búlak.	may búlak qaN dalága. qaN dalága, may búlak.	qaun sumpíN qin buján. qin buján, qaun sumpíN.	qaddá sábuN na dyay balásaN. dyay balásaN kit qaddá sábuN na.	qiggá láppaw nam magiNáney. qim magiNáney qe qiggá láppaw na.	waláy rúsas tum may marikít. say marikít, waláy rúsas tu.	qatín yaN sampága qiN dalága. qiN dalága, qatín yaN sampága.
	(The lady has flowers.) (Idem.)									
53.	waláN bulaklák qaN dalága.	máyun búrak qan sultíru.	waráy bukád qan darága.	waláy búlak qaN dalága.	waláq saN búlak qaN dalága.	wáy sumpíN qin bujáN.	qawán sábuN na dyay balásaN.	qawán tu láppaw nam magiNáney.	qaNgapúy rúsas tu may marikít.	qalá yaN sampága qiN dalága.
	(The lady does not have a flower.)									
54.	qákin qaN bulaklák. qaN bulaklák qay qákin.	sakúq qan búrak. qan búrak, sakúq.	qakún qan bukád. qan bukád, qákun.	qákuq qaN búlak. qaN búlak, qákuq.	qákun qaN búlak. qaN búlak, qákun.	kákuq qin sumpíN. qin sumpíN, kákuq.	kúkwak dyay sábuN. dyay sábuN kit kúkwak.	kwáq qil láppaw. qil láppaw qe kwáq.	karyáN ku may rúsas. qamay rúsas, karyáN ku.	ka:kú ya yiN sampága. qiN sampága, ka:kú ya.
	(The flower is mine.) (Idem.)									
55.	díto qaN kinakaqinan námin.	digdí qaN kakánan mi.	dínhi qan ginkákaqúnan namún.	dínhi qaN kánqunán námuq.	qamú qiní qaN ginakaqúnan námun.	dí qin kyáqunán namín.	ditúy ti páNpaNanán mi.	tawé qip pakkanánam mi.	dyá may paNákanán mi.	ke:ní ya yiN pípaNanán mi.
	(This is where we eat.)									
56.	búkas qaN quwi nya.	sa qága qan pagpuliq nya.	bwás qan pagqúliq niya.	qugmá qaN qulíg nya.	bwás qaN pagpaqúliq nya.	kunsúm qin wíq nya.	qintún bigát ti qáwid na.	saNáw nu qummá qil labbéq na.	nabwás su simpát tu.	búkas qiN qúli na.
	(He goes home tomorrow.)									

A. SIMPLE SENTENCES
(d) Equational sentences.
[(57)-(66)]

57.	qaN qáso qaN tumakbó. qaN tumakbóy qaN qáso.	qan dayúq qan nagdalágan. qan nagdalágan, qan dayúq.	qan qidúq qan dinmalágan. qan dinmalágan, qan qidúq.	qaN qirúq qaN nidalágan. qaN nidalágan, qaN qirúq.	qaN qidúq qaN nagdalágan. qaN nagdalágan, qaN qidúq.	qin irúq qin dimágan. qin dimágan, qin irúq.	dyay qásu ti nagtaráy. ti nagtaráy kit dyay qáso.	qik kítu qin nakkarúq. qin nakarúq qe qik kítu.	say qasú su bimmatík. say bimmatík, qamáy qasú.	qiN qásu qiN mémulayíq. qiN mémulayíq, qiN qásu.
	(It was the dog that ran.) (Idem.)									
58.	qaN báta qaN kumain naN maNgá.	qan qákiq qan nagkakán nin maNgá.	qan bátaq qan kinmáqun hin máNga.	qaN bátaq qaN nikáqug máNga.	qaN bátaq qaN nagkáqun saN páhuq.	qin batáq qin kimaqún mampallam.	dyay qubíN ti naNán ti máNga.	qi qabbíN qik kiminán tu máNga.	say qugáw su qaNáy maNgá.	qiN qanák qiN méNan maNgá.
	(It was the child that ate a mango.)									
59.	syá qaN nagpaqiyák naN bátaq.	syá qan nagpahibíq nin qákiq.	hiyá qan nagpatuqúk nin bátaq.	syá qaN nagpahílak qug bátaq.	syá qaN nagpahibíq saN bátaq.	syá qin nagpataNís batáq.	qisú ti nagpaqíbit ti qubíN.	yayyá qin nappatáNi tu qabbíN.	sikatú su nanpaqakís na qugáw.	yá qiN pépakyak qanák.
	(He was the one who caused a child to cry.)									

	TAGALOG	BIKOL	WARAY	SEBUANO	HILIGAYNON	TAUSUG	ILUKANO	IBANAG	PANGASINAN	KAPAMPANGAN
60.	qaN maNgá kináqin naN bátaq.	qan maNgá qan kinakán qákiq.	qan maNgá qan ginkáqun kan qákiq.	qaN máNga qaN gikáqun sa bátaq.	qaN páhuq qaN kináqun saN bátaq.	qin mampallám qin kyáqun sin batáq.	dyay maNgá ti kinnán dyay qubíN.	qim maNgá qik kinán na qabbíN.	say maNgá su kináy qugáw.	qiN máNga qin pe:Ná na niN qanák.
	(It was the mango that the child ate.)									
61.	qaN báta qaN pinaqiyák nya.	qan qákiq qan pinahibíq nya.	qan bátaq qan ginpatuqúk niyá.	qaN bátaq qaN gipahílak nya.	qaN bátaq qaN ginpahibíq níya.	qin batáq qin pyataNís nya.	dyay qubíN ti pinagíbit na.	qi qabbíN qip pinatáNi na.	say qugáw su pinaqakís tu.	qiN qanák qiN pépakyák na.
	(It was the child whom he caused to cry.)									
62.	qaN sabuNéro qaN minálas.	qan parabulán qan dinimálas.	qan parabuláN qan gindimalás.	qan palabúlaN qaN gidimalás.	qaN sabuNéro qaN dinimálas.	qin bulaqúg qin kyábisahán.	dyay mammallút ti minálas.	qim minaggalyéra qin nabwísiq.	say bulaNíru su qamálas.	qiN sabuNéru qiN médimálas.
	(It was the cockpit addict that became unlucky.)									
63.	qaN gupit mo qaN magandá.	qan bulúg mu qan magayún.	qan qarút mu qan mahúsay.	qaN guntíN mu qaN patsáda.	qaN guntíN mu qaN matahúm.	qin kúlti mu qin maliNkát.	ti púkis mu ti napintás.	qi qusíq mu qim makastá.	say kaqlím su balibáli.	qiN gupít mu qiN masantíN.
	(It is your haircut which is beautiful.)									
64.	qaN bulaklák qaN pára sa dalága.	qan búrak qan pára sa darága.	qan bukád qan pára han darága.	qaN búlak qaN pára sa dalága.	qaN búlak qaN pára sa dalága.	qin sumpíN qin pára ha bujáN.	dyay sábuN ti pára kadaydyáy balásaN.	qil láppaw qip pára tam magiNáney.	say rúsas su párad marikit.	qiN sampága qiN pára kiN dalága.
	(It is the flower which is for the lady.)									
65.	qaN kambíN qaN násа búkid.	qan kandíN qan yáqun sa qumá.	qan kandíN qan qádtu ha búkid.	qan kándiN qaN náqa sa qumá.	qaN kándiN qaN qáraq sa qumá.	qin kambíN qin ha qumá.	dyay kaldíN ti qaddaddyáy ta:ltálun.	qik kanzíN qi qiggá tat tálon.	may kandíN su walád qálug.	qiN kambíN qiN qatyú kiN taldáwa.
	(It is the goat which is in the field.)									
66.	qaN bulaklák qaN qákin.	qan búrak qan sakúq.	qan bukád qan qákun.	qaN búlak qaN qákuq.	qaN búlak qaN qákun.	qin sumpíN qin kákuq.	dyay sábuN ti kúkwak.	qil láppaw qik kwáq.	say rúsas su karyáN ku.	qiN sampága qiN káku.
	(It is the flower which is mine.)									

A SIMPLE SENTENCES
(e) Identificational sentences
[(64)–(74)]

67.	qáso qaN tumakbó. qaN tumakbóy qáso.	dayúq qan nagdalágan. qan nagdalágan, dayúq.	qidúq qan dinmalágan. qan dinmalágan, qidúq.	qirúq qaN nidalágan. qaN nidalágan, qirúq.	qidúq qaN nagdalágan. qaN nagdalágan, qidúq.	qirúq qin dimágan. qin dimágan, qirúq.	qásu ti nagtaráy. ti nagtaráy kit qásu.	kítu qin nakkarúq. qin nakkarúq qe kítu.	qasu su bimmatík. say bimmatík, qasú.	qásu ya yiN mémulayíq. qiN memulayíq, qásu ya.
	(It was a dog that ran.) (Idem.)									
68.	bátaq qaN kumáqin naN maNgá.	qákiq qan nagkakan nin maNgá.	bátaq qan kinmáqun hin máNga.	bátaq qaN nikáqug máNga.	bátaq qaN nagkáqun saN páhuq.	batáq qin kimaqún mampallám.	qubíN ti naNán ti máNga.	qabbíN qik kiminán tu máNga.	qugáw su qaNáy maNgá.	qanák qiN méNan maNgá
	(It was a child that ate a mango.)									
69.	maNgá qan kináqin naN bátaq.	máNga qan kinakán kan qákiq.	máNga qan ginkáqun han bátaq.	máNga qaN ginkáqun han bátaq.	páhuq qaN kináqun saN bátaq.	mampallám qin kyáqun sin batáq.	máNga ti kinnán dyay qubíN.	máNga qik kinán na qabbíN.	maNgá su kináy qugáw.	maNgá qiN pe:Ná na niN qanák.
	(It was a mango that was eaten by the child.)									

	TAGALOG	BIKOL	WARAY	SEBUANO	HILIGAYNON	TAUSUG	ILUKANO	IBANAG	PANGASINAN	KAPAMPANGAN
70.	sabuNéro qaN minálas.	sabuNíru qan dinimálas.	parabuláN qan gindimalás.	palabúlaN qaN gidimalás.	sabaNíru qaN dinimálas.	balaqúg qin kyábisahán.	mammallút ti minálas.	minaggalyéra qin nabwisiq.	bulaNiru su qamálas.	sabuNéru ya yiN médimálas.
	(It was a cockpit addict that became unlucky.)									
71.	gupít mo qaN magandá.	bulúg mu qan magayún.	qarút mu qan mahúsay.	guntíN mu qaN patsáda.	guntíN mu qaN matahúm.	kúlti mu qin maliNkát.	púkis mu ti napintás.	qusíq mu qim makastá.	kaqlím su balibáli.	gupít mu qiN masantíN.
	(It is your haircut that is beautiful.)									
72.	bulaklák qaN pára sa dalága.	búrak qan pára sa darága.	bukád qan pára han darága.	búlak qaN pára sa dalága.	búlak qaN pára sa dalága.	sumpíN qin pára ha bujáN.	sábuN ti pára dyay balásaN.	láppaw qip pára tam magiNáney.	rúsas su párad marikit.	sampága qiN pára king dalága.
	(It is a flower that is for the lady.)									
73.	kambiN qaN nása búkid.	kandíN qan yáqun sa qumá.	kambíN qan qadtu ha búkid.	kándiN qaN náqa sa qumá.	kándiN qaN qáraq sa qumá.	kambíN qin ha qumá.	kaldíN ti qaddadyáy ta:ltálun.	kandíN su walád qálug.	kandíN su walád qálug.	kambíN ya yiN qatyú kiN taldáwa.
	(It is a goat that is in the field.)									
74.	bulaklák qaN qákin.	búrak qan sakúq.	bukád qan qákun.	búlak qaN qákuq.	búlak qaN qákun.	sumpiN qin kákuq.	sábuN ti kúkwak.	láppaw qik kwáq.	rúsas su karyáN ku.	sampága ya yiN káku.
	(It is a flower that is mine.)									

A SIMPLE SENTENCES
(f) Non-Predicative
Sentences.
[(75–)(94)]

75.	qumáqambón.	nagtátagití.	nátarítiq.	nagatalíthi.	nagátalithí.	bunúk bunúk.	qágarqarbís.	magafafuq.	mayá mayá.	lílintík.
	(It's drizzling.)									
76.	qumúqulán.	nagqúqurán.	náqurán.	nagaqulán.	nagaqulán.	qimmulán.	qagtu:dtúdu.	magúrqurán.	qunúqurán.	múmurán.
	(It's raining.)									
77.	huma:háNin.	nagdu:dúrus	na:háNin.	nagaháNin.	nagaháNin.	dúm dúm na.	qaga:NqáNin.	mapaddápaddág.	qundádaqím.	ma:máNin.
	(The wind is blowing.)									
78.	bumábagyó.	nagbábagyú.	nábagyú.	nagabágyu.	nagabágyu.	nagbabajú.	qagbágbagyú.	mabbagyú.	qunbábagyú.	bábagyú.
	(There's a typhoon.)									
79.	dumídilím na.	nagdídilúm na.	nagsísirúm na.	gadulúm na.	nagadulúm na.	tumigidlúm na.	umipNátán.	mazibbéribbóq.	qumbíbiluNát la.	dádalumdúm na.
	(It's getting dark now.)									
80.	gumágabí na.	nagbábaNgí na.	na:gábqi na.	nagagabíqi na.	nagagábqi na.	dimúm na.	rumabiqín.	maggabí Naná.	qunla:lábi la.	mabibe:Nína.
	(Night is falling.)									
81.	madilim Nayón.	madíklum Nunyán.	masirúm yanáq.	dulúm karún.	madulúm subúN.	malindum byáqun.	nasipNát qitattá.	maribbóq sa Nawé.	qambiluNát nátan.	madalumdúm Néni.
	(It's dark at this time.)									

	TAGALOG	BIKOL	WARAY	SEBUANO	HILIGAYNON	TAUSUG	ILUKANO	IBANAG	PANGASINAN	KAPAMPANGAN
82.	maginâw kahápon. (It was cold yesterday.)	malipút kasuqugmáq.	mahágkut kakulúp.	tugnâw gahápun.	matugnâw kahápun.	mahaggút ka:hápun.	nalamqik qidí kálman.	malammín kagabí.	qambitíl kárumán.	marímla nápun.
83.	gabí na. (It's night time now.)	báNgi na.	gábqi na.	gabíqi na.	gábqi na.	dúm na.	rabiqín.	gabí Naná.	lábi la.	be:Ní na.
84.	byérnes na namán. (It's Friday again.)	byírnis na namán.	byírnis na liwát.	byírnis na sáb.	byírnis na liwát.	jumaqát na qisáb.	byárnis manín.	vyernés Narammána.	bírnis la lamit	byérnes na namán.
85.	paskó na búkas. (It's already Christmas tomorrow.)	pásko na sa qága.	pásku na bwás.	pásku na qúgmaq.	páskwa na bwás.	krísmas kunsúm.	paskwántu nu bigátin.	paskwá Naná sónu qummá.	paskú la nabwás.	paskú na búkas.
86.	bakasyón na búkas. (It's already vacation time tomorrow.)	bakasyón na nu qudmáq.	bakasyón na bwás.	bakasyún na qúgmaq.	bakásyun na bwás.	bikísyun na kunsúm.	bakasyúnin nu bigát.	bakasyón Naná saNáw nu qummá.	bakasyún la nabwás.	bakasyón na búkas.
87.	mey táqo sa báhay. (There's a person in the house.)	may táwu sa harúN.	may táwu sa baláy.	may táwu sa baláy.	may táwu sa baláy.	qaun táqu ha báy.	qaddá táqu qidyáy baláy.	qiggá tóley tab baléy.	waláy tuqúd qabúN.	qatíN táqu kiN balé.
88.	waláN táqo sa báhay. (There's no person in the house.)	máyuN táwu sa harúN.	waráy táwu ha baláy.	waláy táwu sa baláy.	waláq saN táwu sa baláy.	way táqu ha báy.	qawán táqu qidyáy baláy.	qawán tu tóley tab baléy.	qaNgapúy tuqúd qabúN.	qaláN táqu kiN balé.
89.	mey dyós. (There's God.)	qigwáN dyós.	may dyús.	may dyús.	may dyús.	qaun tuhán.	qaddá qápu dyús.	qiggá dyós.	waláy dyús.	qatíN dyós.
90.	waláN dyós. (There's no God.)	máyuN dyús.	waráy dyús.	waláy dyús.	waláq saN dyús.	way tuhán.	qawan ti dyús.	qawán tu dyós.	qaNgapúy dyús.	qaláN dyós.
91.	mey bagyó. (There's a typhoon.)	may bágyu.	may bágyu.	may bágyu.	may bágyu.	qaun bajú.	qadda bagyú.	qiggá bagyú.	waláy bagyú.	qatíN bagyú.
92.	walá naN qulán. (There's no more rain.)	máyu naN qurán.	waray na qurán.	walaq nay qulán.	walaq na saN qulán.	wáy na qulán.	qawan ti túdun.	qawán tu qurán Naná.	qaNgapú lay qurán.	qalá naN qurán.
93.	nápakagandá naN dalága. (How beautiful is the lady.)	nápakagayun kan darága.	kahúsay han darága.	pagkagwapa sa dalaga.	katahum saN dalaga.	wáy na nagliNkát qin bujáN.	nagpintas dyay balásaNin.	kék kásta nam magiNáney.	qagaylay gaNganay marikít.	kalagu naN kalágu niN dalága.
94.	qaráy! (Ouch!)	qaráy!	qagúy!	qagúy!	qagúy!	qarúy!	qannay!	qananéy!	qaráy!	qaráy!

B. COMPOUND SENTENCES
[(95)–(98)]*

TAGALOG	BIKOL	WARAY	SEBUANO	HILIGAYNON	TAUSUG	ILUKANO	IBANAG	PANGASINAN	KAPAMPANGAN
95. tumakbó ka, qat tátakbó rin qakó.	magdalágan ka, ta mádalágan man qaku.	dalágan qikáw, kay mádalágan liwát qakú.	pagdalagan, qug madalágan qusáb qakú.	dalágan ka, kay madalágan man qakú.	dágan kaw, qibán dumágan da qisáb qakú.	qagtaráy ka, ta qagtaráyak mit.	makkarúq ka, ta makkarúq Naq gapá.	batík ka, ta qumbatikák mit.	muláyi ka, muláyi ku namán.
(Run, and I will run also.)									
96. magsáqiN ka múna, saká ka matúlog.	magsapnáq ka Núqna, saká ka magtúrug.	paglútuq qánay, qusaká kumatúrug.	paglúNqag qusáq, qúnyaq matúlug.	magtigqaN ka qánay, qantís ka matúlug.	pagtugnáq na káw, qampá matúg.	qagapúy ka pay, sákantu matúrog.	magafí ka tu qollú. saNáw makkatrúg ka.	manlútu ka ni báqaw, qinsán ka qunugíp.	tumún ka pá, saká ka matudtúd.
(Cook rice first, then, go to sleep!)									
97. maglálaró sána kamí, péro bumagyó.	ma:káwat kutá kamí, piru nagbagyú.	magqúquyág quntáq kámi píru binnagyú.	magdúlaq qúntaq mi, píru niNbágyu.	mahámpaN kuntániq kamí, qugáliN nagbagyú.	qapít kamí magpanayám panayám, sumagawáq nagbágyu.	qaga:yqáyam kamí kumá, Nem nágbagyú.	maggáyam kamí nakwan, Nem nabbagyú.	maNgálaw kamí kumun, píru bimmagyú.	mamyáluN kamí saná, péro minagyú.
(We were going to play, but a typhoon came.)									

C. COMPLEX SENTENCES
[(98)–(112)]*

100. tátakbó qakó, kuN tátakbó ka rin.	mádalágan qakú, kun mádalágan ka mán.	mádalágan qakú, kun madalágan ka liwát.	mádalágan ku, qug madalagan ka qusab.	mádalagán qakú, kun mádalágan ka man.	dumágan qakú, baNkáw dumágan qisáb.	qagtaráyak, nu qagtaráy ka.	makkarúq Naq, nu makkaruq ka gapá.	qumbatikak, nu qumbatík ka mit.	mulayí ku, nuN mulayí ka namán.
(I will run if you will run also.)									
101. kumáqin múna sya, bago sya natulog.	nagkakan Núqna sya, bágu sya nagtúrug.	kinmáqun qánay hiyá, qusá hiyá kumatúrug.	nikáqun qusáq sya, qantís natúlug.	nagkáqun qánay sya, qantís sya nagtúlug.	kimaqún naqá sya, qampá natúq.	naNán Na qimmuná, sakbáy Na natúrug.	kiminán labbíq yayyá, nágeq na nakkatrúg.	qaNáni, qinsán naqugíp.	méNan ya pá, ba:yú ya métudtúd.
(He ate first before he went to sleep.)									
102. kinargá nya qaN bátaq, samatálaN naglalaba qakú.	binuwát nya qan qákiq, mintrás naglálaba qakú.	ginkárga niyá qan bátaq, han naglálabá qakú.	gikárga nya qaN bataq, myíntras tántuN galabá ku.	kinárga nya qaN bátaq, samtáN nagapalabá qakú.	dyará nya qin bataq, halaqúm qakú ha pagdarakdakán.	kinargá na dyay qubíN myíntras qagláblabáqak.	ginabbéy na qi qabbíN, méntras Na mabbabbál Naq.	qinéba tuy qugáw nin mampípisakak.	pigtumaylá ne qiN qanák, kábaN mámi:pí ku.
(He carried the child while I was washing clothes.)									
103. kumáqin ka naN marámi, pára lumakí kaqagád.	magkakán kaN dakúl, taNániN magdakúlaq ka túlus.	káqun hin dámuq, básiq ka dumákuq dáyun.	pagkáqun qug dághan, qarún mudakúq ka dáyun.	magkáqun ka saN madámuq, pára magdakúq ka dáyun.	kaqún kaw mataqúd, qampá kaw masamút lumágguq.	maNaN ka ti qadú, tapnú qalistú ka Na dumakkél.	kumák ka tu qarú, tapénu dumakál ka tu mabíq.	maNán kay qamayámay, tapyán qumbáléq kan tampúl.	maNán kaN dakál, baNkaníta dagúl kaN qagád.
(Eat plenty so that you will grow fast.)									
104. qumága na naN dumatíN qaN maggagátas.	qága na kaqitúN magqabút qan paragagátas.	qága na qinmabút qan parápaNgatás.	búntag na sa diháN niqabút qaN manuggatás.	qága na saN pagqabút saN manúggatás.	mahinaqát na dimatúN qin maggagatas.	bigátin dimmatíN dyay qagla:klákut gátas.	qummá Naná taggá tal limmibbéq qimmalláku tu gattóq.	kabwasán la nin simmabí su managgatás.	qábak na nyaN ya yiN maNgátas.
105. marúnoN sya, káhit na hindí sya nagqa:áral.	maqáram sya, dáwaq daqí sya nagqádal.	maqáram hiyá, bísan waráy hiyá pagtuqún.	maqantígu sya, biság waláq sya gatuqún.	maqálam sya, maskín waláq sya nagtuqún.	maqiNát sya, minsán way nakapaNají.	nalaqíN, quray saqán Na qaga:dqádal.	mapyá qulú na, maskí qarí yayyá maddidyámu.	maqúN, qaNgánu qagá manáqarál.	byása ya, maskí na qéya ma:gáral.

* *Nos. 98 & 99 are missing in the manuscript.—Ed.*

	TAGALOG	BIKOL	WARAY	SEBUANO	HILIGAYNON	TAUSUG	ILUKANO	IBANAG	PANGASINAN	KAPAMPANGAN
106.	nagálit sya, dáhil sa dináya sya.	naqaNgút sya, ta dináyaq nínda sya.	nasína hiyá, kay ginlimbuNán hiyá.	nasukúq sya, kay ginlimbuNán sya.	naNákiq sya, kay gindayáqan sya.	yastulán sya, kay gindayáqan sya.	naguNát ta sinwítik da.	nappórey yayyá, ta dinarógas da yayyá.	mampásnuk, ta sináqul da.	mimwá ya, qulíN pámiraytanán.
	(He got angry because he was cheated.)									
107.	hindí sya marúnoN lumaNóy, kayá sya nalúnod.	daqí sya tataqúN maglaNúy, kayáq sya nalamús.	diríq hiyá maqáram lumaNúy, kay qámu, nalumús hiyá.	díliq sya maqantíguN mulaNúy, maqú Na nalumus sya.	qindíq sya kabalú maglaNúy, kundíq nalúnud sya.	díq sya maqiNát lumaNúy, haNkásu sya nalumús.	saqán Na nalaqíN Na qaglaNúy, qisú Na nalmís.	kanná qammú qimmattanyáw, yayyá tan nalummág.	qágtu qantáy qunlaNúy, katún nalnár.	qéya byásaN kawé, nyápin me:lúnud ya.
	(He did not know how to swim, that's why he was drowned.)									
108.	kundí sya natu:túlog, kuma:káqin sya.	kun daqí sya nagtu:túrug, nagkákakán sya.	kun díriq hiyá nákatúrug, na:káqun hiyá.	qug waláq sya gakatulúg, gakaqún sya.	kun waláq sya nagakatulúg, nagakáqun sya.	baN syá way natutúg, nakakaqún sya.	nu saqán Na mátmatúrug, máNmaNán.	nu qarí yayyá makkakkatrúg, kúkkuman yayyá.	qagá qunuqugíp, maNákan.	nuN qéya mátudtúd, mámaNán ya.
	(If he is not sleeping, he is eating.)									
109.	bumáNon ka, qat kuN hindí, búbuhúsan kitá naN túbig.	magbuhát ka, kun daqí, búbuqbuqán taká nin túbig.	buhát qikáw, kun díka, yáyabuhán ku qikáw hin túbig.	pagbáNun, kay qug díliq, buqbuqán kitá qug túbig.	ma:báNun ka, kay kun qindíq, búqbuqan ku qiká saN túbig.	magbaNún kaw, battá kaw díq, busugán takáw tubíg.	bumáNuN ka, ta nu saqán, buyatáNka, ti danúm.	lukkáq ka, nu qarí, vurutát taká tu danúm.	baNunká, ta nu qandí, kalbwán takáy danúm.	mibáNun ka, nuN qalíq, tugtugán dakáN danúm.
	(Get up, if not, I will pour water on you.)									
110.	qalám ko kuN síno ka.	qáram ku kun siqisáy qiká.	maqáram qakú kun hínqu ka.	kahibalú kug kínsaka.	kahibalú qakú kun sínqu ka.	kaqiNatán ku baN hisyú kaw.	qammúk nu sinnú ka.	qammúq nu sinní ka.	qanták nu syupaká.	ba:lú ku na nuN nínu qíka.
	(I know who you are.)									
111.	qalám kóN si pépe ka.	qáram kuN si pépe ka.	maqáram qakú Na hi pípi ka.	kahibalú kuN si pípi ka.	kahibalú qakú Na si pípi ka.	kaqiNatán ku hi pípi kaw.	qammúk Na hi pípi ka.	qammúq tu si pépe ka.	qanták ya pípi ka.	ba:lu kuN qi pépe qíka.
	(I know that you are Pepe.)									
112.	syá qaN nagsábiN marúnoN kaN magsinuNalíN.	syá qan nagsábiN tataqú kaN magpútik.	hiyá qan násiríN Na maqáram ka magbuwáq.	syá qaN nagqiNún Na maqantígu kaN magbakák.	sya qaN nagsilíN Na kahibalú ka kunú magbutíg.	syá qin nagbaytáq maqiNát kaw magputíN.	qisú ti nagkuná Na nalaqíN ka Na qagswitik.	yayyá qin nakkaqí Na qammúm massíri.	sikatúy qaNibagán maqúN kan mantíla.	yá qiN sinábiN byása kaN maglarám.
	(He was the one who said that you know how to lie.)									

A DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM IN ACTION: A PROGRESS REPORT ON A PHILIPPINE CASE *

GELIA TAGUMPAY-CASTILLO, CONRADO M. DIMAANO, JESUS C. CALLEJA, and SHIRLEY F. PARCON

THIS PAPER REPORTS the experiences in the initiation of a three-agency [1] Cooperative Rural Development Project in eight pilot barrios. It is an attempt to describe the actions of key influentials and other barrio people to the workers and to the project; to isolate the different extension approaches and techniques used during the first six months [2] of the program; and to present some impressions on the effects of these techniques. An effort is also made to identify the so-called unintended consequences of certain featudes of the program. It is hoped that from such a report, insights on the stimuli that induce or inhibit change, and on the mechanisms through which changes occur, may be obtained to provide some of the in-between links which are sometimes missing in the typical before-after analysis of change.[3]

Introducing the Project and the Workers

In directed change an extension worker or any similar kind of change agent can hardly expect to be effective unless his role is accepted by his

* An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Seminar on Life and Culture in Asia, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City, on December 5, 1963, during the Asia Week celebrations.

[1] The three agencies cooperating in this project are the Commission on Agricultural Productivity, the Presidential Assistant on Community Development, and the University of the Philippines through its College of Agriculture, Farm and Home Development Office. In addition to the contributions of these three agencies, the project receives substantial support from Ford Foundatioin and the Agricultural Development Council, Inc. (formerly the Council on Economic and Cultural Affairs, Inc.).

[2] Field work started in March 1963.

[3] According to Hinkle, an adequate theory of change may be expected to offer answers to these questions:

(1) What is it that has changed?
(2) How much has it changed (extent)?
(3) How quickly has it changed (rate)?
(4) What were the conditions before and after change?
(5) What occurred during the transition?
(6) What were the stimuli that induced the change?
(7) Through what mechanisms did change occur?
(8) What brought stabilization at a particular point in change?
(9) Can directionality be observed in the change?

(See Roscoe C. Hinkle, "Howard Becker's Approach to Social Change," *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 2, No. 3, July 1961, pp. 155-180.)

clientele.[4] However, articulation between the target and the change systems is not unidirectional. The change agent must also accept his clientele within their own setting. To begin to develop such a mutual acceptance, the worker and the proposed program have to be brought to the attention of the target system.

In this cooperative project, the center of operations is the barrio so that municipal sanction was sought not so much as a legitimizing produre but as a form of ceremonialism. It was equivalent to an "excuse-me-may-I-pass" gesture in order to avoid being accused of trespassing. Neither the municipalities nor the barrios have anything to do with their having been selected as centers of operations. Besides relative degree of "virginity" (in terms of exposure to other agencies engaged in rural development) the other considerations in the choice of the barrios were requirements of research, supervision, and logistics. There was no possibility of turning down the project for the approach was essentially one of "Your place has been chosen to be the locale for this project. Give us a chance to work with you." This project is not unusual in this regard for many an action program is launched for a variety of reasons—implicit or explicit. Development of the place might very well be only one of its manifest objectives.

At the municipal level the project was presented as a three-agency package designed to develop the "chosen" barrios with the help and guidance of two teams made up of technicians in livestock, crops, local government and home management, who are based in the barrios for three years.

On the scheduled date and time for the meeting with the municipal and barrio officials at the Poblacion, one of the mayors was waiting for a bus to go somewhere else. He had "forgotten" the appointment which was confirmed by the workers two days before, and none of the barrio officials had been notified. He was politely apologetic but showed a minimum of enthusiasm for the project. His comments were quite revealing of his skepticism: "Could this be another *ningas bao* just like the Municipal Community Development Council which met only once and never again? Now, of all years, there are many agencies who purposely approach people offering projects like yours." It so happened at the same time that a representative of the NACIDA (National Cottage Industries Development Authority) was also around to explain their program and an EEA[5] gang was working in full blast at road construction. In the meeting which was finally held a week later, this mayor was also absent. He

[4] Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Sociology: The Strategy of Change,* Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957, pp. 18-19.

[5] Emergency Employment Administration.

was only represented by the municipal secretary who introduced the workers to the barrio lieutenants.

The other Mayor was more enthusiastic, although rather uncertain, as to what might be expected from the project. He emphasized the need for initiative, industry and self-reliance on the part of barrio people and ended with a note that after self-help, whatever assistance the workers might render, would be bonus. He considered it rather fortunate that their barrios were chosen. "If these workers had not really wanted to be with us, no amount of bribe would have brought them here." Unlike the first mayor, the latter gave the impression that the workers were most welcome. Typical politician's hospitality was his immediate "I'll pick up the tab" for the lunch which the teams and the project leaders had.

The questions asked after the explanation of the project leaned heavily on expectations of material aid, particularly from PACD.[6] An unexpressed concern for what-do-we-have-to-do-for-all-these was finally verbalized by one barrio lieutenant who shyly inquired as to who will be responsible for the workers' sustenance during their three-year assignment in the barrios. There were smiles of relief when told that the barrio folks would not have to support the workers. There was really nothing to lose, and who knows, perhaps there was something to gain.

The workers were introduced and the project objectives explained to the barrio people, through barrio assembly meetings. In some cases additional opportunities were made available to the technicians by the school teachers, when the former were invited to give short talks during the closing program of the barrio school. The first visit of one worker to the barrio was made possible by the teachers who endorsed him to the barrio officials. All the technicians emphasized the team approach not only to make people aware of the tri-agency tags to the project but also to focus on the different areas on which "specialized" help will be provided. Other residents, later on, tried to serve as informants on the project and the workers. However, there is a difficulty here, and it lies in possible distortions in interpretation as the description passes on from one mouth to another.

Self-introduction by nickname was used apparently to create the informal, intimate, and more personalistic identification of the workers. Three of the technicians referred to themselves as teachers in homemaking, crops or livestock. Even one of the community development workers introduced himself as an agriculturist with the idea of facilitating his acceptance by the barrio considering the predominantly agricultural en-

[6] Presidential Assistant on Community Development.

vironment. In spite of the nickname calling, he thought of allowing barrio people to continue addressing him with *po* and *opo* (polite appendages to statements made to someone as an indication of respect) and third person references in order to maintain a reasonable distance which he considers essential if he is to be taken seriously.

In order to minimize problems on which agency gets the credit, the teams were named after the two municipalities where the eight pilot barrios are located, but so far, this label is recognized and utilized only by the workers, the project leaders, and researchers, but not by the barrio people. The technicians made repeated explanations to differentiate themselves and their project from other government functionaries and programs previously assigned in the area, but even after six months, they are still frequently called *EEA* or *CD*.[7] Occasionally they are referred to as agriculturists from the *Kolehiyo*[8] and now and then someone identifies them as IPIS-DO (FHDO).[9] Sometimes it is a question of which initials are easier to say or remember. At any rate, Shakespeare's "What's in a name?" is not exactly applicable here, because people's initial response to the workers and to the total project is colored to some extent by the images they attach to these different labels, especially when they have had some experiences with the content of the labels mentioned.

Images of the Project and the Workers

The worker's presence in the barrio, his definition of his role, and explanations of project objectives and operations doubtless create certain expectations on the part of the barrio people. The following expectations and images were revealed in a variety of remarks:

A new hope is suggested in such expressions as: "This is a dream come true." ". . . . a rare opportunity for any place to be blessed with such an undertaking . . . ." ". . . . a very worthwhile program unlike some farmers' organizations who do nothing but agitate . . ." "The worker is the only one who could stimulate indifferent barrio residents to cooperative efforts for community improvement." "The present administration is very good for now we have agriculturists who can help us." "This is a new breed of public servant." "This program is rather late but we are glad that at last someone is here to teach us."

"Another one of those" is a type of reaction which reflects people's tendency to generalize from their experiences with other government agencies engaged in rural development. "Why are there too many such

[7] Community Development Worker.
[8] College of Agriculture.
[9] IPIS means cockroach. Farm and Home Development Office.

programs when there is nothing actually accomplished? What we need is demonstration—not lip service again." "Ah! We know. Your job is like that of the CD we had in our barrio." "The life of an agriculturist is an easy one. There was an agriculturist in our place who did nothing but sleep."

The technician as a worker paid for doing nothing is suggested in the following comment—"Your job is very enviable. You get paid regularly just for walking around and *pa-miting-miting lang* (holding meetings)."

The most common perception of the project is that of a *prospective milking cow*. Persistent insinuations on need for sprayers, vaccines, fertilizers, feeder roads, water pipes and other materials for unfinished or planned projects are familiar strains on an old theme—material aid.

Not a few barrio residents dismissed the project as a *political stunt*—a vote-getting gimmick for the then forthcoming elections.

The female technicians were mistaken for *Jehovah's Witnesses* who go around on missionary campaigns, hence some people had ready-made rebuttals.

One of the team members was suspected of being a *secret service agent* for he arrived on the day for registration of firearms. This is significant, considering rumors that *Stalin University* is just nearby. In this connection also, some staff members involved in this project did not feel very secure riding in an old army jeep assigned to them for use in these barrios, until a repainting job was done, with a more "neutral" color.

In certain quarters hostility was manifested when teams were thought to be *Irrigation Service Unit* personnel who came to collect fees for the use of what is known as *irrigutom* (starvation canals) for there was no water flowing through at the time.

Some of these images may be utilized as an entering wedge, a positive force the program can ride on; some leave the burden of proof on the worker and the project, while other misconceptions may be easily explained away. For the "virgin" barrios this project will, in many ways, determine the kind of reception future rural development programs will encounter. For the previously "exposed" barrios, the challenge lies in building on whatever creditable groundwork had been laid and/or rising above the weaknesses which characterized past programs.

Reactions of Key Influentials and Other Barrio People

Different groups of people exhibited different reactions after project objectives have been explained and team operations have been described.

The *school teachers* were, in general, appreciative of the opportunity to obtain some help in the area of rural development. "This is also one of our roles in the community and it's good that you can assist us along this line." Other said – "It will also be a chance for us to learn something new." Some teachers volunteered sites for demonstration lots and one was willing to have his poultry serve as a demonstration project. Of course these offers could have been inspired also by the prospects of technical as well as material assistance in some farming enterprises. A few teachers who were at loggerheads with the Barrio Council expressed doubts as to whether the team could initiate community projects in a barrio of "indifferent people who refuse to do their part in fencing the school yard and in repairing the schoolhouse." In short, these teachers wished the technicians *good luck* in their work with the barrio people.

The team members and the researchers have the impression that barrio school teachers are not necessarily influential outside the four walls of the school [10] although they serve as key informants for newcomers to the barrio. Non-residence in the place is probably one factor which contributes to the "outsider" status of the teachers. Although the responsibility for community improvement is marginal as far as they are concerned, the teachers are willing to pave the way for the acceptance of other functionaries who will undertake this task.

The *representatives of other government agencies at the municipal level* look at the team members as reinforcements rather than as replacements in the job of improving rural conditions. Willingness to cooperate was verbalized by personnel from the Bureau of Plant Industry, Bureau of Animal Industry, Presidential Assistant on Community Development and the Rural Health Unit. At least initially, these oral expressions were not really empty words for they actually attended barrio meetings and tried to coordinate their work with that of the technicians. The Plant Pest and Disease Control Officer and the Livestock Inspector contributed their share of chemicals, drugs, and services in tackling the disease problem. The physician works with the team on a sanitary toilet drive and one of the pilot barrios is also a model barrio of the Rural Health Unit.

In spite of the high percentage of tenancy and absentee landlordism and reminders on the role of decision-makers in legitimizing and sustaining change, so far no deliberate efforts have been made to involve landlords in the program. However, a lawyer who owns practically one whole barrio indicated his amenability to any innovations the workers may sug-

[10] Similar findings were observed in G. T. Castillo, P. S. Villanueva, and F. V. Cordero, *Leaders and Leadership Patterns in Four Barrios of Los Baños, Laguna,* Social *Research Div*ision, U. P. College of Agriculture, August 1962.

gest, for he recognizes that present techniques of cultivation are still at the primitive level. He even offered his lot for demonstration purposes. This reaction was manifested by the landowner in a chance meeting but his *blessings* were not deliberately sought by the team.

A positive sanction came from one *parish priest* who voluntarily endorsed the project in one of his evening sermons. He thought that barrio people, especially the teen-agers should take advantage of the agriculturists' presence.

However in *the other municipality* the *parish priest* expressed pessimism particularly with respect to two barrios which are notorious for gambling and drinking and which, incidentally, are commonly known as the *Tondo* districts of the town. The priest said, "Even in the distribution of free milk and corn meal, we are having a rough time. People don't bother to get their rations from Catholic Relief Services." The *Barrio Lieutenant* in one of these barrios bluntly stated, "If you want to be readily accepted in this barrio, introduce gambling and drinking." He was expressing his own frustration in initiating development activities. The community development worker who was previously assigned to this place asked for a change of assignment after two months. He was willing to go anywhere but this place. When he initiated Farmers' Classes, the barrio council said "Yes" but no one attended. People "philosophically" considered themselves as "graduates" and therefore did not need classes anymore, he was told.

On the basis of these reactions, barrios were impressionistically predicted to be *easy* or *difficult* for extension work. Exposure to the above-mentioned comments made the technicians assigned to the barrios define as *difficult,* apprehensive of unfavorable "evaluation" of their work in the future because of the anticipated obstacles. They began to ask whether the choice of barrios was final. Since the project leaders were not too keen on being accused of wanting to tackle only the *easy* barrios and since the municipal officials had already been informed of the project, withdrawing from these barrios was not deemed as a sound course of action. Besides, barrio assignments were made by drawing lots, hence the workers had an equal chance of being assigned to these barrios. By and large, the technicians concerned approached their assignments with a mixture of resignation, pessimism, challenge, and a note that in the evaluation of their performance later on, they should not be compared directly with other workers assigned to the *easier* barrios. It should be added that the very lukewarm, skeptical Mayor mentioned earlier is the Mayor of this *difficult* town.

Barrio lieutenants and council members from other barrios enjoined their constituents to take advantage of the team's presence. A touch of realism is usually added to their exhortation—"These technicians will receive their salaries regularly and will not lose anything even if you do not utilize their services." These barrio officials were grateful for the teams' location in their barrios and *hope* (with a flavor of wishful thinking) that "your" project will be successful. One council member was proud of the fact that he heard a news broadcast about the project and this gave people an elated feeling that their barrios might some day be *found in the map,* so to speak.

The *reactions of the other barrio citizens* ranged from verbal expressions of enthusiasm for new things in farming to a near-ultimatum statement that—"Unless something is done about our irrigation system, you can't expect much cooperation from us." This pronouncement is understandable for the project started in the midst of summer when the canals were practically dry. Many reactions were sort of wait-and-see. "If you can show us what can be done, there's no reason why we will not be interested." Again, a number of people also saw this project as an opportunity to collect on some of the unfulfilled promises made by past programs such as feeder road, school annex, etc.

The prospect of *help-in-reverse* was hinted in such remarks as—"Imagine! These people came here without our asking, so we should help them. *Kahiya-hiya naman.*" (We should feel embarrassed if we don't.) It will not be surprising if later on, farmers will regard their cooperation as something the technicians need in order to report accomplishments, stay on the job, and even merit a promotion. After all—how else can a technician justify his existence? In other similar action programs it has been reported that farmers plant hybrid corn or attend meetings primarily because of *pakikisama* (personal relations) with the technician and not so much because they are convinced of the merits of the recommended practices. This would not be "too bad" if the farmers did not revert to their old practices when the technician left. The attraction is more toward the worker as a person who is *mahusay makisama* (has good P. R.), an intimate personal friend, and not so much toward him as a professional crop technician. It is probably in such instances where too much of the personalistic rapport has been established and not enough professional acceptance generated. In this connection, it might be particularly apropos to cite the case of a home management technician in an action training program, who so endeared herself to the barrio people that not a few parents started building hopes of owning her as a daughter-in-law. She addressed the members of the family she stayed with as if she actually be-

longed to the family. It reached a point where this family embarked on definite wedding plans for her and their Stateside homecoming son so that she had to be officially relocated to some other place. What is amusing in this case is, that while she was loved by everyone and all cried when she left, her work as a home management technician was hardly known.

When one goes through volumes of technicians' diaries and researchers' field notes, an element stands out because of its conspicuous absence—being young does not seem to pose a barrier in gaining acceptance.[11] The acid test lies in the worker's ability to show what he knows and not in age *per se*. A municipal councilor put it aptly when he warned farmers—"Do not be *pilosopos* (smart alecks). What these technicians will teach you is a product of painstaking study." Thus far, old age is not a convenient passport nor youth, a built-in handicap as far as the change agent's acceptance is concerned. This phenomenon may be a reflection of changing values on age or increased respect for technical know-how or it may be a product of both. Being a female agriculturist does not seem to inhibit acceptance either. Farmers watch with amazement, a lady livestock technician injecting a carabao or castrating a pig. No taboos are manifested and these operations are not considered unwholesome for a woman to perform. They marvel at the realization that female workers have other areas of competence besides homemaking. Again, acceptance seems to be based on job performance, demonstration of competence, rather than on the sex or age *per se* of the worker.

Getting Established in the Barrio

Choosing a Home in the Barrio

Since residence in the barrio of assignment is one feature of this Cooperative Project, choosing a home was an immediate concern of every team member. Seven of the eight workers are staying with barrio officials' families or their close relatives. Only one worker is residing with a nonrelative of a barrio official but the arrangement was made by the Barrio Lieutenant. In anticipation of future events which might necessitate transfers of residence, all the boarding houses were made to understand the workers' *temporary* stay. Acceptability of the homeowner to the community, accessibility of the place to other barrio residents, and availability of

[11] So far, Sibley's observation that ". . . to be directed in village improvement by juniors in age was improper and insulting for such direction necessarily ignored or seriously modified traditional beliefs concerning age respect . . ." has not found support in this development program. (Willis E. Sibley, "Social Structures and Planned Change: A Case Study from the Philippines," *Human Organization*, Vol. 19, No. 4, Winter 1960-61, pp. 209-211.)

physical space for the worker were some of the considerations in choosing the workers' homes. Since the barrio officials were instrumental in settling the workers where they are now, it would be worthwhile later on to examine the possible influence of this pattern of residence on the technicians' work.

The temporary residence arrangement on housing was calculated as a provision for a gracious social exit if anything unsatisfactory would develop. However this proviso did not seem to minimize the commitment for a female technician, who discovered she had a tubercular landlady could not readily manage a way out lest the latter be offended. She had to take soft drinks for a while in order to avoid use of the same drinking glass. In another case, boarding with the overseer of the absentee landlord also had its disadvantages for the overseer is considered as an authority figure. This makes the technician somewhat marginal as far as the barrio is concerned but changing his residence poses a problem for him. He will not be readily accepted as a boarder in some other home because this behavior is not likely to be looked on favorably by the overseer. The choice of residence in the barrio functions as a status placer. When the worker is referred to as the *Agriculturist who lives with Mang Julian,* people's perception of him is not entirely dissociated from their perception of Mang Julian. It is also probable that the first choice of a place in the barrio may very likely be the final one, hence the implications of *Kilroy lives here* need more careful scrutiny.

In conformity with the expectations accompanying traditional barrio hospitality, all the workers reported their respective landladies' refusal to accept payment for their meals. What does this mean? Is this hospitality per se or is this, in certain instances, a deliberate attempt to start off the worker on a chain of *utang na loob* (debt of gratitude) relationships? This business-like arrangement of paying for meals is quite an innovation and perhaps one of the first in this program of directed change, hence barrio people are uncertain as to how it should be handled. This is contrary to the usual practice of their entertaining VIP's *gratis et amore* but it represents an important preliminary step toward defining the technician as a professional, fulltime, paid worker who has a special job to perform in the barrio. He is not just a visitor.

Even when the landladies were finally convinced to accept meal payments, they were still evasive on the question of how much. "Bahala ka na" (It's up to you.) was the typical response. In a situation like this, it is not uncommon for a person to actually spend more because of the mutual *hiya* (embarrassment) involved in quoting figures. The tendency to overpay is usually greater than the tendency to underpay to escape the

brand of *cheap skate.* One worker convinced his landlady to accept payment by arguing that the money for meals and lodging was given by the government, set aside specifically for the purpose. "If you don't accept this government money, it will go to my pocket. But that would be theft and I don't want to be a thief." Finally all the workers agreed on a price and they insisted on paying. Once the practice had been started, the *hiya* associated with it diminished. An evidence that barrio people are not entirely naive about the *multiplications* of expense accounts can be seen in certain instances when they bluntly inquired about technicians' salaries and per diems. "Perhaps you are receiving a big salary plus your per diems so you can save a lot." It is evident that simple arithmetical calculations have already crept into these remarks.

Establishing Rapport with the Barrio People

It is almost impossible to find literature on extension and community development which makes no mention of *rapport.* From different parts of the world come different approaches to the problem of developing harmonious relations with the villagers. In this project, a number of techniques—deliberate or unintended have been identified.

Visits to some barrio homes were done for two reasons: to know and be known. In the process of *making the barrio map,* the workers got acquainted not only with the geography and physical resources of the community, but they also met more people since some of the information they needed were supplied by the barrio residents. The *prelisting of households* in preparation for the farm and home management surveys served the same purpose of getting acquainted. *Groups of people* gathered around the *sari-sari stores,* the *copra dryer* or the *artesian wells,* were also objects of informal rapport-establishing conversations.

Unlike the more bureaucratic office jobs, in extension work, the dividing line between private life and official aspects of the position are not as distinct as the change from army uniform to civilian clothes of an army officer who is off-duty at certain specified times. The extension worker is on duty almost all of the time. Many activities which are ordinarily unofficial and personal may be of equal if not of greater significance to the job than the task of demonstrating methods of weed control. This also partly explains why formulating the job description of such workers is not the easiest thing in the world to do.

The *serenade* which is usually a romantic interlude serves some other purpose—not exactly unromantic—that of welcoming a female newcomer in the barrio. This is indulged in by both young and old. In such instances

the *singing talent* of the worker which may or may not exist is called forth by popular request and she is not in a position to say *NO*. During meetings, birthday and baptismal parties, fiestas or other barrio get-togethers, this musical talent is almost always tapped. Sometimes even *dancing the twist* on a dirt floor becomes part of the barrio people's expectations of the worker. *Eating with the fingers* even when offered spoons and forks was another *plain folks* device resorted to. When the team members gave their voluntary contribution for a funeral, the reaction was—"These people know how to be with us in the hour of need." Two male technicians literally *shouldered part of a roof* which was being transferred to another site—the *bayanihan* way.

Quite a deviation from the above practices of *pakikisama* (going along with the natives) the team members thought it imperative that they be defined as non-drinkers. This rule which they held to, tenaciously was proscriptive, not preferential, for the latter allows room for exceptions. To any one who has tasted coconut wine which is about 90 per cent alcohol, this rule can readily be appreciated as self-protection rather than strictly self-denial. Later on when drinks are offered by those who are not yet aware of the imposed prohibition, the informed barriomates do the explanation. The workers usually do not have to go through the whole script of their "dry" story.

Within the first months of barrio operations, workers' seriousness of purpose became apparent in a number of ways: getting into the rice paddies to demonstrate straight row planting, willingness to stay in the barrio for work even during Sundays, holidays, and in times of illness; arriving for evening classes in spite of heavy downpour, swollen creeks, and long muddy hiking distances. Such actions which convey a readiness to carry on above and beyond the call of duty, contribute substantially to diminish skepticism.

Workers' Perception of Their Acceptability to the Barrio

After six months of field assignment, the technicians were asked about the extent to which they have been accepted by barrio people. Five of the eight workers said they are *much accepted* and three indicated acceptance to *some extent.* The specific ways in which barrio people showed their acceptance were also mentioned by the workers. These evidences cited may be roughly classified into two categories: Acceptance of the worker as a *professional* and as a *person.*

EVIDENCES OF BARRIO PEOPLE'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE WORKER AS A PROFESSIONAL

EVIDENCES CITED BY THE WORKERS	NUMBER OF WORKERS MENTIONING THE EVIDENCE
1. Farmers consult the technician on crop and livestock problems. They go to his house or ask more questions after farmers' classes.	5
2. Farmers request the technicians to buy seeds for them or to arrange for artificial insemination services.	2
3. Barrio council officials approach the community development worker for local government problems.	1
4. Sometimes farmers invite the technician to visit their farms.	1
5. If somebody from another barrio needs technical assistance he is directed to the worker.	1
6. Some barrio residents help in assembling the group for the start of farmers' class.	1
7. Some barrio residents attend farmers' and homemakers' classes.	1
8. A homemaker commented that she can learn to sew, since the home management technician has arrived.	1
9. A husband commented that his wife was unhappy about the postponement of classes.	1

None of the workers mentioned any evidence of non-acceptance. Elsewhere in the technicians' diaries, reference was made to a status privilege accorded them in the barrio—that of being served first during fiestas or other meals. Inclusion in this first table service (primera mea) puts the worker on the category of VIP, although the gesture means more than just status recognition. It also represents first, and therefore privileged, use of limited supply of glasses, silverware, and plates—a highly appreciated privilege because of the equally limited water supply.

EVIDENCES OF BARRIO PEOPLE'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE WORKER AS A PERSON

EVIDENCES CITED BY THE WORKERS	NUMBER OF WORKERS MENTIONING THE EVIDENCE
1. Workers are invited to meals and barrio parties.	4
2. Barrio residents smile and greet the technicans or ask them to drop in as they pass by their homes.	3
3. Workers are allowed to share in the family or barrio secrets.	2
4. Workers are given gifts in the form of bananas, young coconuts, fish or poultry.	2
5. Workers are addressed by nicknames, without *po* or *opo*.	2
6. Workers have a joking relationship with the residents.	1
7. Barrio lieutenants commented that the technicians have good *pakikisama*—they are just like one of us.	1
8. In deference to the technician, one of the researchers who committed a breach of conduct, was spared physical punishment by the barrio officials.	1
9. When the researchers came to conduct the baseline survey, the technicians just requested the barrio council to help them.	1

Evidences cited on workers' acceptability to the barrio people tend to stem equally from personalistic relationships with the clientele as well as from recognition of the worker as a professional. While this distinction is not clear-cut even at an analytical level, the relation between intimacy with barrio people and effectiveness as a crop or livestock technician remains problematic. How much personal familiarity with the barrio people can be pursued without developing dysfunctions for the worker's professional role?

Approaches Used in Introducing Change

The extension worker, just like any other change agent, has his own bag of tools for getting things across. Some of these tools are deliberately held in stock to be pulled out when the need arises, while others are recognized as possible extension tools only after consequences have been observed. And of course every once in a while, the "standard gimmicks" generate unintended effects which result in a modification of the technique, if not a desired change in the skills, attitudes, and knowledge of the intended clientele.

In this project a number of these techniques have been identified and some impressions on their workings are presented.

Field Trip or Educational Tour

About two weeks after the teams moved into the barrios, a field trip organized by the incumbent Municipal Community Development Officer was conducted. The places visited were: two barrios in another town which were covered by the Farm and Home Development Office, the International Rice Research Institute and the College of Agriculture. Reactions to the field trip underscore the value of out-of-town visits as eye-openers on what can possibly be done in the barrios, if the barrio people only knew how. Healthy-looking pigs, sturdy rice plants, vigorously growing vegetables and attractive handicraft items all help to open up new vistas for the farmer and his wife. However, the "fancy" nature of experiment station projects somehow detract from the impact of the trip because farmers tended to conclude that such "growth" is possible only when labor, machinery, facilities, and money are *ad libitum*. The nylon netting used by the International Rice Research Institute to protect their experimental plots from birds and insects became the butt of jokes among the farmers. "If we could not provide mosquito nets for our children, how much more for our palay?" Studies on lodging which showed rice plants tied to keep them upright, proved equally funny. "How can anyone duplicate this even on half a hectare?" Shabby-looking pigs in nutritional deficiency studies brought sad comments. "Our native pigs look better than these."

On the other hand, projects shown to them by farmers in the two barrios visited, were immediately perceived as something feasible within their own resources. Besides exposure to new farming practices, a number of farmers actually bought seeds which were tried out right away. The next field trip six months later was better planned. The technicians had a dry-run on what to be shown at the Rice Institute and at the College of Agriculture, and the farmers were apprised as to what they were going to see. Incidentally at the Rice Institute, one of the first things that were explained, was the nylon nets and what they were for. This shifted focus away from the bizarre and the "inapplicable" to the experimental character of the rice plots before them. The visitors were then impressed by the amount of time, money, effort and study that go into the development of a particular rice variety before it can be recommended for use in their farms. The open forums which followed directly after each visit to the livestock, vegetable and crop sections encouraged farmers to ask questions. Because they were in their own small groups and were

accompanied by the technicians in their respective barrios, they were relatively uninhibited in their questions and remarks to the specialists who explained the projects.

Some of the manifest effects after the trips were the participants' contagious enthusiasm as they talked to friends and neighbors about what the latter missed. A few farmers bought weanlings of upgraded pigs—quite a substantial innovation considering the initial investment and the fact that such foreign breeds are practically untried in their area. Farmers in the barrios visited answered questions on the what's and how's of swine raising. Here again the other farmers' words seem to carry more credibility than those of the specialists' because the visitors appreciate the parallelism in their situations and resources. The attitude was—"If they can do it, why can't we?"

The field trip enabled some barrio people to witness a few things which challenged their existing beliefs; for example, that cabbages instinctively form heads even without the help of clay pots to give them shape; that cows can be sired by bulls from New York by the use of artificial means; and that even small farmers can afford to raise big, fat graded pigs. Bush sitao and hybrid corn seeds were also purchased when they were available. Inquiries on availability of certified rice seeds have been repeatedly made. It is rather disheartening that after arousing the farmers' interest on higher yielding and disease-resistant varieties, he could not adopt them because seeds are not available.

Another side effect of the field trip to the College of Agriculture is the validation of the technician's status as someone who really belongs to an institution devoted to the scientific pursuit of agriculture. Considerable prestige was given the technician when the farmers saw him quite at home with the agricultural experts.

Farm and Home Management Surveys

If the farm and home surveys had been conducted before or at the start of the program, they would have served the triple functions of baseline data for evaluation, background information for program planning, as well as convenient devices for introducing the project and the workers to the barrios. However, it was during the ninth month of the project that these surveys were finally completed. Inclement weather, farming operations, conflicts between time for farmers' classes and time for interviews, distances between houses and the hilly, muddy terrain prevented an early completion of the job. Such a situation leads to "contaminated" benchmark data. How baseline are baseline data gathered after 3 to 9 months of the program's operations?

During the first three months there was a reluctance on the part of the technicians to make deliberate attempts to start extension work for there was a conviction that survey results were prerequisites for extension efforts. Program planning had been practically nil at least during the first six months. Now that the survey results are available, it is interesting to see what use would be made of them, as far as program planning goes. As a device for getting acquainted with the barrio, the delayed surveys made some limited contributions by way of providing occasions for reinterpretations of the teams' functions which had already been misinterpreted at this point. To the barrio people, the surveys were explained as necessary indicators of where they were at the beginning of the project in order to determine whether the barrios will "progress" in any way after the three-year period.

The delay in the conduct of the surveys was justified on the ground that more reliable responses could be obtained from the barrio people only after the workers had been established and are known in the barrio. On the question of reliability, there can easily be positive as well as negative factors, depending upon the respondents' image of the worker who is asking the questions and their expectations from the project especially after they have been exposed to it for several months. Sometimes the impersonality of an interviewing situation lessens the "push and pull" of responses toward the direction of whatever mutual expectations exist between interviewer and interviewee. The attitude could be one of—"Anyway this person does not know me so even if he finds out what a backward farmer or inelficient housewife I am, I don't really care." The pressure to save face might be less in such situations than when the respondent is concerned with making an impression on the person asking the questions. At any rate, it seems that interviewer's familiarity with the respondent can affect reliability either positively or negatively. Timing is of extreme significance in the planning of barrio surveys if maximum benefits are to be reaped and if interviewing costs are to be reduced.

Farmers' and Homemakers' Classes

On the third month classes on crops, livestock, and homemaking were started. The discussions centered on livestock care and management, cultural practices on crops, and control of pests and diseases. Home management classes focused on clothing construction and plastic bag making. The emphasis so far has been on the introduction of specific practices such as weeding, spraying, straight row planting, fertilizer application, castration, inoculation, sewing, etc. Apparently these individual farming practices serve as convenient devices for the technician to get recognized as a person who has some skills in farming or homemaking. The econo-

mics of production and the concept of farm management have hardly been touched. Analyzing the total farm and home complex, taking stock of existing resources and assessing potentials for development at the individual farm level are tasks that have to be faced—in the light of the program's manifest economic objective.

Concern for the financial side of these lessons in farming is reflected in the questions raised by some farmers—"Of what use will all these classes be if we don't have the capital needed to carry out these recommended practices?" "Yes, we are learning how to construct a hog house but we have no money to spend on building one."

Attendance in farmers' classes during the first sessions ranged from 29 in one barrio, to 9 in another—but later on all the charts recorded dips in attendance. A more discouraging trend was observed in the homemakers' classes where attendance has gone down to three in one barrio and only one student in a certain barrio. In a research for explanations, a number of factors were mentioned by the technicians, the barrio officials, and the researchers. Among the factors mentioned were:

(1) Farmers are busy with farming operations during the day, so classes had to be scheduled at night but evening meetings are not the most exciting events for tired and sleepy farmer to look forward to.

(2) In most of the barrios, long distance hiking over muddy trails and deep rice paddies is needed to reach the barrio center where classes are usually held. Some farmers rationalized—"If people who live close to the barrio center do not all attend, perhaps the classes are not worthwhile."

(3) A number of farmers do not quite understand what the classes are all about.

(4) The intermittent rains make movement in the barrios difficult especially at night.

(5) There were some occasions when classes had to be postponed because the technicians were busy writing periodic reports. Such changes in schedule led to confusion and later discouragement in coming to classes.

(6) Many housewives have babies to take care of, so they send their teen-age daughters to learn sewing. Besides, for some wives, their picture of a "class" as schoolwork, makes them feel too old for such lessons.

(7) In a barrio divided into two factions known as "North and South Korea," the "North Koreans" are not inclined to attend classes held in "South Korea."

Measures taken to increase attendance in classes took the form of letters of invitations sent out by the technicians; barrio assembly meetings to reexplain why classes were being held; house-to-house campaigns; pos-

ters announcing classes; personal letter handwritten by the home management technician requesting the barrio council members to remind women about homemakers' classes; and appeals to barrio leaders to enjoin other barrio residents to attend classes. A big group turned out when movies were shown. Appeals to "hiya" and community pride by comparison with reportedly better participation in other barrios were made. Now and then the barrio officials reminded people that this was not just a *handout project.* "What will the top brass in Los Baños [12] say? What will the technicians say? We are good only in taking advantage of material aid but we do not cooperate with them in activities they initiate?" To some extent the responsibility for reviving classes fell on the shoulders of the barrio council members.

A *sitio-to-sitio* [13] rotational system of conducting classes in order to reach as many farmers as possible had its weaknesses because people attended only when the class was held in their own *sitio* but failed to follow the class in the next *sitio.* This disrupted the lessons which were started in one sitio with the intenion of continuing them in the next *sitio.* Implicit in all of these efforts to get more people to attend classes is the use of group size as a measure of attendance—a criterion often used to judge success in extension activities. Whether big attendance actually means effective development work is something that deserves more intensive study.

This problem of dwindling attendance also brings to the fore the reasons for holding classes. A cursory examination of the matter seems to indicate that "felt need" [14] was the basis for engaging in this activity. This is reflected in such statements of the technicians as: "Farmers are inquiring about classes. They are very eager to learn more about farming so they can improve harvest." "The women wanted to know when classes will be started." A few questions may then be asked: Who felt the need? The farmers? The Homemakers? or the technicians? Who among the farmers *felt* the need? How many people *felt* it? How many is *many?*

If the identity of the persons who reportedly felt the need remains almost anonymous, the extension worker has no concrete objective evidence that such and such persons have signified their interest in classes. Therefore he is not in a position to expect commitment from the barrio people to this particular extension activity.

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[12] Place where the College of Agriculture is located.

[13] A sitio is a district of a barrio.

[14] See Howard W. Beers, *Sociological Principles of Action: A Note Proposing Adaptive Research in Developing Countries* (a forthcoming paper). The author proposes some approaches in testing commonly-supported principles of action, one of which happens to be *felt need.*

What should be pointed out however is the fact that those who participated regularly in the classes appeared to be motivated by a serious desire to learn better ways of farming. Discussions frequently centered on intelligent questions raised, for example, How many times should hogs be vaccinated? Which of the recommended palay seeds could be planted this season? What do the number 8-13-0 in fertilizer bags mean? The few teen-agers and housewives who pursued their clothing lessons actually learned to sew their own clothes.

Every now and then there are farm *pilosopos* in these classes who put the technician on trial for what he knows. It has been observed, however, that these *pilosopos* are relatively subdued during discussions on livestock. The livestock technician who, among other things, diagnoses animal diseases, performs some surgical skills, and even writes prescriptions, has a little aura of mystery around him coupled with specialized skills not unlike the reaction to a physician. Cases of successful livestock cures make for dramatic illustrations of what a technician has to offer. Furthermore these particular farmers have not had much experience in livestock and are therefore not sufficiently armed with know-how with which to confront the technicians.

The barrio which was predicted to be the most *difficult* to work with registered the highest attendance in farmers' classes. This phenomenon was completely unexpected for at the start all the prognosis seemed to be negative. Gambling and drinking were the major activities of the people. A classical story is told of husbands who are willing to mortgage their wives for betting money. Another observation is made of tenants who, undercover, haul away part of the harvest before the landlord gets his share—an additional income invested in *cara y cruz* and *feria*. The first livestock technician who was assigned to the barrio never succeeded in organizing even a single meeting.

An analysis of the forces contributing to the shift in the plot of the story showed the following:

> The incumbent technician who was withdrawn in favor of another assignment was rather insecure about his competence in livestock. He felt that crops was more of his specialization. Perhaps this insecurity showed—so farmers never got beyond the skeptical stage. However the new technician readily won the farmers' confidence when recoveries were reported for the first cases of livestock diseases he handled. This became more significant because the owners of the animals are influential and respected persons whose endorsement of the project in the barrio was bound to be contagious. Another contributory factor—the loss of the barrio map and the list of households which were accomplished by the former

technician necessitated a repetition of the job. This gave the new technician an opportunity to make house-to-house visits during which he introduced himself, defined his role, and reexplained the whole project.

Answering Service Calls

To some extent the team members have performed service functions particularly for livestock cases of disease, farrowing, castration, deteething, deworming, and other similar jobs. One chronic problem encountered is the unavailability of drugs and other needed materials in the local stores. Several times the livestock technician bought the medicine himself only to receive a "Thank you" from the farmer and a post-script "Someday we might also be of help to you." The project's policy of "free service but no free drugs" deviates from the practice of two existing government agencies which provide free chemicals along with the services, hence asking people to buy them has its drawbacks. In the classes in clothing, the home management technician bought some materials for the homemakers but the women are rather slow in paying for these materials after they have been used.

Another type of service function is performed by the community development worker who is used as a contact person to follow up resolutions and to establish connections with different government offices from which assistance is expected by the barrio people. He is also called upon to help draft ordinances and resolutions for the barrio council and to clarify items that involve technicalities in the provisions of the Barrio Charter.

These service calls have so far been partly utilized as teaching, as well as acceptance-gaining devices. Castration and deteething have been demonstrated such that the farmers can now perform the operations themselves. In the process of treating sick animals a few deaths have occurred but the technicians used these casualties as *lessons from the dead* in terms of calling attention to the importance of preventive measures and prompt diagnosis of illness. A parallelism between animals and human beings is often drawn to emphasize the point.

Requests for local government, livestock or crops services also become opportunities for the technicians to invite people to attend farmers' classes and Lay Leadership Institutes for further enlightenment. One particular case of a sick carabao which recovered, led to the owner's endorsement of the project which he was not enthusiastic about earlier because it was identified with the barrio lieutenant who was his political rival.

Use of Visiting Experts

It seems that no development program proceeds without its battery of experts. The present project is no exception. A whole group of spe-

cialists was brought to the barrios for three reasons: (1) to expose them to situations existing in the barrios in preparation for future requests for technical assistance; (2) to provide first-hand technical guidance to farmers; and (3) to create an awareness of and to develop an appreciation for the specialists' role in the extension outreach of the different agencies involved in the project. In other words, the trip was intended to be a double-edged instrument to bring about change not only in the farmer's practices, attitudes, and skills but also in the potential change agent himself—the specialist.

In the barrio meetings some farmers brought soil samples, specimens of army worm and plants suffering from rice blast in order to get the "word from the experts." While the rest did not have specimens to show, they brought with them very specific questions on rice, bananas, citrus, and coconuts. They described symptoms in their plants and expected to obtain both diagnosis and prescription. After all—"Aren't these people experts?" The farmers were also preoccupied with soil analysis as a one-shot measure which would determine kind and quantity of fertilizers, varieties of rice to plant, and susceptibility of plants to pests and diseases. Obviously some soil experts have oversold soil analysis. When field trials and controlled experiments were recommended, there were shoulder-shruggings on the part of the farmers. "If they are such experts, what do we need experiments for?" Besides, tenant farmers were reluctant to assume the risks involved in field trials, without the landowner's consent.

When asked what chemicals might be used to combat disease in banana plants, one of the experts suggested that the diseased plant be pulled out, burned, and replaced with a more resistant variety. The immediate reaction of the farmers was—"We don't need an expert to tell us that. We do it all the time." The experts' proposed remedy appeared fatalistic for the economic (the chemicals cost more than the bananas) and the disease control implications of the recommendation which were obvious to the specialist were not obvious to the farmers. Another *faux pas* was committed when the first question asked by one specialist was—"Are your *kaingins* titled?" In an area where the current practice is illegal *kaingin,* such a question automatically puts the farmers on the defensive and inhibits further discussion.

In the question and answer session, conditional answers with if-clauses were not well received. The farmers were searching for definitive and to-the-point solutions to the specific problems they had in mind.

As a method of bringing innovations to the barrio this visit by the experts had its weaknesses but as a device for getting the "ivory tower"

expert and the bureaucrat initiated into the dynamics of extension work, it was a healthy "shocker." The stereotype of the typical barrio man as ignorant, naive, and reticent begins to give way. There is also the quick recognition that working with farmers is rather different from answering research questions under controlled conditions. And finally, the experts agreed that extension work is not exactly for the *low-brow*. In the *post mortem* analysis of their barrio exposure, the specialists pointed out that concrete technical questions in agriculture can not be adequately answered in a meeting. The actual field situations need to be seen and they would prefer to work through the technician rather than directly with the farmers. Preference for the latter course of action arises from the desire to avoid discrediting the *expertness* of the technician and the need to lean on him for his grasp of methods in communicating with farmers.

Lay Leadership Institute

One of the methods commonly used by community development workers is the Lay Leadership Institute which is designed to prepare local people for leadership in their respective communities. Among the topics covered in such an Institute are: importance of attending barrio meetings, responsibilities of a leader and of a group member, characteristics of a good participant, barriers in group decision making, provisions of the Barrio Charter, preparation of ordinances and resolutions, and keeping minutes and records of barrio meetings and other activities. Role playing is a technique frequently employed to dramatize some of the dynamics in group action.

During the sessions the participants tended to project their discussions into what was actually happening in their barrio. The characters described in the lessons were identified with true-to-life persons in the community, such that the uncooperative group member described became Ka Pendong or Mang Segundo. While there were cases when the individuals concerned were positively affected in terms of assuming responsibilities, in other cases the persons who perceived the similarity between themselves and the "undesirable" characters referred to, stayed away from the Institute because of embarrassment. A symbolic Tagalog song on community problems entitled *May Butas*[15] which was taught during the Institute, acquired a malicious connotation and a few persons spread the news that the Institute was nothing but nonsensical singing.

On the whole, however, there was an increased awareness of the barrio's rights and responsibilities under the Barrio Charter. In many instances this piece of legislation was explained to the barrio officials and

[15] Literally, this means "There's a hole."

other residents for the first time. Even the provision on the barrios 10 per cent share of the real estate tax which is one of the better known aspects of the Charter, was not understood. Some people thought this had reference to the crop sharing system. Barrio officials have expressed a conviction that municipal officials can no longer dictate to them. The inclusion of the Filipino flag and the Philippine National Anthem as one of the topics for the Institute drew favorable response from the participants. They remarked that so-called disrespectful or irreverent behavior toward the flag arises from ignorance and not from lack of patriotism.

The most conspicuous effects of the Institute lay in the immediate passage of several ordinances and the drafting of various resolutions after the procedures were learned with the guidance of the community development worker. Ordinances were passed imposing fines for non-attendance in barrio council meetings, for failure to put up toilets, and for allowing animals to go stray. Resolutions were drafted for all kinds of reasons: construction of artesian wells, extension of spring water pipes, purchase of site for barrio center, fencing of school yard, putting up of a barrio market, and even a blanket resolution to get any form of material aid from a Senator who happened to be passing through on a pre-election campaign. Resolutions and ordinances are regarded as instant solutions to many community problems. So far the ordinances have not been enforced and the barrio council faces the risk of embarrassment. However a few resolutions have produced pre-election *aid* from the Governor and the Congressman.

The Lay Leadership Institute, by the way, was not responsible for some existing practices in group action. The *committee* way of doing things is not a novelty at the barrio level. Before any LLI class was held, in one of the barrios people, had already launched the construction of a barrio hall using volunteer committees with their respective chairman. The same system of organizing barrio residents was utilized in preparing for the Community Assembly. Quite unique in this barrio also is the practice of feeding fiesta enthusiasts after the mass in a community kitchen instead of inviting guests to each individual household. Incidentally this was an expense-trimming innovation inaugurated by the barrio long before the Fiesta-for-Progress Movement. In this very same place, the barrio leaders appropriate existing indigenous institutions not only for sentimental but also for more "utilitarian" ends. For example, the needed barrio assembly meeting was scheduled on the day of the Flores de Mayo *alay* (offerings) and the last day of the nine-day prayer for the dead was designated as the date for the *bayanihan* (cooperative labor) on the con-

struction of the barrio health center. In both occasions, there were captive participants and prepared refreshments anyway.

The Politics of Material Aid

Material assistance which is a universal pattern of approach to development takes on a particular quality under Philippine barrio conditions. The Community Assembly which is purportedly designed to bring the provincial government and its incumbent officials closer to the barrio people, functions in many ways as a mechanism for dispensing public funds in politically strategic places. Barrio feeder roads, spring development projects, wooden foot-bridge, and barrio centers are credited by the barrio people to different politicians—Congressman, Governor or Senators. Laborers and timekeepers recruited to work on these various projects are of known party affiliation. Whether or not barrio people recognize that these projects are supported by public funds and not by personal finances of these politicians is not clear, but one thing stands out—people feel a sense of *utang-na-loob* (indebtedness) to these incumbents who gave them the aid.

There is an interesting example of a politically inspired case of a proposed grant of a site for a barrio center, provided the barrio council would endorse a resolution to the effect that they would support the candidacy of a reelectionist. The cost of the piece of land was ₱700 but the barrio lieutenant and other council members refused to sign the resolution lest the candidate withdraw the lot if he loses in their barrio. The barrio folks had a similar experience in the past when a defeated candidate took back the materials he donated for a schoolhouse before the election, hence, the refusal.

Another insight-provoking incident on grant-in-aid was witnessed when NAWASA (National Waterworks and Sewerage Authority) officials notified the barrio council of their intention to recall the unused water pipes given to the barrio about a year ago. A temporary crisis was created for they did not want to lose the pipes which were worth ₱2,500. In response to the crisis, the barrio's first move was to tap the PACD grants-in-aid program. Even after free labor was pledged, rough computation showed that the peso equivalent of labor was still inadequate for the barrio counterpart. The ingenious suggestion made by the barrio lieutenant was the possibility of reckoning the NAWASA pipes as part of the barrio counterpart since NAWASA is a different agency from PACD. This approach to grants-in-aid certainly adds a different dimension to the principle of governmental partnership with the barrio people.

The Role of Women

Although most administrators pay tribute to the role of women in action programs,[16] much of the emphasis has been on the sentimental and the inspirational, rather than on the real, down-to-earth functions of barrio women in development work. In this project there are a few illustrations on the distaff side's role in the many activities at the barrio level.

On the first visit of the team to the barrios, the technicians were impressed by the barrio lieutenant's mother who had all kinds of plans not only for their farm but also for their barrio. She is an example of powerful female influence behind the throne.

Several barrio council members' wives and even the local midwife (the *hilot*) attend farmers' classes and participate in the Lay Leadership Institute. They are as much interested in the discussions as the men—a phenomenon which has not been fully exploited by the technicians. A barrio lieutenant's wife who found out that attendance in homemakers' classes in other barrios was higher than that in her own, went on a house-to-house campaign to convince women that their barrio should be able to do as well, if not better than others. When her husband can not attend barrio council meetings, she is there to represent him not just symbolically but substantively. Another barrio lieutenant's wife was authorized by the barrio treasurer to handle the financial disbursements of the council when he could not do it himself.

The role of women as "communicators" is a stereotype that finds reinforcement in these barrios. Besides being key informants on what's what and who's who in the barrio, they also serve as radiating points for news about the project and the workers. The farmer's wife encourages or discourages him to participate in project activities. Wives of farmer cooperators in result demonstrations assume a major responsibility in the lay-out and maintenance of the lot, as well as in the disposal of the harvest either for friends and neighbors or for the market. She usually decides what the price tags will be.

Since the housewife is the uncontested treasurer in the Filipino family, her role in farm and household management can not be underestimated. While on the surface, extension workers acknowledge this fact, operationally they still behave as if women belong exclusively to homemaking, and men, to farming. However a livestock technician reports on what he considers an outstanding case of female decision-making:

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[16] For a provocative article on this subject, see Clifton R. Wharton, Jr., "Women in Economic Development," *Malayan Agriculturist,* Vol. 3, No. 9, 1962-63, pp. 11-21.

Three wives who joined the field trip to a barrio known for its swine-raising were so convinced of its potentialities that they decided to go into the business. They bought the pigs, looked for construction materials, and consulted the technician on the appropriate hog housing plan. What were the husbands' roles in this enterprise? They were the carpenters who built the hog pens after the wives had made substantial investments on stock and construction materials.

In the barrio, the men themselves showed evidence of deference to their women when the home management technician asked barrio council members their opinion on whether a formal homemakers' club should be organized or not. Their reply was—"We can not tell you. Let the women decide for themselves." This question came up because one of the women present during the first meeting of the homemakers, was pressing for an appointment of officers right then and there. The suggestion was made because her estimate of the situation pointed strongly to her possible appointment as leader—a shrewd insight for a scheming female. As the technician found out later on, she is a prestige-hungry self-selected leader.

Perhaps for the purposes of development work, it would be more fruitful to think of the Filipino woman in the rural scene as an active initiator, legitimizer, and decision-maker in her own right, rather than just a person who plays a more supportive role to her husband, her father, or her barrio.

A Few More "Possible" Unintended Effects

Sometimes a change agent's preoccupation with certain ends and commitment to specified tools of action lead to ramifying effects which may not always seem relevant to the stated objectives of a given program.[17] Throughout the previous discussion an attempt was made to describe some of the effects, intended or unintended, of different extension approaches. In this section, a few more unintended effects which are existing or may be forthcoming are cited.

(1) In the name of *pakikisama* with the barrio people, technicians have turned down the use of spoons and forks and to a large extent, ended up eating with their fingers. Their landladies in the boarding houses also praise them for willingness to eat any kind of food available in the barrio. For a home management technician, what leverage do these practices provide in terms of improving health, sanitation, and nutrition when the change agents themselves have been "converted" to the ways of the "natives"? [18]

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[17] See Philip Selznick, *TVA and the Grass Roots: A Study in the Sociology of Formal Organization*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1953, pp. 253-256, for a discussion of sources of unanticipated consequences.

[18] A similar point is raised by Albert Mayer and Associates in *Pilot Project*

(2) Participation in activities initiated by the workers is regarded by some barrio people as a favor to the worker. For example, taking down the names of farmers and homemakers attending classes was readily interpreted as a desire on the part of the worker to produce a long list for the benefit of his supervisor. This is probably a reflection of their appreciation for government agency's concern for numbers in evaluating the accomplishments of the worker. The researcher was once defined by the barrio people as a "chronicler" of the team's achievements.

(3) The acquisition of some skills in local government procedures may lead to an increased dependency on politicians since they are able to make resolutions embodying requests for more material aid. So far, resolutions have been used only for this purpose. Amateur experiences in making ordinances may result in the *penal* approach to barrio development—fines for failure to "develop."

(4) Some activities which seem to be remotely related to politics acquired political flavor during the pre-election period. Candidates tried to check on the technicians' schedule for farmers' classes and meetings, for then they just moved into captive audience for their campaign speeches. A transistor radio donated by CARE (Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere) became the source of partisan factionalism because an incumbent government official gave instructions to the vice-barrio lieutenant that the radio was for the exclusive listening pleasure of the Liberals. Actually the radio had been enjoyed mainly by the vice-barrio lieutenant's family. The factions which revolve around the radio greatly affect participation in development activities at the community level.

These instances cited above call attention to the need to comprehend not only the direct, but also the derivative, and even successive derivative effects of the different features in an action program.

Some Comments and General Questions

A descriptive view of the different steps taken in introducing change provokes a few questions and comments:

(1) It seems that the problem of rural development is not simply a problem of cutting the paternalistic ties with the *gobyerno* or any other father figure, but it is more a problem of shifting this dependency to the kind of dependency which arises from specialization and division of labor and not from paternalism. One of the pressing needs in this direction is the development of a "genuine" functionary at the barrio level

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India: The Story of Rural Development at Etawah, Uttar Pradesh, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1958, p. 20.

"Identification with the village people is all-important to the Grandhian constructive worker. This is usually equated with a sharing of all the people's hardships. One could only humbly learn from this identification with the villager. There might be the tendency to over-identify with the people's hardships, i.e., to accept so much of deprivation, so much of plain living and high thinking that the drive toward necessary improvements would be weakened."

who will fill the need for this latter type of dependency. Sometimes in the preoccupation with the social aspects of development, too much emphasis is placed on building relationships with the barrio people and not enough on the technical requirements of development. Actually as has been shown in the first months of work, convincing proof of technical competence in a field of specialization is one of the easiest ways to gain a foothold in the barrio. It helps overcome the barriers of skepticism and apathy, and serves as a point of entree for the worker to introduce more innovations. Seriousness of purpose, devotion to duty, and rural bias are essential requisites for work in the villages but these merely represent *intent* and not *content.* In spite of the social scientist's constant caution on the social and cultural factors in directed change, extension workers need to be reminded that technical competence is one of his most potent weapons and increased income, one of his objectives in development. Without them, he is like a teacher who is equipped with teaching methods but has very little to teach.

(2) The approaches used in introducing change have been mainly farmers' and homemakers' classes and Lay Leadership Institute. There is a semblance of SOP (standard operating procedures) in the identical subject matter and extension techniques used in the different barrios. A change agent, it seems, can use a substantial dose of analytical ability and creativity such that the utilization of these tools of action do not become ends in themselves. Quite contrary to the popular notion for the so-called practitioner, the need to indulge in abstract thinking and idea manipulation is as great, if not greater, than for the academician because the decisions of the former have more direct and immediate implications for human existence. Quite often, also, in the analysis of why changes did or did not occur, it is only in the target system that stimulators or inhibitors get identified. It is seldom that the change system is subjected to the same scrutiny as the village that responded or did not care to respond.

(3) What is the role of the home management technician? How does she fit into the overall scheme for development? An inquiry into her possible functions outside the limited scope of homemaking may make for a more effective entree into the home. The wife's active role as a decision-maker on the farm and in the community can not be dissociated from her role as a homemaker. Furthermore, the sequence with which different innovations are adopted by the family and the community should be examined. At what point during the development process does an improved kitchen, better-looking clothes, and better-tasting meals attract the barrio family's attention?

(4) Experiences at least during the first six months have shown that a development program can not be neatly insulated from politics. In cases where the technician's informed opinion is called for in matters which have political implications, what does being noncommital **mean? Does it mean neutrality** or does it mean a withdrawal from a situation where change might be needed?

(5) What is the role of a change agent in so far as local factions are concerned? Are local conflicts to be avoided, ignored, resolved or utilized by the worker as competitive rivalry for achievement?

(6) To what extent can the extension worker "go native" without being absorbed into the target system and without losing his perspective as a change agent? How much of the personalistic relationships with the barrio people can be pursued without jeopardizing his professional role as a change agent? How much cultural congruity is functional for a program of directed change?

Meaningful answers to these questions will not be forthcoming unless the designers of development programs step out of the operational details, the maze of administrative and logistic problems, and look at the enterprise as a totality. The innumerable events and activities that take place assume coherence only when the total configuration is visualized. Policies adopted depend upon the thoughts underlying the program and the explicit action taken is often circumscribed by the pattern of behavior within the make-up of each individual extension worker.[19]

[19] See Abbott P. Usher, *A History of Mechanical Inventions,* Harvard University Press, 1954, pp. 23-26, for a discussion of thought and action at three distinct levels: abstract ideas and concepts, patterns of behavior expressed as habits or policies, and explicit action.

"Asian traditions and cultures born centuries before christianity . . . still persist today . . . There are differences in social class structure, and in religious attitudes. But the varieties and individual characteristics of many of the countries of Asia have withstood the leveling effect of (the) common influences of landscape, imperialism, and social and political changes."

THE POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE—A SURVEY *

ONOFRE D. CORPUZ

THE INSIGHTS WHICH Mr. Teodoro Locsin [1] presented to us this morning only show that the products of the University just like the products of a fine brewery or a distillery improve with the years. In contrast, I would like to say that my remarks this morning were organized with some desperate haste, haste that is relative to the scope of the problem that I had unwittingly assumed for myself. Therefore, I can only provide you with a panorama of the background and atmosphere in which the politics of Southeast and South Asia are evolving. First of all, I would like to invite you for a look at the landscape. A passenger from a plane going over Southeast Asia, bringing with him a view of the Philippines, and crossing the waters to Indonesia or to the mainland, will be struck by the uniformity, the similarity between the geographical configuration of the Philippines and the natural landscape of mainland Asia; he will see the land broken up by mountain ranges, blanketed over by vast expanses of forests, deep valleys and wide plains broken by very slender ribbons of roads and highways, many of them just traces of trails. A huge cosmopolitan center, the capital city—that is the legacy of western colonization in the area, with only one or probably two smaller, very much smaller, satellite cities.

When we look at this landscape, the vastness, the underdeveloped character of the natural surroundings, relatively undisturbed in modern times, seems almost to engulf the limited incursions of man into his natural environment. So we have here one common characteristic of Southeast Asia.

Going now to South Asia, we find essentially the same characteristics, except that when we go into the fringes of Pakistan and India, we find

* Condensed from an extemporaneous lecture delivered during the Asia Week Seminar on *Politics in Asia*, at the Palma Hall Theatre, Nov. 29, 1963.

[1] Ref. to "Our So-Called Two-Party System" by T. M. Locsin, in this issue.

more formidable and vast natural formations. But this does not inject any important difference into the culture of South Asia. Having essentially a common landscape, the peoples of the region respond to essentially similar natural challenges, with the same answers, that is to say, they have developed basically the same technology. As a result of this similar technological response to the challenges of nature, the human relationships in South and Southeast Asia, of course with regional variations, have also been the same. The way people look at nature, the way people set up social relationships for intercommunication and interrelationship with each other; essentially these cultural elements have been the same.

In addition to the similarity of the physical, cultural and technological landscapes, we also find that these regions experienced identical institutional impositions from without—the subjection to Western dominance. The West came to this part of the world from the 18th to the 19th centuries, and imposed institutions of colonialism upon the entire region, with the notable exception of Thailand. It must, however, be noted that with the advent of Western imperialism, and this is not often pointed out, Thailand lost something like 90,000 square miles of its territory and was also compelled to extend many concessions to the surrounding colonial powers such as France and Great Britain. We have thus, essentially the same natural, cultural, technological landscape superimposed by a similar political pattern of a colonial character.

Finally in more recent times, another influence came to these areas, the forces of change brought about by the world war. The defeat of Western colonial powers in the hands of the Japanese imperial forces and the occupation of the area by the Japanese disturbed the *status quo*. The subsequent liberation of the regions by the Allied Powers brought about social and political changes of far reaching consequences. There was an increase in the movements of population from the rural to the urban centers. Social relationships—whether it be between farmers and owners of land, or whether it be between workers and employers—and political relationships, had been destroyed, rather disturbed, in the sense that the attitudes of the citizens or subjects had been changed in relation to those who governed them. And with eventual withdrawal of the West, we find this region experiencing an identical process of liberating political and social forces.

On the other hand, I would invite you to look at the individual character of each of these peoples. Asia is a vast continent. Many of the cultures and civilizations of Asia are very much older than Western culture and traditions. Long before the advent of the West, Asian cultures and civilizations had been firmly rooted in the lives of the peoples. These

traditions and cultures, born centuries before Christianity, continue to be strong in many Asian societies. Ancient traditions in India, Indonesia, in Burma and in Indo-China, still persist today; they distinguish each country from all the other countries in the region. There are differences in social class structure, and in religious attitudes. But the varieties and the individual characteristics of many of the countries of Asia has withstood the leveling effect of these common influences of landscape, imperialism, and social and political changes. In addition to these differences, there is the historical fact, that after World War II, the politics of the West, that is to say, the politics of the divided West, made its impact on Asia. Indeed many of the countries of Asia responded to this politics of a divided West, through selecting their alignment with either the Western bloc or the Russian bloc. These alignments, let it not be forgotten, including a neutral response, i.e., the response of non-commitment to either military bloc, have also divided or distinguished the countries of this area from each other.

By and large the result of the impact of these common characteristics on the one hand and of the dividing or individualizing factors on the other, had been to complicate the picture.

However, there are still very discernible, very obvious, common characteristics; and one that distinguishes all of these countries together is nationalism. Nationalism in the sense of emancipation, still more profoundly, in the search for their own destiny. For example, the identity that India is seeking for itself, is, of course, different from the identity that we in this country are seeking or trying to discover. And the same goes for each of the other countries. And yet although nationalism in this sense is an individualizing force, it is common to all these countries.

Another significant thing that is common to most countries in the region is that these countries, after the attainment of independence from the West, have adopted, with slight variations here and there, the political institutions of the former colonial powers. Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Malaysia and India have adopted the political and parliamentary institutions of Great Britain. The Philippines has adopted the American political pattern. And Indonesia owes very much more than what is usually acknowledged to the political and institutional practices of the Netherlands. Although this behaviour has been pervasive on all the countries of the area, we have here a different and unique response. It is a healthy sign that the response of these countries in their adoption of institutions from the old metropolitan powers have been selective. In many cases of adoptions, adjustments have been made. India, for example, does not have exactly the same pattern as that of Great Britain. She has introduced a

number of modifications which are different from Britain. Pakistan has certainly adopted many adjustments in the parliamentary system from the mother country. This is the same thing with Burma, Cambodia, and, of course we in this country, as Mr. Locsin has so clearly stated, are going in somewhat different direction than that which the institutions we borrowed from the United States would have indicated.

Aside from this broad panorama or presentation of uniform characteristics and individualizing tendencies, there are a number of historical events that have happened in the last 14 or 20 years in these various countries in Southeast Asia. These historical events have exerted a powerful influence on the developments of these countries. While considering the factors discussed, it is imperative to keep these historic events in view to set in proper focus the contemporary Asian landscape.

"A musician who can play Asian as well as European instruments would become less one-sided in his appreciation of music as a whole. It would be less incongruous to see him participate in the rendition of a Tchaikowsky symphony or the performance of a Beethoven sonata, . . . depicting the emotions and thoughts acquired from a culture not originally his own, in performing a kulintang *piece he is also producing sounds that are more representative of his cultural environment."*

THE PLACE OF ASIAN MUSIC IN PHILIPPINE CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY *

JOSÉ MACEDA

ONE OF THE FIRST reactions of some Philippine listeners to Asian music is that of perplexity or strangeness. Having been used to hearing only Western music, such an audience is apt to label this kind of music as foreign to his thoughts and feelings, or if he accepts it, he may relegate it to some lower musical category in his mind—such as folk music—not to be considered in the same level of appreciation as "art" music, or what is accepted as the music of Bach, Beethoven and other European composers. With some incredulity he may ask, "Why should we revert to Philippine primitive music when we have progressed so much with Western music?"

Views such as these are influenced by values stemming partly from Western musical aesthetics of the nineteenth century. At that time the idea prevailed that "art" music is more lofty than "folk," "primitive," and other forms of Asian music, but today, this notion is no longer accepted by serious scholars who find the most elevating qualities in many kinds of non-European music. In fact, a part of the reason why investigators search to unravel and analyze non-European music, is to understand better the finer elements that capture a listener who hears this music for the first time. A famous pianist, Leopold Godowsky, who visited Manila several years ago once spoke of the Javanese orchestra as follows: "The sonority

* This paper was read on December 2, 1963 in connection with the celebration of ASIA WEEK at the University of the Philippines, and again on Feb. 1, 1964, on the occasion of the Second National Music Conference of the National Music Council. In the former occasion this paper was preceded by a description of different types of music found in remote corners of the Philippines, some resembling the sounds of other Southeast Asian orchestras. Tape and disc recordings of the music were played to illustrate the lecture.

of the gamelan is so weird, fantastic, bewitching; the native music so elusive, vague, shimmering and singular that on listening to this new world of sound I lost my sense of reality, imagining myself in a realm of enchantment." [1] Such music that evokes feelings, images and programmatic sounds, and that has a well-developed theory is far from inferior to European "art" music.

Asian music in the Philippines or the music of the so-called "pagan" and Islamic groups is neither less artistic than European classical music. For example, the *kulintang,* an instrument with eight melodic gongs, employs permutations of tonal patterns whose complexity and variety are comparable to those found in European music. These arrangements vary from one performer to another to such an extent that it is possible to discern the distinctive styles of each player. Furthermore, there are virtuosi whose skill and mastery of their instruments approximate the European masters' command of their own. Rhythms on the gong, the mouth harp and other percussion are not necessarily those encountered in Western music, and they employ minute graduations of distance between sounds that are difficult to execute for one untrained in such rhythms. These examples are but a few among many other qualities that should dispel prejudiced notions against Asian music and that should paint a nobler picture of its role in contemporary Philippine life.

But, exactly how can Asian music be introduced in the Philippine society of today? Perhaps, two ways may be envisaged, namely: its instruction in schools of music and its performance in concerts.

In a music school one can begin the teaching of single Asian instruments such as the flute, the *kudyapi,* the bamboo zither and a variety of gongs with the help of teachers from northern Luzon and Mindanao. These instructors do not read music, but they are expert performers of their instruments; and they know how to impart their knowledge to others in the tradition of their culture, that is, by demonstration and repetition, or methods which are still the core of instruction in a music school. By bringing their teaching into modern surroundings, the music of old Philippine inhabitants will be handed to literate students who can then examine it from a vantage viewpoint—that of musicians trained with the rigorousness of Western music theory.

Larger musical ensembles may be obtained from Java and Bali where they are called *gamelan.* In the city of Surakarta in Central Java, there is a conservatory of music devoted to the teaching of the gamelan. Here, a student undergoes a progressive system of training in all the instruments.

[1] Kunst, Jaap. *Music in Java.* The Hague: Nijhoff, 1949, p. 249.

which number about fifty separate units. In the Philippines the most logical place for a gamelan would be the conservatory of music where the instruments can be housed well, and where there are students—already trained in Western music—who can readily follow the instruction of a Javanese musician. Eventually, as the school gains experience in the performance of these instruments which are those related more closely to a Philippine-Malaysian culture, other Asian instruments from Thailand, Burma, China and Japan can be introduced.

The teaching of Asian music in a conservatory of music would naturally enrich the school's curriculum and produce students with a much wider musical background—one that encompasses both the European and Asian traditions. In addition to an experience in European solo and orchestral playing, a student would acquire a new sense of musical balance in ensemble work. In the Javanese gamelan there is no display of virtuoso skill such as one finds in European orchestras, no conductor that is the cynosure of all eyes, and no notes to read, for each instrumental part has to be memorized. Since a performer is to study and play all the instruments, he becomes thoroughly familiar with all of them. In ensemble performance he listens attentively to the group as a whole, and tries to blend his tones with the sound of the whole orchestra.

European musical theory which consists of subjects called solfeggio, harmony and counterpoint would have to be amended to include Asian musical theory. For example, solfeggio alone would be an inadequate preparation for the singing of Indian *ragas* in which vocal coloring and ornamentation must be taught by live demonstration rather than by written symbols. In Japanese court music, tonal color and balance which differ from a European harmonic or contrapuntal sense would be important elements to be felt by each individual performer. As years go by, an accruing discussion, research and experimentation in the different facets of Asian music would enhance a further development of music into still unknown directions. Aiming at a new theory of an aggregation of sound, we still do not know what musical ensembles could be put together, or what instruments could be changed to conform to aesthetics sought for in these sound-aggregates. For this purpose, European and Asian orchestras need neither follow their usual instrumental composition nor produce their customary sounds. Neither do musical phrasings, effects, forms and textures require for their models classical examples taught in Western-type music schools, for if these examples were to remain the only norms for the cultivation of music, it would not be possible to really appreciate Asian music, much less create a new kind of music.

Indeed, the subjects and instruments taught in a conservatory of music —as they were formulated in Europe many years ago (in Paris, the Conservatoire de Musique was reorganized in 1795 and became a prototype of music schools all over the world), and as this type of instruction follows a similar line of thought in related schools—are out of date with the recent developments of music in the West and with the rise of new musical vocabularies among peoples all over the world. In the Philippines today there is a need to depart from this concept of a conservatory of music. Certainly, the piano, the clarinet and the violin must be taught with all the latest technics known for these instruments, but the kudyapi, the gamelan and the *p'ipa* or Chinese lute may also be taught. A musician who can play Asian as well as European instruments would become less one-sided in his appreciation of music as a whole. It would be less incongruous to see him participate in the rendition of a Tchaikowsky symphony or the performance of a Beethoven sonata, for although in the latter forms he is depicting the emotions and thoughts acquired from a culture not originally his own, in performing a *kulintang* piece he is also producing sounds that are more representative of his cultural environment.

The Philippine experience in Western music is long enough for native thought to reflect on how values learned from this experience can be tied up with Eastern musical values. It is in the creation of a new sense of aesthetics, perhaps in the search for musical expression or a new musical culture, that the performance of Asian music together with European music can be envisaged. Herein lies the second way Asian music may be introduced in Philippine contemporary society.

Today, a new creative consciousness in the arts and in music is in the offing; centers in Europe and America need other complementary sources of creativity in other parts of the world, and a logical place for such a center would be some city in Asia. In the Philippines perhaps more than in Japan, seeds for a nucleus of musical activity—that is, for a meeting or a regular performance, discussion and experimentation of both Asian and European music—are in more fertile soil, for in the Philippines there is a true Latin-European culture that has impregnated Philippine life longer and more intensively than it ever touched Japan. Thus, a European orchestra played by Filipinos is apt to represent Latin thoughts and emotions better than a similar orchestra of equal training played by Japanese musicians. Furthermore, the Filipinos are culturally closer to Indonesia, and are thus better suited to play gamelan music than the Japanese. Again, the Thai, Balinese and Burmese orchestras are more related to the family of gong instruments than they are to the native orchestras of Japan.

In Manila, the pooling of different types of musical ensembles from the Philippines, Indonesia and the Southeast Asia continent would prepare the audience to a new type of concert programming. While concerts of European music would continue as usual, programs displaying both European and Asian instruments would pit their sounds with one another and project listeners into contrasting musical atmospheres. For example, the European classic guitar playing Bach and Albeniz, followed by a rendition of Asian stringed instruments—like the *kudyapi* and the *p'ipa* which are lutes resembling a guitar—would be one way of furnishing such a program. European contemporary music has a special place in these concerts, for the instruments used by avant-gardes and followers of serial music are somewhat akin to the xylophones, sticks and gongs played in Asia. Thus, while a part of the Philippine audience would hear its familiar repertoire in regular symphony concerts and recitals, in a program that is a replica of those offered in Western cities, another audience seeking a new musical experience would listen to old and new European as well as traditional Asian music in the same program. His musical panorama would be much larger and more in keeping with his Asian surroundings.

It is in a center such as this—a place where both Asian and European music are taught with the highest standards, and concerts are planned with musical numbers from a variety of cultures—that the creation of music can find new ideas and materials to develop into even newer sound-forms. The character of this music would be quite different from that emanating today from America, France, Italy and Germany, and it is this difference that would inject a new light in the Western phenomenon that is called music-composition, an art which appears to find a narrowing source of materials in Europe. Music composition as an expression of personal thoughts, as "an aesthetic conception which is fundamentally artificial and abstract," an "unparalleled process containing qualities that have made music the purest and most precious creation of the human soul," [2] has fresh musical sources in Asia where it could acquire a new strength, and at the same time refurbish Asian music, instilling it with a language that is understandable to both the European and Asian traditions.

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[2] Hodeir, André. *Since Debussy: a view of contemporary music.* New York: Grove Press, 1961, p. 225.

"It is after all with this sense of integrity that artists, weded to their climate and culture, evolve the literary work that wells up from their imagination, and to say of the Asian writer he might serve his apprenticeship after western models is to deny him integrity. . .."

ASIAN LITERATURE: SOME FIGURES IN THE LANDSCAPE *

N.V.M. GONZALEZ

ABOUT ELEVEN YEARS AGO, the *Saturday Review of Literature,* in an issue devoted to the theme "America and the Challenge of Asia," published a reminder which even today needs repetition.

Bear in mind, it said, that—

1. Most people in Asia will go to bed hungry tonight.
2. Most people in Asia cannot read or write.
3. Most people in Asia live in grinding poverty.
4. Most people in Asia have never seen a doctor.
5. Most people in Asia have never heard of democracy.
6. Most people in Asia have never known civil liberties.
7. Most people in Asia believe anything different would be better than what they have, and they are determined to get it.
8. Most people in Asia believe that freedom or free enterprise means the freedom of Western colonial powers to exploit Asians.
9. Most people in Asia distrust people with white skins.
10. Most people in Asia are determined never again to be ruled by foreigners.

If it was at all possible to make these claims eleven years ago, they must have been pretty well borne out by the facts then available. Those facts, in turn, may well have found their way in the imaginative literature written by Asian writers. And if this again were so, how well or adequately have Asian writers made use of the material available?

To answer these questions, one must know contemporary Asian literature with perhaps as much if not so much more insight than one would use in reading English, American, or European. Unfortunately to all of us, Asian literature is an undiscovered territory.

This is a necessary limitation. If by Asian, we mean that which pertains to India and Ceylon, at one end, and at the other, that which per-

* This is one of the three papers read during the Asia Week seminar on *Literature in Asia,* December 3, 1963.

tains to Korea and Japan and southwards to the Philippines and Indonesia, the immensity of the territory is not difficult to grasp. Within these points must be included Burma, Cambodia, and Vietnam, along with Communist China, Malaysia, and the Republic of China.

To contemplate the truth of geography is immediately to wonder whether there is any person alive who knows the languages used by this not inconsiderable portion of mankind. There is no such person, and possibly there will never be. Reading Indian literature alone is a physical impossibility, since there are better than fourteen languages in which the imaginative life of that nation is recorded. Contemporary Sinhalese writing is done in three, including English; Chinese, in two, including English; that of the Philippines in at least three, including English, that of Japan in Niponggo, with some bits also in English—and, usually, that which is in English is not as well accepted as we might wish it to be. In other words, English is not an adequate window from which to view this landscape.

But for our purposes, it must serve. This emergency service has been tried before. Only last year, in fact, a conference of Asian writers was held in Manila. It was easily a linguistic impassé, for it was clear that the writers present had not read each other's work. All the same, there was considerable fellow-feeling, and one practical approach toward the future was adopted. The writers present agreed to produce an anthology of this or that form of literature, truly an ambitious effort considering the inherent difficulties.

It is with enthusiasm that we can approach our subject and make some acquaintance with Asian contemporary literature. It is as if with English as our window to the landscape, we might spot in the distance some awe-inspiring mountain peaks, some deserts and valleys, some rivers and plains.

Certainly Indian writing today makes up a veritable mountain range. It vies for our admiration with the Japanese, and, to a certain degree, with the Chinese. Because of the lack of translators and problems of publishing, there is a kind of mistiness all around, and clouds overhang the area corresponding to Indonesia, Thai, and Korean letters. Against these, however, we might surmise that that of the Philippines make up the foothills and valleys which, if verdant green in the sunshine, diminish into swampland in some places.

Unsystematic as my reading of Asian literature has been, among my books are a few titles which are veritable achievements in their genre. It would be no surprise, for example, if for his novel *The Makioka Sisters* (in Japanese *Sasame Yuki*) Junichiro Tanizaki will in the near future be

honored by the Nobel Prize committee. Here pride and over-refinement are evoked in a richly complex novel worthy of the highest international recognition. More recently, to cite a second example, Raja Rao published an equally long and impressive philosophical novel, *The Serpent and the Rope,* a fulfilment of twenty-five years of composition. I call it philosophical for want of a better term, because besides the story of a marriage between the Brahman, Rama, and the French history teacher Madaleine, it is actually an analysis, and a searching one, of the values of Eastern and Western societies. Raja Rao's novel comes to us straight in a remarkable English, in a style at once more eloquent than that produced by an Indian writing today, and this includes Narayan, Radhakrishnan, and Nehru; and in a style exhibiting as well an intellectual density which parallels that of *The Waste Land.* C. D. Narasimhaiah, of the University of Mysore, has described it as a book well worth waiting for adding that "Where others would have spread so much experience and learning over half-a-dozen, if not a dozen, novels (it is to them like putting all the eggs in one basket) depending on the gullibility of the reading public, Raja Rao, like Keats to whom poetry should surprise by a fine excess (to quote Keats again) loaded every rift with ore—it isn't, in this case, a cliche to say that there is God's plenty in this book."

Rama, Raja Rao's hero, says somewhere in the course of his autobiographical narrative: "We can only offer others what is ours, were it only a seed of tamarind, grandfather used to say." In this context, Asian writers have offered a good deal more than tamarind seeds. "Most people in Asia will go to bed hungry tonight." This bitter truth one encounters in Lau Shaw's *The Rickshaw Boy* as readily as in Humayun Kabir's *Men and Rivers* and Bhawani Bhattacharya's *Many Rivers,* an indictment of Britain's regime in India that remains long in a reader's memory. "Most people in Asia have never known civil liberties." And for verification we may well turn to Raja Rao's *Kanthapura,* to R. K. Narayan's *Waiting for the Mahatma,* even to the novels of Mulk Raj Anand and Kamala Markandaya, where Indian politics are in the warp and woof, the design at times so elaborate as to be misleadingly dialectical, but very much a part of the fabric of human experience, ineluctable for its variety.

If these titles mean anything at all to the prospective explorer in Asian literature, they should at least suggest an intense literary activity among writers in this part of the world. Unknown, except to the cognoscenti, is indeed the energetic and purposeful work in which Asian writers have been engaged. Prof. C. T. Hsia's *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction* provides an example of how a knowledgeable literary historian can present the panorama of a national literature without shying

off universal values at one end and extreme particularity at the other, so that a dramatic narrative of a nation's urge toward documenting its changing sensibilities becomes available to the serious reader.

I had the wonderful experience, not too long ago, of discussing with an American Sinologist some of the writers described in Prof. Hsia's history. Lu Hsun, Mao Tun, Ting Ling, Eileen Chang, Hu Shih—as these names were mentioned, it was as if we were going over the careers of a James Joyce, a Sinclair Lewis, a John Steinbeck, a Katherine Mansfield; so vivid was his image of those Chinese literary figures and so intimate his knowledge of their work. Doubtless a similar experience awaits those who can talk of Akutagawa and Mishima and Kawabata, or Martin Wickremasinghe of Ceylon, Dot Mai Sod of Thailand, Achdiat K. Mihardja of Indonesia, and others.

With understandable rashness, we are almost led to say that we have read too much Western at the expense of Asian literature. The language handicap has always been there, naturally; but our avowed interest in Western literature must be regarded as doing a disservice by diverting us away from the Asian. Or, perhaps, another way of expressing it is to say that the success of our sustained interest in Western literature can best be judged by our gratification of a similar interest in Asian literature.

Unfortunately, we have had to depend on Western translations of literary works from our part of the world; and this has worked considerable disadvantages on a curiosity which might have developed more fruitfully, even to the point perhaps of encouraging our acquisition of the requisite linguistic tools for our own exploration. One wonders whether exposure to the romances of Chinese courtly life as described in, say, a popular book of the thirties, *Chinese Love Stories,* could have sufficed to inspire interest in Chinese, so that when, later, Chinese literature dropped *Wen Yen,* the formal language, for the *Pai Hua* of the Literary Revolution, one would indeed have become twice removed from so instructive and refreshing a source of insight into human experience.

It took Lafcadio Hearn to discover Japan for the popular taste of the literary West, and when upon this new awareness came the figure of Akutagawa, with his myth and terror—is it a wonder that translation of Japanese novels and short stories have become popular in the West? Tagore, of course, opened up to all the English-reading world, our part of it included, wide vistas of Indian literature. But for how long was it that only Tagore and his poetry dominated the view? Even today, Bengali literature, to which Tagore really belongs, is closed to us, despite the fact that of all Indian literatures, it was Bengali that responded most

promptly to the modern sensibility, it would be the literature with which we could have found the earliest and fondest kinship.

Self-pity over our having been put astray aside, it might be interesting to discover a few directions and trends. The Western influence on Asian literature is a much advertised fact. To read Desai's *The Setting Sun,* with all its gloom and despair, is indeed to affirm it. Or to be told that Tagore held that the short story is like a glimpse of life viewed from the window of a boat-house as it floats down a river is to place Western short story techniques of the thirties pretty close to his own.

It was the returned student, the late Dr. Hu Shih, that gave new direction, it is suggested, to present-day Chinese writing, even as translations of Steinbeck and Hemingway ushered Indonesia. It is held, therefore, by many that Asian literature is seeking a way to be on par with that of the West.

I do not believe that it is worth the effort, if any effort must be expended at all. If Dr. E. R. Saratchandra, writing about Sinhalese literature, tells us that "it is attempting to express new attitudes and new conceptions introduced into (our) society as the result of the contact with European culture," I am inclined to believe that the result will be as nearly Sinhalese as it will not be Western. When I am told that Chekhov and Maupassant have molded the Indian short story, I am apprehensive of the imitations. That the numerous translations of European literature into Japanese did not so much as provide specific models as encourage Japanese writers "to break away from sterile traditions and to describe in a more or less realistic way the brave new world that they saw growing up about them"—this perhaps is closer to the truth about Japanese as about any other Asian literature today.

The Icelandic writer, Haldor Laxness, writing about his encounter with Tagore's *Gitanjali* once remarked: "In my country, as elsewhere among Western readers, the form and flavour of the *Gitanjali* had the effect of a wonderful flower we had not seen or heard of before; its great attraction was a direct stimulus for many poets to undertake new experiments in lyrical prose. Even as far as the Scandinavian countries there was a vogue in lyrical prose directly originating from the newly acquired knowledge of Tagore. I, among others, tried my hand at this form in my youthful days, but without success, perhaps because I did not realize that *Gitanjali's* form is entirely secondary to its substance. I guess this was the common reason why most of Tagore's disciples in the West were bound to fail. The physical foundation of Tagore's poetry, the tropical warmth and growth, was lacking in our environment to make this kind of poetry imitable here. The manifestations of the Divine in *Gitanjali* could be admired

by us, but they were conditioned by a climate entirely different from ours, which also means that they were the products of a different culture. In India the all-embracing tropical God is nearest the soul in the shade: the naked beggar is sitting there with a transcendental stare that might just as well belong to Prince Gautama. In our country we shall freeze to death if we sit too long in the open pastures thinking about the attributes of God; or we shall be blown away by the storm which is normal weather with us."

It is after all with this sense of integrity that artists, wedded to their climate and culture, evolve the literary work that wells up from their imagination, and to say of the Asian writer he might serve his apprenticeship after Western models is to deny him that integrity. Indeed, it is with justice that Ivan Morris has remarked of the Japanese novel that while the modern novel and short story are essentially western forms as we know them today, as far as content goes, the Japanese writer, "can lean back on a tradition of his own." A blending is more readily expectable rather than a copy or an imitation, new vitality rather than borrowed life, new voices rather than echoes from somewhere.

Voices, however, suggest a language: and here we come full circle to what we originally remarked upon, except that we have forgotten a meaning to the term language which is more pertinent to art than to mere communication or non-art. Asia, one is tempted to say, has a common language. It is the language of experience, the language which says in different words the same meaning, as for example: "Most people will go to bed hungry tonight." That language, to me, is the essential factor that will continue to make Asian literature flourish: a common past under varied colonial cultures, a common prayer today for peace and progress, a common awareness of the great possibilities of the human person.

"He belongs little less to us than to his country." That was Robert Frost's view of Tagore's poetry for all its overflow beyond national boundaries. Asian literature, should it spill out more and more beyond Asia, in the language of experience that all humanity speaks, should indeed first belong little less outside than within Asia itself.

". . . What kind of government, the question must finally be raised, do we have? Is it worth defending? Is it capable of true reform? If there was a one-party system, true reform would not be possible except by some stroke of magnanimity on the part of the party in power . . ."

THE SO-CALLED TWO-PARTY SYSTEM IN THE PHILIPPINES *

TEODORO M. LOCSIN

USUALLY A SPEAKER is expected to tell people things instead of asking them questions. I am afraid I will raise more questions today than I shall answer.

Our government is supposed to rest on the separation of powers. The separation of powers among the three branches of our government— the judiciary, the legislative, and the executive—coordinate but independent of each other. This is insurance against one-man rule. It makes possible, the due process of law, which in turn insures our constitutional rights—freedom of speech and of the press, freedom of assembly—the right to assemble and petition the government for relief of grievances; the writ of *habeas corpus* and the opportunity to change administrations through free elections. All these are supposed to rest on the doctrine of separation of powers.

And this doctrine, we are told, is maintained by the two-party system. One-party government would mean dictatorship, as in Portugal, Spain, Indonesia, not to mention the communist states. Now, do we have a two-party system? If we have none, then how can we call ourselves a democracy? But if we have a two-party system, how explain the constant political turncoatism, the interchangeability of parties? Why do Filipinos change parties as often, it sometimes seems, as they change their shirts? Is it because Filipinos are less honorable politicians than others of the breed? You may recall what President Macapagal said about turncoats. about people who manage to jump on the bandwagon of the political party in power? How deplorable their conduct! And you have noted how the President embraced them enthusiastically when it was his turn to be in Malacañang.[1]

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* Condensed from an extemporaneous speech during the Seminar on *Politics in Asia,* November 29, 1963, in connection with the celebration of Asia Week in the University of the Philippines.

[1] Note: A statement attributed to the President, said that those Nacionalistas who joined the Liberal Party were patriots (Ed).

Or is there only one party with two sections, but representing the same vested interests? Two sets of gangsters instead of good men and bad men? Do we have here a contest between the "goods" and the "bads," or merely a quarrel over spoils?

At the same time, we are told by political scientists, the sophisticated intelligentsia, to vote not for men but for parties. And this advice to vote straight in elections brings together intelligentsia and party hacks, independent voters and blind party followers—all voting the same way, voting for party rather than for the candidates on the basis of their individual merits. We are told by the sophisticated that individual merits are an irrelevance. "Good" men can do nothing for the people in the wrong party. Democracy is party government. The naíve vote for men, and the non-naíve vote for party. On the other hand, is it not also true that there is no basic difference between the Nacionalista party and the Liberal party?

Let us consider the history of the two parties. The Liberal party was formed in 1945 when the late President Sergio Osmeña, Sr. refused to step aside in favour of Manuel Roxas, causing split in the Nacionalista Party. And so the Liberal party was born. It was called the Liberal wing of the Nacionalista party—Liberal, with a capital L. And at that moment they were split over various issues, one being the collaboration issue. The collaborators, or those accused of treasonable collaboration with the Japanese enemy, rallied to the banner of Manuel Roxas who ran on the Liberal ticket. The anti-collaborationists, the guerrillas—(Montelibano, etc.) —joined forces with the Nacionalista party. Collaboration was an issue. The Liberal Party maintained that there were no collaborators, and that collaboration was a myth. Yet, not many years later, the principal collaborators or those accused of collaboration such as Claro M. Recto and Jose P. Laurel, Sr. became the leaders of the Nacionalista Party, the anti-collaborationist Party. So, for one year, the Nacionalista Party and the Liberal Party were divided on the issue of collaboration, and two three years later, the so-called collaborators were leading the Nacionalista party against the Liberals! Take another example, the issue of Parity[2] and puppetry against the Liberal Party. The Liberals were in favor of Parity, the Nacionalistas against it. The Liberals were accused of being compulsive puppets of the United States, and the Nacionalistas liked to describe themselves as truly for Philippine independence. And that was developed later under the slogan of 'Filipino First' under the Nacionalista regime of President Carlos P. Garcia. It was on the issue of 'Filipino First' that President Macapagal accused the Nacionalistas of veering away from the

[2] Note: Refers to Parity rights granted the Americans in the exploitation of natural resources in the Philippines (Ed).

United States and leaning toward neutralism. And yet under President Macapagal, we hear the Foreign Office speak of a 90° turn in the U.S.-Philippine relations. From personal knowledge, I would say that the 'New Era' really made the U.S. government, not to mention the British, very unhappy over Malaysia. Now, is this being a compulsive puppet? And still another issue that proved in time no longer an issue: It may be recalled how the Nacionalista Party and the Democratic Alliance, among whose leaders were Luis Taruc, Jesus Lava, etc., joined forces. And their platform included, I think, Land Reform. And now the Liberals have taken up Land Reform! The Nacionalistas are opposing it vehemently and have termed it unconstitutional and, together with Senator Lorenzo M. Tañada of the Nacionalist Citizens party are fighting it tooth and nail to stop its passage. I was denounced by the Nacionalistas, I am happy to say, twice on the floor of the Senate for advocating Land Reform.

And of course, the issue of graft and corruption. Interchangeable, the Nacionalista and the Liberal policy have been the same. Are the two parties, therefore, the same? If they are the same, then what makes rampant political turncoatism, an awkward word, easily understandable? And it makes party loyalty, a mere matter, if you want to use the word 'mere,' of personal honor, of individual loyalties. A man may be too honorable to change allegiance just like that. A man may consider it dishonorable to join the party in power and consider it beneath his dignity to be an opportunist. But actually, no political principles would be involved if the two parties were the same.

But if the two parties are one, then why don't they get together and establish one-party rule, ultimately dispensing with elections with their terrific expenses and, of course, the anxiety of losing? Is the reason perhaps this, that if we have two parties instead of one, it is because there is really no ideological differences but the fact that there are not enough spoils to divide? Abraham Lincoln is reputed to have described the problem of a winner in a presidential election in these words: Not enough teats for everyone. Take a pig, and there are too many little piglets, not enough teats for every one—not enough offices, not enough favors, not enough loot to be distributed to everybody.

If the two parties are really one, then should we vote? If the two parties are really one, and we should vote for party and not for men, then why vote at all! If the two parties are really one, why bother. Whoever wins, it would be the same party in power. Or, should one vote for money? Then one would get some benefit out of the casting of one's vote. Or, should one then, not the intelligentsia, but the naive, go to the polls to vote for candidates on the basis of individual merits? But the election re-

sults, if there was only one party instead of two, would not disturb the social order. The poor would still be poor, the rich as rich, if not richer than ever. Reform, true reform, would be more hopeless than ever. What would be the agency for change if there were only one party? The social order would be frozen in eternity.

Hence, the need, if we want reform from a true opposition, a true two-party system, a party representing the common people. In the American set-up, for instance, there are the Republicans and the Democrats between whom, I understand, are real differences. One is more liberal and the other more conservative—two concepts of government. In the Philippines, however, is there any such true difference of attitude to social and economic problems? If there is none, there is indeed a need, it would seem, for another party—a party of the people. What are we to do, meanwhile, pending the formation of a truly effective, significant party of the people. How are we to vote while the choice is limited to the Liberal and the Nacionalista tickets?

II

On the other hand, if there were only one party, then how explain civil liberties? How explain judicial independence. The constant reversal, for instance, of President Macapagal, by the Supreme Court? And the Supreme Court getting away from it? Why do we have no police state which is usually identified with a one-party system? Do we have here democratic ritual without democratic substance? If so, then there should be no change. Has there been change, however, since independence? Yes, I think. Nationalism has become respectable, that is change. Land reform, too. Since Macapagal is for land reform—he managed to push land reform—watered down though it may be but not too bad, through Congress—to vote against his candidates, would that not be to vote against land reform?

Ah, what agonizing reappraisal I went through! I may not like his guts, I may hate his guts. But if I voted for those no good Nacionalistas, those no-good anti-land reform legislators, would I not be voting against land reform which is so necessary for democracy to have meaning and substance for millions of Filipino peasants?

Maybe we have won a measure of freedom—impossible under a merely ritualistic democracy. And we have the 1965 elections which Mr. Macapagal may lose. Is this possible under a ritualistic democracy? They say that in Mexico whoever is nominated by the dominant party is sure of winning the election. The convention is a preview of the election. The convention is the real election, and the election is merely a ritual. But

here, we know that whoever is nominted by the party in power usually loses. How do we explain this if there were only one party? Incidentally, some professors from the University of the Philippines told one of the writers of the *Philippines Free Press* that Mr. Macapagal was performing a very healthy and good service for democracy because he disturbed the social order and created healthy tensions. Without tensions, there would be no reform and no true change. But if tension is a healthy element, a necessary disturber of social order, making possible social change, why then should we not vote for the person responsible for it or his candidates? Yet, the same professors said they would vote Nacionalista.

There is a cultural lag, it seems to me, a disparity between principle and conduct. What kind of government, the question must finally be raised, do we have? Is it worth defending? Is it capable of true reform? If there was a one-party system, true reform would not be possible except by some stroke of magnanimity on the part of the party-in-power. If our government is democratic, then it is capable of reform and, therefore, worth defending; assuming of course that one believes in democracy and reform. But what kind of democracy, do we have? With its questionable claim on the two-party-system, with its convertible politicians, with its rampant political turncoatism? What is the difference between the Nacionalista Party and the Liberal Party, a real difference if any? Do we have here merely a case of 'ins' and 'outs'? Does the election issue, election after election, boil down to this: throw the 'in-rascals' out by voting the 'out-rascals' in? The constant change of rascals, is this the foundation of our democracy, on which our constitutional rights rest? Or has the superstructure of a libertarian tradition become the base on which is being built a new society? A regime increasingly responsive to the needs of the people, the demands of a nation? Does consciousness determine being? Do ideals determine the establishment of social order? In contradiction to the Marxist dialectics, or in accordance with it? I do not know really. Which comes first, which is dominant, ideals or class interest? If ideals, then the unfinished revolution may be finished by non-violent means. Institutions may be changed without overthrowing them. This is the question that I want to leave with you: What kind of government do we have? Is it a democracy? And as we usually associate democracy with the two-party system, do we have the two-party system? If we have none, then we should have no democracy and if we have no democracy at all, why then, what do we have that is worth defending?

A STUDY OF PREJUDICE IN A PERSONALISTIC SOCIETY: AN ANALYSIS OF AN ATTITUDE SURVEY OF COLLEGE STUDENTS–UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES

GEORGE HENRY WEIGHTMAN

Summary:

IN 1955 A QUESTIONNAIRE designed to explore the nature of stereotypical thinking and of cultural animosities in a non-Western cultural context was distributed to college students at the University of the Philippines. An analysis of the data supports the earlier observations that there is a tendency for Filipinos to prefer Caucasians (especially Americans) to Orientals (including even certain Philippine sub-groups). Perhaps the most significant findings of the study are: (1) demonstration of the inapplicability of an American-type "vocabulary of prejudice" to another culture and (2) the implications of such a study of *antipathies* for an understanding of the nature of Philippine culture as a whole.

Questions in American studies dealing with the issues of *antipathies* and of *social distance* which have been found to be highly correlated with items in the universe of prejudice in the different context of Philippine society appear to be correlated to a universe of social relations. Only in the examinations of the "extreme cells" (which are not scale types) was it possible to detect any indication that antipathy of personality, values, contacts, and general background questions.

Prejudice: Its Universe and Correlates

Gordon Allport has defined prejudice as a "feeling, favorable or unfavorable toward a person or thing, prior to, or not based on actual experience" and as "thinking ill of others without sufficient warrant." [1] This definition, by its nature, tends to conceive narrowly of prejudice as "negative" or "against" while it actually could be "positive" or "for." Robin H. William's description is more encompassing: "prejudgement of individuals on the basis of some type of social categorization . . . a generalization which operates in advance of the particular situation in which it is manifested . . . a cluster of cognitive judgments, implying a set of behavioral expectations . . . and a set of evaluations of good and bad, superior and inferior." [2]

[1] Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, pp. 6-9.
[2] Robin M. Williams, Jr., *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions*, p. 36.

Conceptually, prejudice may be viewed as a form of automatic thinking in which the ascription of certain traits is done on the basis of some simple categorization. "I dislike the color purple" is a simple statement, a statement of dislike or antipathy. However, the observation "since it is purple, nothing can be good about it" would represent a prejudicial remark.

The conceptual mappings of the dimensions of prejudice would include subuniverse of normative behavior and indices of social distance, antipathy, stereotyping, hypothetical interactions, and personal interactions. In the attempt to point out prejudice in the American context, American social scientists have long been able to use successfully in surveys question items dealing with these various indices in order to study the nature of prejudice in American society. This has been possible because questions of antipathy, social distance, and stereotyping are known to act as indices of items in the American universe of prejudice. They correlate so closely with prejudice that they may be viewed as "equivalents."

Of considerable heuristic interest is the question of whether or not, given a society with a cultural context for social relations different from that of America, the concept of prejudice can be universally indexed by items of antipathy, social distance, and stereotyping similar to those found so effective in America. Seemingly, the Philippines, for more than fifty years profoundly influenced by American culture, would not be expected to provide the ideal setting for such an inquiry, but as students of Philippine society are aware, such apparent resemblances prove quite superficial upon analysis.

The study presently being discussed chose for the purpose of economy and administrative ease to use in the analysis of a particular social context affect items from the dimensions of social antipathy and stereotyping (which has been defined as "an exaggerated belief associated with a category. Its function is to justify [rationalise] our conduct in relation to that category.") [3]

The Philippine Cultural Setting

The issues of ethnic antagonisms and of prejudice in the Philippines operate in a society which is personalistic and particularistic to a marked degree. Concern with social relationships is pervasive and profound. Dyadic, rather than collective, interaction is both paramount and crucial. Consanguine, conjugal, and ritual extensions of the kin relationships are

[3] Gordon W. Allport, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

all important. In such a non-collective oriented society, the phenomenon of cultural pluralism partakes of a form in sharp contrast to the pluralism of American life. Almost eighty languages or vernaculars are spoken in the Philippines. The seven or eight largest native language groups each numbers more than one million speakers. While all of these are "related languages," they are not mutually intelligible and tend (especially in the past) to reinforce the particularistic orientations of kin, village, and regional ties.

Four hundred years of Hispano-American colonialism has made the Philippines the most Christian and superficially the most Westernized of all Asian nations. Actually, the Philippine *peoples* have preserved a rich indigenous institutional framework, albeit influenced by the Sino, Hispano and lastly American cultural patterns. Nevertheless, this identification and esteem for the West among certain elements of the society have been coupled with a disdain for the Asian cultural forms – of both the alien Asian residents and certain Filipino groups which possess values or demonstrate practices perceived as deviating from the desired Western patterns.

The potentialities of these cultural antagonisms have been complicated by the presence of non-Christian native enclaves (the "pagans" and Muslims) and by a sizeable Chinese minority [4] which, in spite of its social rejection and its politically precarious position, has long wielded an economic power out of proportion to its numbers. Sino-Filipino interaction in the past has been characterized by massacres, communal rioting, severe legal restrictions, expulsions, and legally imposed ghettos. At present the Philippine government is engaged in an extensive, but hardly systematic, campaign to bar "aliens" (i.e., Chinese) from a considerable portion of the economic life of the country. Yet while anti-Chinese feeling has always been marked, there has always been widespread intermarriage among Chinese and Filipinas (i.e., Chinese *men* and *Philippine women*). A large proportion of the Filipino population is of relatively recent Sino-Filipino ancestry. Thus, the final argument of the American Southern White, "Yes, but would you want your sister to marry one?" is in the Filipino context inappropriate and not indicative of Filipino feelings of antipathy toward the various minority groups.

The minute Western (mainly American and Spanish) communities [5] of considerable economic power and social prestige, an Indian resident

[4] The number of Chinese who registered in 1958 was put at 145,750 by the Philippine Bureau of Immigration. Estimates of "ethnic Chinese" range from 300,000 to 750,000, with the lower figure probably closer to the actual number.

[5] Registered American and Spanish citizens total only a few thousand. However, the social picture is obscured by large numbers of naturalized Filipinos of "mixed" ancestry—especially Spanish mestizos.

group [6] famous in the Filipino folklore for its magic-sexuality and for constituting the "bogeyman" of all Christian Filipino children, and the recently (post World War II) repatriated Japanese community have also produced occasions for discord in the past and at present. However, the point should be made that while the typical Filipino village (*barrio*) or small town often possesses the features of a homogeneous and mutually cooperating extended kin group, the larger towns and cities possess (by Filipino standards) heterogeneity that Americans would associate with New York City at the height of the various waves of migration. The villager has a word for the outsider or stranger (*taong-labas*). To the villager transplanted or uprooted to the city, the Chinese, the "Bombay" (Indian), Spanish *mestizo,* the American *tourista,* and the Filipinos who are not his kin (*kamag-anak*) nor even his village mates (*Kababayan*) are all "outsiders." (*taong-labas*). Thus, antipathy to the Chinese (or any other ethnic group) embodies elements of antipathy to the non-kin. While at times (which might be quite often) such "compounding" intensifies ethnic animosities, on the level of individual interaction, personalistic contacts and elaboration of ritualistic kinship ties can conceivably dissipate such antipathies.

At the same time, overt prejudice and anti-locution against the Chinese in the Philippines operate in a socio-political context strikingly different from that of America. For in America, despite all the marked expressions of socio-economic discrimination and conflict, ethnic and racial prejudice runs counter to the basic American *credo,* posing what writers have termed the "American dilemma." Discrimination against fellow-Americans creates ambivalent feelings which even the most zealous bigots must attempt to rationalize. This is not necessarily the case in the Philippines where discrimination and anti-locution against the "alien," the stranger, and *taong-labas* find overt expressions in folklore, law, and society. Thus, anti-locution, cultural antagonisms, and ethnic stereotyping are far more overt in the Philippines than in the United States. Yet, given the personalistic orientation of the traditional Philippines society, prejudice may be expected to be more differentiated than in the American context.

The 1955 Study

Various social distance studies in which American Whites and Spaniards were preferred over the Chinese, Indians, and Japanese (particularly after the war) in that order, had long been taken in the Philippines as a demonstration of Filipino preference for Occidentals over Orientals.[7]

[6] The registered number of Indians totaled less than 2,000 in 1958.

[7] Joel V. Berreman, "Philippine Attitudes toward Racial and National Minorities," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington,* XXV:2, June

(The fact that social distance scales *correlate* with rather than are necessarily equivalences of prejudice was often obscured.) None of these studies, however, passed far beyond the most elemental aspects of the social distance method nor were they productive of data on the more complex discussions of opinion in the area of inter-group relations. In 1955, while a member of the Department of Sociology of the University of the Philippines, this writer attempted a construction of a survey of attitudes which would closely parallel similar studies that had been carried out in America. This admittedly exploratory account was designed to produce some insights into the forms of stereotyping and social antipathy taken in a particularistic rather than a universalistic culture.

In July 1955, the questionnaires were distributed in the first term course of Sociology, which was then compulsory for all students at some time in their college career. Since the classes were compulsory and controlled by the surveyor, the choice of the first term sociology students was obvious. There had been no previous discussion of ethnic relations in the class sections. The original sample numbered 672, of which 654 were Filipino citizens. But it should be borne in mind that in their sociology classes – to say nothing of their university contacts – there were foreign nationals (e.g., Chinese, Indians, Vietnamese, Americans, and Spaniards). In addition, a handful of the Filipino "citizens" are "ethnic" Chinese or "ethnic" Spaniards, while many more are of recent "mixed" ancestry. Almost half of the sample (313) were in their first year of college. Sophomores accounted for 233 of the remainder. Certain peculiarities of the general Philippine educational system led to the following age distribution: [8]

16 years and below (i.e., 14 to 15)	156
17 years	169
18 years	159
19 years and above	170

Although Sociology 11 was a university-wide required course, students from the College of Liberal Arts numbered 583 of the total sample of 672. The sex ratio in that particular college reflected itself in the sample – there being almost twice as many girls as boys in the sample. In the analysis, these background factors of age and sex are controlled; they

1957, pp. 186-194 summarizes the various findings of S.E. Macaraig, Benicio T. Catapuzan, Chester Hunt, and Akhtar Sharif Kanwar. Kanwar's *A Study of Social Distance between some Filipinos and Sixteen Other Ethnic Groups* is the most elaborate and Philippine oriented of these initial studies.

[8] Since there are only ten years of pre-college schooling and many children commence school before the legal age of seven, it is quite possible for a college freshman class to include many fourteen and fifteen year olds.

are discussed here only to note that any sample drawn from the University of the Philippines would *not* possess the characteristics usually associated with an American state university.

Analysis: Climate of Opinion

A perusal of the marginals of questions relating to social distance, antipathy and stereotyping tend to support most of the previous findings about Filipino preferences for Westerners. Interactions of various types with Westerners (Table I) are persistently perceived as less distasteful than with other Orientals or even a Filipino sub-group (the Moros). Table II presents the marginals dealing with traits or characteristics frequently attributed to various groups in the Philippines. Again the Americans fare better than the Chinese and various Filipino groups. Few members of the sample agreed with unfavorable descriptions of the Americans. The Spaniards present an unusual contrast. While faring relatively well with respect to marriage and partying (Table I) they are regarded as possessing, at least by American standards, certain unattractive attributes. The response to the Chinese characterization is rather provocative:

TABLE I

Preferential Directions of Marginals N = 654

	Number	Percent
Distasteful to eat at the same table		
Q. 51 American	107	16.4%
Q. 47 Chinese	155	23.7%
Distasteful to dance with		
Q. 52 American	130	19.9%
Q. 48 Chinese	199	30.4%
Distasteful to have a relative marry		
Q. 54 American	248	37.9%
Spanish	317	48.5%
Chinese	415	63.5%
Indian	455	69.3%
Distasteful to attend party where others are		
Q. 53 American	287	43.9%
Q. 55 Spanish	375	57.0%
Q. 60 Moro	419	64.1%
Q. 57 Indian	421	64.4%
Q. 49 Chinese	434	64.4%
Q. 59 Japanese	445	68.0%

TABLE II

Stereotypical Directions of the Marginals

Agree		Number	Percent
Q. 36	Leyteños: lazy and ignorant	110	17%
Q. 40	Americans: insincere	127	19%
Q. 41	American aid for P.I. for self interest	128	19.5%
Q. 37	Better to have fewer foreigners here	279	43%
Q. 39	Moros: cruel, inclined to run amok	370	56%
Q. 42	Members of the Iglesia: fanatics	384	59%
Q. 38	Chinese: dishonest in business dealings	421	65%
Q. 44	Spaniards: proud and high hat	543	83%
Q. 45	Chinese: better businessmen than Filipinos	547	84%

they are deemed to be dishonest and far better businessmen than the Filipinos.

Actually the story which the marginals tell may be deceptive. There is indeed an impressive progression in the preferential directions of the marginals. True, an increasing number find it "distasteful" to eat, dance, marry, and party with various ethnic minorities. There is a clear preference for Westerners over Orientals. However, analysis of the matrix of responses to all the items revealed that the responses indicating preferences or antipathy for these alien and native groups do not form a scale pattern. In other words, these sets of antipathies cannot be said to refer to a specific discussion or variable "antipathy," but on the contrary, indicate differential responses. Many who find it distasteful to dance with a foreigner would *not* find it distasteful to eat with, or even have a relative marry one. Many who would not find it distasteful to have a relative marry an American, Spaniard, or Chinese would find it distasteful to party with them. Regarding Chinese as dishonest, Spaniards as "high hat" and proud, and Moros as cruel was seen to have little relationship to whether or not one would find it distasteful to have a relative marry one or to party with them. Indeed, a large part of those who did *not* find it distasteful to mix with Chinese or Spaniards agreed with descriptions of these groups that stressed certain unpleasant traits attributed to them.

How, then, to explain this seemingly erratic behavior? Actually the responses were anything but erratic; they graphically mirror the particularistic nature of social life in the Philippines. Items in America which belong to the universe of prejudice are found in the Philippines to be involved in a universe of personalistic social relationships. Thus, the question, "Would you find it distasteful to dance with a Chinese?" is

asking not only about one's reaction to a Chinese but also to one's reaction to dancing. Anyone who finds it distasteful to dance must inevitably find it distasteful to dance with a Chinese. Although Filipinos, as a group, are quite fond of Western dancing (in contrast to other Southeast Asians), a not too small minority find it immoral *per se*. Similarly, it might be demonstrated that the question, "Would you find it distasteful to eat with a Chinese (or an American)?" involves more than a mere response to a specific prejudice.

The question, "Would you find it distasteful for a member of X group to marry your brother or sister?" probably most sharply represents the case where for American and Philippine societies the concepts are not the same. In the particularistic and personalistic Philippines, a member of X group who marries one's sister is perceived not as a member of X group but as a brother-in-law. In contrast, to go to a party as an outsider is to go into a social situation unstructured by previous personalistic ties. Many Filipinos would thus find such a party distasteful whether or not X group were Chinese, Americans, rich men, paupers, engineers, or members of another Filipino kindred. In effect, to many Filipinos the question is perceived as asking, "How would you like to feel that you didn't belong at the party?"

Whereas the question dealing with social interaction was confounded by Philippine perceptions of social relationships, those dealing with stereotyping were confounded often by a literal grasp of social realities in the Philippines. One of the individuals concerned with the project once asked. "How can these statements (Questions 36-44) give an insight into prejudice? Most of them are true." In the more literal Philippine context it appears that the non-prejudiced, just as the prejudiced, will agree that most Chinese businessmen are dishonest (most Filipino businessmen are similarly regarded), that most Spaniards (who are upper class) are "high hat" and proud, and that members of the Iglesia ni Kristo (who possess some annoying evangelical techniques) are fanatics because *they are.*

Fifty years ago in America, dialect jokes and overt stereotyping of minority groups were so widespread that they could hardly be used as effective cutting points to differentiate high and low prejudice groups. Now, however, it is assumed quite accurately that the use of stereotypical epithets and thinking closely mirrors prejudice in America. In the Philippines often extreme (by American standards) stereotypical verbalization by a Filipino tells one surprisingly little of how the speaker will respond to a specific Chinese (or other ethnic group member). The widespread anti-Chinese sentiments in the Philippines are generalized rather than

specific in their application. Ironically, the American-style patronizing form, "Some of my best friends are X" is rarely used in the Philippines, largely because it is not seen as germane *to ethnic animosity.* That one's father or brother-in-law is Chinese is not viewed as relevant to whether one feels Chinese as a group to be dishonest or un-Filipino. Similarly, regarding Spaniards as "aristocratic," "luxury loving," and "snobbish" (as Berreman found in 1955)[9] has little to do with their preference rating in general or with social interaction on the individual level.

Analysis of the Extreme Cells

In an effort to study prejudice itself or at least its correlates of social distance and antipathy unconfounded by factors identifiable with questions of social relationships or of social realities, analysis was directed to those elements of the sample group who had consistently agreed or disagreed about the Chinese. These statements included:

1. Do you think you would find it distasteful:
   a. To eat at the same table with a Chinese?
   b. To dance with a Chinese?
   c. To go to a party and find that most people are Chinese?
   d. To have a Chinese marry your brother or sister?

2. Do you dislike the idea of going to a university with Chinese, or don't you mind it?
   a. I dislike the idea.
   b. I don't mind, but I rather not.
   c. I just don't care.
   d. I like to have some Chinese in the university.

Those who agreed with *all* parts of (1) and endorsed either "a and b" of (2) were classified as "anti-Chinese" (n = 49). Those who disagreed with *all* parts of (1) and endorsed *either* "c or d" of (2) were classified as "non-anti-Chinese" (n = 85).

The addition of the statement:

3. Although some Chinese are honest, in general Chinese are dishonest in their business dealings. ——Agree ——Disagree was found to reduce the respective groups from 49 to 40 and from 85 to 48. An analysis of these smaller sub-groups revealed a *persistence* of the same trends observed with the larger extreme cells subgroups. However, since the smallness of the latter subgroup weakened the statistical significance,

[9] Joel V. Berreman, *op. cit.*, p. 191. Although Dr. Berreman assigns "luxury-living" as an undesirable trait, this may not be the Filipino estimation.

attention here will be devoted to a consideration of the large subgroup extremes.

Table III provides some insight into these extreme "types." The "hostile" group has a higher representation of girls, is younger, and less advanced in their college careers. City folks tend to be less "antipatico" than the *poblacion* inhabitants, while there does not appear to be much difference with respect to the minute sample from the *barrios* (villages). Education of the parents provides an interesting pattern, in contrast. In general, there is little difference between the extremes with respect to those having college graduate parents, but those who are less "antipatico" are more likely to have merely elementary educated parents while the "antipatico" are more likely to have high school educated parents. In so far as educational attainment (in the Philippines especially for women) reflects one's SES it would appear that antipathy is least among those poorest, not decisive among the richest, but most marked among the "middle class" section of the society. Father's occupation provides probably the most crucial insight into the pattern of the mechanism of Philippine Sinophobia. It is *not* those who are in competition with the Chinese (i.e., those in commerce) nor those who are dependent economically on the Chinese (i.e., those in skilled or unskilled trades or farming) who are most critical of the Chinese. Rather, antipathy is most marked among families of educators who train the future generation, professionals and government officials and employees. It is precisely these elements who constitute the most Westernized portion of Philippine society. With respect to the figures in "home dialect," the most important finding is that there appears to be no significant finding. However, this runs counter to a previously widely held belief that Tagalogs were far more prejudiced than other language groups in the country.

TABLE III

General Background Factors of Extreme Cells

(49) 5− %		(83) 5+ %
	Sex	
26	Male	40
74	Female	60

	Residence	
45	City Inhabitants	55
51	Town (poblacion)	42
4	Village (barrio)	5
	Mother's Education	
14	Elementary or less	29
27	High School	19
59	Some College or More	52
	Father's Education	
4	Elementary or less	18
18	High School	11
78	Some College or More	71
	Age	
32	16 and below	15
47	17-18	60
11	19 and above	25
	College Year	
48	First	47
40	Second	29
8	Third	19
4	Fourth	5
	Home District	
59	Tagalog	64
18	Ilocano	12
12	Visayan	12
	Father's Occupation	
21	Government	16
50	Professionals and Educators	262
17	Commerce	31
4	Skilled-unskilled	9
0	Farmer-Landlords	7

Table IV depicts the relation of such antipathy to such factors as contact, values, and personality. In this area, at least in the Philippines, the pattern of Sinophobia bears marked parallels to the American pattern of ethnic prejudice. The "simpaticos" have had more contacts and more socially meaningful contacts than do the "antipaticos." With re-

spect to questions on values and personality, the "prejudiced" Filipino mirrors the same traits associated with his American counterpart.

Table V relates Sinophobia (or its absence) to antipathy to other ethnic groups. Here again, the contrast is marked. The Sinophobes' antipathies directly mirror the marginals, (see Tables I and II), whereas for the non-Sinophobes the negative response is relatively low and their antipathy to fellow Asians is not much greater than that towards the Westerners. Among the Sinophobes, there is a pronounced tendency to view Americans in a more favorable light than even various Filipino groups (Leyteños, Moros, and Iglesia ni Kristo). Nevertheless, as observed before, in the Philippines a social reality is perceived as a social reality. Hence, even the non-Sinophobes are inclined to see the Chinese businessman as dishonest, the Iglesia ni Kristo as fanatical, and the Spaniards are "high hat." (However, they do so with more restraint than do the Sinophobes). Both extremes equally regard the Chinese as better merchants than Filipinos.

TABLE IV

Sinophobia Related to Contact, Values and Personality

%		%
	Contact with Chinese	
20	Considerable pre-college *school* contact	55
25	Short period " " "	25
65	No " " "	40
	Contacts in Recent Week	
35	None	23
20	One	11
31	2-4	34
6	5-9	11
6	10 or more	21
	Occasions for Recent Contact	
40*	Classes-University contact	38
25	Organization, Crowds, Games	42
17	Neighborhood	9
15	None	8

* % for occasions of contact relates to number of contacts given: 52 for prejudiced; 116 for non-prejudiced.

	Values	
62	Cannot trust people	47
	Most Important	
34	Doing what is expected	27
4	Having fun	1
31	Being friendly	46
31	Being successful	25
	Personality	
61	Feel uneasy meeting strangers	31
33	Feel guilty often	25
47	Sometimes	63
20	Hardly ever	12
	Feel People Treat Unfairly	
33	Often	16
55	Sometimes	66
12	Hardly ever	18

TABLE V

Antipathy to Other Ethnic Communities

Anti-Chinese		*Non-Anti-Chinese*
5−		5+
%	*Distasteful*	%
14	To dance — American	18
22	To eat with — American	11
43	To party — American	17
45	Relative marry — American	15
67	Party with Spaniards	26
59	Relative marry Spaniard	20
96	Party with Indian	23
94	Relative marry Indian	34
88	Party with Japanese	36
90	Party with Moros	32

	Agree	
14	Americans – insincere	14
20	Americans aid in self interest	18
31	Leyteños – lazy	12
65	Moros – cruel	48
72	Country better off if fewer foreigners	42
82	Chinese-dishonest in business	48
84	Chinese – better businessmen than Filipinos	83
84	Iglesia ni Kristo – fanatics	50
90	Spaniards – high hat	71
	Favor	
63	Nationalization of labor (barring aliens)	28

This is an objective truth but one would imagine that the Sinophobes would draw a different conclusion from this than would the non-Sinophobes. Not too surprisingly, the Sinophobes endorse the Nationalization of labor (i.e., Filipinization) far more than do the non-Sinophobes. Yet, recalling the background characteristics one notes that this means that the competitors of the Chinese and the labor force are precisely the groups most opposed to such legislation, although the advocates of such political restrictions argue that this legislation is designed to benefit those groups. Although the Philippine House of Representatives has repeatedly passed such a legislation by a wide margin and despite the widespread press-radio campaign in its favor, nearly two-thirds of the total sample opposed such legislation.

Even the extreme cells are confounded; certainly xenophobia was an aspect of the Sinophobia. And among the "non-anti-Chinese" are not only the non-prejudiced but also the adherents of "Asia for the Asians" and the "Joe (the American) Go Home" schools of thought. A study of the extreme cells on responses to questions about Americans might prove rewarding and offer insight into the realm of Philippine prejudice in general and of Filipino xenophobia in particular.

There appears a strong indication that economic and social factors are related to Philippine ethnic antagonisms in a manner different from that observed in America and elsewhere (i.e., economic competition as a crucial factor). Probably the explanation lies in the fact that the emerging semi-professional middle class senses the Chinese as a *rival* for power far more than does either the old elite or the mercantile elements of the society (who may very well be of recent Chinese ancestry). Perhaps a

felt socio-political rivalry may be more potent for cultural antagonism than actual economic competition.

Somewhat ominous is the tendency for the technically most "advanced," modern, Westernized elements to display the greatest cultural antagonism and undifferentiated prejudice. As the particularism of the kin and of the village give way to the particularism of class or zealous nationalism, one may perhaps expect an intensification of intergroup tensions. Robin Williams has noted of American intergroup tensions that "value of the Creed have continually struggled against pervasive and powerful countercurrents of valuation." In the Philippines there is no such universalistic creed to neutralize these tensions. However, in the past the nature of the old Philippine familistic particularism at least was productive of a differentiated form of prejudice. As the ethnic pluralism of the past gives way to the nationalistic antagonisms of the present, one may fear that an undifferentiated form of prejudice similar to the type studied in America but unchecked by any universalistic *credo* may become more pronounced. Given the politico-economic developments during the post-World War II period, the social implications are explosive.

PART II

DOCUMENTS

REPORT ON WORK AMONG THE NEGRITOS OF PAMPANGA DURING THE PERIOD FROM APRIL 5th TO MAY 31st, 1908

LUTHER PARKER

(With Introduction and Notes by John A. Larkin)

INTRODUCTION

ONE OF THE GREATEST problems that faces the student of Southeast Asia, regardless of discipline, is the paucity of written material, both primary and secondary, on his particular field. This problem is perhaps most serious for the historian who depends so heavily on documents, but often it can be equally frustrating for the anthropologist as he finds many primitive groups becoming extinct without being properly studied. Robert Heine-Geldern wrote,

> There is probably no anthropologist who has not repeatedly been confronted with this exasperating situation: facts which he urgently needs and which could furnish the key to important and intricate problems, facts which were still available only a short time ago, often within his own lifetime, have been lost forever for the simple reason that primitive cultures or whole tribes have been allowed to vanish under the onslaught of modern civilization, without having been investigated by scientific methods.[1]

Heine-Geldern then goes on to make a general appeal to anthropologists to go to the field as quickly as possible while unstudied groups still exist in Southeast Asia.

The major purpose for the publication of the following document, "Report on Work Among the Negritos of Pampanga During the Period from April 5th to May 31st, 1908" by Luther Parker, is to supply the anthropologist with some of those facts which could perhaps "furnish the key to important and intricate problems" concerning the Negritos in the Philippines.

Of particular value in this paper is the focus on Pampanga Negritos, a group which has not received a general ethnographic treatment.

[1] Robert Heine-Geldern, "Research on Southeast Asia: Problems and Suggestions," *American Anthropologist,* 48 (April 1946), p. 1.

Robert Fox has done a study of the Pinatubo Negritos,[2] but the approach is more along the lines of ethno-botany and refers to a period some forty-four years after the Parker piece. An early study by William Allan Reed written in 1905 [3] deals more with the Negritos on the Bataan side of the Zambales range of mountains. While Reed wrote a much longer study than Parker, he was able to make only a brief statement on burial practices,[4] having never observed a funeral, whereas Parker witnessed the death ceremony from beginning to end.

A longer pre-war study was done by J. M. Garvan in the 1930's [5] which ran to well over one thousand pages but treated the Negritos throughout the Philippines as more or less one group, never dealing separately with the Negritos of any one area. A post-war study by the French Genet-Varin [6] was concerned mainly with the physical anthropology of Luzon Negritos.

The value then of Parker's work lies in the fact that he was dealing with a specific unstudied group, that he wrote in an early period, and that he presented such data as his account of a Negrito burial, that do not appear in other studies.

On the other hand, the document has many shortcomings. In the first place, Parker was not a trained anthropologist. His academic training consisted of three years at Chico Normal College in California. He then came to the Philippines as a Thomasite and joined the Bureau of Public Instruction as a general elementary school teacher. His only special training was that of shop teacher, i.e. an instructor in industrial arts. While he was interested in all phases of Philippine culture, Parker just did not have the background to do a thoroughly scientific study. The piece that results is more like the narrative of an alert informant than the finished work of an experienced investigator. The section of the document which deals with Negrito "genealogy" presents a very confusing picture for anyone interested in doing a study of the kinship system. Parker never mentions hunting practices, the prime occupation of Negrito men, nor does he mention anything about child-rearing. It is un-

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[2] Robert B. Fox, "The Pinatubo Negritos, Their Useful Plants and Material Culture," *The Philippine Journal of Science*, 81 (Sept. to Dec. 1952), pp. 173-414.

[3] William Allan Reed, "Negritos of Zambales," *Department of the Interior Ethnological Survey Publications*, II (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1905), pp. 9-83.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

[5] John M. Garvan, "The Pygmies of the Philippines," *Micro-Biblioteca Anthropos*, 19 (Posieux, Switzerland, 1955), pp. 1-1186; Fritz Borneman, "J.M. Garvans Materialien uber die Negrito der Philippinen und P.W. Schmidts Notizen dazu," *Anthropos* (offprint), 50, 1955, pp. 899-930.

[6] E. Genet-Varin, *Les Negritos De Luçon*, (Ouvrage publie sous les auspices de la Societe d'anthropologie de Paris), (Paris: Masson et Cie 1951).

fortunate that Parker (1) did not have more training in what to look for, and (2) did not spend enough time to encompass more facets of Negrito life. Indeed, two sections have been removed from the accompanying document which reflect Parker's occasional concern with useless detail. One section contains the cost per article of materials used in building the Baluga rest house, and the other gives a complete list of first aid items with which Parker hoped to treat the Negritos.

It would be foolish, however, to underestimate Parker's achievement because of his lack of training. His activities in the Philippines reveal that he was very much concerned with many phases of Philippine culture. While he was a teacher and principal of the Bacolor Trade School from 1904 to 1910, he worked on many phases of Pampangan life. He wrote a paper on the migration of the Malays from Sumatra to their present home in Pampanga (a theory now considered questionable by some), originated the idea for and supervised the writing of the histories of each of the municipalities in Pampanga and collected articles on Pampangan poetry and plays. His interests ranged from bamboo writings to bridge inscriptions. His meticulous attention to detail attests to the honesty of his research.

Parker never tired of writing and gathering documents which he felt would be useful to scholars. As Superintendent of Schools in Ilocos Norte and Nueva Ecija from 1919 to 1925, he collected all the official correspondence between his office and the teachers under his supervision, and had it bound into five volumes.[7] From his arrival in 1901 to his final departure from the Philippines in 1925, he constantly wrote and collected materials on Philippine life and culture.[8] He was a friend and colleague of many notable scholars including James Robertson and H. Otley Beyer with whom he shared many of his ideas.[9] There can be little doubt about his enthusiasm and concern for whatever he wrote about.

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[7] Bureau of Education, *Division Circulars,* Ilocos Norte, 1919-1920, 1921; Ilocos Norte and Nueva Ecija, 1922; Nueva Ecija, 1923, 1924. (Privately bound by Luther Parker).

[8] For biographical materials on Parker, see further *Reminiscences of the Early Days, 1898-1902,* unpublished manuscript of the Bureau of Education, 1913, (National Library of the Philippines); Philippine Islands, Bureau of Civil Service, *Official Roster of the Officers and Employees in the Civil Service of the Philippine Islands, 1904-1926,* annual publication, (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1904-1926); UNESCO-Philippine Educational Foundation, *Fifty Years of Education for Freedom, 1901-1951,* (Manila: National Printing Co., 1953), p. 135, 147; Department of Education *Annual School Reports 1901-1905,* reprint, (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1954), p. 213, 467; Bureau of Education, *Official Roster of the Bureau of Education,* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1906), p. 23; Luther Parker Collection, Library of the University of the Philippines (materials so far uncatalogued). Hereafter cited as LPC.

[9] David P. Barrows. Manila, November 20, 1909, letter to Luther Parker, Bacolor, Pampanga. LPC.; Luther Parker. Bacolor, Pampanga, January 18, 1910, letter to David P. Barrows, Manila, LPC.; Luther Parker, Manila, Feb-

The document herein presented serves as an introduction to the Luther Parker Collection which was recently uncovered by the staff of the library of the University of the Philippines and which is now in the process of being catalogued for public use in the Filipiniana Section. The collection contains a wide range of materials on local history, pre-Spanish history and Philippine linguistics as well as Parker's correspondence and personal newspaper file. The materials promise to be of great value to scholars in such diverse fields as history, anthropology and literature.

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ruary 11, 1911, letter to James A. Robertson, LPC.; James A. Robertson, Berkeley, California, Dec. 11, 1917, letter of introduction for Luther Parker,LPC.; H. Otley Beyer, Professor Emeritus, University of the Philippines, personal interview with the author, at Beyer's home, June 9, 1964.

THE DOCUMENT

REPORT ON WORK AMONG THE NEGRITOS OF PAMPANGA DURING THE PERIOD FROM APRIL 5TH TO MAY 31ST, 1908 *

Work outlined.

I

DR. BARROWS ** LEFT WITH me the following instructions which were partly or fully carried out:

1. Commence work by putting up the Baluga's Rest House and the Teacher's House.
2. Acquaintanceship on all sides.
3. Encourage trade and establish values of jungle products and of trade objects. Determine the kinds and extent of jungle products.
4. Find out if they have fevers and intestinal troubles. Medicines will be furnished.
5. Roughly map the whole region. Locate, learn and record the name, meet headman, estimate the population of each settlement.
6. (a) Get the name and barrio of all the Pampanga lumbermen who operate in this region.
   (b) Whom do they work for?
   (c) Do the Negritos themselves get out lumber?
   (d) Can they use the ax and saw?
7. Commence ethnological investigations.

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* The original of this document is no longer available. The text here published is taken from an early draft which is in part a typed carbon copy and in part hand written by Parker in pencil. It is not known whether the finished report was ever submitted to Dr. Barrows who requested the work to be done. The Barrows collection that was given to the University of the Philippines did not contain the report.

One copy of Parker's work, however, was given to H. Otley Beyer and is included in his privately bound, *Ethnography of the Negrito Aetas*, Vol. II, Paper No. 20, (Manila, 1918). This copy, however, does not contain the diagrams of the earlier text, nor is it signed by Parker himself.

** David P. Barrows was Director of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes from 1901 to 1903. He was a trained anthropologist, and when he served as General Superintendent of Education from 1903-1904 and as Director of Education from 1904 to 1909, he sent many of the teachers under him out to do research on the non-Christian groups. There is no evidence, however, that he ever used Parker's Report. Barrows' article, "The Negrito and Allied Types in the Philippines," *American Anthropologist*, (Vol. XII, No. 3, July-Sept. 1910, pp. 358-376) was concerned with physical anthropology and his articles in Dr. Beyer's ethnography of the Negritos are concerned mainly with groups far south of Pampanga. Barrows left the Philippines in 1910 and went on to serve as President of the University of California at Berkeley (*Manila Bulletin*, Oct. 26, 1956, p. 2).

For further works on the Negritos by Barrows, J.M. Garvan, and others, see Beyer, *op. cit.*, Vol. I-III, (Manila, 1918).

I. Report on the houses built.

(a) Baluga's Rest House. Dimensions—length 26 ft.—width 12 ft. height 10 ft.

The following named woods were used in the construction of the building above named, and all timbers were cut within less than half a mile of the buildings by two Negritos, Medio and Pile Capt. Talio's sons:

1. Acaltagalog
2. Acle
3. Alacac
4. Alingue
5. Alupay
6. Amuguis
7. Anibing
8. Anosip
9. Apalit
10. Babata
11. Bagtui
12. Balacat
13. Balinhasey
14. Balitan
15. Banacalan
16. Banitang
17. Bayan
18. Bayoc
19. Beldimaria
20. Bisuac
21. Cabocabo
22. Caitana
23. Camayuan
24. Carang-carang
25. Dila-dila
26. Dita
27. Guisian
28. Guijo
29. Lilung
30. Liusin
31. Macatica
32. Malacocao
33. Malaruat
34. Malaruhat
35. Malausa
36. Malapinta
37. Malapuad-dalaga
38. Malatalang
39. Malatumbaga
40. Mitla
41. Nato
42. Palomaria
43. Panao
44. Paraya
45. Pasac
46. Pilo-pilo
47. Puplang
48. Sacat
49. Sacbat
50. Siasag
51. Talebacuno
52. Talimurung
53. Tañgitan

II. Acquaintanceship.

Acquaintanceship was begun by having a fiesta in honor of Capt. Talio's receiving medals from the St. Louis World's Fair, and by inviting to this fiesta all the Negritos of Capt. Talio's jurisdiction.

The cost of this fiesta and of subsequent donations of food to new visitors on the same basis as if they had been present at the fiesta was as follows:

Rice distributed	— 331 chupas	₱ 11.91
Palay "	284 "	4.74
Dried fish "	620	1.75
Coarse salt "	....	.65
Cigarettes "	2 cartons	2.00
		₱ 21.05

With this expenditure I was able to meet personally about one hundred persons, to get photographs of several family groups, and to get the genealogy of most of those whom I met.

List of families in Jurisdiction of Capt. Talio, with genealogy of each. CAPT. TALIO: First wife, Sambu or Balibad (dead). Children by Sambu; Medio, Pilar, Dimal. Second wife, Soledad (alive). Sister to first wife. Children of present wife; Moises, Benigno, Sulasi. Capt. Talio's father was Pugapug and his mother was Ticsa, both dead. Pugapug had a sister, name unknown. The brothers of Talio are Alingayan, Tobal and Lugayog. Tobal and Lugayog are alive. I am not sure about Alingayan, but think he is dead. His sons are Ramirez and Martinez, alive.

The parents of Pugapug were Tariran the father, and Basalisa, the mother, both dead. Tariran had a brother, Cadiang-bata whose grandson, Capt. Sinu, disputes with Talio the title to the land where the school is built.

The parents of Ticsa; Ablid, father; mother, name unknown (forgotten). Ablid had a brother Andana whose son was Lalat or Palalat. I know nothing of either.

The parents of Capt. Talio's wives were Basilio, father, and Dumana, mother, both dead. Children of Basilio and Dumana; Pablo Silverio, Calistro, Paisu, Balibad and Soledad. Names of Basilio's parents, not obtained. Dumana's father was Butun, mother's name forgotten.

Lugayog, brother of Talio, has for wife Putingan (Maria). Their children Palacio, Sotero, Ciano, Merin, Martina and Daring. Palacio is married to Basilio. They have a baby. Martina is married to Magdaleno.

The following are uncles to Talio, and were brothers of Ticsa (this is to be verified): Suanto, Pechon, Cueva (Parayog) and Anibong. They had a sister Pañgutgñut, married to Augustin. Their children are Canuto, Ermita, Daring and Damasia. Ermita has an illegitimate child, the only one I heard of. This child was sold to the Filipinos by Lugayog as a punishment to Ermita.

Daring, whose husband's name I did not learn, has three children Pelino, Sui and Goring.

Damasia, whose husband I do not know, has two children, Puranti and Pidiking.

Suanto married a sister of Pugapug and they had a son Gregorio, (Is this Capt. Gregorio)? [Sic.]

Pechon is said to have had a sister, whose name was not obtained, who married a certain Venturo.

Cueva or Parayog is alive yet, though very old. He is the only survivor of the surveying party that surveyed the line between the land of

the De Ocampo's and Talio. His wife Indica is dead. His children are Papil, Taricul and Ando, sons, and Dejina, daughter.

Taricul is married to Monica. Their children are Cipriano, Cornelio, Petronilo, males, and Clementa, female.

Papil is married to Oisti. Their children are Cabisanta and a baby, both females.

Pablo, the brother of Talio's wives, was married to Zoila and are both dead and have a daughter Zoila living.

Paisu, brother of Pablo was married to Felicia whose father was Sulapo and whose mother was Baladina. The children of Paisu were Damasio and Tamasio.

Calistro, brother of Pablo, has two or three wives. His daughter Fermina is married to Sotero, the son of Lugayog. Another daughter is married to Macario. I did not obtain the names of all of Calistro's family. The youngest of Calistro's wives is Oplit, the daughter of Alfonso and Todia.

Tobal, brother of Talio, is married to Lamisa the daughter of Menu and a wife whose name I did not get. I did not get Tobal's family.

CAPT. SINU, whose grandfather Cadiangbata was a brother to Talio's grandfather Tariran, has a wife named Dumada Vargas. Their children are Camilo Bacani, Tanasia and Aleja.

The father of Capt. Sinu was Licio Bacani, and his mother was Agama. The father of Licio Bacani was Cadiangbata, mother's name forgotten.

Agama, the mother of Sinu, had a brother Taracsi who was married to Ines Catupana and one of their children is Sindong or Marunung as he is called, who lives near Calistro and Macario.

Sindong has a brother Domingo. Domingo is married to Maria and their children are Basaliso, Isabelo I, Isabelo II, Faustino, Turansa.

Basaliso is married to Dalingita. Both are children. The family of Licio Bacani and Agama was as follows: Sinu and Biling, sons, and Soning, Maria, Bindang and Dolores, daughters. Biling Bacani had a first wife Oming and their daughter is Farosa. As second wife he has Lonicia, and their son is Pecto. He has another son Faustino married to Maria Apusto. Soning and Maria were both married to Dimas who died in May 1908. The son of Maria is Luroc. The man of Soning I did not learn. Bindang is married to Tomas.

Licio Bacani had a brother Lumasa whose wife was Impadna (?) [Sic.] The son of Lumasa, Bacani, married Tipagpag and their children were Alung Bacani, Singui and Impadna II (?) who was the mother of Capt. Painam.

Alung or (Suan?) Bacani is married to Anas, a girl, who is his second wife. They have a baby. Alung also has a son called Culending or Sanip. The father of Anas is Basiuag and the mother Maria.

CAPT. PAINAM'S father was Banglis who died in May 1908. His wife is Maria. The father of Banglis was Malat. The wife of Malat was from Buquil and is unknown now. The sons of Painam are Pedro and Emiliano. His daughter is Perenela. Emiliano is married to Juana.

CAPT. CULISIG is married to Putu. Their family I did not learn. The father of Culisig was Amitung and his mother was Andulasui. The brothers of Culisig are Apuyap, Icut and Bulugubug and Menos (?) [sic.]

Menos is married to Maria. Their children are Sisu and Bicong. Tomas Vargas, a brother of Capt. Sinu's wife Dumada Vargas, is married to Maria Bacani.

The father of Tomas and Dumada was called Vargas or Bargas and their mother was Casinta.

The father of Vargas, above, was Capt. Palutang Vargas, whose wife's name I did not learn.

Note: The genealogy of the Vargas and Bacani families I did not secure well on account of lack of time, as I did not see Capt. Sinu until the last day that I was in the mountains. Puning Bacani is married to Balebe Vargas and their children are Sacdu and Martin, boys, and Tuna and Susa, girls.

Punung Bacani gave his father's name as Balsac Vargas and his mother's as Casinta. Whether she is the Casinta who was the mother of Tomas Vargas, I did not ascertain.

Julian Garcia and his brothers Alejandro and Juan appear to be sons of one Aguit who is a brother to Alung Bacani. This needs verification. Said Aguit was married to Oista.

CAPT. PALANAS gave me very little information during the time I talked with him. His father was Pambuague and his mother Genia. His brother was Dimas and his sister Dolores. Dimas, who died in May 1908, was married to Soning and Maria Bacani, sisters of Biling.

Dolores is married to Dimal, a crippled brother of Medio. Their children are Puling, son, and Salvarona and Biningchil, daughters. His wife and family I did not obtain. He mentioned one Doro whose wife was Ticsa. If this was true, Ticsa must have married again after the death of Pugapug. He gave me the name of Bañgil married to Sendang and I think their children are Lamirez and Desa. This was not verified. Paterno

belongs to the Palanas group. His wife is Maria. His father was Torobio Ramos whose wife was Tali. The son of Paterno and Maria is Siguadi.

I think that Juco, Pamvicero and Paciencia are brothers and sisters of Paterno. This is to be verified. Paciencia is married to Malati. Camain is married to Sepa whose brother is Abad. The son of Camain is Calasio.

Adig is married to Juana and their child is Andang, daughter. Menu was the father of Adig, mother, unknown. Banese and Bani were the parents of Menu, and their other children were Silu and Patdan, sons, and Damus, daughter. The children of Menu were Adig, Mateo, Diquing and Bacao, sons, and Lamisa, Diquan and Cianang, daughters.

Lamisa was married to Tobal, brother of Talio. Diquan was married to Basugsug and had a daughter Manya. Cianang married Pataignu and had a daughter Ciguanti. The parents of Juana, wife of Adig, were Pablo and Anit. Alfonso and Tacqui are brothers but I did not find out their parent's names.

The wife of Alfonso is Todia and their son is Todales. Oplit the daughter is the third wife of old Calistro. Suan and Abad are brothers and I believe that Abad is a brother-in-law of Martinez. The wife of Suan is Beria and their son is Conelio.

Apolonio is married to Maria and their children are Istad and Lukenti, sons, and a baby girl.

Benito is married to Maria. They have no children.

Quosing and Manuel are brothers and they have a sister Oming the wife of Biling Bacani.

Quosing is married to Benigna and their children are Proceso and Arturo, sons, and Segunda and Batelyana, daughters.

Manuel is married to Sulasi, daughter of Talio, and has a son, Pedro, by another wife, who was the Aunt [sic.] of his present wife.

Pedro Bacani is married to Maria. The father of Pedro was Bacani and his mother was Nesing. Pedro has a sister Maria Alinque.

The king of all the Negritos of Pampanga, LAZARO visited Bacud Paoung from Buquil. His sons are Lalao, Palaso, Pamagunting (?) and Panato. I believe the father of Lazaro was named Gatil. This has to be verified.

Panuyas who accompanied Pecapun Lazaro, has a child called Ticquas.

Pamagunting, the son (or nephew?) of Lazaro, is the present active chief in Buquil.

The foregoing Genealogical [sic.] investigations were not thoroughly checked for lack of time, as I secured what data I give here from the

visitors who came once or twice, and as I had various other duties connected with the construction of the buildings, there was not sufficient time to make a complete and accurate investigation.

This list given will be found fairly accurate however, considering the difficulties under which it was secured, and will serve as a basis for further investigation of a like nature.

The necessity for a complete genealogical census exists because of the conflicting claims of the Negritos to land. There is sufficient land for all if properly distributed and by knowing the genealogy of the tribe and proceeding according to tribal customs, there should be little difficulty in a satisfactory adjustment.

3. ENCOURAGING TRADE

I found these people poor traders. They would trade their bows and arrows, which were their only means of securing game, for rice or palay, but were very unresponsive to request [sic.] for forest products in exchange for food.

If hunger pressed too hard, and there was no chance to borrow, they would search for some beeswax, honey, bejuse or other easily obtainable things that they knew I would trade for, and a few of them would execute special orders for baskets, bark cloth, etc., but more as a favor than due to a desire to secure trade material.

Some of the less sophisticated even offered to trade me a bag full of large beetles called "Saligubang," but I failed to respond.

With encouragement and a steady, reliable market, I believe that a reasonable amount of saleable material could be secured from these people.

The deaf wife of Alipondong made several baskets, which I secured for Prof. Starr's collection, and she could turn out about two baskets a week if she had a market.

Ermita, the giantess, was adept at making bark cloth, and there were many other women who could probably be induced to make this cloth for sale to collectors of curios.

I found Domingo to be one of my best customers in the bow and arrow trade, he having supplied me with the greater part of those I secured. He could be developed into a good trader among the Buquil people, securing from them the bows which are made in Buquil, and exchanging for them arrow heads, bolos and cloth, the three things desired by the Buquilans.

The following list covers pretty well the articles that may be secured from the Negritos in trade or for money of which the ones near the valley know the value.

Bows, arrows, personal ornaments, bejuce and other saleable fibers, bark cloth, baskets, gogo, honey, beeswax, orchids (?).

This is a limited list but perhaps it could be lengthened by a study of the other saleable forest products as gums and resins.

The mountain rice that can be raised in large quantities and that is much superior to valley rice, could be made a means of profit to the Negritos, and could they be persuaded to put in a large area and be assured a market at the real value of the rice instead of being systematically exploited by the lowland peoples as at present, there is no reason why the condition of the Negritos could not be greatly improved.

Mountain maize is said to be much superior to valley maize and any amount of it could be raised in the fertile upland valleys and on the rich hillsides of the mountains, so that with an assured market the Negritos could realize a large income from this source.

If the rice and maize raised in the mountains is larger and better flavored, it is reasonable to suppose that other crops might show the same superiority, and such crops as tomatoes, sweet potatoes, beans, peas and melons be successfully raised for the Manila market, since the railroad now reaches Floridablanca, only a few miles by good wagon road from Bacud Paoung.

I found a tendency on the part of the Negritos to ask exhorbitant prices for goods, but whether it was due to ignorance of value, or just the result of being beaten down to bedrock by the Filipinos who trade with them, I can not say. However, they always accepted a reasonable price for goods offered me.

I tried to establish a reasonable scale of prices for the materials brought or exchanged but the prices that I paid were many times larger than that paid for the same article by the Filipinos, but it must be taken into consideration that the exploitation of the Negritos is considered to be entirely legitimate by the Filipinos and in obtaining things of value from the Negritos, only enough is offered them to prevent the transaction from coming under the head of bandolerismo.

I had no accurate means of determing the extent of the jungle products but would naturally suppose that there is a large amount of fiber products such as bejuce and gogo, although the best bejuce is said to be high up the mountains where it can be secured in large quantities and of a good size and quality.

4. DISEASES

I found many cases of sickness, nearly every family group having one or more cases, some of them chronic and under the conditions obtaining in the mountains, incurable.

The following report shows the number of cases treated, the diagnosis and the result of the treatment with such simple remedies as I had with me.

Name of patient	*Disease*	*Treatment*	*Result*
Macario's wife	Gore on hip from carabao's horn	Dressed wound 3 times Per. of Hy. AND Ox. of Zinc.	Cured in 3 weeks
Moises, son of Talio	Cold and cough	Quinine and food	Crd. in 2 weeks
Wife of Sindong	Enlarged spleen of several yrs. standing	Quinine and food	Uncertain results.
Capitan Talio	Sore on leg	Ox. of Zinc.	Crd. in 1 week
Turacul	Wounded by deer horn in cheek	Turpentine, Per. of Hy. and Ox. of Zinc	Cured in 2 weeks
Ermita	Sharp attack of pleurisy followed by fever	Whisky and Quinine	Cured in 1 week
Dimas	Pneumonia	No treatment as he was nearly dead	Died May 18, 1908
Siring	Enlarged abdomen, probably result of fever & lack of nutrition	Listerine, quinine and food	Treatment too short to get results
Pile (Benigno)	Acute indigestion	Pain killer	Cured in 1 day
Martinez	Posterior tibial artery cut by bolo	No treatment given as the wound was well dressed with cabecabe fiber	

. . . . . .

[Here begins the handwritten section (Ed.)]

5. Headmen, population

The following are the headmen of Capt. Talio's jurisdiction. Capt. Talio, Capt. Sinu, Capt. Gregorio, Capt. Painam, Capt. Palanas, and Capt. Culisig.

Of these, I was told that Capt. Gregorio had the largest group of families.

At a rough guess, I should say that there are about six hundred souls in Capt. Talio's jurisdiction, and that of his neighboring Capitans. In order to be more accurate it would be necessary to spend more time on this subject than I had at my command.

6. Lumbering

Quite an extensive trade is carried on in lumber by the Filipinos of Floridablanca.

The work of cutting the trees, shaping them and drawing them to the valley with carabaos, is practically all done by Filipinos. Very little help is given them by the Negritos.

The Negritos claim the trees and charge that the Filipinos take the timber without paying the owners and often without permission or promise of pay.

The persons who do the actual work of getting out the timber are only the peons of a few of the well-to-do Filipinos and Spaniards of Florida, who probably have authority for cutting timber. The people who do the cutting have no authority for cutting and seem to know very little about the question, except that they are working for Cabeza so-and-so.

The Negritos can use a bolo and are very adept at cutting limbs and small trees but do not make much use of the ax or saw, if any.

7. Ethnological investigations.

Investigations along ethnological lines was limited to getting a small vocabulary, to the acquisition of some old systems of counting and to a burial ceremony which I was fortunate enough to witness.

a. Vocabulary

English	*Malay*	*Pampanga*	*Pamp. Aeta.*
1. Ashes	Abu	Abu	Abu
2. Bad	Jahat	Maroc	Nadanac
3. Black	Hitam	Matuling	Nauyang

4.	Blind	Buta	Bulag	Bulag
5.	Blood	Darah	Daya	Daya
6.	Bone	Tulang	Butul	Butoh
7.	Burn, to	Bakar	Hilaban	Ulamun
8.	Chicken	Anak ayam	Sisi	Nabalung siwi-siwi
9.	Child	Anak	Anac	Anac
10.	Come	Mari	Munta	Cadali
11.	Cut, to	Potong	Cuturan	Putusan
12.	Day	Hari	Aldo	Mamut
13.	Die, to	Mati	Mate	Nati
14.	Dog	Anjing	Asu	Asu
15.	Drink, to	Minum	Minum	Minam
16.	Ear	Telinga	Balugbug	Tuac
17.	Earthquake	Gempa tanah	Ayun	Layun
18.	Eat, to	Makan	Mañgan	Canun
19.	Eight	Dilapan	Walu	Walu, Tomboc
20.	Eye	Mata	Mata	Mata
21.	Father	Bapa	Tata, Ibpa	Bapa
22.	Finger nail	Kuku	Cucu	Suu
23.	Fire	Api	Api	Apui
24.	Five	Lima	Lima	Lima, Tumbad
25.	Foot	Kaki	Bitis	Bitis
26.	Four	Ampat	Apat	Apat, Diaris
27.	Fruit	Buah	Bungang dutung	Tagi cayo
28.	Get up, to	Bangun	Mibangun	Mimata
29.	Good	Baik	Mayap	Mangud
30.	Grasshopper	Bilalang	Durun	Durun
31.	Ground	Tanah	Gabun	Luta
32.	Hair, of head	Rambut	Buac	Gabut
33.	Hand	Tañgan	Gamat	Gamut
34.	Head	Kepala	Buntuc	Oolo
35.	Hear, to	Dengar	Daramdaman	Pacalangun
36.	Here	Sini	Queni	Baidi
37.	Hog	Babi	Babi	Baboi
38.	I	Shaya	Aku	Siku
39.	Kill, to	Bunoh	Paten	Patin
40.	Knife	Pisau	Piso, palang	Itac
41.	Large	Besar	Maragul	Matabuig
42.	Lightning	Kilat	Quildap	Quimat
43.	Louse	Kutu	Cutu	Cutu
44.	Man	Orang	Tau, lalaqui	Tau, Liaki
45.	Monkey	Munyit, Kra	Matchin	Baculao
46.	Moon	Bulan	Bulan	Buan
47.	Mortar (for rice)	Lesong	Asung	Lasung
48.	Mother	Mak, ibu	Inda, indu	Indu
49.	Night	Malam	Beñgi	Yabi
50.	Nine	S'ambilan	Siam	Siam, put
51.	No	Tidak, tiada	Alli	Alua

52. Nose	Hidong	Arung	Balungus
53. One	Sa, Satu, Suatu	Isa	Gisa, isaran
54. Rain	Hujan	Uran	Gulus (storm)
55. Red	Merah	Malutu	Maedit
56. Rice (threshed)	Padi	Pale	Pali
57. Rice (cooked)	Nasi	Nasi	Canun
58. River	Sungei	Ilug	Yaog
59. Run, to	Lari	Mulai	Moiu
60. Salt	Garam	Asin	Asin
61. Seven	Tujoh	Pitu	Pitu, bilao
62. Sit, to	Dudok	Lucluc	Mitñgu
63. Six	Anam	Anam	Anam, balubad
64. Sky	Langit	Banua	Langit
65. Sleep, to	Tidor	Matudtud	Maluc
66. Small	Kechil	Malati	Nabulung
67. Smoke	Asap	Asuc	Asuc
68. Steal, to	Men-churi	Mapanaco	Matacao
69. Stone	Batu	Batu	Batu, buga, dingli
70. Sun	Mata-Hari	Aldo	Mamut
71. Talk, to	Ber-chahap	Magsalita	Mitagul
72. Ten	Sa' puloh	Apulu	Gisampo
73. There	Di-situ Di-sana	Carin, queng	Antidu
74. Three	Tiga	Atlu	Atlu, apatdis
75. Tomorrow	Esok, besok	Bucas	Bucas
76. Tree	Poko kayo	Dutung	Kayo
77. Two	Dua	Adua	Adua, luaran
78. Walk, to	Ber-jalan	Lumacad	Mitaina
79. Water	Ayer	Danum	Lanum
80. White	Puteh	Maputi	Maputi
81. Wind	Angin	Añgin	Manasput, bais
82. Woman	Prempuan	Babayi	Babai
83. Wood	Kayu	Dutung	Kayo
84. Yellow	Kuning	Culiauan	Culiauan
85. Yes	Ya	Ua	Ao
86. You	Angkau	Ica	Sikao

In the above limited vocabulary, the English and Malay are as taken from Jenkins' "Bontoc Igorot." *

Accent and pronunciation marks have been omitted, as to one acquainted with the pronunciation of Philippine dialects, they are superfluous for purposes of comparison.

* Cf. Albert Ernest Jenks, "Bontoc Igorot," *Department of the Interior, Ethnographical Publications,* Vol. I, (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1905), pp. 227-233.

b. Systems of counting

The following systems of counting, which are said to be practically obsolete were obtained from different persons at different times and are given as obtained without guarantee as to agreement with similar systems known by other Negritos, or of similar systems known by the same Negritos, as accuracy is not one of the strong points of the Negrito and what he gives you today in one way, he may give you at another time in another way.

1. System of counting given by Captain Talio April 25, 1908. He stated that this was the oldest system to his knowledge and was taught him by his mother as a rigamarole. [sic.]

One	Bongbongcauayan
Two	Cauayannimundang
Three	Turuturnbicucu
Four	Mañgulápat
Five	Isucpailaila
Six	Tambúbung
Seven	Panañgísan
Eight	Bióyu
Nine	Patanduc
Ten	Duatduat
Eleven	Pacalyao
Twelve	Mañgalampaó

A variation of the above rigamarole is obtained by using the last part of each word as the beginning of the next, e.g. Bongbongcauayan, Cauayannimundang, Nimundang turuturubicucu, Bicucumañgulapat, etc., etc.

2. The second system of counting in regard to its antiquity was said to be the following. I was told that it was not in practical use now and is known only to the older members of the tribe. I can not vouch for the exactness of this information. This system was given me by Talio April 25, 1908.

One	Isarán
Two	Luaran
Three	Apatdis
Four	Diáris
Five	Tumbad
Six	Balúbad
Seven	Biláo
Eight	Tomboc
Nine	Put

It goes only to nine and then repeats for higher numbers.

3. The following system of counting was given me by one Juco, a young negrito who is a great gambler and quite apt in same ways. Date,

April 26, 1908. He stated that this system is sometimes used in this section.

One	Binsä
Two	Binduú
Three	Biätut
Four	Didcang
Five	Durúyan
Six	Pañgcut
Seven	Cutúcut
Eight	Bicälo
Nine	Cälabangculut

Key to pronunciation. (Webster) —

u	between oo and oo
u	oo
a	u
ua	wäh
ä	ärm
i	it
o	long o shortened.

4. The following system was given me by Manuel, April 27, 1908. He stated that this system was used for saying over to oneself for diversion when tired.

The key to the pronunciation for number three will serve for number four.

One	Isañgaii
Two	Luangali
Three	Apapbid
Four	Biäbid
Five	Tombad
Six	Bälubad
Seven	Säliñgcoud
Eight	Duriput'
Nine	Pusiit

Burial of Dimas

Dimas, a negrito of Capitan Talio's jurisdiction, over-worked himself in making a clearing for a Filipino, and was taken with pneumonia.

I was told of his serious illness on May 16, 1908, and went to his clearing to see what could be done.

I found him quite weak from sickness and hunger, as the only food in the family larder was one handful of unhulled rice that his wife had travelled several miles to borrow from her people.

She returned from her trip while I was at their camp and preparations began at once for disposing of the rice among several hungry people, grown and children, who had had nothing to eat for two days.

The wife of the sick man was near becoming a mother and was dressed only in a very scanty gee string, and in fact the poverty, dirt and distress was indescribable.

I went home and sent some rice, dried fish and a can of salmon to the family. The sick man tried to sit up and say a few words to me, but was too weak to say much. It was evident that he was near his death which indeed happened the next afternoon.

I had requested that I be notified in case of his death and my request was complied with, also that I be allowed to attend the funeral, a very rare concession to one not a member of the immediate family of the deceased. I was told that he was to be buried next morning at sunrise, and I was accordingly present at that time and found the members of the immediate family of the dead man present and engaged in cleaning up the bamboo beds and the trash of the house that had evidently never been cleaned since the house was built. Every loose thing was piled and burned a few feet away from the dead man who was scantily wrapped in some old rags that failed to cover his feet and skins, [sic.] and was lying on a sloping bed of bamboo poles under the roof that served as a house.

There was no hurry on the part of those present and the sun was an hour high before the two men, who were to serve as grave diggers, began their task.

There was [sic.] present the two wives of the deceased and his two children, the deceased's sister and her daughter, and a brother and uncle of the wives of the deceased.

With the usual disinclination to work on one side and the absolute necessity of burying the dead on the other, the men of the group appeared to be more or less worried and finally bestirred themselves, one of them cutting a small bamboo rod from a convenient thicket and with it measuring the length of the dead man, evidently in order to avoid digging more than necessary as the utter distaste of the Negrito for physical exertion is phenomenal. Cutting off the bamboo rod the right length with a stroke of the ever handy bolo, the grave digger carefully laid the rod on the ground east and west. He then used the rod as a ruler and marked the ground, on both sides of the bamboo, from west to east.

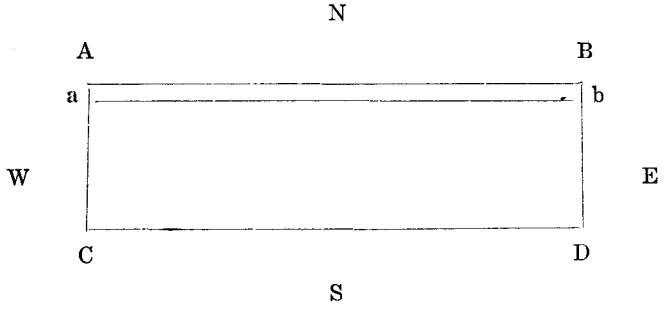
The bamboo ruler was then laid about two feet south of and parallel with the first position and some unintelligible words muttered while

drawing with the digger (a sharp piece of steel on a short pole) a line at right angles with the first line beginning at the northwest corner of the grave to be and continuing at the southwest corner, or the end of the bamboo rod lying on the ground.

A line was then drawn with the digger on the inside of the bamboo stick from the southwest corner eastward.

The east line was then drawn with the digger beginning at the north-east corner and continuing to the south-east corner.

The completed diagram was as shown below:



That this method is followed in all cases I have no reason to believe, as there seems to be a great deal of variation in even customary actions among the Negritos.

While making the diagram for the grave, the maker sang a few words as he drew each line. I did not understand the language and so failed to get the words he used, but Medio afterwards gave me a formula that evidently he had used himself, he having buried three wives of his own and undoubtedly assisted at burials of others of close kin, only close kin taking part in burials.

The song or formula (which is sung in a loud wailing voice) that he gave me was put into Pampango by him in order that I could get it translated to English and goes as follows:

While drawing the first or north line,
"Gugulisan cu man atin qng Mañgcabasai nig peteco."
"Gugulisan cu man atin qng Mañgcabasai nig peteco".
While drawing the second or *south* line,
"Atin qng Mambuñgul nig peteco."
While drawing the third or west line,
"Abili queman macapañgulu atin qng Malasimbu nig peteco."
While drawing the fourth or east line,
"Ayat banan queman nig gulis atin qng Mataictic nig peteco."

There is one part of the formula that I have forgotten to mention in its place but will do so here. Before making mark number one, the gravedigger shouted "Eco malangsi," which I was afterwards told meant "Do not sneeze," it being considered ill luck to do so while the grave was being dug.

Now that the diagram of the grave had been made, there was a pause of a few moments, in which nothing of any note occurred it seeming to be only one of the many aimless pauses that take place in negrito life.

At last seizing the steel tipped digger the negrito man attacked the ground vigorously shouting "Bata, bata, bata. Magalisco basin." I could not get this translated satisfactorily but was given to understand that it was meant to appease the spirit of the ground who was being disturbed by the digging. The word "bata" also means the smell of putrid flesh and may have reference to the dead man. "Magalisco" means, "I itch," and "basin" a urinal, but the whole phrase may have been merely an exclamation of the negrito and had no ceremonial signification. A free translation of this song follows but leaves one in doubt as to the meaning of it.

It is well to bear in mind that the whole ceremonial is intended to deceive the spirit of the dead as to the whereabouts of the living members and therefore much that is said has a confused involved meaning.

Translation.

1. "Though I make the line, the one I killed is at mañgcabasaí."
2. "The one I killed is at Mambuñgul."
3. "Though I lay it (the line) toward the north, the one I killed is at Malasimbu."
4. "Though I make the opposite line, the one I killed is at Mataictic."

Explanations.

1. "Mañgcabasai," a mountain containing devils and standing to the northwest in the territory of a hostile tribe.
2. "Mambuñgul", a mountain near the river Gumain containing spirits.
3. "Malasimbu," an extinct volcano to the southwest. The home of spirits.
4. "Mataictic", a swamp near Mt. Susungdalaga where devils abide.

While digging the grave a long song was sung to a very mournful and long drawn out tune. I was unable to understand this song also, but was given one by Medio that he had used on a similar occasion.

This song is called "Manyuinguyuing", an almost unpronounceable word since it contains the peculiar sound of "u" that these Negritos have.

Whether this word is the name of the song or the action of singing the song I could not clearly ascertain, but it signifies this song at least.

The following song is in Negrito dialect and I have not had an opportunity since to get it well translated but will set it down as a matter of record and the translation may be left to the future students of this language.

Song.

1. "Agca manyaus asana. Itayac can Diuata."
2. "Mañggawi bangcat mo. Tapañgcapan mo canun mo."
3. "Mañggawi can bai mo. Pañgcapan mo quina mo."
4. "Agca mañgcap anac mo. Taquinua can Diablo."
5. "Agca mañgcap indu mo. Ta intayac can Anito."
6. "Agca mañgcap ama mo. Ta intayac can Santo Cristo."
7. "Agca mañgcap añgcun mo. Ta intayac can diablo."

Partial Translation.

1. "Do not call your wife. She is with God."
2. "Mañggawi bangcat mo. Tapañgcapan mo canun mo."
3. "Make your bow. (Pañg capan mo quina mo)."
4. "Do not catch your child. He was taken by the Devil."
5. "Do not catch your mother. She is with a Spirit."
6. "Do not catch your father. He is with Christ."
7. "Agca mañgcap añgcun mo. Ta intayac can diablo."

Number three probably means "Make your bow to get your food." This is a mere deduction.

In number four, six and seven the influence of Christianity is seen in the words Devil and Christ which have been taken from Christian Filipinos contiguous.

One of the women helped to dig the grave, throwing out the dirt with the hands.

Many stones were encountered while digging and this fact seemed to plunge the soul of the "sexton" into the depths of discouragement.

When questioned as to the depth planned for the grave, the sexton said that it would be dug to the depth of the arm pits but the work proceeded only until the grave was of a depth half way between the knees and hips.

When the grave was finished one of the men cut a handful of branches near, tying them in a bunch with a vine slashed as he went.

With this improvised broom the bottom of the grave was swept carefully to remove all tracks, the idea being to prevent the spirit of the dead man following those left alive.

That this ceremony was not perfunctory was evidenced by the anxiety depicted on the countenances of the sweepers lest a track should escape them, and one of them discovering an overlooked track, called the attention of the other who came back and carefully swept it away.

The ground for several feet amid the grave was then brushed but in a perfunctory way as if the spirit was not supposed to be able to follow tracks not in the grave.

A bamboo "tile" was then taken from the low roof of the hut and measured by putting it in the grave. As the lower end rested on the bottom of the South [sic.] grave and the upper end came to the top of the north end, the measurer found when he had cut it that it was too long to lie in the grave, so he cut it again by guess so that it fitted the bottom of the grave.

Using this piece as a measure the bottom of the grave was covered with pieces of split bamboo taken from the roof, one man cutting the canes and the other placing them in the bottom of the grave.

When the one who was cutting had finished, he cut a green bamboo joint and put it on the fire until it swelled nearly to the bursting point, when, removing it from the fire and holding it at arm's length he struck it a sharp blow with the back of his bolo causing it to burst with a sound like a giant cracker. At the same time he gave a long, loud shout, the purpose of which was explained later to be to cause the spirit or "anito" of the dead man to follow the sound and go far away. The negrito much fears to have the anito of the dead follow him as it causes death or sickness.

The grave being ready to receive the dead body the two men called the other who had been a few yards away by a fire, where rice for the dead was being prepared.

The younger wife of the deceased (the wives were sisters) was called to help carry the dead man.

An excited consultation was held about this time and with the crying children and the shouting grown ups, the uproar was confusing.

In the midst of the discussion one of the sisters of the dead man was seen to stuff her nostrils with dead leaves and talk excitedly about a bad smell.

It seems that there was some dispute as to the corpse being the cause of it, when the point was settled and quiet restored by Biling coming to the fire with a skunk cabbage in full bloom in his hand which he had dug up just back of the hut. To those who have never smelled this flower it will be enough to state that its odor will permeate the air for several rods and is like that of an animal long dead.

Having disposed of this plant by throwing it down the hill, the burial proceeded.

The wife took hold of the bare feet of the corpse and the two men supported the body and together they laid it on the south rim of the grave with head to the west.

The wife then got into the grave at the foot while Pedro got into the grave on the north side near the head and the other man knelt on the south rim of the grave back of the corpse and aided in lowering it into the grave.

Those in the grave then came out and while Pedro cut four pieces of bamboo about twelve inches long and notched them on top, thus:

the wife called for water to wash her hands and it was brought in a bamboo joint by one of the other women and poured over the hands.

This action, perhaps, could not properly be classed as ceremonial since the evident desire was simply to rid the hands of the odor of the dead, yet, washing the hands or face is so rare among these people that it had a ceremonial aspect.

When the four short pieces of bamboo were cut to suit, they were put in the four corners of the grave with the notches so arranged that a short stick of wood, which was now cut, would fit crossways of the grave over the corpse at the foot and head.

The roof of the house was again drawn upon for material and several split bamboo tiles were pulled off, cut into lengths and fitted over the body.

When this was finished, the sister of the dead man, Dolores, was called to put the first dirt in the grave which she did by kicking it in with her feet. She then picked up a small handful of the dirt, smelled of it, threw it down and went away from the grave.

The two grave diggers then commenced to scrape the dirt into the grave with hands and feet and the two widows with their two boy children aged about 6 and 8 years, also came and smelled of a handful of dirt each as had Dolores.

One of the wives also took the eldest boy and rubbed his breast and side quickly and threw her hand toward the grave as if throwing in something from the body of the child.

The filling of the grave had been nearly completed when the first outburst of grief came which was evidently distinctly ceremonial though very real. Dolores and her little daughter, Salvarona, came crying and screaming in a peculiarly rythmic [sic.] manner and seemed to be almost uncontrolably affected.

They jumped up and down in the agony of their grief and talked excited by to the younger wife, who also cried, but in a milder way.

The sister, Dolores, held a knife in her hand and brandished it as though to harm, and seemed to be blaming rather than condoling the wife.

The child, Salvarona, caught hold of the younger widow and held on to her while both mingled their tears and cries.

This outburst lasted until the filling of the grave was completed when I left the scene accompanied by some of the negritos.

The last ceremonial act that I witnessed was a shout by those who left the grave;

"Aca malebat pas Zambale ca," which I was told was done to confuse the spirit as to where they were going so that they would not be followed.

Some cooked rice was left by the grave for the use of the dead man's spirit and I was told that a feast would be held near the site of the grave in about a week.

The above description is not as scientifically accurate as it should be as many things that were of interest were so little understood by me that I let them pass, but the main facts are as set down from notes taken at the time.

I tried a snapshot but the light was not right and it did not come out well.

However, Mr. Chapman * has since had ample opportunities to get all that I failed to get, both in pictures and customs.

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* William Huse Chapman was another teacher in Pampanga and was stationed in Porac and San Fernando. Unfortunately, he never published any study on the Negritos. Unlike Thomasite Parker, Chapman arrived in 1902 and left the Civil Service in 1916 to go into private business. Department of Education, *Annual School Reports, 1901-1905,* reprint, (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1954, p. 411, 465; Bureau of Civil Service, *Official Roster of the Officers and Employees in the Civil Service, 1904-1916,* annual publication, (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1904-1916); H. Otley Beyer, Professor Emeritus, University of the Philippines, personal interview with the author at Beyer's home, June 22, 1964.

During the few weeks that I lived among the Negritos, I obtained many partial glimpses into their inner life. Although my observations would have interest from a popular standpoint, they probably would be of very little value to science on account of the liability to error of unchecked observations, and as the field has since been covered by Mr. Chapman, who will no doubt give us a complete account of those things that I only glimpsed, I shall not attempt to make a list of experiences that I took notes on.

1. Fiesta in honor of Capt. Talio.
2. Superstitions regarding mines and the demons who guard them.
3. Begging among the Negritos of the Foot hills.
4. Traveling at night with a torch.
5. Honey getting.
6. Slavery and its practice as at present undertaken involving prominent native Christians.
7. Bargaining for a wife.
8. Gambling.
9. The question of virtue among the women.
10. The visit of the old chief of all the Negritos, Pecapun Lazaro.
11. The systematic exploitation of the Negritos by the lowlanders.
12. Marriage customs and debts belonging thereto.
13. Thefts and assassinations.
14. Various superstitions.

I have the honor to be,
Very respectfully,

[Signed] LUTHER PARKER
Prin. Bacolor [Pampanga] Trade School

SECOND ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

FINAL COMMUNIQUE OF THE PREPARATORY MEETING OF MINISTERS

INTRODUCTION

By A. S. Rye

In the Bogor Meeting, preparatory to the First Asian-African Conference, only five countries participated. At Bandung in April 1955, 22 Afro-Asian countries were present of which only six were from Africa. Since the First *'Bandung'* far reaching developments have taken place and the two continents have undergone a revolutionary process of political change.

This change reflected itself in the recently held Djakarta Preparatory Meeting of Ministers for the Second Asian-African Conference, in which, as against the participation of five countries in the Bogor meeting, as many as 22 countries took part. The Second Conference, to be held in an African country, is expected to be attended by more than twice the number that was present at Bandung. More than half the membership of the U.N. now belongs to Asia and Africa. The Second Asian-African Conference will, therefore, be of enormous importance not only to the developing countries of the two continents but its deliberations will greatly influence world affairs at large.

The Final Communique issued at the conclusion of the Djakarta meeting is significant as it laid down the objectives as well as the agenda of the Second Conference. It also brought to the surface the undercurrent of sharp differences that have arisen among the major proponents since the First *'Bandung.'* The theme song of the Conference remains the Afro-Asian solidarity and community of interest; however, the "Bandung Spirit" has seemingly withered down a great deal, giving way to mutual distrust and antagonism.

The controversy over the invitation to the Soviet Union to attend the Conference has introduced an element of 'cold war' and the diplomatic tug-of-war between Russia and Communist China is likely to be stepped up on this question between now and March 1965. Indonesian objection to the invitation to Malaysia is not likely to ease. It is interesting to note that nearly half of the countries present at the Djakarta meet have recognized Malaysia, however, except two countries—India and Ceylon—none of the others came out in support of Malaysia against the Indonesian objection. These are but a few of the many problems that will engage the attention of Afro-Asian statesmen, and on their amicable settlement will largely depend the success or failure of the Conference.

Text of the Communique

I. At the invitation of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and in pursuance of the recommendation adopted by the Asian-African Conference held in Bandung in April 1955, that the five sponsoring countries consider in consultation with the participating countries, the convening of the next Conference, the following African and Asian countries met in Djakarta from the 10th to the 15th of April 1964 to make preparations for the Second Conference:

1. Afghanistan
2. Algeria
3. Cambodia
4. Cameroon
5. Ceylon
6. People's Republic of China
7. Ethiopia
8. Ghana
9. Guinea
10. India
11. Indonesia
12. Iran
13. Iraq
14. Liberia
15. Morocco
16. Nepal
17. Pakistan
18. Philippines
19. Syria
20. Tanganyika
21. Turkey
22. United Arab Republic

Imbued with the Bandung Spirit of African-Asian solidarity and guided by the Ten Principles laid down by the First Asian-African Conference, the meetings took place in a most cordial atmosphere.

II. It was unanimously re-affirmed that at this juncture in international developments the convening of a Second African-Asian Conference was of paramount importance.

The First Conference having been held in Asia, it was decided that the Second African-Asian Conference be held in Africa on March 10th, 1965, at the level of Heads of States/Heads of Governments, and that the selection of the Government which would serve as host to the Conference be left to the Organization of African Unity.

It was decided that a meeting of Foreign Ministers be held immediately before and in conjunction with the Second African-Asian Conference and that this meeting pay special attention to the questions of economic development and cooperation.

It was also decided to recommend that the governments of the countries invited to the Second African-Asian Conference which are represented in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

instruct their Heads of Delegation in Geneva to meet at the end of that United Nations Conference to review and evaluate its results in the light of the Provisional Agenda of the Second African-Asian Conference with a view to formulating recommendations on economic problems. African-Asian countries not represented in that United Nations Conference should be invited to participate in such a meeting.

III. The Meeting decided that the objectives of the Second African-Asian Conference would be as follows:

In consonance with the spirit of the First Asian-African Conference held in Bandung in 1955, and taking note of the substantial increase in the number of independent nations and peoples in Africa and Asia since that Conference, and their enhanced role in international affairs:

1. to promote and strengthen mutual understanding and friendship among the nations and peoples of Africa and Asia and further to exchange experiences and information for their common benefit;
2. to attain common understanding of the basic problems arising out of the revolutionary changes which have been taking place in all fields in the lives of the peoples in Africa and Asia in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism for the achievement of full and complete national independence;
3. to search for appropriate methods to ensure continuous and full cooperation among African-Asian nations for the development of African-Asian solidarity on the basis of equality, mutual respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs;
4. to make policies for the peaceful settlement of disputes and for the renunciation of threat or use of force in international relations;
5. to revive the spiritual heritage of the African and Asian peoples and to exploit fully their natural resources so as to utilize them for their moral and material advancement and the development of their national identities on the basis of political sovereignty, economic self-reliance and cultural self-assertion;
6. to formulate guiding principles and to devise practical measures which would:
   (a) further inspire the peoples of Africa and Asia in their continuing struggle against all forms of colonialism, racial discrimination, and foreign economic exploitation;

(b) secure restoration of their lawful rights of domicile to populations evicted from their ancestral homes as a result of imperialist and colonialist designs, and also in violation of human rights;

(c) ensure complete emancipation of countries which are still under foreign domination;

thereby permitting the countries of Africa and Asia to play their legitimate role in this changing world in a constructive and progressive way towards justice, prosperity and peace among nations, based on respect for fundamental human rights and the rule of international law;

7. to strengthen economic, social and cultural cooperation among the countries of Africa and Asia as a means of consolidating and safeguarding their independence and raising the standards of living of their peoples.

In accordance with the objectives set out in the preceding paragraph the following provisional agenda for the Second African-Asian Conference was agreed upon:

1. General Review of the international situation in the light of the First Asian-African Conference and an appraisal of the Ten Principles of Bandung.
2. Decolonization and the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.
3. Human Rights:
   (a) Racial discrimination and apartheid.
   (b) Genocide.
4. World Peace and disarmament:
   (a) Strict international control.
   (b) Prohibition of all types of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests.
   (c) Non-dissemination of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons.
   (d) Creation of nuclear free zones.
   (e) Complete prohibition and thorough destruction of all nuclear weapons.
5. The peaceful settlement of international disputes and the renunciation of the threat or use of force in international relations:
   (a) Basic principles for the settlement of African-Asian disputes.
6. The strengthening of the United Nations:
   a. Review of the United Nations Charter.

b. Observance of the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter.

c. Implementation of United Nations resolutions by its members.

7. Economic development and cooperation:

a. Review of the results of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in particular with respect to the position of African-Asian countries *vis-a-vis* the industrialized countries.

b. Basic principles for the cooperation amongst African and Asian countries towards economic emancipation.

8. Cultural cooperation.

9. Peaceful co-existence:

a. Basic principles of peaceful co-existence.

10. The desirability of the establishment of a permanent Secretariat to facilitate effective cooperation amongst African-Asian nations.

IV. A. It was decided that the following countries be invited to the Second African-Asian Conference:

a. All the 29 countries in Africa and Asia which participated in the Bandung Conference.

b. Countries in Africa, members of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.)

c. Countries in Africa and Asia which will become independent between now and the convening of the Second African-Asian Conference.

d. The following: Mongolia
Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea
Republic of Korea
Cyprus
Kuwait
Western Samoa
The Provisional Government of Angola.

B. Representatives of all National Movements from non-self-governing territories recognized by the O.A.U. in Africa and from Asia, which have not yet attained independence, may come to the Conference with the right to be heard and the host country is requested to provide facilities for their attendance. This provision should also apply to South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Oman, Aden and Palestine.

C. With regard to the composition of the Second African-Asian Conference:

a. It was proposed that an invitation be extended to the U.S.S.R. Some Delegations supported and others opposed the proposal to extend an invitation to the U.S.S.R. A number of Delegations stated that they needed consultations with their Governments. After discussion no consensus could be reached. Some Delegations were of the view that the matter may be placed before the Heads of States/Governments at the Second African-Asian Conference for their consideration. Some other Delegations were against submitting this matter to the Heads of States/Governments at the Second African-Asian Conference for their consideration. Therefore, no agreement was reached.

b. It was also proposed that an invitation be extended to Malaysia. In this case, it was hoped that the obstacles which prevented reaching a consensus on the invitation would be eliminated. In this case, an invitation should be extended as soon as possible. Some countries that recognized Malaysia stated their position that Malaysia was fully entitled to an invitation and should be invited.

V. The Meeting unanimously expressed the hope that the Second African-Asian Conference, like the First Conference held in Bandung, would make a significant contribution to the solidarity and complete emancipation of the African-Asian countries as well as the growth of friendly cooperation among nations, the promotion of universal respect for human rights, and the attainment of lasting peace.

VI. The participants expressed their deep appreciation for the initiative taken by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia in convening the Preparatory Meeting, for the excellent arrangements made, and for the gracious hospitality extended to them by the host Government.

Djakarta, 15th April 1964 *

* Foreign Affairs Record, New Delhi, Vol. X, No. 4, April 1964, p. 124-126.

APPENDICES

CURRICULUM VITAE

TOMÁS S. FONACIER

Professor Emeritus, University of the Philippines
Chairman, Institute of Asian Studies, University of the Philippines, 1956-1963

Place and Date of Birth: Laoag, Ilokos Norte, December 25, 1898

Schools and Colleges Attended:

Undergraduate student, University of the Philippines, 1917-1918
Graduate student, University of the Philippines, 1923-1924; 1926-1928
A.B. (with honors) University of California, 1922
A.M., Ph.D. Stanford University, 1931, 1933

Positions Held:

Student Assistant, College of Liberal Arts, University of the Philippines, 1917-1918

Municipal Teacher, Division of Ilokos Norte, 1918-1919

Teacher, Bureau of Education, 1922-1924

Instructor in History, College of Liberal Arts, University of the Philippines, 1924-1935

Assistant Professor of History, College of Liberal Arts, University of the Philippines, 1935-1946

Associate Professor of History, College of Liberal Arts, University of the Philippines, 1946-1947

Founder and first Dean, Iloilo College, University of the Philippines, 1947-1948

Professor of History and Political Science, Iloilo College, University of the Philippines, 1947-1948

Vice-Dean, College of Liberal Arts, University of the Philippines, 1948-1950

Professor of History, College of Liberal Arts, University of the Philippines, 1948-1963

Dean, College of Liberal Arts, University of the Philippines, 1950-1960

Dean, College of Arts and Sciences, University of the Philippines, 1960-1963

Acting Public Relations Officer, University of the Philippines, 1955-1958

Acting Executive Vice-President, University of the Philippines, 1956-1958

Chairman, Institute of Asian Studies, University of the Philippines, 1956-1963

Officer-in-Charge, Clark Air Base Branch, University of the Philippines, 1961-1963.

Academic Honors or Awards Received:

University of the Philippines Fellow at Stanford University, 1930-1933
Leaders' Grant, Department of State, U.S.A., 1955.

Membership in Learned and Professional Societies:

Phi Kappa Phi (President, 1959-1961)
Phi Alpha Theta
Pi Gamma Mu
Rizal Honor Society
National Research Council of the Philippines.

Conferences Attended:

First Congress of Asian Historians, New Delhi, India, 1961

An International Seminar on Cultural Motivations to Progress and the Three Great World Religions in South and Sotheast Asia, Quezon City, 1963

PACAF Education and Training Conference, Tokyo, Japan, 1963

Delegate of the U.P. at the 75th Anniversary of the founding of Waseda University, 1957

International Symposium on the History of Eastern and Western Cultural Contacts under the auspices of the Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, Tokyo, Japan, 1957

Delegate of the U.P. at the ASAIHL Conference on Higher education, 1958.

Extra-Curricular Activities:

Chairman, Curriculum Committee, University Council, U.P., 1948-1958
Member, Committee on Honorary Degrees, U.P., 1951-1963
Chairman, President's Committee on Culture, U.P., 1954-1958

Chairman, Philippine Board of Scholarships for Southeast Asia, 1953-1955

Member, Philippine Board of Scholarships for Southeast Asia, 1953—present

Member, UNESCO National Commission of the Philippines, 1957-1958

Member, Philippine Secretariat of ASA, 1961-1963

Editor, *The Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review* 1958-1963.

Publications and Articles:

The Chinese in the Philippines During the American Regime, (in MSS) submitted as a Doctoral Thesis in partial fulfillment for the Ph.D. at Stanford University, 1933.

"The Chinese Exclusion Policy in the Philippines," *The Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review,* Vol. XIV, No. 1, March, 1949.

"The Ilokano Movement," *The Diliman Review,* Vol. I, No. 1, January, 1963.

Gregorio Aglipay y Labayan (A Short Biography) McCullough Printing Co., 1954, Manila, Philippines.

"The Filipino Racial Memory," *The Diliman Review,* Vol. VI, Nos. 2-4, April-December, 1958.

THE CONTRIBUTORS

CARLOS P. ROMULO, President of the University of the Philippines, considers his present post as the crowning glory of his long and distinguished career as a publisher, soldier, diplomat, author and statesman. As the first Asian President of the United Nations, he won world-wide respect for his country. Earlier in February, Dr. Romulo traveled to India, Indonesia, and Thailand where he laid the groundwork for exchange of scholars and publications between universities in these countries and the University of the Philippines. Dr. Romulo delivered last March this year's *Maulana Azad Memorial Lectures* in India; among the earlier speakers in this memorial lectures were Jawaharlal Nehru, Arnold J. Toynbee, Clement Atlee, Prof. Walter Hallstein, and Dr. C. V. Raman.

JOHN H. ESTERLINE is Counselor for Public Affairs and Director of the U.S. Information Service in the US Embassy, Manila. He occupied similar positions in Ceylon and the U.A.R. prior to his appointment in the Philippines. Dr. Esterline received his Ph.D. degree in Political Science from the University of California (Los Angeles) in 1950, specializing in the study of comparative government.

KALI PRASAD, former Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow University was a Research Consultant at the India International Centre, New Delhi. At the time of his sudden death early this year, Dr. Prasad headed a UNESCO Research Project, "Industrialization and Social Change: A Value Approach." In the course of his travel to various countries in Southeast Asia, in connection with this research, he visited the University of the Philippines and was the first speaker at the Lecture Forum Series of the IAS.

SIB NARAYAN RAY is Head of the Department of Indian Studies, University of Melbourne, Australia. He is a member of the Executive Committee and of the Board of Directors of the International Humanities and Ethical Union, Utrecht, Holland. Prof. Ray holds an M.A. degree in English literature from Calcutta University. He was at one time Guest Professor of Political Philosophy and Modern History at the Asian T. U. College in Calcutta. In 1957-58

he travelled and lectured in England, France, Germany, the United States and Japan under a Rockefeller Foundation fellowship. He was also connected with the Social Science Department of the University of Chicago as a visiting scholar.

ERNESTO CONSTANTINO is the Chairman of the Department of Oriental Languages and Linguistics, University of the Philippines; an Assistant Professor of Linguistics, he obtained his Ph.D. degree from Indiana University in 1959. At present Dr. Constantino is at Yale University on a Guggenheim Fellowship for further studies.

GELIA T. CASTILLO is Assistant Professor of rural sociology at the College of Agriculture, University of the Philippines, College, Laguna; Messrs. Dimaano and Calleja are field researchers of the Farm and Home Development Office of the same college, and Miss Parcon is researcher-analyst from the Presidential Assistant on Community Development.

JOHN A. LARKIN, who is responsible for editing and annotating Luther Parker's Report on the Negritos of Pampanga, is a Fulbright scholar attached to the Department of History of the University of the Philippines.

ONOFRE D. CORPUZ is an Associate Professor of Political Science and Economics in the University of the Philippines; he received his Ph.D. degree from Harvard in 1956. A year after that he published his first book, *Bureaucracy in the Philippines.* He is now preparing a chapter on Philippine Bureaucracy to be included in the book *Comparative Bureaucracy: The Politics of Officialdom,* by Fred W. Riggs, and another volume on Philippines to be included in a 50-volume series of interpretative histories entitled: *Background to World History,* under the general editorship of Prof. R. Winks of Yale University. Dr. Corpuz is also the U.P.'s Assistant Vice-President for Administration and Secretary to the Board of Regents and the University.

JOSE MACEDA is a Professor of Piano in the University of the Philippines. He studied with Alfred Cortot and E. R. Schmits. As an ethnomusicologist he has been doing musical research in the Philippines since 1953 and has traveled through Southeast Asia on field and survey trips. His latest work is a dissertation on *The Music of the Magindanao* which will be published by the University of Cali-

fornia Press. Two long playing discs about this music have been released by Folkways Records of New York. He received his Ph.D. degree from University of California (Los Angeles).

N.V.M. GONZALES, one of the few consistent Filipino short story writers in English, is Associate Professor in English and Comparative Literature in the University. He is now in Rome, Italy, under a Rockefeller Fellowship for research on a novel.

TEODORO M. LOCSIN, is the Editor of *Philippines Free Press* published weekly in Manila. He was formerly Professor of English in the University of the Philippines until his assignment at the Free Press compelled him to leave his teaching job.

GEORGE HENRY WEIGHTMAN is a member of the faculty of San Diego State College, California, U.S.A. He obtained his Master of Arts degree from the University of the Philippines in 1952 and his Ph.D. degree from Cornell University. He was connected with the U.P. Department of Sociology in 1955-57.

Republic of the Philippines
Department of Public Works and Communications
BUREAU OF POSTS
Manila

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Name	*Address*
Issue Editor: Juan R. Francisco	Institute of Asian Studies, U.P.
Managing Editor: Andres I. Fernandez	Institute of Asian Studies, U.P.
Owner: Institute of Asian Studies ...	U.P., Diliman, Quezon City
Printer: U.P. Press, Inc.	U.P., Diliman, Quezon City
Off. of Pub.: Inst. of Asian Studies ..	U.P., Diliman, Quezon City

In case of publication other than daily, total number of copies printed and circulated of the last issue dated Special Issue, 1963:

1. Sent to paid subscribers ..... None
2. Sent to others than paid subscribers 1,000

Total ..... (1000)

(Sgd.) Andres I. Fernandez
Managing Editor

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