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TRENDS AND DIRECTIONS OF RESEARCH ON PHILIPPINE HISTORY: AN INFORMAL ESSAY*

NORMAN G. OWEN

AUTHOR'S NOTE

This paper does not in any way pretend to be a definitive account of the "state of the field." I have chosen to include the names of certain scholars in order to avoid boring and bloodless abstractions, but the names used were just those which occurred to me as I wrote, and the omission of others does not in any way imply a judgment as to their worth, or lack thereof. I do not regard this as a finished work; any suggestions or corrections sent to me (at the University of Michigan, Department of History, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104) will be gratefully received.

The reader may wish to make allowance for my own perspectives on the field, which are shaped in particular by three factors:

(1) *I began studying Philippine history in the mid-1960's, and thus may tend to slight earlier achievements.*

(2) *My own research is on the last Spanish period, and I know that bibliography better than those of other periods.*

(3) *I am generally more interested in social economic change than in political, diplomatic, intellectual, religious, and cultural developments.*

In preparing to write this paper, I began by skimming through some of the bibliography of the field since World War II. While trying to sort out new "directions," some of which I will discuss later, I concluded that probably the single most important development has been the overall growth of the entire field, both in terms of the number of trained scholars working in it and in terms of the institutional and "infrastructural" support available to them. In the first decade after the war, there were very few historical studies produced, perhaps because in the excitement of independence, scholarly attention was focussed more on current events than on the distant past. In the second decade, 1956-65, a number of fine scholars emerged, such as Teodoro Agoncillo, John Phelan, Horacio de la Costa, Theodore Friend, Onofre Corpuz, Cesar Majul, Edgar Wickberg, Josefa Saniel,

* A paper presented to the Philippine Studies Committee, Association for Asian Studies, San Francisco, 25 March 1975.

and Maria Lourdes Diaz-Trechuelo. Many of these pioneers had to make their own way in Philippine history; their formal graduate training was likely to have been under a committee of Spanish colonial, American diplomatic, and East Asian historians rather than Philippinists, or even Southeast Asian experts.

The third decade, now closing (1966-75) has brought to the front Grant Goodman, Oscar Alfonso, David Joël Steinberg, John Schumacher, Nicholas Cushner, John Larkin, Bonifacio Salamanca, Michael Onorato, William H. Scott, Serafin Quiason, Maria Rodriguez Baena, W.E. Cheong, and Leslie Bauzon, along with many other young scholars whose names are not yet well-known but whose accomplishments may be considerable. Without suggesting any comparison between the *talents* of these "generations," it seems clear that the younger scholars have had the advantage of better formal training in Southeast Asian history, enjoy vastly superior bibliographic aids and other supports to research, and are in a position to benefit from the pioneering works of their predecessors. And they are more numerous — besides those mentioned, there are others, not just Filipinos and Americans, but Australians, Englishmen, Spaniards, Mexicans, Russians, Japanese, and other Asians. Some of their research may be outstanding, some pedestrian, but the total accumulation of scholarly knowledge on Philippine history keeps growing at an ever-increasing pace; textbooks and syntheses are becoming out-of-date far more rapidly than ever before.

The intellectual and psychological reasons for this surge of interest in Philippine history are beyond my competence to judge. One can only speculate: Did the latest American involvement in Southeast Asia provoke an examination of this earlier venture? Was a new awareness of the Philippines created among Peace Corps Volunteers and their friends, or among servicemen, exchange students, former government officials? Were Filipinos driven to seek their national identity in their own past because "independence" by itself did not turn out to be the answer they sought? Has the whole "Third World" become so important in this age of global interdependence that the story of its development (and under-development) cries out to be discovered and told? Whatever the underlying cause, in practical terms the past twenty years have been a time of unprecedented individual and institutional support for the student of Philippine history. It is not cynical, I believe, to see some of the scholarly interest as a res-

ponse to this opportunity, to the hope of support in this fascinating field.

In the United States, this is associated chiefly with the rise of "area studies," at university "centers" funded by federal and foundation monies — very much a phenomenon of the 1960's, although some of them carry forward, with diminished thrust, into the 1970's. The Southeast Asia programs provided employment and a favorable academic environment for established scholars; they brought together bibliographic facilities, they published papers and journals, and they provided not only training, but funding, for many graduate students. In the mid-1960's when I entered the field, it seemed not only feasible but even farsighted to be embarking on the study of Philippine history. Now, in response to the general economic situation, as well as a kind of neo-isolationism, many of these programs are shrinking or collapsing for want of funds. Students are still accepted, but they find it much harder to get fellowships, and all but impossible to get jobs. It appears that this particular boom in the training of Philippine historians is almost at an end, although there are enough graduate students still in the "pipeline" to produce new dissertations for another five years or so.

Other developments in the United States may serve to cushion this trend. The proposed Philippine Studies Program at the University of Hawaii, if it is funded, may take up the slack left by the decline of other university centers. Money for fellowships and opportunities for publication still exist, and they have by no means fallen to pre-1960 levels yet. Furthermore, some of the infrastructural aspects of scholarship are stronger than ever. The formation of this Philippine Studies Committee of the AAS, and the publication under Mike Onorato of its *Newsletter,* have led to greater communications within the field than ever before, and this cannot help but stimulate the sharing of information and the cross-fertilization of ideas. In the bibliographic sphere, besides the *Bibliography of Asian Studies* and the mimeographed listings from the Cellar Book Shop (both of which seem timeless by now, although they are not that old), we have within the last few years also seen the Library of Congress catalogue of its Southeast Asian holdings, the guides to Philippine-American historical literature by Onorato and Stanley, and Shiro Saito's *Philippine Ethnography: a critically annotated and selected bibliography.* Other newsletters, working papers, and mimeographed lists tell us of the availability of Philippine newspapers, or the location of sources

on martial law, or books for sale in the Philippines, or research in progress, or microfilms available for sale or loan. In addition, American scholars who can get to the Philippines are able to take advantage of much of the infrastructural development there over the past decades.

My prognosis, then, for historical research on the Philippines within the United States is that the total number of trained historians will continue to grow for a few more years, but will then reach a plateau, and the total number of Ph.D's awarded to Americans in this field may actually be lower in the 1980's than in the 1970's. But because of their improved training in the field, because of the bibliographic guides and documentary holdings readily available to them, and because of the pioneering studies of the 1950's and 1960's, the scholars of the next decade or two may, in spite of any numerical decline, be able to do more research with less effort. I expect them to rewrite Philippine history almost completely from their improved vantage point, "standing on the shoulders of giants." Such a prognosis is speculative, not scientific; it is based on no inside information, and it assumes that there will be no radical change in the intelligence or character of scholars, nor in the mildly depressed state of the American economy. But if things go on the way they are going — which is, I suppose, what a "trend" means — this is what I foresee.

It would be, of course, quite parochial to view the rise and fall of American university programs as the sole or even the primary factor affecting the field of Philippine history. Interest in, and support for, the field still seems to be high in Australia, Japan, and several other countries not usually thought of in connection with Philippine studies, although none of these yet has a program or a "critical mass" of scholars comparable to those of the United States and the Philippines. More significantly, research opportunities and support for Filipino historians in the Philippines itself have been growing over the past twenty years, and are still high. We may be on the verge of seeing the center of gravity in Philippine historiography shift from the U.S.A. to the Philippines itself. Despite the numerous cooptations of trained Filipino scholars into the world of business and government, there are enough left in the academe to form a solid core of historical scholarship — Agoncillo, Alfonso, Foronda, Majul, Salamanca, Saniel, Tan, and others, plus such younger scholars as Luz Ausejo, Leslie Bauzon, Soledad Borromeo, Rosario Mendoza Cortes, Edilberto C. de Jesus, Jose Arcilla, and Maria Fe Romero, not counting

those still working in the United States (*e.g.,* Salvador Escoto, Milagros Guerrero), Australia (Reynaldo Ileto), and elsewhere.

The growth of research infrastructure in the Philippines has been phenomenal over the same two decades, and continues to grow along with the production of scholars. The University of the Philippines and Ateneo de Manila University, in particular, have become major centers of scholarship on Philippine history and culture. They have assembled fine groups of historians and other social scientists engaged in teaching and research, they lead the way in the microfilming (including microfiche) of rare books and documents, they are building up fine collections of Filipiniana, which are relatively well catalogued, they publish journals and monographs, they sponsor seminars and speakers. Neither school has yet the strength in the broader field of Southeast Asian studies that the best American universities do, but in the specific field of Philippine history, they provide excellent facilities and faculties. Other Manila schools, such as the University of Santo Tomas, University of Manila, and Far Eastern University, also sponsor and publish historical scholarship, though on a smaller scale. But the health of the field is suggested even more strongly by the growth of research at provincial universities such as Silliman (Dumaguete), Central Philippine (Iloilo), San Carlos (Cebu), Xavier (Cagayan de Oro), St. Louis (Baguio), Mindanao State and Dansalan College (Marawi City), and Notre Dame de Jolo (Sulu), among others.

Non-university support for historical research is also good. The National Library, the Lopez Memorial Museum, the American Historical Collections, and the Ayala Library have all published catalogues of their extensive Filipiniana holdings within the past few years; the National Archives and the Dominican archives are embarking on the far greater task of listing some of their thousands of manuscripts. Journals such as the *Philippine Historical Review* and the *Historical Bulletin* provide opportunities for scholars to publish the results of their research, as do commercial presses such as Solidaridad, Bookmark, and Alemar, which are in this respect well ahead of their American counterparts. A new popular serial, *Filipino Heritage,* has collected articles on various aspects of history and culture by some of the finest scholars in the field; its publication, anticipated this year, should help to compensate for some of the misinformation and outdated scholarship found in a few of the history texts still used in schools. The Filipiniana Book Guild and the Historical Conservation Society have made many of the more im-

portant historical sources available, in English translation, to a much wider constituency. Bibliographic aids are also plentiful: besides the catalogues of the major collections, there is one volume (A to O) of the *Union Catalog of Philippine Materials* in print, specialized bibliographies of imprints before 1699 (by Bernardo), Chinese in the Philippines (by Chinben See), and of Mindanao and Sulu (by Tiamson), and descriptive guides to archives abroad by Domingo Abella, Maria Lourdes Diaz-Trechuelo, and Helen Tubangui, among others. Re-publication of classic works such as Retana's *Aparato* and Blair and Robertson has made earlier bibliographic research more accessible to many scholars. Regional and national history conferences have been sponsored by the National Historical Commission and by local colleges and societies. The participation of "amateur" local historians has been encouraged, and their contributions, even when lacking in full scholarly rigor, have often helped the "professional" historians.

Perhaps the single most promising trend in historical research in the Philippines is the formation of the Philippine Social Science Council, which publishes the *PSSC Social Science Information* and administers the Modern Philippine History research grants. The council and newsletter provide a structure for communications among scholars, which is particularly important as the field becomes larger and more spread out, with researchers no longer concentrated in a couple of Manila universities. The grants are important because they provide (for the first time, so far as I know) some form of financial support for established scholars, so that they can take the time, even if only a term or two, to do further research. One of the great limitations of Filipino historiography so far has been that many scholars who have produced one good book (usually their thesis) are thereafter forced to bury themselves so deeply in teaching that they never get a chance to use their hard-won research skills on a second subject.

There are also some clouds in this generally sunny picture of historical research in the Philippines today. Martial law has brought about a certain amount of censorship, direct and indirect; it has led to the detention of some scholars and the self-imposed exile of others; it may have increased political polarization within the academic community, always an arena of personal and political friction. The National Archives, by far the most important source of primary materials on the nineteenth-century Philippines, has been virtually

closed to scholars for most of the past two years, with no end in sight. Meanwhile, the endemic problems of scholarship in a developing country continue, most of them having to do with the allocation of resources in a situation of scarcity — *i.e.,* money. Filipino historians are still shockingly underpaid and overworked in terms of their education and their potential earning power in other occupations. A job in business or in the bureaucracy may seem to offer, not only far more money, but the opportunity to contribute more directly to national development and even, in some cases, more time for research! The Modern Philippine History grants are only a partial palliative here; they are short-term, small in comparison with American grants (providing very little for travel and microfilming, for example), and few in number. They do not solve the profession-wide problems of low wages and long hours, and although there are other efforts to upgrade the pay and working conditions of academics, they have not achieved much thus far in the face of general economic instability.

Any general prognosis for historical research in the Philippines must put it in the total context of Philippine society and economy. If the current situation remains stable, I would like to believe that the institutional support for history, the infrastructural aid of publication opportunities, bibliographies, research grants, conferences and the like, and the cadre of fine young scholars in the field would lead to the continuation of this exciting growth in Filipino historiography. But if the political situation deteriorates, it may lead to more censorship, to obstruction of research and destruction of resources, to limitations on travel and on interviewing, to more energy expended in polemics rather than scholarship, and perhaps to more scholars seeking permanent exile. And if the economic situation gets worse, with rising oil prices and falling export prices, the resources now allocated to "luxuries" such as historical research in all its aspects — salaries, university centers, libraries and archives, publications, etc. — may be diverted to other more "necessary" ends; we may see programs shut down, journals fold, and research projects abandoned. For this to happen just when the Philippines seems to be coming into its own in historical research would indeed be tragic.

So far this paper has dealt only with the "productivity" of Philippine history, not with the contents of what is produced. The major trend in this latter area is suggested by the major trend in the former, by the enormous increase in the number of scholars and the

volume of scholarly research in the field. With more scholars it is possible to explore more different kinds of history, a greater variety of regions, periods, sources, and approaches, to seek out the new with out abandoning the old. When I began this paper, I thought I knew what the "mainstream" of Philippine history was, and how it had shifted over time; I came to realize this "mainstream" of mine was just one channel of a deltaic river spreading widely in all directions. "Classical" approaches continue even while other scholars are trying out new ways of looking at Philippine history.

I will hazard the generalization, nevertheless, that three broad tendencies in post-war scholarship can be distinguished, each more predominant at a certain point in time. The first of these, chronologically, is classical colonial history, focussing primarily on the motives and actions of the Western imperialists, both at home (Madrid, Washington), and in their colonial capital — Manila. This type of history is predominant before the war — in Spanish historiography, in many of the writings of American colonialists, and even in such classic institutional studies as Schurz on the Manila Galleon and Cunningham on the Audiencia of Manila. It was picked up again after the war, and carries through to the present; at worst, it degenerates into "What the Governor said to the Archbishop," but at its best it can illuminate the whole complex network of colonial motives, policies, and practices in the Philippines. Thus we have recent research on metropolitan decision-makers, such as Victor Balaguer and Theodore Roosevelt; on colonial governors-general, from Bustamente y Bustillo to Frank Murphy; on colonial institutions such as the Royal Philippine Company and the early Philippine Constabulary; on foreign residents in the country, from Spanish Jesuits to British merchants; on the whole range of development schemes, defense plans, and diplomacy as seen from the colonial perspective. Viewed simply as problems in colonial history, much remains to be written; there are, for example, growing numbers of monographs on the late 18th century (Bourbon reforms) and the early 20th century (Schurman through Leonard Wood), but no consensus on these eras has been achieved, and there is almost nothing in between. In absolute terms, the volume of scholarship on these classical colonial questions continues to grow. But I sense a shift in the field as a whole away from this approach. The best way to study Philippine history, many scholars believe, is not to spend more time on Basco y Vargas or William H. Taft, but to try to discover what the Filipinos were do-

ing, how their lives were changing and what they thought about it.

Traditionally, the study of the Filipinos in their own history — with a few honorable exceptions, such as Dapen Liang — tended toward gross generalizations combined with hagiographic works on Rizal. (One rather extensive catalogue of Filipiniana lists over 250 titles in English of Philippine "biography" to 1966. *One half* of these are on Rizal, and this does not include another 200-odd books, articles, and translations which treat him as a literary figure!) Modern "Filipino-centric" history, as I see it, really emerges in the late 1950's and early 1960's in such key works on the late 19th century and early 20th century as Agoncillo and Majul on the Katipunan, Malolos, and Mabini; Achutegui and Bernad on Aglipay; Schumacher on the Propaganda Movement; and Leon Ma. Guerrero's unsually perceptive critical study of Rizal. For the American period, studies in the mid-1960's by Friend, Steinberg, Goodman, Salamanca, and others played a similar role. These analyses of nationalism and political development were often made more sophisticated as historians came to employ the insights of social scientists such as Landé, Lynch, Guthrie, Jocano, and Hollnsteiner (most of whom were also working in the early and mid-1960's.) The systematic analysis, rather than patriotic and filiopietistic chronicling, of the lives and thoughts of the Filipino national elite is still young; it is being ably carried out at present in such works as Vicente Pacis' biography of Osmeña, Schumacher's studies of Burgos, histories of Philippine nationalism by Agoncillo and Usha Mahajani, Renato Constantino's intellectual biography of Recto, Ronald Edgerton's study of post-war reconstruction, and the sections dealing with Federalistas, Quezon, and Osmeña in such colonial-oriented histories as those of Onorato and Peter Stanley. Another index of the importance of this "nationalist" approach is the re-publication of *La Solidaridad* and the works of Rizal, Burgos, Aguinaldo, Mabini, Ricarte, and Kalaw, as well as more modern memoirs by Quezon, Laurel, Vargas, and the like.

This approach to Philippine history, though still important and even growing, is, I believe, about to be overtaken by a third wave, one which has only begun to gain strength within the past decade. This is an attempt to go beyond the definition of the Philippines as the story of the Manila-based elites, to a history of all the Filipinos, in the provincial towns, in the barrios, even up in the hills. The

roots of this new movement are many and tangled. They would include the influence of social sciences, particularly of anthropology; the realization that many of the Filipino national leaders did not seem to represent the ideas and interests of their constituents in the countryside; the Marxist perspective on society, which looks for differences between classes as a prime factor in historic change; the nationalistic ideal of finding out what "the people" were thinking and doing; the frustrations of trying to write "Filipino-centric" history before the nationalist movement emerged in the late 19th century; and the example of social historians of the West and of other Asian countries, who were opening up exciting new vistas of peasant movements, finding the voice of the voiceless masses.

In a broad sense, Philippine historians had tried to deal with the questions of the masses and their welfare for a long time; but without specific research on the subject, the answers were likely to be superficial. Many historians had to deal in generalities, based on their own perceptions or those of the authorities they quoted, whether colonial officials or Filipino politicians: the Filipinos did/did not resist the Spanish conquest and conversion, they were/were not better off in the 19th century, did/did not generally support the Revolution, liked/disliked the Americans, benefited/suffered from American rule, etc. The economic historians, although often over-concerned with government policy and policy-makers (particularly with the fascinating debates on tariff bills in the U.S. Congress), did at least try to substantiate these generalizations with some gross quantifiable evidence on the terms of trade, population growth, rice consumption, agricultural productivity, and other indices of per capita welfare. But further refinement did not come until a number of scholars, beginning in the late 1950's and early 1960's, began to go back to the primary sources and to re-examine them closely and rigorously for specific evidence on specific questions about a certain group of people living at a certain point in time. Pioneers of this approach included John Phelan, in his study of Hispanization; Felix Keesing, in his *Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*; David Sturtevant, in his work on the "Guardia de Honor" and other peasant movements; and Canute Vandermeer, in his work on the historical geography of Cebu. But the full potentials of the approach were not realized until Edgar Wickberg and John Larkin began to explore the extraordinary resources of the Philippine National Archives, turning up hundreds, even thousands of old manuscripts that could be

brought to bear on precisely such questions as they were asking. The 19th century in Philippine history had been seen as a blur of misgovernment out of which a righteous rebellion of nationalism suddenly exploded; Wickberg and Larkin were able to expose at least some of the whole complex process of economic development and social change which occurred in this transitional period.

The new focus which this approach to Philippine history took seems obvious in retrospect; it requires some effort to realize that it was largely ignored or thought impossible only about fifteen years ago. So long as the subject was in Manila, whether colonial officials or Filipino elite, it was possible to treat the "Philippines" as more or less a unit, and the "Filipinos" as a generally undifferentiated mass, save for the token recognition that the non-Christians were different (perhaps not properly "Filipino" at all). But once the focus was shifted away from Manila, it was immediately apparent that, even within lowland Christian areas, there were strong and significant differentiations. One immediate aspect was geographic — provinces and regions differed in ecology, in language and culture, in religious and political administration (some had friar estates or military *comandancias,* others did not), in security, in proximity to Manila, in ease of transportation, in the whole course of economic and political change. Local history had traditionally been left to amateurs, to antiquarians who delighted in the dates of foundings of towns and appointments of bishops, lists of the names of town priests and gobernadorcillos, local folklore and unauthenticated tales of religious miracles and revolutionary heroes — or so it had seemed to the professional historical community. But Keesing, Vandermeer, and Larkin began to show that it was possible to write a real history of these different areas and to explore significant changes in local society, each developing according to its own pattern of political and economic interaction. Larkin's study of the Pampangans, far more ambitious historically and based on a much wider range of documentary sources than the others' works, was influential well before its publication in 1972, and he became the chief prophet and godfather of the genre. It was an idea whose time had come.

At present, besides the works already mentioned, there are histories of Pangasinan, Negros, and Panay in print; articles on Ilocos, Batangas, and Misamis; journals, such as *Leyte-Samar Studies* and the *Ilocos Review,* primarily devoted to local/regional history and culture; Ph.D. dissertations on Nueva Ecija and Cavite; numerous

smaller studies on other provinces; and major research underway on Cebu and Negros (two historians on each), Cagayan, Ilocos, Kabikolan, Samar, and Iloilo, that I know of. Two distinguished historians whose previous works had been on national history have just published major works on the non-Christian areas — William H. Scott on the uplands of Northern Luzon, and Cesar Majul on the Muslim South. Other ethnohistoric studies are in print and in progress on Cotabato, Sulu, and other southern provinces, and although recent fighting may have disrupted research in some areas, it has also produced a new wave of official interest and funding for research on the Islamic areas. In both this region and the Mountain Province(s), there is a small but growing awareness of the importance of preserving local legends and the memories of old men before they disappear.

Even among studies which are not strictly "regional" or local, there is a stronger sense of the complexity of Philippine society, an attempt to differentiate the previously undifferentiated "Philippine" nation. Research which in an earlier period might have been purely institutional or national now seems to try to put events in the regional context — the tobacco monopoly, the friar estates, the Hukbalahap movement are studied by scholars who are quite aware that these existed in the Cagayan Valley, or Cavite and Laguna, or Pampanga, not just "somewhere in the Philippine countryside." Other lines of approach may concentrate on the differences between rural and urban development, with its implication that the cities may have had a very different historical experience from the rural barrios; or on ethnic groups, Chinese, mestizos, creoles, Filipino in-migrants from other provinces; or on classes, distinguishing *illustrados* from ordinary *principales,* and both of these from ordinary *taos* or *timawas*, to say nothing of the *vagamundos* who existed on the margins of official society. Once any sub-group is studied, some new differentiations may appear; thus Wickberg points out the gap between the handful of wealthy Chinese merchants and the hundreds of petty clerks and agents they employed, while other scholars are studying specific cities now within the general framework of "urbanism." I genuinely believe that, within five or ten years, there will be scholarly histories of almost every region in the Philippines as well as a number of other studies focussing on settlement size, ethnicity, and class, so that a new synthesis may be possible. Already informal comparisons, based on the sharing of unpublished research, have proved interesting; the "com-

mercialization" of agriculture, which seems to begin in central Luzon in the late 18th century does not really affect Kabikolan until the 1820's or 1830's, and does not reach Samar in force until the 1870's, so the pattern of nationalism and revolution which occurs is quite different. I believe that when we look back then on our current generalizations about the "Filipinos" and how they thought and behaved at a given point in time, we will find them crude at best, and downright foolish at worst. Of course there will be similarities as well as differences, and it is not unreasonable to hope that out of these various specific studies will come a clearer picture of those elements which are more nearly "universal" in Philippine history, not merely local or transitory.

This new approach to history calls for the utilization of new sources, and for the re-examination of old sources in new ways. The standard published works in Spanish and English (including the ever-valuable Blair and Robertson) and the great repositories such as the Archivo General de Indias, in Seville, and the U.S. National Archives, in Washington, are still very much part of the repertory of historians. Within the past decade or two, there has also been increasing use of a number of other archives and libraries containing the same general types of evidence — the Philippine National Archives, above all, but also the Lopez Museum, Ayala Library, National Library, and Dominican archives in the Philippines; the Newberry Library in Chicago and the Lilly Library in Indiana, as well as special collections at many other American universities and libraries; in Spain, the Archivo Histórico Nacional and the Museo Naval in Madrid, the Franciscan archives in Pastrana, the Augustinian in Valladolid, and the Jesuit archives in San Cugat del Valles. In all of these archives, as well as others such as the Archivo General de la Nación, in Mexico, there is still much to be done in the way of preliminary surveying; in some of them, bundles of manuscripts exist that have not been opened since they were first tied up over a century ago. But the major trend that I see is not the sheer number of documents available, though that is impressive. It is the way these documents are used. For those who considered Philippine history to be essentially the story of Legazpi, Rizal, Taft, and Quezon, there was a certain tendency to skim through documents rapidly in search of the Big Names of history, and to ignore everything else as not worth the time required to read it. Others approached research willing to accept the emphases found in the documents themselves, to deal with con-

troversies between regulars and seculars, or complaints of *caciquismo,* or debates on tariffs or on education as representing the important issues of the day. This at least has the advantage of getting into the thought patterns of those who kept the records, whether colonial officials or nationalist politicians. But to get at the history of a whole society, we must look for evidence on people who left very little in the way of personal documentation, and who were generally considered unimportant by those who kept the records, who misunderstood them at best and hated them at worst.

Thus the new historians are looking more for reports of conditions in the countryside, on the friar estates, for price fluctuations, for patterns of behavior — migration, rebellion, revitalization — which will suggest something of the thoughts of those whose words are lost, for petitions and court cases and voting patterns of individuals whose names mean nothing at first, are not found in any textbook and probably never will be. There is plenty such material in the old sources, and it is by his use of these, rather than his opening up of new manuscripts, that John Phelan won acclaim for his study of the *Hispanization of the Philippines.* Some archives are better than others for this approach; it is precisely the greatness of the Philippine National Archives that it consists of materials apparently considered too unimportant to be sent to Madrid for decision! Thus it is rich in routine reports, petitions, disputes, and local elections which tell us about ordinary Filipinos, while the corresponding archives in Spain are top-heavy with such "important" matters as debates in the cabinet over colonial policy (which was often a dead letter in practice) and the appointment, promotion, and salary disputes of every Spanish official.

A number of other sources, often thought unimportant or unusable by traditional historians, have been utilized by some of the recent regional and social historians. Local politics can be followed through vernacular newspapers and pamphlets. Detailed reports on the Hukbalahap and other peasant movements were found in the military archives at Camps Aguinaldo and Crame, before these sites were put to other purposes. Researchers are interested in interviews and family papers not just of Famous Men and a few others who knew them well, but of a much broader range of Filipinos — participants in rebellions, in local politics, pioneers on a new frontier, witnesses of unspectacular economic change. The "Historical Data Papers," in the Philippine National Library, are compilations of fact, folk-

lore, and fantasy compiled in the early 1950's by schoolteachers; in terms of "national" history they are both irrelevant and unreliable. But a researcher immersed in local history can test some of the more questionable assertions against evidence from other sources, and can use these papers, with some hesitation and prudence, both for facts not available elsewhere and for at least a suggestion of the local attitude toward happenings; they have become a valuable source.

Potentially the most extreme case of new history using sources differently is the parish records; baptisms, marriages, and deaths. If these have been used at all in the past, it has been only to verify the date of birth or parentage of a national hero — Aglipay, Rizal, or Burgos. But might not they also be used to estimate birth and death rates, age at marriage, life expectancy, in- and out- migrations, frequency of epidemics, and other indices of welfare of an entire community? In Europe and the United States, such studies, particularly where they can be carried to the point of "family reconstitution," have revolutionized our knowledge of pre-industrial society. With a little additional data, which the archives may contain, these records can also tell us about occupations, about social mobility, about the harvests from year to year. Can this be done in the Philippines? The answer is not yet clear. Preliminary and rather rudimentary studies so far have yielded varying results; some hypotheses seem reasonable and worthy of further explorations, while others have backfired to any conclusion suspect. Within the next few years, Peter Smith, and perhaps others, will attempt an analysis of a few parishes in much greater depth; meanwhile, the Mormons are going ahead with their 10-year project to microfilm all the church records (before 1925) in the Philippines, a potential boon to further research in the field. Whether or not this line of inquiry proves fruitful, it is at least an imaginative *attempt* to see beyond the confines of Washington, Manila, and even the provincial elite, and understand the lives of all the Filipinos as they lived in towns and barrios, were born and married and died.

My prognosis for future directions in Philippine history is tentative and twofold. First, I believe that the current trend toward local history, toward the detailed study of specialized segments of Philippine society in specific periods of time, will continue strong for another decade or so. The major thrust of research so far has been toward the Spanish period, particularly the 19th century; an equivalent attempt to write good 20th century local history is only

just under way. The study of the 20th century demands more work in oral history and vernacular sources, comparatively less in archives and Spanish documents. It will both benefit and suffer from the fact that the issues and personalities it deals with are still alive — people will be able to talk about it, but they may not be willing to. It is a field in which Filipinos will have some obvious advantages, in command of local languages, potential contacts with informants, and simply in proximity to the areas being studied; although the US National Archives will remain an important source, no trips to Spain are necessary for this! But beyond all these details, there is the hope that the study of 20th century local history in the Philippines will come closer to almost any other kind of history to understanding how Filipinos *perceived* historical change. Other approaches at best give us certain behaviors of the masses and certain articulations of national leaders, but this has the potential to go one step further, to tell us how Filipinos saw their own history as it happened.

The second aspect of my prognosis is the continuation of the current trend toward the proliferation of approaches. No kind of history will die out, although new ones will be added. Colonial history is still an active endeavor, and for every "Philippinist" who lays it aside to get closer to the Filipino there will be some scholars in Seville or in some American History program who will pick it up again and carry it further. Similarly, our analysis of the national elite has barely begun, is still limited to a dozen or so key figures, many of them seen from only one viewpoint. How much do we really understand about Aguinaldo, the Federalistas, Sumulong, Roxas, even about Quezon and Osmeña before 1907 and how they climbed so far so fast? What about the Filipino secular priests, who date back to the Spanish period, or the Filipino military, or the bureaucrary as it developed — not just policies, but personnel, who they were, how they got there, what they tried to do? The biggest story yet to be written in Philippine history is a scholarly analysis of the national oligarchy in the 20th century and its political, economic and familial linkages as they developed over time. Almost every Filipino and Philippinist knows (or believes he or she knows) something about this, but who will put all the pieces together? Local history, meanwhile, will continue to thrive, and even when it is no longer the "vogue," it will be an active field of research for those who don't mind not being in the vanguard.

The new approaches yet to come are a matter for speculation, not any kind of "trend," and readers of the *Philippine Studies Newsletter* know as well as I what a wealth of proposals, over a broad range, there are. We may see more in the way of military history, demographic history, cultural history (connecting with recent folklore studies), pre-Hispanic history (rewritten in the light of current archeology), perhaps even cliometrics, which seems quite promising to me, and psychobiography, which does not. If I knew what the bandwagon of the future was, I would jump on it now, or at least recommend it to my students. There is one general tendency, however, which I feel quite sure will continue to increase — Philippine history will come to be more fully integrated with the world of Southeast Asia, seen neither as an adjunct to Spain or the United States, nor yet as an isolated and unique phenomenon. Parallels, as well as differences, will be seen among the different groups of lowland Christians; then between them and the other Filipinos ("Moros" and "Igorots'); then with the rest of the Malay world; then with Thais, Burmese, Vietnamese, and other Asians who share so many of the same elements of village society and culture, of ecology and economy, of colonial experience and the frustrations of nation-building and neo-colonialism. We may find, for example, that the abaca-growing smallholders of 19th century Kabikolan have much in common with the pioneers on the Burma rice frontier at the same time, while the Pampangans are closer to the Javanese, with whom they share conditions of population pressure and a rice-and-sugar ecological symbiosis. Peasant movements, urbanization, problems of tenantry, formulations of nationalism will be viewed in this wider context; if we break down Philippine history into regional or sub-regional parts, it is not with the purpose of isolating and fragmenting it, but of analyzing it more clearly, examining case studies for potential wider comparison. This effort has begun in the United States; it is less developed so far in the Philippines, where some texts still imply that Filipinos were Southeast Asians only before 1565 and 1946. But it will continue, and comparisons will be drawn. Some, no doubt, will be shallow and insignificant, but others, I believe, will strike a spark, open new insights, and point the way to yet newer directions for research on Philippine history.

PARSONS' "THEORY OF ACTION" AND "STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONAL" APPROACH TO SOCIAL SCIENCE: A CRITIQUE

F. L. DUMAGAT

It is the general view among competent scientists that the development of the social sciences as compared to the physical sciences is lagging behind.[1] This state of affairs, however, does not indicate the lack of able men in the social sciences. There are eminent social scientists like Parsons, Merton, Homans, to name only a few, who have recognized this state of social science and who have tried to remedy the difficulties in social science theory.

The contemporary efforts toward making social science more "scientific" and fruitful may be exemplified by the contributions of the men just mentioned. Robert Merton advocate "theories of the middle range" because he was convinced of the futility of aiming at a comprehensive social theory.[2] On the other hand, Parsons believed that there is a need for an integrated and comprehensive theory of social action or behavior to guide research.[3] Along Parsons' closed system approach, Homans tried to construct a behavioristic theory of human groups in axiomatic form.[4] Another proponent of the need for formalizing sociological theory, starting from simple statements of perceptions to more complex theorems about social phenomena, is Zettersberg.[5]

Partly to suggest some answers why the development of the social sciences lags behind that of the physical sciences, this paper aims to

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[1] For example, see Morris R. Cohen, "Reason in Social Science," in *Readings in the Philosophy of Science*, ed. by Herbert Feigl & May Brodbeck (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1953), pp. 663-673; Edgar Zilsel, "Historico-Sociological Laws," *loc. cit.*, pp. 714-722; and George C. Homans, *The Human Group* (New York: Harcort, Brace & co., 1950), chap. I.

[2] Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1957), pp. 5-10.

[3] Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action.* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1937), chaps. I & II.

[4] George C. Homans, *op. cit.*

[5] Hans L. Zetterberg, *On the Theory and Verification in Sociology* (New York: The Bedminster Press, Inc., 1963), chap. I.

examine Parsons' theory of action and structural-functional analysis based on "scientific" considerations. It may be admitted that a satisfactory evaluation of Parsons' efforts at theoretical formulation is not possible in one paper. For an evaluation would call for an examination of the logical structure or consistency of Parsons' theories on the one hand and empirical verification on the other. This paper, perhaps, can only deal with the basic and elementary aspects of Parsons' theoretical "system." It may be asked: Is this system consistent with acceptable scientific methods? And what are the difficulties involved?

An Overview of the Scientific Method

As basis for subsequent comments, the scientific method may be outlined here. It must be admitted at the outset that there are disagreements about the nature of the scientific method. They are mainly due to the diversity of fields and objects of scientific investigation, such as the physical, biological, and social phenomena where the nature of the object of and method of investigation naturally differ.[6] Nevertheless, there are basic considerations common to all scientific endeavors.

The scientific method is nothing more than the application of accurate observation and of logical analysis and interpretation over phenomena hitherto new to human experience. In other words, it involves the senses and logical thinking in organizing sense-perceptions of the external world. It rejects metaphysical or ontological propositions because of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of demonstration and verification.[7]

As pointed out by Whitehead, it is on practical grounds that science should rely on the human senses, i.e., to avoid unnecessary and inconclusive argumentation about reality and human experience.[8] Closely connected with this is the necessity of demonstrability and ve-

[6] Cf. Henryk Mehlberg, *The Reach of Science* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), pp. 45-78.

[7] See Max Black, "Observation and Experiment," in *Philosophical Problems,* ed. by M. Mandelbaum, *et al* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1957), pp. 22-35.

[8] It is interesting to note Whitehead's position on the complementarity of science and metaphysics. While he appreciates necessity of grounding knowledge on experience and logic, he also believes that metaphysics could play a complementary role to science. He wrote: ". . . One of the points I am urging in this address is, that the basis of science does not depend on the assumption of any of the conclusions of metaphysics; but that both science and metaphysics start from the same given groundwork

rifiability. It requires that experience and observation must not be private to only one person but subject to the inspection and confirmation of other competent persons. This implies that an observation (of an event or object or their relations) can be repeated under the same conditions.[9]

The problem of recognizing significant observation, of course, arises from the obvious fact that not any observation may constitute scientific knowledge. This leads to a consideration of what is "fact." An observation can only be considered a "fact" with respect to a certain inquiry or investigation. In other words, a "fact" is any observation that either confirms or denies the validity of a "hypothesis."

Here, one may note that out of a mass of observations or perceptions[10] rational man tends to make out patterns or uniformities, tentative at first and provisionally stated in the form of a proposition. This is called a "hypothesis." When this hypothesis is confirmed, it assumes the status of "law," stating the invariant relationships of the variables involved. And when this law agrees with other laws, these laws together may be integrated to constitute a theory.[11]

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of immediate experience, and in the main proceed in opposite directions on their diverse tasks.

. . . From an abstract point of view this exclusion of metaphysical inquiry is a pity. Such an inquiry is a necessary critique of the worth of science, to tell us what it all comes to . . . . It is possible that some distant generations may arrive at unanimous conclusions on ontological questions, whereas scientific progress may have led to ingrained opposing veins of thought which can neither be reconciled nor abandoned. In such times metaphysics and physical science will exchange their roles. Meanwhile we must take the case as we find it." A. N. Whitehead, *The Aim of Education* (New York: The New American Library, 1964), pp. 106 & 117.

[9] Max Black, *op. cit.*

[10] There is no need to go into an involved epistemological discourse here. It is enough to point out that efforts had been taken to purge science of metaphysical or *a priori* content. Russell, for instance clarified the relation of sense date to the object of physics as "reconstructions" rather than "inferred" and made possible empirical verification, i.e., by exhibiting physical objects "as functions of sense-data." — Bertrand Russell, "The Relation of Sense-Data to Physics," in *Philosophy of Science*, ed. by A. Danto & S. Morgenbesser (Cleveland: The World Publishing Co., 1962), pp. 33-34, 41-54. Ernest Nagel commented, however, that Russell's efforts were just "needless excursions into sterile epistomological speculations." It was just a matter of "analyzing or defining the sense of such expressions as 'physical,' 'point,' 'electron,' and so on." — "Russell's Philosophy," in Danto & Morgenbesser, *loc. cit.*, pp. 55-68. Here, Nagel was referring to an appeal on "operationism" in connecting the senses with the objects of physics. Hempel, however, could only grant to operationism the status of a program, not an established philosophy. — Carl G. Hempel, "Operationism, Observation, and Theoretical Terms," in Danto and Morgenbesser, *loc. cit.*, pp. 101-120.

This is rather a simple way of indicating the relations of fact, hypothesis, law, and theory in science. It is implied above that the ultimate goal of science is the formulation of a theory, starting from sense-perceptions to constitute facts for the confirmation of observed regularities among observed phenomena and the establishment of laws stating the invariant relationships of variables. In the ordinary conception of knowledge, this process of and hierarchy in scientific knowledge is equivalent to "understanding" observed phenomena. This means relating observed phenomena to previous experiences.

In more technical parlance, "understanding" (in popular usage) is called "explanation" in the philosophy of science. It means the deductive process of logically showing a phenomenon (its description) to be a consequence of the operation of a law or set of laws, given the conditions prescribed by such law or set of laws.[12] The only difference between "understanding" and "explanation" is that "previous experience" in "understanding" is couched as invariant relationships of variables (laws) in the language of science.

Both "understanding" and "explanation" exhibit the deductive process.

The formulation of hypothesis and laws involves both the inductive and deductive processes. As Russell pointed out:

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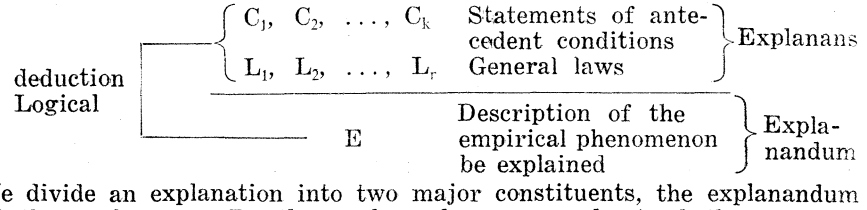
[11] For a well illustrated exposition on fact, hypothesis, laws and theory, see Irving Copi, "Fact and Hypothesis," in M. Mandelbaum, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-46.

[12] The logical form of explanation and prediction is illustrated in the model shown below:



"We divide an explanation into two major constituents, the explanandum and the explanans. By the explanandum, we understand the sentence describing the phenomenon to be explained (not that phenomenon itself); by the explanans, the class of those sentences which are adduced to account for the phenomenon. As was noted before, the explanans falls into the subclasses; one of these contains certain sentences $C_1, C_2, \ldots, C_k$ which state specific antecedent conditions; the other is a set of sentences $L_1, L_2, \ldots, L_r$ which represent general laws." — Carl G. Hempel and Paul Oppenheim, "Logic of Explanation," in *Readings in the Philosophy of Science,* Herbert Feigl & May Brodbeck, eds. (New York: Appleton-Century, Crofts, Inc., 1953, pp. 219-353.

> There is first a body of observed facts, then a general theory [i.e., hypothesis] consistent with them all, and then inferences from the theory which subsequent observation confirms or denies.[13]

Scientific knowledge thus expands as more hypotheses are confirmed into laws and laws become integrated into theories. At the same time, theories show gaps in knowledge for investigation and suggest the nature of still obscure phenomena. When the logical structure of a theory is developed and implications could be derived from it, some discoveries might be predicted as in the case of Yukawa predicting the existence of "a free particle (meson) about 150 times as great as the electron."[14]

It can be seen, therefore, that the scientific method is a tightly organized process of synthesizing human experience. At the same time, it enriches human experience by enabling man to reach beyond

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[13] Bertrand Russell, *Human Knowledge, Its Scope and Limits* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1948), p. 409. This is quoted in R. Pascual, *Fundamentals of Logic* (Manila: G. Miranda & Sons, 1952), p. 265. It may be noted that Pascual is of the view that deduction rather than induction is responsible for the development of the physical sciences. For example, in the case of Newton's general theory of gravitation, it "was not the result of tedious induction . . . but one which follows methodically and deductively from a set of undefined terms, definitions and axioms. It is not the repeated occurrences which gave rise to the formulation of a law, but rather the rare perception of the invariant relation between the elements relevant to the occurrences in question." (p. 265) Of course, the inductive process is not shown in Newton's *Principia,* but certainly, it took place in his mind, consciously or unconsciously, that enabled him to formulate series of hypotheses about the phenomena that led him to the final form of his law of gravitation. — Cf. Arthur E. Bell, *Newtonian Science* (London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1961), esp. 97-130.

[14] C. F. Presley, "Laws and Theories in the Physical Sciences," in Danto & Morgenbesser, *op. cit.,* p. 221.

[15] The efforts to break down the mystery of the atom has demonstrated the inadequacy of common sense to wrestle with duality in the quantum level. This refers to the anomalous situation where the constituents of matter (i.e., atoms) must be interpreted both as waves and as particles as indicated by experiments. Here, the common sense expectation that what is true when a thing is observed is also true when unobserved in the macro-level, is not applicable in the world of the quantum. The quantum does not follow the postulates of causality. For this reason, Reichenbach proposed the revision of logic where there are only two truth values, either true or false. A third truth value is needed, an intermediate one or "indeterminate." Thus, "by the help of such logic, quantum mechanics can be written in a sort of neutral language, which does not speak of waves or corpuscles, but speaks of coincidences, that is, of collisions, and leaves it indeterminate what happens on the path between two collitions." — Hans Reichenbach, "Are There Atoms?" in *The Structure of Scientific Thought,* ed. by Edward Madden (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961), p. 105.

what could be experienced. This is illustrated in the gradual development of physical theory from classical Newtonian mechanics which is rooted in the immediately observable to quantum mechanics which deals with the less remote world of the atom and electron.

While science starts with the observable, the development of scientific knowledge shows how far man's senses could be relied upon and how far contemporary logic may be useful.[15] It also shows how the direction of scientific advance may be influenced by the nature of accumulated knowledge and the habits of thought that such development imposes.[16]

Before leaving this discussion on science and the scientific method, it is well to correct the impression that might have been created, i.e., that advances in science consist of orderly processes starting from sense-perceptions to hypotheses to theories. This is not the case.

Science starts as a question about a phenomenon. It generalizes, and checks such generalization deductively against particular instances. When there is no agreement between generalization and particular instance, another hypothesis or generalization is constructed. This is the sense in which Russell's inductive-deductive process of theory construction (see page 5) may be integrated. It is a trial-and-error process. The abstraction or conceptualization process is not like that of a fiction writer who invents a reality:

> Rather, it is similar to that of a man engaged in solving a well-designed word puzzle. He may, it is true, propose any word as solution; but, there is only one word which really solves the puzzle in all its form. It is an outcome of faith that nature — as

[16] David Bohm makes this point relevant to research: "To sum up this talk, we wish to call attention to the relationship between the methods of scientific research, and the content of scientific knowledge. The method must be tailored to the content; and if one loses sight of this, one is in danger of being artificially limited in a way that easily escapes conscious realization. Method is determined in part by the effort to ask relevant questions in our researchers; and it is essential to understand that the relevance of a question depends on the character of the material under investigation. Such questions help determine the forms of the facts that can be elicited in further researches. These questions are, in general, limited firstly by our concepts, laws, and hypotheses, and secondly, in a less obvious but equally important way, by our general habits of thought. Such habits can easily blind us to the need for altering our ways of thinking in accordance with the nature of the material under investigation as we penetrate into new domains." — David Bohm, "On the Relationship Between Methodology in Scientific Research and the Content of Scientific Knowledge," *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science* Vol. XII, No. 46 (August, 1961), pp. 103-116.

> she is perceptible to our five senses — takes the character of such a well formulated puzzle. The successes reaped up to now by science do, it is true, give a certain encouragement for this faith.[17]

Paradoxically, although concepts and theories must be tested against empirical data, Einstein took pains to point out that theory (specifically theoretical physics) "cannot be an inference from experience but must be free invention." He explained:

> The aim of science is, on the one hand, a comprehension, as *complete* as possible, of the connection between the sense experiences in their totality, and, on the other hand, the accomplishment of this aim *by the use of a minimum of primary concepts and relations.* (Seeking, as far as possible, logical unity in the world picture, i.e., paucity in logical elements.)
>
> Science concerns the totality of the primary concepts, i.e., concepts directly connected with sense experiences, and theorems connecting them. In its first stage of development, science does not contain anything else. Our everyday thinking is satisfied on the whole with this level. Such a state of affairs cannot, however, satisfy a spirit which is really scientifically minded; because, the totality of concepts and relations obtained in this manner is utterly lacking in logical unity. In order to supplement this deficiency, one invents a system poorer in concepts and relations, a system retaining the primary concepts and relations of the "first layer" as derived concepts and relations. This new "secondary system" pays for its higher logical unity by having, as its own elementary concepts (concepts of the second layer), only those which are no longer directly connected with complexes of sense experiences. Further striving for logical unity brings us to a tertiary system, still poorer in concepts and relations, for the deduction of the concepts and relations of the secondary (and so indirectly of the primary) layer. Thus the story goes on until we have arrived at a system of the greatest conceivable unity, and of the greatest poverty of concepts of the logical foundations, which are still compatible with the observation made by our senses.[18]

But how can theory be tested against experience? What is the relation between theory and experience? To Einstein, "the relation is not analogous to that of soup to beef but rather of wardrobe number to overcoat."[19] Feigl, after pointing out the divergence of views on this point, took the position of Russell in regarding "the relation between physical object statements and phenomenal data statements as one of probabilistic inference."[20] He explained:

> No matter where the line is drawn between observables and inferred entities, the most adequate reconstruction, it seems to

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[17] Albert Einstein, "The Method of Science," in *The Structure of Scientific Thought,* ed. by Edward H. Madden (Boston: Houghton Mif-

[18] *Ibid.,* p. 83.

[19] *Loc. cit.*

[20] Herbert Feigl, *The "Mental" and the "Physical"* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1958), p. 76.

> me, has to be rendered in any case in terms of nomological nets. To return to the temperature example, we may say that the intensity of heat in an oven is indicated by various observable effects, but is not identical with any single one of them, nor is it identifiable with a disjunction (or other logical function) of the observable indications. The intensity of heat is nomologically, and hence synthetically, related to the indications of indicators. This is not to be confused with the quite obviously synthetic character of the functional or statistical relations between the incantions themselves . . . .
>
> But even when theories (spelling out nomological networks) are adumbrated only in the form of extremely vague "promissory notes," the practice of scientific thinking clearly demonstrates that theoretical concepts (hypothetical entities) are never reducible to, or identifiable with, observable data (or logical constructions thereof). . . . Theoretical concepts are "anchored" in the observables, but are not logically (explicitly) definable in terms of the observables. To be sure, it is the "congruence," "consilience," "convergence," or whatever one wishes to call the testable correlations between the observables that allows for the introduction of fruitful theoretical concepts. It is indeed this consilience which provides the empirical basis for the specification of the meaning of theoretical concepts. Abstract postulates alone determine only their logical or mathematical structure, but never their empirical significance.[21]

Parsons' Theory of Action and Functional-Structural Method

Although it is difficult to simplify and interpret Parsons' Theoretical "system" and exposition, it is necessary for purposes of this paper. To minimize misinterpretation, therefore, extensive quotations dealing with important aspects of the theory will be made. In this connection, it is important to note the difficulties in sifting Parsons' "theory" or "conceptual scheme" from his scattered discussions on sociological theory, philosophical criticism, and his too ponderous style and complicated prose. Moreover, there are variations in emphasis in the three works where he expounded his theory of action, namely: (1) *The Structure of Social Action* (1937), (2) *The Social System* (1951), and (3) *Toward a General Theory of Action* (1962). Consequently, the summary of the theory of action and structural-functional method, to some degree, might miss what Parsons really meant, making subsequent criticisms irrelevant. Where Parsons made revisions, efforts are taken to incorporate them in the summary.

The "Voluntaristic Theory of Action." — Although nowwhere in his books did Parsons state his theory categorically or in terms of integrated propositions from which consequent empirical and testable statement could be deduced, it may be said that his theory actually

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

consists of a conceptual system of the "means-end" of human action and interaction.[22] The reason why he conceived of action-interaction as a system is that it would make parts of such a system determinate in relation to the whole as in a differential equation.[23]

If I understand Parsons' discussion correctly, the "action system" consists of three sub-systems, namely: (1) the personality system, (2) the social system, and (3) culture system. In the words of Parsons and his associates:

> The elaboration of behavior to which this conceptual scheme is especially appropriate, however, occurs above all in human action. In the formation of systems made up of human actions or the components of human action, this elaboration occurs in three configurations. First, the orientation of action of any one given actor and its attendant motivational processes becomes a differentiated and integrated system. This system will be called personality, and we will define it as the organized system of the orientation of action of one individual actor. Secondly, the action of a plurality of actors in a common situation is a process of interaction, the properties of which are to a definite but limited extent independent of any prior common culture. This interaction also becomes differentiated and integrated and as such forms a social system. The social system is, to be sure, made up of the relationships of individuals, but it is a system which is organized around the problems inherent in or arising from social interaction of a plurality of individual actors rather than around the problems which arise in connection with the integration of the actions of an individual actor, who is also a physiological organism. Personality and social system are very intimately interrelated, but they are neither identical with one another nor explicable by one another; the social system is not a plurality of personalites. Finally, systems of culture have their own forms and problems of integration which are not reducible to those of either personality or social systems or both together. The cultural tradition in its significance both as an object of orientation and as an element in the orientation of action must be articulated both conceptually and empirically with personalities and social systems. Apart from embodiment in the orientation systems of concrete actors, culture, though existing as a body of artifacts and as

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[22] This is the key concept that Parsons abstracted from the historical background of social action, specifically the utilitarian tradition. It views man as pragmatic and motivated by rational considerations of his wants and the situation which affects their fulfillment. In fact, this is the thesis of his *The Structure of Social Action* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1937), chap. XVIII. This goal-seeking emphasis, is however, modified in T. Parsons, E. A. Shils, *et al, Toward a General Theory of Action* (Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. 6-7, making goal-seeking as a special case of action, and taking into consideration the influence of culture patterns and role-expectations. Cf. also *The Social System* (New York: The Free Press, 1951), pp. 3-7.

[23] *The Structure . . ., op, cit.*, pp. 8-12.

> systems of symbols, is not in itself organized as a system of action. Therefore, culture as a system is on a different plane from personalities and social systems.[24]

The extensive quotation above, although simply said, illustrates the complexity of the relations of the subsystems as much as the subsystems themselves which Parsons calls system in the quotation but calls subsystem elsewhere. It may be noted that he calls such relations between the three subsystems, interpenetration and interdependence:

> Thus conceived, a social system is only one of the structuring of a completely concrete system of social action. The other two are personality systems of the individual actors and the cultural system which is built into their action. Each of the three must be considered to be an independent focus of organization of the elements of the social system in the sense that no one of them is theoretically reducible to terms of one or a combination of the other two. Each is indispensable to the other two in the sense that without personalities and culture there would be no social system and so on around the roster of logical possibilities. But this *interdependence* and *interpenetration* [italics mine] is a very different matter from reducibility which would mean that the very important properties and processes of one class of system could be theoretically *derived* from our theoretical knowledge of one or both of the other two. The action frame of reference is common to all three and this fact makes certain "transformation" between them possible. But on the level of theory here attempted they do not constitute a single system, however this might turn out to be on some other theoretical level.[25]

Nowhere are interdependence and interpenetration defined and distinguished from each other, notwithstanding the vital position of these concepts in the total theoretical scheme — thus illustrating the loose and haphazard way Parsons built up his theoretical scheme. The meanings of the two relational terms (i.e., interdependence and interpenetration), may be inferred, however, from the way each system (personality, culture, and social systems) shares the "frame of reference" or "orientation" scheme.

The first frame of reference is the actor defined as "an empirical system of action. The actor is an individual or a collectivity which may be taken as a point of reference for the analysis of the modes of its orientation and of its processes of action in relation to objects."[26] Second is the situation of action defined as "that part of the external world which means something to the actor whose behavior is be-

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[24] *Toward a General Theory . . ., loc. cit.*
[25] T. Parsons, *The Social System, op. cit.*, p. 6.
[26] T. Parsons, *Toward a General . . ., op. cit.*, p. 56.

ing analyzed... Specifically, it is that part to which the actor is oriented and in which the actor acts. The situation thus consists of the object of orientation."[27] And third is the orientation of the actor to the situation defined as "the set of cognition, cathexes, plans, and relevant standards which relates the actor to the situation."[28]

Thus, in the interactive relationship where the social system, personality, and culture determine the nature of the unit act, interpenetration and interdependence are illustrated. Ego (the actor whose act is under consideration) acts according to his "need-disposition," "social role," and the "culture pattern." Here, "need-disposition" represents the integrated components of the personality, namely: (1) "motivation, gratification-deprivation balance, primary viscerogenic and social-relational needs, cognition and learning, and the basic mechanisms of cognitive and cathectic-evaluative learning and adjustment"; (2) "the allocative processes by which the strivings toward gratification are distributed among the different available objects and occasions and gratification opportunities are distributed among the different need-dispositions"; (3) "the mechanisms, classifiable as those of defense and adjustment, by which the different components of need-dispositions are integrated internally as a system and directed toward objects"; and (4) "the integration of the various need-dispositions into an 'on-going' personality capable of some degree of self-control and purposeful action."[29] Social role, on the other hand, implies the orientation of an actor with respect to situation-objects and his and Alter's expectations in accordance with the prevailing culture pattern. Culture pattern also constitutes the symbols, value orientation and norms built into the personality system and social system of ego. Alter's (the actor with whom ego interacts) act is similarly determined as ego.[30]

From the preceding discussion, it may be said that interdependence means that each subsystem is indispensable to the others. The "articulation" of the personality system depends upon the "integration" of the biological needs with the social and cultural imperatives. Likewise, the role in social relations is defined by both the personality and culture, and culture develops out of the shared symbols and values and the established regularity of relations between alter and ego. Interpenetration, on the other hand, may be interpreted to mean the

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[27] *Ibid.*
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-19.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

process by which one subsystem (the three systems when considered as a unity) affects the other. It is difficult to go beyond what Parsons explicitly affirms since this is the basis of subsequent evaluations. In fact, interpenetration seems to contradict Parsons' postulate of "boundary-maintenance" which is mentioned below.

The structural-functional method. — This is simply a method in the attempt to construct a social science, complete with a comprehensive conceptual scheme. It starts with the mapping of social science phenomena, putting significant aspects into a system of categories, and defining the relationships of such categories. In setting up the system of categories or structure, Parsons explained:

> A particularly important aspect of our system of categories is the "structural" aspect. We simply are not in a position to "catch" the uniformities of dynamic process in the social system except here and there. But in order to give those we can catch a setting and to be in the most advantageous position to extend our dynamic knowledge we must have a "picture" of the system within which they fit, and, where changes take place, of what changes into what through what order of intermediate stages. The system of structural categories is the conceptional scheme which gives this setting for dynamic analysis. As dynamic knowledge is extended the interdependent explanatory significance of structural categories evaporates. But then scientific function is nevertheless crucial.[31]

On the other hand, function refers to the relation of the structural parts:

> If we have a sufficiently generalized system of categories for the systematic description and comparison of the structure of systems, then we have a setting within which we can mobilize our dynamic knowledge of motivational processes to maximum effects. But precisely relative to the problems which are of significance in most social system terms, the knowledge we possess is both fragmentary and of very uneven and unequal analytical status. The most effective way of organizing it for our purposes is to bring it into relation to a scheme of points of reference relative to the social system. This is where the much-discussed concept of "function" comes in. We must, of course, "place" a dynamic process structurally in the social system. But beyond that we must have a test of the significance of generalization relative to it. That test of significance takes the form of the "functional" relevance of the process. The test is to ask the question, what would be the differential consequences for the system of two or more alternative outcomes of a dynamic process? Such consequences will be found to fit into the terms of maintenance of stability or production of change, of integration or disruption of the system in some sense.[32]

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[31] *The Social System*, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.
[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

Parsons was, of course, referring to the application of the structural-functional method to social systems. But it is shown below that he extended the application to the theory of action, i.e., to the personality and culture systems.

The concepts of structure and function are tied up with the concept of system. In Parsons' theoretical scheme, it is assumed that each part has a differential effect to the whole system. Thus, he postulated a "closure" of the system "so that it is possible to say if the facts in A sector are W and X, those in B sector must be Y and Z."[33] Other postulates regarding this concept of a system besides the interdependence and interpenetration of parts of the system, and closure of the system, is "self-maintenance" or "equilibrium." This means that each subsystem preserves and adjusts its relations with the others as changes take place in one part or the whole system. This is illustrated with the relation of the organism to its environment:

> The most familiar example is the living organism, which is a physicochemical system that is not assimilated to the physicochemical conditions of the environment, but maintains certain distinct properties in relation to the environment. For example, the maintenance of the constant body temperature of the mammal necessitates processes which mediate the interdependence between the internal and the external systems in respect to temperature: these processes maintain constancy over a wide range of variability in environmental temperature.[34]

In terms of the theory of action, Parsons elaborated:

> The two fundamental types of processes necessary for the maintenance of a given state of equilibrium of a system we call, in the theory of action, *allocation* and *integration*. By allocation we mean processes which maintain a distribution of the components or parts of the system which is compatible with the maintenance of a given state of equilibrium. By integration, we mean the processes by which relations to the environment are mediated in such a way that the distinctive internal properties and boundaries of the system as an entity are maintained in the face of variability in the external situation. It must be realized that self-maintenance of such a system is not only maintenance of boundaries but also maintenance of distinctive relationships of the parts of the system within the boundary. The system is in some sense a unity relative to its environment. Also, self-maintenance implies not only control of the environmental variations, but also control of tendencies to change — that is, to alteration of the distributive state — coming from within the system.[35]

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[33] *Ibid.*, p. 20; Also *Toward a General . . ., op. cit.*, p. 49.
[34] *Toward a General . . ., Ibid.*, pp. 107-108.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

Evaluation and Criticism

The main questions we posed at the outset were (1) Is Parsons' theoretical scheme consistent with the scientific method? and (2) What are the difficulties involved? Corollary to question number one is an evaluation of whether or not Parsons' theory of action is consistent with scientific usage of theory. Moreover, since a theory can only be evaluated in terms of logical consistency and of correspondence with the empirical reality it purports to represent, the method by which it is constructed might be compared with the general historical background of how well-established theories in the physical sciences became formulated. Question number two takes up from the last question. This involves the problems directly involved in Parsons' theoretical scheme and other problems pertinent to the social sciences.

The theory of action. — A repeated reading of Parsons' three books dealing with the so-called theory of action — the result of which appears as a summary in this paper — yields the conclusion that it is not a theory in the strict sense of the term in the philosophy of science. At least, it may be conceded that it is an attempt to integrate scattered hypotheses about social behavior drawn from Psychology, Sociology, and Anthropology. And at best, it may indeed justify Parsons' more modest claim of constructing a system of categories or a taxonomy of social action.[36]

If theory were taken to mean "a deductively connected set of laws,"* or "a law, or principle, which has reached a high stage of generality, or a group of such laws considered as forming a single body of doctrine... [which] forms a conceptual scheme under which a wide class of physical sequences is subsumed,"[37] then, Parsons' so-called theory of action is not a theory. In the first place, the theory is not stated formally. In the second place, there are no laws that it integrates or subsumes.[38]

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[36] *Supra,* pp. 15-16. For a concise evaluation of taxonomic typological conceptualization, see Carl C. Hempel, *Aspects of Scientific Explanation and Other Essays in the Philosophy of Science* (New York: The Free Press, 1965), pp. 137-171.

* May Brodbeck, "Models, Meaning, and Theories," in *Readings in the Philosophy of the Social Sciences,* ed. *idem.* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1968), p. 583.

[37] Quoted in R. Pascual, *Fundamentals of Logic* (Manila: G. Miranda & Sons, 1952), p. 307.

[38] *Supra,* pp. 11-15; & Cf. Henryk Mehlberg, *The Reach of Science* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1858), p. 214.

This assessment agrees with that of the American Sociological Association in its special session in 1950. It went further to criticize "that Parsons' terminology was largely jargon rather than designed to give greater precision."[39] The quoted discussions of Parsons above are adequate illustrations of this evaluation. However, the Association admitted that Parsons' contribution "amounts to a conceptual framework' from which hypotheses could be drawn for empirical testing."[40]

As a conceptual scheme, it may be asked: What does it lack to qualify as a theory? Hempel suggests "basic requirements for scientific theories" to fulfill in connection with his examination of "taxonomic concepts in the study of mental disorders" which may be used to evaluate Parsons' theory of action:

> (1) A clear specification of the basic concepts used to represent the theoretical entities (objects, states, processes, characteristics, and so on) in terms of which the theory proposes to interpret, and account for, the empirical phenomena in its domain of investigation;
> (2) A set of theoretical assumptions (basic laws, fundamental hypotheses) couched in theoretical terms asserting certain interrelations among the corresponding theoretical entities;
> (3) An empirical interpretation of the theory, which might take the form of operational criteria for the theoretical terms, or, more generally, the form of a set of laws, statistical or strictly universal in character, connecting the theoretical traits, states, or process with observable phenomena;
> (4) Testability-in-principle of the theory thus specified; i.e., the theory together with its interpretation, must imply, deductively, definite assertions about observable phenomena that should be found to occur under spefiable test conditions if the theory is correct: the occurrence or nonoccurrence of these phenomena will then provide confirming or disconfirming evidence concerning the theory.[41]

These requirements are similar for or applicable to the Weberian "ideal type" theoretical schemes, except that since ideal types implicitly express hypotheses of the relations of concepts or since they go beyond mere classifying (in contrast to taxonomic conceptualizations), one of the requirements included is a theory's incorporation as a special case in a more comprehensive theory as a long-range objective.[42]

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[39] R. A. H. Robson, "The Present State of Theory in Sociology," in *Problems in the Philosophy of Science* ed. by Imre Lakatos & Alan Musgrave (Amsterdam: North-Holland Pub. Co., 1968), pp. 354-355.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 355.

[41] Carl G. Hempel, *op. cit.*, 150-151.

[42] The requirements that make ideal types "interpreted theoretical systems are: (1) specifying a list of characteristics with which the theory is to deal; (2) formulating a set of hypotheses in terms of those

The preceding summary of Parsons' theory of action showed that it was not lacking in concepts, which fulfills number (1) to some extent, but for the imprecise way they were defined and used. In fact, he used more concepts than was perhaps necessary such as the concept of boundary maintenance which seemed to contradict the concept of interpenetration. It was later shown in the illustration of an organism and its environment that this referred to the system being "not assimilated" by the environment. But this must have been implied in the "closure" postulate. The difficulty and perhaps the reason why Parsons committed this unnecessary redundancy is the lack of organization of his system. In other words, he did not begin from the simplest elements of his conceptual structure (axioms, postulates, and primitive terms) and then proceed to more complex principles and theorems. This formalization of the conceptual scheme obviously enabled Newton in reconciling the phenomenon of the elliptical behavior of the comet in 1680 with Galileo's theory of the solar system by coming out with his general theory of gravitation, systematically proved in his *Principia*.[43] His development of the calculus, of course, helped him, but without the simple and systematized concepts, the power of the calculus would not have been availed of.

Requirements numbers two, three,and four are obviously strange in Parsons' conceptual scheme. Parsons himself admitted that his "articulated conceptual scheme" "consisting of working out the structural outline" is "formidable" enough, but that he fell short of "setting up a system of variables." However, he claimed that his work will pave the way for the formation of laws, an example of which he provided:

> "In any concrete system of action a process of change so far as it is at all explicable in terms of those elements of action formulated in terms of the intrinsic means-and relationship can proceed only in the direction of approach toward the realization of the rational norms conceived as binding on the actors in the system." That is, more briefly, such a process of action can proceed only in the direction of increase in the value of the property of rationality.[44]

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characteristics; (3) giving those characteristics an empirical interpretation, which assigns to the theory a specific domain of application; and (4) as a long-range objective, incorporating the theoretical system, as a special case, into a more comprehensive theory. — *Ibid.*, p. 171.

[43] See Arthur E. Bell, *Newtonian Science* (London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1961), pp. 97-130.

[44] T. Parsons, *The Structure . . ., op. cit.*, p. 751.

For comparison, Newton's law of gravitation is stated:

> Between any two particles of matter there is a force which is proportional to the product of their masses and inversely proportional to the square of their distance.

The preciseness and elegance of the law is shown in the equation:[45]

$$f = G \frac{m_1 m_2}{r^2}$$

where G = gravitational constant (32 ft./sec./sec.
m_1 & m_2 = masses of particles
r = distance of particles

Despite the hope and optimism of Parsons that sociological theory will reach the analytical stage that classical mechanism had already achieved in the 17th century, more than thirty years since he suggested a law to the present, not one established law in sociology has been formulated. There is, however, proliferation of inconclusive hypotheses about social phenomena. As late as 1945, Parsons was still preaching his structural-functional theory of action.[46] And in 1950, he was still optimistic about the prospect of a sociological theory from a structural-functional approach.[47]

There is no harm in being an incurable optimist; but this may not be equally true for being an "incurable theorist"[48] like Parsons. But what is harmful in being an "incurable theorist"? The harm lies in perpetuating theories that can not be tested that shackle the further development of more fruitful ones.

Parsons thinks that for social science to develop a working theory which guides and integrates researches should be provided. He believes that it is the lack of "an adequate working theoretical tradition" which is "probably the most crucial factor" in the "disappointing" advance in social science.[49] Moreover, he believes that in connection with the problems of objectivity and of the "tendencies to value-bias" among social scientists, and the problems of selection among the "numerous number of possible variables in social science, "perhaps theory is even more im-

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[45] W. G. V. Rosser, *Introductory Relativity* (London: Butterworths, 1967), 9.

[46] T. Parsons, "The Present Position and Prospects of Systematic Theory in Sociology" in *Essays in Sociological Theory* (rev. ed; Illinois: The Free Press, 1954), pp. 212-237.

[48] *Idem.*, 'The Prospects of Sociological Theory," *loc. cit.*, pp. 348-369.

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 350.

portant in our field [social science] than in the natural sciences."[50] As to how this can be so, he did not care to elaborate.

In this connection, it has been shown above that the development of science proceeds not from an integrated conceptual framework from which separate investigations follow but from guesses or hypotheses based upon a grasp of the implications of sense-perceptions about the external world. These are tested and elaborated, some to be discarded, others to be modified, and others to be confirmed by their empirical validity. In this process, it is important to note that as Einstein pointed out, theories are not the result of tedious inferences from particular instances or experiences but rather the "free inventions of the mind" that seek to mirror the logical nature of empirical objects.

Parsons is on the right track when he correctly distinguished the importance between density and mass in physics, the former being useful only in descriptive physics, the latter in theory and analytical physics. Assuming an analogy between framing theories in Physics and Sociology, he pointed out "that many of the variables now thought to be most fundamental in the Social Sciences will turn out to be in the same category as density, not as mass or velocity" and therefore "be as deceptive in our field [Social Science] as it is in physics."[51] From this premise, he asserted that "increase in operational precision, *by itself* would not advance us toward our goal of 'marying' theory and operational procedures in the fruitful manner of the physical sciences.[52]

In other words, Parsons thinks that development in social science proceeds from conceptualizing or selecting categories and concepts (structure) to formulating the relations of such concepts (function). As indicated above, he does not appreciate much the need for precision in determining the nature and relations of variables but puts primary importance to concepts, implicitly assuming that such variables may not, after all, have anything to do with concepts as the precision in the determination of density which does not affect the theory of mechanics.

It may be suggested at this point that Parsons missed the proper interpretation of the analogy. While it is true that concepts are not tedious inferences from experiences or perceived variables or objects,

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[50] *Ibid.*, p. 349.
[51] *Loc. cit.*, p. 14.
[52] *Ibid.*,

it is not true that an accurate determination of such relation is not important, since it is precisely this relation which are to be reflected in the concepts. In connection with his analysis of the role of taxonomy in the development of a science, specifically in concept formation, Hempel pointed out that:

> . . . the specification of a classificatory system requires a corresponding set of classificatory concepts: Each class provided for in the system is the extension of one of these concepts; i.e., it consists of just those objects in the universe of discourse which possess the specific characteristics which the concept represents. Hence, the establishment of a suitable system of classification in a given domain of investigation may be considered as a special kind of scientific concept formation.[53]

Thus, if concept must represent accurately, what it represents must itself be accurately determined.

In brief, Parsons thought that by providing a conceptual scheme (ie., taxonomic categories) he facilitates the formulation of laws. But it has been the contention of this paper in accordance with the practical considerations in the scientific method that in constructing a theory or a conceptual scheme, one has to follow a step by step process: conceptualizing and hypothesizing, testing and validating, discarding invalid ones and integrating valid ones into laws and theories, and repeating the process indefinitely as phenomena after phenomena appear or become recognized. One should not build his edifice on shifting sands if he is wise. In other words, it would have been more beneficial to Sociology if Parsons went down from his ivory tower of hypothesizing and started testing his concepts and validating the law he suggested in 1937.

The implications of the preceding discussion to the structural-functional method is the inevitable conclusion that if one follows the step-by-step process of theoretical formulation, there would be no need for it. Previous hypotheses, valid and invalid, suggest other hypotheses or other areas of investigation. There is no need for a man purporting to represent an unexplored area. To comprehend the extent, terrain, and geographic characteristics of that unexplored area, it is better to explore it rather than sit down and imagine or wait for hearsays about it or construct an imaginary map.

At this point, there is a need for some comments on other postulates of Parsons' conceptual scheme. First, in connection with a

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[53] Hempel, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

conceptualization of the "frame of reference," he postulated the goal-seeking tendencies of man as commonly done in biological "theorizing." He explained:

> There is implied in the relations of these elements [end, means, conditions and norms] a normative orientation of action, a teleological character. Action must always be thought of as involving a state of tension between two different orders of elements, the normative and the conditional. As process, addition is, in facts, the process of alteration of the conditional elements in the direction of conformity with norms. Elimination of the normative aspects altogether eliminates the concept of action itself and leads to the radical positivistic position. Elimination of conditions, of the tensions from that side, equally eliminates action and results in idealistic emanationism. Thus conditions may be conceived at one pole, ends and normative rules at the other, means and effort as the connecting links between them.[54]

In the shorter version of his "theorizing," a clearer meaning of his use of teleology is indicated. It implies the "striving toward the attainment of 'goals;' of 'reacting' emotionally or affectively toward objects and events, and of, to a greater or lesser degree, cognitively knowing or understanding his situation, his goals and himself.[55]

Without going into detailed discussion on a criticism of functionalism where teleology is a basic concept, it is enough to say that there is no necessity in assuming it as Hempel showed in his analysis. He concluded:

> In all of these cases, the laws of self-regulation exhibited by the systems in question are capable of explanation by subsumption under general laws of a more obviously causal form. But this is not even essential, for the laws of self-regulation themselves are causal in the broad sense of asserting that for systems of a specified kind, any one of a class of different "initial states" (any one of the permissible states of disturbance) will lead to the same kind of final state. Indeed as our earlier formulations show, functionalist hypotheses, including those of self-regulation, can be expressed without the use of any teleological phraseology at all.[56]

He pointed out, however, that as a heuristic device in suggesting hypotheses, functionalism and teleology may be useful. And

> if the advantages it has to offer are to be reaped in full, it seems desirable and indeed necessary to pursue the investigation of specific functional relationships to the point where they can be expressed in terms of reasonably precise and objectively testable hypotheses. At least, initially, these hypotheses will likely be of quite limited scope. But this would simply parallel the present

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[54] T. Parsons, *The Structure . . ., op. cit.*, p. 732.
[55] *Idem., Essays in Sociological Theory, op. cit.*, p. 228.
[56] Hempel, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

> situation in biology, where the kinds of self-regulation, and the uniformities they exhibit, vary from species to species. Eventually, such "empirical generalizations" of limited scope might provide a basis for a more general theory of self-regulating systems. To what extent these objectives can be reached cannot be decided in *a priori* fashion by logical analysis or philosophical reflection: the answer has to be found by intensive and rigorous scientific research.[57]

The second objectionable postulate is emergentism.[58] Parsons explained:

> A word should also be said about the sense in which the term emergent is here used since it has acquired various connotations elsewhere. Here it has a strictly empirical meaning, designating general properties of complex systems of phenomena which are, in their particular values, empirically identifiable and which can be shown by comparative analysis to vary, in these particular values, independently of others. So far they are no different from any other general properties. What distinguishes the emergent from the elementary properties is only the fact that upon unit analysis of the system in question beyond a certain point they evaporate and are no longer observable. This has been amply illustrated for the case of economic rationality. The existence and empirical importance of emergent properties in this sense is, as has been seen, a measure of the organicism of the system. They are basically important to action systems.
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> . . . There is no mysticism whatever about this concept of emergence. It is simply a designation for certain features of the observable facts.[59]

The main reason for his postulating emergentism and organicism evidently arises from his use of system in conceptualizing human action or behavior. While he denounced Spencerian evolutionism[60] which postulates as anthropomorphic view of society (i.e., that it grows like a human being), he, himself, postulates a view of a system patterned after the systemic organization of the human body or organism.

It may be noted that the problem of organicism in biology is still hotly debated between its proponents and the proponents of "mechanistic" biology. However, Nagel reduced the problem to the simple question of whether or not the whole organism is not explainable to the properties of its parts, and proposed a clear analysis of the tangled issues:

> Let me first state the suggestion in schematic, abstract form. Let T be a definite body of theory which is capable of explaining

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 330.

[58] In Parsons' theorizing, emergentism arises from his organismic view of the system of action. See his *The Structure . . ., op. cit.*, p. 31.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 749.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

a certain indefinitely large class of statements concerning the simultaneous or successive occurrence of some set of properties P_1, P_2, . . . P_k. Suppose further that it is possible with the help of the Theory T to explain the behavior of a set of individuals i with respect to their manifesting these properties P when these individuals form a closed system s_2 under circumstances C_1; and that it is also possible with the help of T to explain the behavior of another set of individuals j with respect to their manifesting these properties P when the individuals j form a closed system s_2 under circumstances C_2. Now assume that the two sets of individuals i and j form an enlarged closed system s^3 under circumstances C_3, in which they exhibit certain modes of behavior which are formulated in a set of laws L. Two cases may now be distinguished: (a) it may be possible to deduce the laws L from T conjoined with the relevant initial conditions which obtain in C_3; in this case, the behavior of the system s_2 may be said to be the sum of the behaviors of its parts s_1 and s_2; or (b) the laws L cannot be so deduced, in which case the behavior of the system s_3m may be said not to be the sum of the behaviors of its parts.

Whether the above proposal to interpret the distinction between wholes which are and those which are not the sums of their parts would be acceptable to organismic biologists, I do not know. But, while I am aware that the suggestion requires much elaboration and refinement to be an adequate tool of analysis, in broad outline it represents what seems to me to be the sole intellectual content of what organismic biologists have had to say in this connection. However, if the proposed interpretation of the distinction is accepted as reasonable, then one important consequence needs to be noted. For, on the above proposal, the distinction between wholes which are and those which are not sums of parts is clearly relative to some assumed body of theory T; and, accordingly, though a given whole may not be the sum of its parts relative to one theory, it may indeed be such a sum relative to another. Thus, though the thermal behavior of solids is not the sum of the behavior of its parts relative to the classical kinetic theory of matter, it is such a sum relative to modern quantum mechanics. To say, therefore, that the behavior of an organism is not the sum of the behavior of its parts, and that its total behavior cannot be understood adequately in physico-chemical terms even though the behavior of each parts is explicable mechanistically, can only mean that no body of general theory is now available from which statements about the total behavior of the organism are derivable. The assertion, even if true, does not mean that it is in principle impossible to explain such total behavior mechanistically, and it supplies no competent evidence for such claim.[61]

In brief, as Brodbeck put it, the problem of emergence "is a matter of explanation rather than of description."[62]

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[61] Ernest Nagel, "Mechanistic Explanation and Organismic Biology," in Madden, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-138.

[62] May Brodbeck "Methodological Individualisms: Definition and Reduction," in Brodbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

To forestall attack on his postulating emergence, Parsons pointed out that "there is no mysticism" involved. Of course, mysticism would refer to the assumed occurrence that "upon unit analysis of the system in question beyond a certain point they evaporate and are no longer observable." A close look into his illustration of economic rationality as an "emergent property of action which can be observed only when a plurality of unit acts is treated together as constituting an integrated system of action,"[63] One can see that economic rationality is a postulate or assumed principle in economics where a person acts in the market, in the firm, or as consumer according to alternatives presented in the situation (e.g., he buys at a lower price and sells at higher price). Here, it is claimed that to "carry unit analysis to the point of conceptual isolation of unit act is to break up the system and destroy this emergent property."[64]

If "buying" guided by tastes, preferences, and prices were to be considered a unit act, and if rationality were a "property" of the unit act of buying; and following Parsons' line of reasoning, will analysis of the elements in a "rational" buying act "destroy" the "emergent rationalism"? Of course, it is absurd to attribute rationalism to taste, preferences, and price singly but only to the act of buying. In fact, it is similarly absurd to say that "rationality" is a property of an act because this would imply that an act is a physical object, if "property" were construed as the combustibility in the case of gasoline, which refers to the decomposition of gasoline to its components (i.e., carbon and oxide) given specifiable conditions. It may be noted that "property" in this usage refers to the chemical predisposition of a compound to decompose into its elements according to chemical laws, given certain conditions. It is obviously not applicable to an act which is just a concept. It can be said, therefore, that rationality is simply a description or classification of an act according to the criteria of taste, preference, and price. For example, if one buys a pen at ₱20 when similar pens are available at ₱10 is not rational, and the converse is rational.

There is, therefore, no necessity for postulating emergence even in the case of rationality. Its use is just a self-deception by one's terminology and conceptualization, which demonstrates the need for strict definition of terms and the hierarchical structuring of concepts. In the case of the theory of action and its unit parts, it is difficult to

[63] T. Parsons, *The Structure, op. cit.,* pp. 739-740.
[64] *Ibid.,* p. 740.

postulate an analogy between it and an organism because an organism and its organs have indeed "properties" while that of action is just a concept or abstraction. On the other hand, there is no need to belabor on the analogy between the organism and the concept of action because in the light of Hempel's discussion, emergence is not a necessary postulate. And this should be equally true to the theory of action.

This leads to the question of whether or not the parts of the action system namely the personality system, social system, and culture system, are not explainable under psychological laws, or even physical laws. It seems that this is one reason why Parsons postulated emergentism — the desire to preserve Sociology as a separate science from Psychology. His main argument of the parts not equal to the whole has been shown to be untenable. This makes questionable the assumption that the social system and culture system cannot be explainable (Parsons used the word "reducible" incorrectly in this context in page 13) under the laws of Psychology. Although at present, Psychology is not developed as to have comprehensive laws and theories for reduction purposes, Brodbeck wrote:

> The possibility of "reduction" is the issue raised by asking whether the phenomena of one field, say chemistry or psychology, can be explained in terms of the phenomena of another, say physics or physiology respectively. Reduction, as I understand it, involves deduction. Explanation, in one firm meaning of that term, is achieved by deducing what is to be explained from true premises. Only statements, never concepts, can serve as either premises or conclusion of a deduction. Explanation, therefore, is always of statements by means of other statements. (Obvious and trivial as this point is, as long as the confused notion of "explanatory concepts" lingers on, it is worth remaking.) The deduction by which reduction is achieved also serves to explain. Explanation is in fact a major reason for reduction. It is consequently a matter of laws and theories, not of terms or concepts. What is sometimes called "reduction" of terms is, strictly, definition of the kind we have just discussed. Not all deduction, however, achieves reduction. We explain a law by deducing it from another law or laws.
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> Among chemists, reductionism is hardly a controversial issue. Naturally not, since it is an accomplished fact. But even among psychologists, where it is at best a program, though the range from optimism to pessimism is very wide, vociferous extremes at either end, ultimate physiological reduction is accepted as a frame of reference. The area concerned with group variables is rather more sensitive, however. Further removed, both historically and systematically, from the biological sciences than are psychologists, those concerned with group sciences tend to exhibit greater emotional reactions to the reductionism issue. They are darkly

> suspicious that the proponents of reductionism aim primarily to put them out of business by denying them any real subject matter. Nor perhaps are their suspicions wholly unfounded. However that may be, a firm grasp of the distinctions between the definitions of terms and the reduction of laws and between perfect and imperfect knowledge should considerably reduce the decibel count of this clamor either for or against autonomous group science.[65]

Some methodological problems in social science. — As indicated in the preceding, there is a proliferation of social science theories. In fact, as deplored by Parsons, sociologists themselves admit that there are as many sociological theories "as there are sociologists."[66] This may be partly attributed to the absence of crucial experiments in the social sciences which would enable the rejection of invalid or inadequate hypotheses instead of their elevation to the status of theories. This is to say that as Copi pointed out, although scientific hypotheses, theories, or laws are not "wholly discrete and independent" or the "theoretical structure of science grows in a more organic fashion" and that there is no such thing as *ad hoc* hypotheses for which crucial experiments may be applicable in their validation or invalidation, crucial experiments are useful in putting to the test "dubious hypotheses together with accepted parts of scientific theory." Moreover, it helps in "dragging 'hidden assumptions' into the open" "for critical examination as the case of the assumption before Einstein developed his Special Theory of Relativity "that it always makes sense to say of two events that they occurred at the same time," which is not possible for two observers because simultaneity depends "upon their locations and velocities relative to the events in question."[67]

It is pertinent at this point to quote Cohen's cogent observations on the difficulties that confront social science:

> In the first place, agreement based on demonstration is less easy and actually less prevalent in the social than in the natural sciences, because the greater complexity of social facts makes it less easy to sharpen an issue to an isolable point and to settle it by direct observation of an indefinitely repeatable fact. The issue between the Copernican and the Ptolemaic astronomy in the days of Galileo was reduced to the question whether Venus does or does not show phases like the moon's and this was settled by looking through a telescope. If Venus did not forever repeat her cycle, and if the difference between a full circle of light and one partly covered by a crescent shadow were not so readily perceived, the matter could not be so readily settled.

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[65] May Brodbeck, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-288.
[66] T. Parsons, The Structure . . ., *op. cit.*, p. 774.
[67] Irving M. Copi, "Crucial Experiments," in Madden, p. 33.

> With the greater complexity of social facts are connected (1) their less repeatable character, (2) their less direct observability, (3) their greater variability and lesser uniformity, and (4) the greater difficulty of isolating one factor at a time. These phases are so dependent on one another that we shall not treat them separately.
>
> The last observation [the difficulty of isolating a factor and performing a crucial experiment] suggests that the greater complexity and variability of social fact also make its purely theoretical development more difficult. In general, social situations are networks in which one cannot change one factor without affecting a great many others. It is, therefore, difficult to determine the specific effects of any one factor. Moreover, social elements seldom admit of simple addition. The behavior of the same individuals in a large group will not in general be the same as their behavior in a smaller group. This makes it difficult to apply the mathematical methods which have proved so fruitful in the natural sciences. For these mathematical methods depend upon our ability to pass from a small number of instances to an indefinitely large number by the process of summation or integration.[68]

To these problems, although Cohen was pessimistic about the usefulness of statisical methods in social science because of the inapplicability of the continuous curve to a few discrete observations in social science, Brodbeck and Zilsel are of the opposite view, especially with the use of stochastic equations where the weights of variables could be approximated.[69] There is nothing more that can be said, except to wait for developments.

Conclusion

The inescapable conclusion that may be drawn from the discussion is that Parsons' theory of action is rather a program rather than a verified theory. It is at best a conceptual scheme designed to guide research. It is, however, suggested by the nature of scientific development that Parsons' solution to the problem of hastening the maturity of social science is by putting the cart before the horse. But who knows? As Hempel left open the fruitfulness of taxonomic and ideal or typological theorizing, including functional analysis, Nagel that of organiscism and emergentism, and Feigl that of giving substance to the mind-body puzzle,[70] one can do no less in the case of the pros-

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[68] Morris R. Cohen, "Reason in Social Science,"

[69] May Brodbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 296: & Edgar Zilsel, "Physics and the Problem of Historico-Sociological Laws," in Feigl, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 714-722.

[70] Herbert Feigl, *op. cit., passim.*

pect of social science. This includes the usefulness of *verstehen* which has been shown by Abel to be useful in guiding hypotheses.[71]

In this connection, Bohm's suggestion that our habits of thought and our scientific knowledge might inhibit us from seeing a different kind of phenomena not implied by present scientific knowledge is well taken. Who can say that social phenomena is not altogether different from physical phenomena, and that they require an altogether different method? As shown by Reichenbach, even in the world of the quantum, two-truth value logic is not adequate to deal with the indeterminate nature of the quantum world. It might also be the case that social phenomena are not amenable to the methods used fruitfully in the physical sciences. In fact, Bohm suggested that the atoms of living matter might be different from the non-living.

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[71] Theodore Abel, "The Operation Called 'Verstehen'" in Madden, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-166.

ECONOMIC POLICY AND POLITICAL GAINS
The First Phase of India's Green Revolution (1966-71)

MICHELGUGLIELMO TORRI

The years from 1966 to 1971 represent a crucial period in recent Indian history. From a political point of view they are characterized by four main events:

1) In January, 1966, after Lal Bahadur Shastri's sudden death, Indira Gandhi was elected to the prime ministership. Her election was the work of the so-called Syndicate, a group of political bosses which had been in control of the Congress Party since Jawaharlal Nehru's death. The Syndicate chose to sponsor Ms. Gandhi's election because: a) it knew that her position inside the party was weak, b) it thought that she would be an easy person to influence, c) it hoped that, because she was Nehru's daughter, she would be an effective vote-gatherer in the coming general election.

2) In the 1967 general election, the Congress Party went through the worst electoral defeat in its history. The majority in the Lok Sabha came out much reduced; the control of ten of the 17 States in which the Indian Union was then divided was lost. The hopes of the Syndicate for Ms. Gandhi as a vote-gatherer proved mistaken; but what was worse was that the Prime Minister, far from proving an easy person to control, quickly showed a complete independence of judgment and the necessary toughness to implement her own policy in spite of the Syndicate's resistance.

3) In 1969, the mounting tension between the Syndicate and Indira Gandhi resulted into a major confrontation. But in the previous years the balance of power inside the Congress had changed. Two-thirds of the party followed Indira Gandhi when the ongoing struggle brought about the split of the Congress into two different parties.

4) At the beginning of 1971, Indira Gandhi called the general election a year in advance of the normal schedule. Contrary to the general expectations, Ms. Gandhi's Congress scored a landslide victory, getting two-thirds of the seats. The opposition parties, particularly

the so-called great alliance (the Syndicate Congress, the Swatantra Party, and Jana Sangh and the Samyukta Socialist Party) were nearly annihilated.

The 1966-1971 period showed a clear trend — Indira Gandhi's rise to power. In 1966 her political position was not much better than that of a Merovingian monarch, without the power which ought to belong to the king and which, in fact, was in the hands of court chamberlain (in Ms. Gandhi's case it was Kamaraj, the powerful Tamil politician and main organizer of the Syndicate); in 1971 Ms. Gandhi emerged as the most powerful Indian leader. Without any real exaggeration, even if a little rhetorically, the *Economist* dubbed her the "Empress."

Whatever result the 1966-1971 period brought about, it is not so clear how it happened. Ms. Gandhi's victory in 1969 has been attributed to her superior ability in factional manipulation; but this explanation does not help us understand her unexpected 1971 electoral victory. The easy answer, namely that Indira Gandhi won in 1971 because she was popular with the masses inasmuch as she was Nehru's daughter, is obviously unsatisfactory, as anybody who remembers her low performance as a vote-gatherer in 1967 can see.

This writer's hypothesis is that a useful way to arrive at a comprehensive explanation of historical phenomena is to focus our attention on the dynamic interaction between the political and economic levels (namely, to put it in Marxist terms, on the dialectical relationship between the political superstructure and the economic substructure). The following pages are the first and partial result of a wider study on Indira Gandhi's rule: accordingly they cannot be, and do not pretend to be, an exhaustive analysis of the 1966-1971 period; nevertheless, they are a first step in such a direction. Their main goal is to seek to demonstrate how Indira Gandhi, in spite of her initially weak position inside the Congress Party, was able to launch, in the teeth of stern opposition, a completely new economic policy; how this policy, because of a certain balance of power inside and outside the Congress, was born without any preoccupation with social justice; how the new economic policy since 1967-1968, brought about, extraordinary economic results; and, finally, how these results were counterbalanced by a rise of tension in the countryside which began to develop seriously from 1969. Nevertheless, while this tension at the local level was not as widespread as to bring about any relevant political backlash, the economic gains in the years be-

fore the 1971 elections were huge enough to be felt at the all-India political level. Our assumption is that the economically successful implementation of this new policy can be *one* relevant explanation — even if certainly not the only one — of the extraordinary electoral victory of the political leader who had taken the responsibility for the new policy which made these economic results possible.

* * *

The year of Indira Gandhi's election to the prime ministership, 1966, has been described by President Radhakrishnan as "the worst year since independence, full of natural calamities and human failures."[1] Such a catastrophic situation was largely determined by the terrible economic situation of India which, in turn, was caused to a large extent, if not exclusively, by a pronounced slump in agricultural production.[2]

An economic system is an integrated whole formed by various interrelated structures: in the Indian economic system agriculture is the dominant structure. Not only are 70% of the total population engaged in agriculture but food, namely cereals and rice (because half of the Indian population is vegetarian while most of the rest cannot afford to buy non-vegetarian items), accounted in 1966 for two-thirds of the family expenditure of 70% of the population.

After a period (1962-1965) in which the monsoon was below normal, India experienced the worst drought in decades and, in 1965-1966, the monsoon was not only 12.5% below normal but also badly distributed over the season.[3] In spite of the sustained efforts made by the Union Government during the first three five-year plans, only 23% of the cultivated acreage had, in 1966, the benefit of irrigation in any form while about half of the irrigated area was served by non-perennial sources which tended to fail when most needed.[4] In case of a severe drought the only possible outcome was to be a disaster. Due to the failure of the monsoon, the total output of foodgrains was reduced by 18%, falling from 89 million tons in 1964-1965 to 72.3 million tons in 1965-1966. Commercial crops fared as badly: groundnut production declined by 32%, other oilseeds by 10 to 15%, raw jute by 25%, tea by 3%. The only bright spot was

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[1] *The Statesman Weekly* [hereafter TSW], January 14, 1967.

[2] *Records and Statistics, Quarterly Bulletin of Eastern Economists*, XXIII (May 1972), p. 146, and *Far Eastern Economic Review* [hereafter FEER], 1967 *Yearbook*, p. 199.

[3] FEER, 1967 *Yearbook* pp. 199, 205.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 205.

sugar cane which recorded an improvement of 16%, while the losses in cotton and coffee were marginal. Altogether, total agricultural production fell by 15% compared with the 6.8% decline suffered in 1957-1958, the previous worst year.[5]

This situation had a terrible impact not only on the 46 million people hard hit by drought (who — thanks to the massive imports of food shipped to India in that period — survived literally "from ship to mouth")[6] but on the whole Indian economy as well.

In *trade,* two-thirds or more of India's exports consisted of agricultural products or manufactures using agricultural raw materials. Agricultural stagnation therefore meant a decline in the exportable surplus of raw cotton, vegetable oils, tobacco and sugar. In addition, small harvests of raw jute pushed up its price in India with the result that the production of Indian jute mills became less competitive and lost out steadily to Pakistan; even tea and cotton textile exports (the three items that in 1965-1966 accounted for 44% of the total export earnings) declined.[7]

This, of course, affected the *balance of payments* badly. The situation was made worse by the necessity of spending foreign currency to get food to prevent the population from starving. During the third five-year plan period (1961-1962 to 1965-1966) the Government imported some 22 million tons of wheat and 2.6 million tons of rice. Although wheat came in under food aid (and was, therefore, paid in rupees), India had to pay freight at about US $12 a ton.[8]

In turn, the unfavorable balance of payments led to a curtailment of foreign exchange allocations for industrial raw materials and *industry* was asked to make do with a third (and in some cases even less) of the allocation normally allowed for import of industrial raw materials, spares, and components. Such a cut in imports, coinciding with the fall in the supply of industrial materials derived from domestic agriculture, such as jute, raw cotton and oil seeds, determined a downward swing in industrial production.[9] This had as a side effect the reduction of the export competitiveness of Indian industry; which, in turn, further widened the deficit of the balance

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 206.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.,* pp. 203-204.
[8] *Ibid.,* p. 199.
[9] *Ibid.,* pp. 207ff.

of payments, and brought about negative repercussions on the industry itself.

What was the basic reason of such a catastrophe? To assert that the agricultural policy of the Nehru era was ill-conceived, ill-applied and, in conclusion, completely inadequate to cope with the Indian problems would be less than exact. In fact from 1949-1950 to 1964-1965 the Indian foodgrain output rose at an average rate of 3%, while the growth of the population moved gradually upward from about 1.8 to about 2.3%. This means that in the period under review a clear excess between the growth of food output and the growth population existed. It has been correctly remarked that until 1964-1965, Indian achievements were by no means poor in comparison with her own past (between 1920 and 1945 the growth rate of the foodgrains was 0.03% per annum contrasted to a population growth rate of over 1%) and the past performances of other countries in similar circumstances.[10]

This was chiefly a result of bringing more land into production and applying more labor. Besides, certain specific barriers to growth were singled out and attacked: landlords, with land reform laws; illiteracy, with compulsory mass education; rural apathy, with local self-government (*panchayati raj*); the weather, with irrigation; money-lenders and middlemen, with cooperatives.[11]

But at the beginning of the '60s this strategy (or complex of strategies) was ending up in a *cul-de-sac*. All the arable land was under production; the land reform laws — because of the tremendous social complexity of the Indian countryside — had produced only partial results; the big irrigation works needed long time to give tangible results;[12] the progress of cooperatives was limited while cooperatives themselves were only in certain cases successful.

Actually, the basic weakness of the kind of approach followed by the Indian Government until the beginning of the '60s largely

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[10] John Adams, "Agricultural Growth and Rural Change in India in the 1960s," *Pacific Affairs,* XLIII (Summer 1970), pp. 189ff.

[11] *Ibid.,* p. 199.

[12] According to a detailed study of the Hirakud Dam, entitled *The Economics of a Multiple-Purpose River Dam* (p. 137), "An irrigation system takes twenty to twenty-five years to come to full maturity when its benefits are at the maximum level." Quoted in Gilbert Etienne, *Studies in Indian Agriculture, the Art of the Possible* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1968), p. 26. Prof. Etienne notes that one of the few districts in which there were authentic cases of death due to starvation was Sambalpur in 1966, at the foot of the Hirakud Dam.

depended on the fact that, although theoretically the agricultural sector was considered of basic importance, the main efforts — and the biggest capital expenditures — were not in the agricultural but in the industrial sector. The Indian planners and policy-makers believed that the rates of return on investment in agriculture were likely to be small and were in any case uncertain. Therefore they decided that it was much better to concentrate scarce capital resources elsewhere (viz., in the industrial sector) where returns were known to be high.[13] This decision was made easier by the availability of PL480 food aid from the U.S.A. The Indian policy-makers became convinced that these supplies of foreign food would give them time to develop the Indian industrial base, leaving the problem of transforming agriculture to a later stage, or to the backlash effects of industrialization.[14] This did not mean, that no effort was put into developing the agricultural sector but, rather, that these efforts were not enough to enable Indian agriculture to withstand the effects of an exceptional run of bad weather as that which developed in 1965-1966 and 1966-1967.

This being the case, it is easy to see why the economic situation, and particularly the agricultural situation, were the problems which Indira Gandhi's first Government had to cope with almost immediately. A new economic policy was elaborated, but it was not the outcome of the common effort of the whole Cabinet.

At this early stage the important decisions were taken by Ms. Gandhi and a small group of her friends and advisors (soon dubbed as "the Kitchen Cabinet").[15] During the first weeks of the new Government, the Prime Minister and her inner circle merged into one coherent plan certain trends which had begun to evolve during the Shastri period and a new conception of the relative importance of the different economic sectors. The result was a completely new kind of economic policy that was based on two distinctly different approaches. The first one, largely "technocratic" (whose main author was the Agricultural and Food Minister, C. Subramaniam) was articulated in two ideas. *The first* was that the agricultural sector was the main economic sector and had therefore to receive top priority, not only on paper but in reality as well. *The*

[13] Deepak Lal, "In Deadly Soup," *FEER*, January 4, 1968, pp. 19ff.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.
[15] *TSW*, February 19, 1966, and Durga Das, *India from Curzon to Nehru and After* (London, 1969), p. 403.

second was that, pending the unsolved problem of removing the social barriers to agricultural growth it was necessary to use a new technocratic policy based on the widest possible use of every kind of economic inputs (new kind of high-yielding seeds, knowhow, fertilizers, credit, minor irrigation works, etc.) in selected areas where water sources were assured. This would have the double advantage of assuring a dramatic rise in production even with bad weather demonstrating the expediency of the new system.

The other side of the new economic policy was the strong emphasis on socialistic goals. According to its main author, the Minister of Planning, Asoka Mehta, it was necessary to promote a "new Socialist order" based on "an increasing area of social ownership and control and an overriding preference for equality of status and opportunity and its great emphasis on economic growth as a precondition for economic equality."[16] To reach these objectives it was necessary to use two main instruments. The first was the enlargement of State power over the banking system, possibly through nationalization. The second was the reversal of the trend to tax landholders less and less, thus making them pay again especially "the better placed agriculturalists," and, particularly, "making ownership of . . . over ten acres of irrigated land uneconomical by levying heavy imposts upon such holdings."[17]

Before its implementation, the new economic policy had to be scrutinized by the Congress Party at the Working Committee (CWC) meeting followed by the All-India Congress meeting and the Congress Party 70th session held at Jaipur (February 9-12, 1966). Of these three meetings, the most important was the first (namely, the CWC meeting on February 9), being the Working Committee of the High Command and the real locus of power inside the party. The policy event through a storm of criticism while its main architects, Subramaniam and Mehta, were "hauled over [the] coals."[18]

First to come under fire was C. Subramaniam: his resolution on food and agriculture "occasioned the sharpest attack ever made on a decision taken by the Union Government."[19] What was especially criticized was the fertilizer policy. The massive procurement of fertilizers was one of the basic points of the new agricul-

[16] Cited in *The Times of India,* February 5, 1966.
[17] *Ibid.*
[18] *The Current,* February 19, 1966. pp. 1, 4.
[19] TSW, February 12, 1966, p. 1.

tural policy. But because of the inefficiency of Indian public and private capital in this field, the only way to reach this target was to get help from foreign capital. Accordingly, the Union Government had concluded a contract with a foreign firm to start a fertilizer plant in Madras.

Logically enough, the agreement with foreign capital came under criticism from the left-wing of the party (the so-called ginger group, whose main leaders were Krishna Menon and D. K. Malaviya). The Subramaniam policy was also attacked by those politicians who had so recently opposed Indira Gandhi's election to the prime-ministership (and this, too, happened). What may seem strange is the fact that the main attacks came from the Syndicate bosses and their followers. Kamaraj described the terms allowed to the foreign firm in Madras as "atrocious and unacceptable," and Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, a brilliant parliamentarian very close to the Syndicate, after saying that the country had been "sold out" — a fact that, in his opinion, was "unpatriotic" — simply proposed that the Madras fertilizer deal should be scrapped.[20] When Subramaniam protested, saying that it was a Cabinet decision, Kamaraj "snapped back": "What Cabinet? The Working Committee is bigger."[21] In turn, Subramaniam threatened to resign and Kamaraj simply replied that he should do so. According to the account given by a Calcutta weekly, "for a while there was tense silence at the meeting. But then several members intervened to say that criticism of a policy decision should not be taken to mean that the person concerned is to blame. Eventually tempers cooled down and the discussion on [the] food resolution was resumed and the talk on resignation was abandoned and forgotten."[22]

It is important to note that, in spite of this severe scolding Subramaniam was able to have his resolution on food accepted. It was presented in open Congress on February 12, 1966, and unanimously approved. It recorded that the farm sector "can break loose from its stagnation only by introducing modern scientific methods of cultivations;" proceeded "to call the Government to make available the necessary inputs of fertilizers;"[23] and stated categorically

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[20] *Ibid.*, and *The Current*, February 19, 1966, pp. 1, 4.
[21] *The Current*, February 19, 1966, p. 4.
[22] TSW, February 12, 1966, p. 1.
[23] Quoted in TSW, February 19, 1966, p. 7.
[24] *The Statesman*, February 9, 1966.

that the highest priority should be given to the provision and allocation of foreign exchange for the fertilizer industry.[24]

If Subramaniam was eventually able to salvage the substance of his policy, Asoka Mehta was less successful. The Minister of Planning had publicized his theories on the "new Socialism" in a speech he delivered at the University of Saugor (February 4, 1966). This speech had stirred the political waters in such a way that Mehta, in presenting his resolution on economic policy, had already tamed his proposals by cancelling any reference to bank nationalization.[25] Nevertheless, his proposal to tax the prosperous peasants came under heavy attack. He was mocked for what "one member (of the CWC) described as a 'professorial thesis' and not a resolution on economic policy."[26] S. K. Patil, another Syndicate leader, attacked Mehta's draft on economic policy for making promises which "were not, could not be, and perhaps should not be, implemented."[27] Pointing out the example of the farmers of Kolnapur in Maharashtra, who had increased their production impressively, Patil said dramatically that "if the logic of Mr. Mehta was followed... the prosperity of Kolhapur must be destroyed by levying fresh taxes."[28] After more criticism by Dr. Ram Subhag Singh and others,[29] it was simply decided to scrap Asoka Mehta's draft and another Minister (G. L. Nanda) was asked to write a "simpler" resolution, which he did. In this way, Asoka Mehta's "new Socialism" was killed before it was born.

It is essential to understand the Jaipur events to comprehend the political situation in 1966 and how it developed in the following years. The first fact that can be noticed is the extreme isolation and weakness of both Indira Gandhi and her friends. Mrs. Gandhi, during the Jaipur Working Committee and Congress, "took very much a back seat, figuratively speaking"[30] and as one commentator noted, her "silence" was judged "odd and particularly striking when it was known that two of her trusted Cabinet colleagues, Food Minister Subramaniam and Planning Minister Asoka Mehta, were being hauled

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[25] A few days after the Jaipur Congress, on February 16, the Finance Minister, Mr. Sachin Chauduri, officially denied that the Government of India had any proposal under consideration for nationalization of commercial banks. TSW, February 19, 1966, p. 16.

[26] *The Current*, February 19, 1966, p. 4.

[27] TSW, February 19, 1966, p. 5.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] Biju Patnaik, Krishna Menon, and Kamaraj himself.

[30] TSW, February 19, 1966, p. 1.

over [the] coals."[31] The second fact that must be noticed is the complete isolation of Mrs. Gandhi's group inside the party. The new policy was attacked by party members of all shades of opinion and supported by none. It is significant that Asoka Mehta's draft was criticized even by Krishna Menon, one of the leaders of the left-wing.[32]

Another important point is the unambiguous and blunt statement by Kamaraj of the superiority of the party over the Government, which in turn meant the superiority of the Party President, Kamaraj himself, over the Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi. The harsh treatment reserved for Subramaniam is related to this affirmation of superiority by Kamaraj. Kamaraj's opposition to Subramaniam's fertilizer policy does not seem to have been based on any sound or even clear political or economic reason. It is possible to suspect that Kamaraj's vicious attack on Subramaniam actually was not an attack on the policy but on its author and, through him, to his patron: the Prime Minister. Kamaraj was stressing the fact that *he* was the master and manisfesting his displeasure of Mrs. Gandhi's leaning on her "kitchen cabinet." It is significant that, after bringing Subramaniam to the brink of forced resignation, Kamaraj eventually left Subramaniam's policy to be approved in the Congress open session, but still more significant is the fact that, after the Jaipur session, Kamaraj's (and the Syndicate's) opposition to the new fertilizer and agricultural policy suddenly waned completely.

Asoka Mehta's case was different. The goal of the Syndicate was not so much to warn Asoka Mehta (and Mrs. Gandhi) as to kill and bury the "new Socialism." The Syndicate men were local bosses whose power was to a large extent related to those agricultural castes and interests who controlled the countryside at the local level. In other words, men like Kamaraj and most of the other Syndicate members controlled the Government of their States, thanks to their alliance with the prosperous peasants. Logically enough, the States, which were the competent institutions to tax agricultural land or income, increasingly undertaxed the countryside. Although in the period 1961-1962 to 1965-1966 (the year when the big drought began) the income

[31] *The Current*, February 19, 1966, p. 1.

[32] In the Asoka Mehta draft there was a plea for large-scale foreign borrowing that was harshly criticized by Menon. However, in this attack by Menon on Mehta there was an element of personal hostility. According to Menon, Asoka Mehta — who had been Chairman of the Praja Socialist Party until 1963 — was an "outsider." "For twenty years he abused us," Menon is reported to have said while at Jaipur, "and now he quietly walks in as one of us." *The Current*, February 19, 1966, p. 4.

of the agricultural sector increased by approximately 26 to 30%, the taxation of agriculture actually decreased.[33] As a matter of fact, the trend was towards complete abolition of the land revenue, and in this field the lead was taken by Kamaraj's home state, Tamil Nadu, which abolished it in 1966.

This policy produced two main effects. The first was that the inadequate taxation of the agricultural sector caused a heavy tax burden on the non-agricultural sector. The first draft outline of the Fourth Plan (presented in August 1966), prepared under the deputy-chairmanship of Mehta himself, emphasized that taxation of the urban sector — especially the corporate sector — had reached a saturation point beyond which any additional taxation would have put industry in jeopardy.[34] To go on undertaxing the agricultural sector meant the renunciation of resources for national development from the only sector that could still give them. The second effect was that the wealthier the peasants were, the more favorable their position was.[35]

With his "new Socialism" policy, Asoka Mehta wanted to put an end to this situation. He wanted to tap new resources from the agricultural sector. At the same time he wanted a new redistribution of wealth in the countryside, and for this reason he wanted to discourage the existence of holdings of more than ten acres of irrigated land, thus making them uneconomic.[36] Of course, it was precisely this kind of policy that the Syndicate wanted to prevent and, as we have seen, they were fully successful at Jaipur.

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[33] For a general analysis of the problem, see P. K. Bhargava, "Taxation of Agriculture in the Fourth Plan," *Eastern Economist,* Annual Number, 1970, pp. 1286-89, and P. K. Bhargava, "Incidence of Direct Taxes on Indian Agriculture," *Artha Vijnana, Journal of the Gokhale Politics and Economics,* XIII (December 1971), pp. 402-415.

[34] *The Fourth Five Year Plan, A Draft Outline,* Government of India Planning Commission, August 1966, p. 75-89.

[35] It is a well-known fact that, if such was the situation while ruling the Syndicate's Congress (and while the Syndicate ruling in Congress), after 1971 there has not been any appreciable change in the Government of India's taxation policy. The farmers are still the dominating social force in India and the New Congress seems as compromised with them as the old.

[36] Although this author deeply sympathizes with the motivation behind Asoka Mehta's ceiling proposal (viz., the necessity of a redistribution of wealth in the countryside), he cannot help noticing that (as we shall see in the second part of this article) to make plots of more than ten acres of irrigated land uneconomic meant to make uneconomic *the whole* land system in India, since landholdings of less than ten acres are too small to realize economies of scale.

The eventual consequence of the Syndicate decision to block Asoka Mehta's policy was that the new economic policy implemented by Mrs. Gandhi's Government was fully based on the Subramaniam approach. In other words, it was meant as an exclusively economic strategy, based on the use of technological instruments, aimed at the fast overcoming of a pervading economic crisis and without any preoccupation for the social costs and the possible eventual backlash (in the countryside itself) of such a policy.

The last shot against the new fertilizer policy was fired by Kamaraj on February 12, 1966 (the day when the Jaipur Congress open session was held) during an interview with a newspaper.[37] After that there was no further opposition by the Syndicate. Only the left-wing of the party continued to criticize the Subramaniam strategy, but the "ginger group" did not have control of any lever of power and, therefore, its opposition had to remain purely vocal.[38]

In spite of the scarcity of foreign currency, the 1966-1967 budget presented in the Lok Sabha on February 28, 1966 allocated Rs. 66.35 crores* (compared with revised estimate for 1965-1966 of Rs. 58.56 crores) for foodgrain purchase. This sum was used, as we shall see, to buy new high yielding varieties in Mexico. For the purchase of fertilizers, the 1966-1967 budget allocated Rs. 95 and increased to Rs. 88 crores the original provision of Rs. 75 crores allocated for 1965-1966.[39] On April 29, together with other modifications of his former taxation proposals, the Finance Minister also announced changes in excise and customs duties to help agricultural production by reducing the cost of chemical fertilizers: sulphuric acid, used in making fertilizers, was exempted from excise duty and imported sulphur from the regulatory customs duty.[40]

The final sanction to the new course was given on April 10, 1966, at New Delhi, where the conference of the Chief Ministers gave "enthusiastic support" to the central government's high-yielding varieties scheme.[41]

[37] TSW, January 19, 1966, p. 7.

[38] The new fertilizer policy of the government of India was again sharply criticized by the left wing of the party (especially by K. D. Malaviya and S. N. Mishra) at the meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party Executive in March 1966 and at the meeting of the Informal Consultative Committee of Parliament for the Planning Ministry at the beginning of April 1966. See TSW, March 12, 1966, p. 16, and TSW, April 9, 1966. p. 16.

[39] TSW, March 5, 1966, p. 7.

[40] TSW, May 7, 1966, p. 7.

[41] TSW, April 16, 1966, p. 8.

* One crore is equivalent to 10 million.

Of course the new economic policy was not born overnight. Some hesitant steps in this direction had already been taken at the beginning of the '60s. Much more important, the new strategy was to a large extent the continuation of a series of attempts by Subramaniam as Food and Agricultural Minister in the Shastri Cabinet (1964-1966). But it was only at the beginning of 1966, when the effects of the great 1965-1967 drought began to be felt dramatically, that the general situation changed in such a way as to make possible and desirable a Copernican revolution in the agricultural policy implemented until then.

By the end of the '50s, the Ford Foundation 1959 report entitled *India's Food Crisis and Steps to Meet It* had pointed out how basically weak the position of the Indian agricultural sector was. It was in this report that the new approach to agriculture was proposed for the first time. Since then the responsible circles began to talk "incessantly of providing the farmer a package of inputs — but failed consistently to deliver the package."[42] As an Indian journalist was to remember at the beginning of 1966: "It was either that investment fell short of needs as in the case of fertilizers, or that we failed to tackle institutional and administrative constraints as in the case of seed multiplication and credit. We spent lavishly enough on irrigation — something like Rs. 1200 crores over three Plans — but overlooked the small extra effort needed to ensure full utilization...."[43] Besides, the policy promoted especially by S. K. Patil, when he was Food Minister (1959-1963), which relied heavily on PL480 cheap imports of food from the U.S.A., had had the effect of depressing the price of the foodgrains, consequently preventing the farmer from investing more in order to increase his yields.

Nevertheless, some steps in the right direction were taken. In 1960 the first Indian agricultural university (Uttar Pradesh Agricultural University at Pantnagar) "literally [rose] out of swamp and timberland."[44] Since then nine more agricultural universities were founded. In the second half of the '60s, these new institutions were to begin to turn out graduates whose importance in making possible the implementation of the new agricultural policy is difficult to overestimate.

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[42] TSW, February 26, 1966, p. 5.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[44] Carrol P. Streeter, *A Partnership to Improve Food Production* (Rockefeller Foundation, December 1969), p. 88...

Also, at the beginning of the '60s, following a nationwide maize improvement program sponsored by the Government of India in collaboration with the Rockefeller Foundation, the first maize hybrids were brought in. This meant that farmers could no longer save seeds from their harvests because these maize hybrids — as the other much more effective high-yielding seeds that were introduced some years later — had to be carefully prepared for each year's planting to preserve the purity of the breeding lines so that the seed could yield its full potential. On the wave of this pioneering program, in 1962 the first private seed farms were brought in. The following year the Government of India set up a central government agency known as the National Seeds Corporation, whose task it was to "foster and aid" other agencies engaged "in seed production, processing, marketing, certification..."[45]

The first really serious experiments in the field of the high-yielding varieties — especially wheat and rice — began with the winter 1964-1965 season. It was in this season that the T(N)-1 rice was grown in some Indian experimental stations which gave fantastic results. With the following monsoon season the great 1965-1967 drought began, but, in spite of that, the small acreage of T(N)-1 continued to give (in 1965) impressive yields. Although the T(N)-1 was still in an experimental phase, C. Subramaniam (following the advice of an Indian scientist, Dr. G. V. Chalam) decided to take a gamble. Accordingly, in 1965-1966 alone, the area under T(N)-1 expanded from 150 acres to 1.5 million acres.[46] The story of the wheat experiments is analogous. After some experimentations in 1964-1965, the Indian Government bought from Mexico 200 tons of Sonora 64 and 50 tons of Lerma Rojo 64. Because of the beginning of the 1965 war with Pakistan, the shipment was delayed and the cargo arrived in India barely ahead of planting time. Without any time for germination tests, 7000 acres were planted. As a result, less than 30% of the seeds sprouted; nevertheless, the results given by the seeds which actually sprouted were good enough to convince Subramaniam he was on the right path.[47]

As we have seen, at the beginning of 1966 the new agricultural policy was officially adopted. In the summer of 1966, in spite of the fact that foreign exchange was in short supply, the Government of

[45] Quoted in Carrol P. Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 72, 74.
[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 28ff.
[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 12ff.

India spent some US $2.5 million (a sum that was actually more than the allocation for this purpose in the 1966-1967 budget) ordering 18,000 tons of Lerma Rojo 64 A and a few other high-yielding dwarf varieties from Mexico, the largest single seed order ever placed anywhere in the world up to that time.[48] At the same time, steps were taken to put on a sound basis the home production of high-yielding seeds. Until that moment the home seed production had been pursued by "25 acre seed farms... which offered no scope for scientific know-how and investment that were needed."[49] Because of that, at the beginning of 1966, "although millions of acres have been planted out to improve seeds, there has been no appreciable improvement in outturn."[50] Therefore, the Government of India started to set up some 12 seed farms of 5,000 to 10,000 acres each, while inviting joint stock companies to come into the business.[51] In the same period (1966), the National Seeds Act was passed, whose function was chiefly to regulate the quality of seeds sold, assure truthful labelling and provide a legal base for certification.[52]

Accordingly, during 1966, at least a part of the basic package of the necessary inputs for the take-off of what was to be known as the "green revolution" was assured. Besides getting high-yielding seeds from Mexico and creating the foundation of an efficient home seed industry, the Government of India chose some 32 million acres with assured rainfall and/or irrigation for high-yielding varieties for farming. Moreover, a new emphasis was put on small-scale irrigation projects characterized by quicker returns, rather than on the large-scale ones.[53]

One of the main reasons — perhaps the main reason — why the high-yielding varieties give a much higher outturn than the normal plants is because of the capacity of the former to absorb a far wider quantity of fertilizers than the latter. Accordingly, one of the main technical problems the Government of India had to cope with, if it wanted a successful take-off of the new agricultural policy, was to get a yearly procurement of fertilizers necessary for the newly-sown high-yielding varieties areas. Unfortunately, the fertilizer policy of the Government of India had been most unsuccessful since its be-

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[48] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[49] TSW, February 26, 1966, p. 5.
[50] *Ibid.*
[51] *Ibid.*
[52] Carrol P. Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
[53] *Fourth Five Year Plan, A Draft Outline,* Government of India, Planning Commission, August 1966, pp. 173-174.

ginning.[54] In the early '50s, there were only a few private industries in the fertilizer field whose output was very small and the Government of India, as for other key industries, had decided to reserve the beginning of new fertilizer enterprises to the Public Sector. Since then the Government produced the bulk of fertilizers, fixed the prices, and sold the fertilizers through a Government-operated fertilizer pool. But, by the mid-'50's, the Indian policy-makers had realized that the public sector's efforts in this field were totally inadequate, and, consequently, in 1956 they opened the field to private capital with the goal of getting some kind of foreign collaboration. However, the still existing state of control on price and distribution effectively prevented foreign capital from stepping in. Due to pressure since the beginning of the agricultural crisis, the Government of India came around to the decision of abolishing such controls in the autumn of 1965. But there were strong objections "by many who thought that such a decision would open the floodgates for uninhibited profiteering by foreign investors."[55] To settle the issue, a Cabinet subcommittee consisting of Subramanian and three other ministers assisted by some senior officials was formed. It decided the new fertilizer policy of the Government of India, according to which all the fertilizer plants going into production around 1968 would have a seven-year "holiday" from controls on prices and distribution. This concession was subject to the condition that the Government could pre-empt a third of the output of these plants and accordingly maintain a commanding position in the fertilizer market. On the other hand, the private investor was to have the right to a "seeding program." In other words, the investor was to be allowed, before his fertilizer plant went into production, to import a fixed quantity of fertilizer and to sell it in the area around the factory to nurse the market.

This new fertilizer policy was approved by the Union Cabinet just before Shastri left for his last journey to Tashkent. It was an integral part of the Subramaniam resolution approved by the Congress Party at the Jaipur session.

Of course the new agricultural policy could not give big returns immediately. Nevertheless, after some years, the results were amazing.

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[54] On the fertilizer policy of the Government of India since its beginning see Inder Malhortra, "Fertilizer Expansion Deals in Danger," TSW, March 12, 1966, p. 2.

[55] *Ibid.*

A look at some statistical tables will give us a clearer idea of the kind of effort undertaken by the Government of India and its results.

Tables I and II* give the availability of chemical fertilizers from 1951-1952 to 1970-1971. It is evident that there was a very sharp increase in fertilizer total availability from 1965-1966 to 1966-1967. Although, since 1967-1968, the rate of growth diminishes, it remains nevertheless impressive, the global figure for the period 1968-1969 to 1970-1971 being around a 20.8% annual increase.

Table III gives the development of groundwater resources (viz., minor irrigation projects) between the end of the Third Plan and 1968-1969. We can see a dramatic increase especially in electric pumps and diesel pump sets.

Table IV gives the growth of areas under high-yielding varieties from 1966-1967 to 1969-1970. It is evident that there was fast expansion of these areas and, by 1969-1970, the overcoming of the targets originally set by the Indian policy-makers themselves.[56]

Table V gives the global results of the new agricultural strategy. The jump both in production and in productivity in the agricultural sector is clearly seen after the big drought of 1965-1967. These results are really remarkable, especially if we remember that, although 1967-1968 was a period of exceptionally good weather, in the following years the climate was not always so favorable (even if it was never so bad as in 1965-1967).[57]

Table VI gives the trends of the per capita income and agricultural production: the analogy between the two is immediately evident.[58]

After perusing the indications of such favorable economic results, the first question that is natural to ask is whether India has

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[56] As it is possible to see, we have not taken into account a very important input: credit. This omission is deliberate; the problem of credit for agriculture (and of bank nationalization) is too complicated and too closely connected with the political struggle inside the Congress and with the Congress split to make it possible to fully analyze it in a few paragraphs. We have made this observation in a paper whose publication is forthcoming in *Asian Survey*.

[57] For the weather situation in the period under review, see "Business Roundup," *Record and Statistics, Quarterly Bulletin of Eastern Economist*, related years.

[58] The exceptional 1964-65 results, clearly noticeable in the graph in Table VI, were completely anomalous: they were produced by extraordinarily good monsoons (superior by 8.5% to the average).

TABLE I: AVAILABILITY OF FERTILIZERS (1951-1968)
(In thousand tons of nutrients)

Year	*Nitrogenous fertilizers (N)*			*Phosphatic fertilizers (P_2O_5) (including bonemeal)*			*Potassic Fertilizers**
	Production	*Imports*	*Total Availability*	*Production*	*Imports*	*Total Availability*	*Imports***
1951-52	16*	29	45	11	—	11	8
1952-53	55*	43	98	7	—	7	3
1953-54	62*	17	79	11	1	12	7
1954-55	70*	21	91	17	—	17	11
1955-56	80*	54	134	12	—	12	10
1956-57	79*	56	135	15	—	15	15
1957-58	78	111	189	26	—	26	11
1958-59	81	99	180	30	2	32	22
1959-60	81	164	245	49	9	58	34
1960-61	98	119	217	52	—	52	23
1961-62	145	142	287	66	—	66	32
1962-63	178	252	430	81	10	91	40
1963-64	222	226	448	107	12	119	64
1964-65	240	234	474	131	12	143	57
1965-66	233	326	559	111	14	125	85
1966-67	308	632	940	145	148	293	117
1967-68	367	867	1234	194	149	343	270

* There is no local production.
** The figures of K_2O imports up to 1964-65 are on July-June basis and thereafter on financial year basis.
Source: *Records and Statistics, Quarterly Bulletin of Eastern Economist,* XXII, May 1971, p. 146.

TABLE II: AVAILABILITY OF FERTILIZERS (1968-1971)
(In thousands of tons)

	1968-69 *Achievements*	1969-70 *Achievements*	1970-71 *Achievements (provisional)*	*Compound Annual Growth Rate* 1968-69 *To* 1970-71
Nitrogenous Fertilizers (N)	1145.05	1365.97	1470.03	15.8%
Phosphatic Fertilizers (P_2O_5)	391.00	421.02	464.02	17.9%
Potassic Fertilizers (K_2O)	160.00	209.30	229.64	28.8%

Source: *Records and Statistics, Quarterly Bulletin of Eastern Economists,* XXIII, February 1971, p. 83.

TABLE III: DEVELOPMENT OF GROUNDWATER RESOURCES
(In thousands)

	Wells in Use	*Boring of Wells*	*Deepening of Wells*	*Private Tube-wells*	*State Tube-wells*	*Diesel Pump Sets*	*Electric Pump Sets*
1965-66	5111	245	101	113	12	465	514
1968-69	5707	507	217	271	16	650	1021

Source: *Records and Statistics, Quarterly Bulletin of Eastern Economist,* XXII, November 1970, p. 16.

TABLE IV: HIGH-YIELDING VARIETIES PROGRAMS (TARGETS AND ACHIEVEMENTS)
(Area in thousands acres)

	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70	1970-71
Achievement	4660	14,955	22,606	31,093	—
Target	7081	12,017	27,545	27,000	34,000
Achievement as percentage of target	65.8	83.0	82.0	115.2	—

Source: *Records and Statistics, Quarterly Bulletin of Eastern Economist,* XXII, August 1971, p. 211.

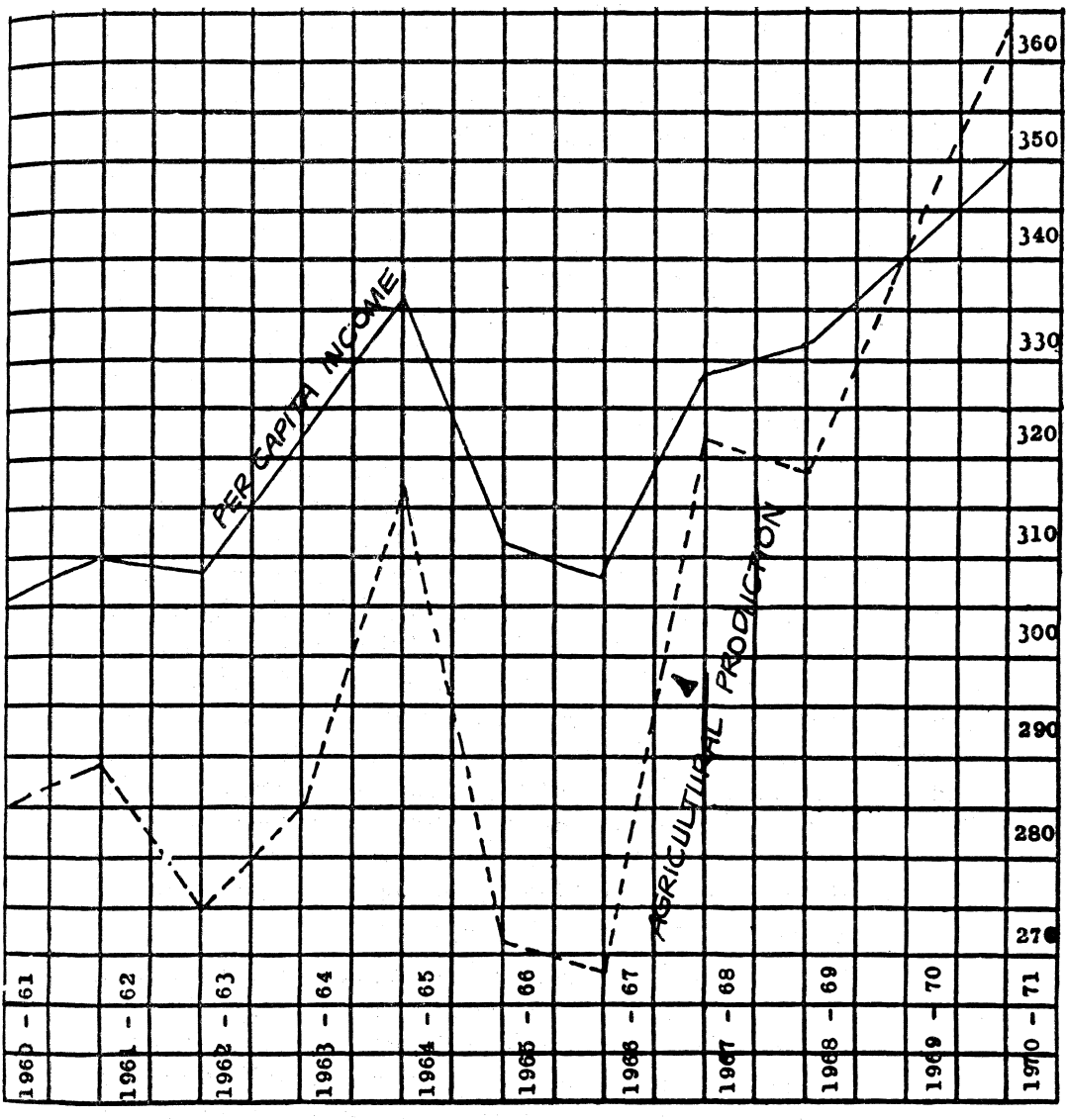
TABLE V: AGRICULTURAL GROWTH 1950-51 TO 1970-71

(*Agricultural year* 1945-50=100	*Index numbers of agricultural PRODUCTION*			*Index numbers of agricultural PRODUCTIVITY*		
	Foodgrains	*Non-foodgrains*	*All-commodities*	*Foodgrains*	*Non-foodgrains*	*All-commodities*
1950-51	87.9	105.9	95.6	92.4	95.6	95.7
1955-56	115.3	119.9	116.8	102.0	91.7	101.6
1956-57	120.8	131.5	124.3	102.4	97.8	107.2
1957-58	109.2	129.5	115.9	98.6	95.8	101.0
1958-59	130.6	139.9	133.5	112.5	102.0	111.8
1959-60	127.9	135.0	130.3	109.1	92.1	108.0
1960-61	132.1	152.6	144.2	117.3	108.1	117.7
1961-62	140.3	153.9	144.8	118.2	402.1	117.0
1962-63	130.4	151.5	137.4	111.0	101.7	112.2
1963-64	135.9	155.6	142.4	115.6	103.2	115.9
1964-65	150.2	174.9	158.9	126.3	113.3	127.1
1965-66	121.3	157.0	133.1	104.1	101.6	108.7
1966-67	123.8	142.4	131.6	106.1	97.9	102.9
1968-69	157.5	163.6	150.5	129.2	111.9	127.0
1969-70	168.6	175.3	170.3	134.8	115.8	132.3
1970-71	182.7	181.2	182.2	145.7	118.3	140.6

Source: *Records and Statistics, Quarterly Bulletin of Eastern Economist, XXIII,* November 1971, pp 17-19.

TABLE VI: PER CAPITA INCOME AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Base — Agricultural production: agricultural year 1949-50 = 200 Per capita income: rupees.



(Drawn by the author according to the dates given in: *Records and Statistics, Quarterly Bulletin of Eastern Economist,* XVIII, February 1967, p. 7; *Ibid.,* XXIII, November 1971, p. 17; *Ibid.,* XXIII, August 1971, p. 224).

solved or is solving her development problems, if not completely at least within the limited field of agricultural food production, and from a strictly economic point of view. Unfortunately, the answer to this question must be negative. From 1970-1971 to 1973-1974 agricultural food production declined from 108 million to 103 million tons (against a background population growth of 13 million individuals per year). This was the result of the scarcity of water and the high economic cost of the green revolution. The effects of these two causes, which are endogenous, have been worsened by a third exogenous cause: the Arab oil embargo and the consequent increase of oil prices. Although, strictly speaking, outside the limits of the subjects of this article, a very rapid outline — without any claim of completeness — of the nature of the causes of the agricultural decline in the years since 1970-1971 will allow us to see in a more correct historical perspective the results of the first, economically successful, phase of the green revolution.

The main stumbling block to any agricultural development project in India, whether now or at any time, in the present political system or in any other that the Indian could choose in the future, is scarcity of water. We have already seen that, in 1966, the Government of India selected 32 million acres (out of 318 of cultivated land) as having the supply of water necessary for the application of the new techniques. As it is possible to see from Table III, this amount of land had been put almost completely under intensive cultivation in 1969-1970. Since the expansion of irrigated land was much slower than the expansion of land under the high-yielding varieties programs, the latter, since 1970-1971, has begun to expand on areas dependent on non-perennial water supplies, putting any further gain of the green revolution at the mercy of the monsoons. The full gravity of the situation can be realized if we bear in mind the following facts:

First, 30% of the land in India is arid beyond any remedy. Second, irrigation of the arable land involves the solution of very substantial technical problems. We have already said that large scale irrigation works give results only after quite a long period of time.[59] Moreover, these big projects often are failures because they were planned without taking into full account the possible harmful effects on the environment. During a Paris conference sponsored by the UNESCO (December, 1969), some hydrological experts reported that the Indus and the Ganges river irrigation systems were losing more arable land than they

[59] See footnote 12, supra.

were adding each year because of salinization.[60] Unfortunately, small-scale irrigation works (so largely used during the first phase of the green revolution) are far from being a final solution to this vicious circle. In many areas the farmers, as early as 1969, had deepened their wells so much that they are now tapping primarily "fossil" water, at a rate faster than the natural rate of recharge. In other words, they are under permanent threat that their wells may dry up at any moment in the future (especially after a long dry period).[61]

The practical impossibility of finding, at least in the short run and without any major scientific breakthrough,[62] a solution to the water problem leaves, as we have already noticed, some nine-tenths of the arable land to the mercy of the monsoons. This, in turn, means that, in spite of the rise in productivity in the irrigated lands (productivity that can still increase, being still far from the ceilings reached, e.g., in Japan) a prolonged spell of drought, which badly damages the crops on unirrigated lands, can produce a decline in total agricultural production. That is what has happened since the summer of 1971. During this period the weather has been, more or less continuously, extremely bad, especially in 1972-1973, when the worst drought in ten years was followed, in the summer of 1973, by devastaling floods in Bihar and Bengal.[63] As we have seen, this produced a decline in agricultural food production from the 108 million tons of 1970-1971 to the 103 million tons of 1973-1974. This means that the level of agricultural food production regressed roughly to that of four years previously. That, in spite of the rise of the population, was a much better position than that of 1965-1967. But, what made the 1973-1974 situation possibly worse than the 1965-1967 situation was the phenomenon of hoarding.

The new techniques on which the green revolution is based are very expensive for the farmers and, of course, are profitable for them only as far as they can get a correspondingly higher price for their production. Until 1971 the Government of India fixed the price paid to the farmers for their grain products by the State at a very high level, while the price at which agricultural food production was sold

[60] *The New York Times*, December 17, 1969.

[61] Carrol P. Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-119.

[62] In South Africa (University of Johannesburg) and in the U.S.A., studies are under way on the creation of artificial rain: this could be the only final solution of the irrigation problem.

[63] See footnote 57, supra.

in the fair-price shops was maintained artificially low. This policy was made possible by the import of low price wheat coming under the aid program. The Government of India was able to sell at retail prices that were a rough average between the expensive home production and the cheap imports.[64] With the termination in 1971 of the aid program, this policy has become impossible. The decision by the Government of India to fix the wholesale prices of grain (especially wheat) at a lower level and the attempt to enforce this decision by the nationalization of the wheat trade (enforced beginning in March 1973 and abandoned after only a year) proved abortive: as happened so often in so many different countries in a similar situation, in 1973 and 1974 the Indian farmers hoarded their production on a large scale, bringing about a famine that was not less real for the fact of being artificial. Confronted by a similar problem, the Soviet Government under Stalin reacted with the practical extermination of the *Kulaki,* the Russian wealthy farmers. But a similar method, quite obviously, while open to a revolutionary government, is not to an elected one that is, moreover, deeply compromised, especially at the State level, with the prosperous farmers, the most numerous and influential social group in India today.

A third element which has added precariousness to an already precarious situation has been, since the beginning of 1974, the skyrocketing of oil prices. Indian agriculture is heavily dependent on oil both for fuel for irrigation pumps and for fertilizer, a largely oil-based product. This has produced both a rise in the cost of the new techniques and an effective reduction in the amount of fertilizers employed by the Indian farmers, contributing, in such a way, both to the reasons for hoarding and to the decline of the Indian agricultural production.

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As a conclusion to our assessment of the first phase of the green revolution, we must briefly speak of the social cost of such a strategy. The years of the rise of the green revolution were also the years of the rise of agrarian tension. The phenomenon became so preoccupying that, in 1969, the Home Ministry prepared a confidential report on it.[65] According to the findings of this report, the impressive agri-

[64] E.g., Francine R. Frankel, *India's Green Revolution* (Princeton University Press, 1971), pp. 32ff.

[65] Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, Research and Policy Division, *The Causes and Nature of Current Agrarian Tensions,* 1969 [hereafter HOME]. Although confidential this report ended up in

cultural development then underway was already clearly showing its social shortcomings (which were at the roots of the mounting agrarian tension) depending on the fact that it had "rested, by and large, on an outmoded agrarian structure,"[66] whose permanence was, in turn, largely dependent on the fact that the agrarian reforms, which had made "an enthusiastic start immediately after independence," had "almost ground themselves to a halt."[67] Secondly, the new technological strategy, having been geared to goals of production, "with secondary regard to social imperatives," had brought about a situation in which "elements of disparity, instability and unrest are becoming conspicuous with the possibility of increase in tension."[68] Not surprisingly, continued the report, the consciousness of injustice and wide prevalence of land-hunger had been used "by certain political parties" to organize agitation broadly based on issues of land distribution to landless workers and claims for increased agricultural wages. Besides, although there had not been, until that moment, "any sustained agitation by tenants," agitation by sharecroppers and subtenants had already taken place (in West Bengal) or had been planned (in Bihar).[69] This mounting tension was, according to the data presented in the report, an India-wide phenomenon.[70] Although the peasants' political organizations in most parts of the country were still weak, since their capacity for launching sustained agitation was limited, the tensions in the rural areas, "resulting from the widening gap between the relatively few affluent farmers and the large body of small land-holders and landless agricultural workers"[71] could increase in the coming months and years. "A bad agricultural season" — cautioned the report — "could lead to an explosive situation in the rural areas."[72]

The first basic cause of the rural tension pointed out by the Home Ministry Report does not have a direct relationship with the green revolution. However, it was by itself a product of the same political situation that had made impossible the launching of the "new

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the hands of the Indian press, which published resumes and comments on it (see, for example, *The Times of India,* December 8, 1969). I myself was able to get extracts of it thanks to the kindness of a young staff member of the University of Delhi.

[66] HOME, p. 2.
[67] HOME, p. 3.
[68] HOME, p. 3.
[69] HOME, p. 4.
[70] Annexure 1, HOME.
[71] HOME, p. 9.
[72] HOME, p. 9.

Socialism" at Jaipur, namely of the connections between the Congress Party and those wealthy farmers who would have been the first to be damaged by any effective implementation of a serious land reform and who controlled the countryside not only because they were the owners of the largest plots of land, but also because they performed the role of moneylenders.[73] On this "outmoded agrarian social structure" had been engrafted the green revolution, with its typically capitalistic mechanism, bound to make the wealthy wealthier and the poor poorer.

According to a 1970 issue of the *Far Eastern Economic Review,* "40 per cent of the total 49 million operational landholdings in India are smaller than 2.5 acres; combined they comprise only 6.8 per cent of the cultivated area (47 per cent of India's farm families own only one acre of land, 22 per cent no land at all). About a quarter of the landholdings are larger than 7.5 acres; together these account for 70 per cent of the cultivated area, the remainder (less than one quarter) being cultivated by those with landholdings between 2.5 and 7.5 acres."[74]

To understand completely the precise meaning of these data we must consider them in the light of the findings of some scholars who, in 1969, had the chance to carry out field work on the development of the green revolution. According to the research work on the relatively prosperous region of Nadiad Taluka of Kaira district (Gujarat) by U.S. Uyas, D. S. Tyagi, and V. N. Misra of the Sardar Patel University, about 25% of the then "non-viable" (i.e., with an annual household income below 2,250 rupees) farms could be made "viable" by the adoption of hybrid bajra. In this case an extent expenditure of one hundred rupees per farm incurred on this process would yield an extra income of about 1000 rupees. But even on the assumption that it would be possible to make use of these extra inputs, using them at the maximal level of efficiency, farms below

[73] HOME, p. 29.

[74] FEER, March 12, 1970, p. 27. These figures are merely indicative being the main technical obstacle to the effective implementation of a land reform in India the lack of precise data on ownership and tenantship (see, for example, HOME, pp. 28-29). Anyway, the FEER figures are roughly equivalent to those given by *The Statesman* (January 1, 1969), according to which "more than 20 million farmers have less one hectare of farm [land] each and almost another 20 million have farms between one and three hectares. Together the two groups cover 75 percent of the country's farms and 30 percent of the cultivated land" (cited in the *Eastern Economist,* October 17, 1969, p, 743).

4.5 acres in Nadiad Taluka would not have become "viable." Thus even in a district traditionally considered as "prosperous" as Kaira is, the percentage of *potentially* economically efficient farms was no more than 30%.[75] More detailed, and accordingly more alarming, are the results of an inquiry by Francine Frankel in five districts of five different Indian states.[76] According to her findings, it is possible to divide the rural population in India into four "belts." The first is composed of the wealthy farmers, namely those own landholdings of 20 acres or more in the wheat areas and 10 acres or more in the rice areas. They have the double advantage of owning land-holding where it is possible to realize economies of scale getting the maximum return for their investments in tubewells, fertilizers, pesticides, etc., and, besides, they are wealthy enough to have the necessary capital to adopt these new techniques. The second "belt" is formed by farmers with intermediate holdings, viz., ten to 20 acres in the wheat area and five to ten acres in the rice area. These "intermediate" farmers are denied the economies of scale[77] enjoyed by larger landowners and, because they do not own the initial capital that is necessary to adopt the new techniques, they have heavily indebted themselves both with the banks and the wealthier farmers. However, the "intermediate" farmers have made use of at least some of the techniques of the green revolution, managing to get some rise in the productivity of their holdings. While their *relative* economic position (compared to that of the bigger landowners) has declined, the "intermediate" farmers are likely to remain a conservative social force because they "still respect traditional criteria of status and tend to identify with the larger landowners."[78]

The main contradiction (in the Marxist meaning) is between wealthy and "intermediate" farmers on one side and the remainder of the rural population on the other, namely small farmers and landless labor. The third "belt," the poor farmers, is the group which has been damaged the most by the green revolution. They are either owners of small holdings (less than ten acres in the wheat area and

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[75] U.S. Vyas, D.S. Tyagi and V.N. Misra, *Significance of the New Strategy of Agricultural Development for Small Farmers* (Sardar Patel University, Vallabh Vidyanagar, 1969).

[76] Francine R. Frankel, *op. cit.* The districts are: Lundhiana (Punjab), West Godavary (Andhra Pradesh), Thanjavur (Tamil Nadu), Palghat (Kerala), and Burdwan (West Bengal).

[77] E.g., the distribution area of the smallest tubewell is about 20 to 25 acres. See Francine R. Frankel, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

less than five in the rice area), are tenants, or — in the majority of cases — both. Because of the minimal extension of their holdings, they had not been able to make any use of the new techniques. Moreover, the green revolution has caused a rapid increase in the value of arable and a corresponding increase in rents. Accordingly, many tenants, especially those rights were based only on oral contracts — without, therefore, any form of legal protection — have to relinquish the land they had on lease. The owners, as a matter of fact, have tended to resume personal cultivation of their land, since this made it more profitable with the adoption of the new techniques. On the other hand, the owners of very small holdings often sold or "rented" their plots of land to wealthier farmers: in the 1st case the latter supply the owner with the modern inputs for cultivation and take 50% of the crops as their own share.

The effects of the green revolution on the fourth "belt," namely the landless workers (some 22% of the rural families), have been complex. In the first period this group had undoubtedly had some limited but concrete gains that, in the second period, have proved to be transitory. The final — and very important — outcome of this process has been that the social situation in the Indian countryside (at least according to Francine Frankel's findings) has begun to show signs of radical change. Until a few years ago the rural situation was characterized by the patron-client relationship between wealthy peasants and the remainder of the rural population, particularly the landless workers. In other words the rural world in India was organized — as the Cambridge historians have shown[79] — along "vertical structures" cutting through class and caste divisions and based on the idea that there are reciprocal (albeit unequal) obligations between the two parts. As a result of the changes brought about by the green revolution these vertical structures have begun to degenerate, while a polarization based on class lines has begun to emerge.

In the first years of the green revolution, its own success generated an increased level of economic activity that added to employment opportunities during the off-season (i.e., construction of houses and roads, installations of tubewells, drains, and culverts). Besides, the introduction of the new techniques and the high-yielding varieties enhanced the economic position of the agricultural laborers by increasing their bargaining position at harvest time. As Francine Frankel

[79] E.g., John Gallagher, Gordon Johnson and Anil Seal (eds.). *Locality, Province and Nation* (Cambridge University Press, 1973).

puts it, writing about the situation in Lundhiana (Punjab), "large farmers engaged in multiple cropping were greatly concerned with speedy harvesting of standing crops. In addition, with larger crops to handle, more laborers were required to complete the job within the allotted time. Finally whereas the local varieties could be harvested over a period of 20 days or so, the dwarf wheats tend to shatter unless they are harvested within ten or 15 days."[80]

The new bargaining strength of the laborers, although relative (it has been counteracted with the help of migratory labor) has put in motion a process of disaggregation of the patron-client system, a disaggregation which has been further promoted by the answer of the wealthy farmers to the changing situation. Until a few years ago the landless workers customarily received as their payment a crop share of one-twentieth of the harvest. After the introduction of the new techniques, the landowners have tried to reduce this share to one-fortieth, claiming that, on the contrary, the laborers would profit from the landowners' innovative efforts. The opposition of the laborers has contained this reduction at one-thirtieth, which according to Francine Frankel's estimate, means a gain in real income of some 25% (compared with increases of 50%, 75% or even 100% by the landowners). But the landowners, "resentful at what they consider the laborers' blackmailing tactics,"[81] have retaliated by denying laborers' traditional rights of taking fodder from the field for their animals, or additional payment in kind of fuel and vegetables, or, what is most important, the advance of interest-free loans. Besides, they have shown a clear tendency, reinforced by rising prices in food grains, to convert all kinds of payment into cash, whose value is quickly eroded by inflation. Finally, the wealthy farmers have decided to mechanize harvesting operations as quickly as possible. This last decision, had, by 1969, produced "large number of unemployed or underemployed young men in the villages... who may present serious socio-economic and law and order problems in the years to come."[82]

As a matter of fact, the years under review (1966-1971) saw a dramatic increase of agitation, some based on non-violent methods,

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[80] Francine R. Frankel, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[81] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

[82] *The Statesman,* May 23, 1969 (cited in Francine R. Frankel, *op. cit.*, p. 40).

others ending in bloodshed. Symptomatically, some of the areas where the green revolution had been more successful (i.e., Panjab and Thanjavur in Tamil Nadu) were among the epicenters of the agrarian unrest in those years.[83]

At this point we have the necessary element to relate the economic and social results of the green revolution to the landslide victory of Mrs. Gandhi's New Congress in the 1971 general elections. First of all, we must remember that the new economic policy was of decisive importance in putting the whole economic system on its feet again, bringing about positive results for the whole population. Besides, the policy of the Government of India of fixing the procurement price of the grain products at a high level kept the landowners happy (both the wealthy and the not-so-wealthy). On the other hand, the social discontent taking shape in those years among the tenants and the landless labor began to manifest itself in an organized form only in limited areas. Besides — and this is the most important element to remember if we are to understand the political response of the humblest classes in India in those years — since 1969, in her struggle against the Syndicate, Indira Gandhi projected herself as the champion of the poor. The *casus belli* of the showdown between the Syndicate and Mrs. Gandhi was the decision by the latter to nationalize the bank system to make possible a new policy of easy money for agriculture (and for small and very small business).[84] It was in 1969 that the Ministry of Agriculture, according to this new strategy, sponsored the extension of credit to farmers owning five acres (while, up to 1966, only owners of 20 or more acres, and up to 1967, owners of at least 15 acres were judged credit-worthy).[85] In the same period, namely after the 1969 Congress split, Mrs. Gandhi's party took up again the problem of land reform and particular importance was attached to the problem of tenants on oral lease.[86] In the period before the 1971 general elections, Indira Gandhi's political credibility was enhanced by the vigorous promotion of the new credit policy. The principle of the social value of the project for which the loans were asked was

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[83] See Annexure 1, HOME; Francine R. Frankel, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 109-118, 199; Mythily Shivaraman, "Thanjavur, Rumblings in Tamil Nadu," *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, vol. 4 (Winter 1972), pp. 45ff.

[84] See footnote 56, supra.

[85] Francine R. Frankel, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 27.

[86] E.g., TSW, November 7, 1970, p. 5.

assumed as a criterion of judgment, instead of the economic worthiness of the borrower.[87]

Important elements in making the promises of the new era of social justice credible were, in our opinion, a very few concrete steps in this direction coupled with some very concrete economic achievements. When we consider all this, Indira Gandhi's unexpected 1971 electoral victory does not seem unexpected at all but, rather, the logical outcome of a long process.

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[87] E.g., *The Economic Times*, August 8, 1969, and *Patriot*, August 14, 1969.

THE END OF THE POST-WAR PERIOD IN UNITED STATES-JAPANESE RELATIONS

EDWARD A. OLSEN

The antagonism between the United States and the Soviet Union, compounded by the Sino-Soviet split, has produced a nuclear-based power relationship, commonly represented as a triangle, both in the world as a whole and in East Asia as a sub-region. If one has to select *the* factor in the contemporary configuration of the world's powers, this nuclear trifurcation would probably be one's choice. However, given the wide range of factors confronting mankind as we approach the last quarter of the Twentieth Century, restricting an assessment to a narrowly-nuclear base may well prove imprudent. The stalemate which is the effective result of nations holding each other in an abeyance of terror seems to be allowing a greater degree of latitude in the political maneuverings of powers which are not part of this dominant triangular relationship. Overall, such maneuvers remain peripheral to the core triangle. Yet, as the extra-triangular nations gain power in certain non-military sectors of the strategic balance they begin to impinge upon the sanctity of the principal relationship and must be taken into account.

Japan is in the forefront of these impinging powers. In the last several years it has been readily apparent that Japan has begun to "feel its oats" in international politics due to its manifest postwar successes. Concomitant with its reemergence on the world scene, anxiety has arisen over the effect Japan's new stature will have upon the relationships which have prevailed between the United States and Japan over the years since 1945 — relationships which have been "special" in the sense that the relationship between the United States and Great Britain was "special". This anxiety reached a high point during the months following the so-called Nixon Shocks of 1971, which are still reverberating across the Pacific, like reciprocally perpetual "tsunami" battering the interface of U.S.-Japanese contacts. The effect has been to bring the postwar period to U.S.-Japanese relations to a close. This

leads to questions of how this development occurred and what import this will have for the United States, Japan, and the world at large.

When and how do "postwar periods" end? Such periods may abruptly end with renewed hostilities. On the other hand they may and often do end with the gradual dissolution of previously existing relationships. Neither of these historical models, however, can be applied to the postwar era in the U.S.-Japanese relations.

One should not use the term "unique" too lightly in describing anything dealing with Japan, for it is a term often abused by Japanophiles who are continually awe-struck by Japanese phenomena. Nevertheless, there are occasions when it is appropriate. The end of the U.S.-Japanese postwar period may be appropriately placed in this category. It is manifestly evident that the postwar period is ending, but not by a process even remotely resembling either of the cited historical models. New hostilities have not brought about its demise and it certainly has not been forgotten. Rather, there is a developing consensus that the postwar period has about run its course and needs to be replaced by something else. It is this emerging consensus, a tacit agreement upon the need for declineating a contemporary yet historical benchmark, which is unique.

From Cooperation to Competition

To place this end of an era in perspective one must view the totality of the post-1945 period. Confusing the termination of the American occupation of Japan with the end of the postwar period is a popular misconception. Even the most cursory analysis of the post-independence period will demonstrate that there was an unbroken continuum underlying both of these periods. In its essence this continuum may be characterized by cooperation. This "cooperation" differed over time in both context and content. During the occupation it was initially cooperation designed to effect limited Japanese recovery. The context of the developing cold war brought about changes in the content of U.S.-Japanese cooperation. Americans, in consideration of both the United States' national interests and of the geo-strategic interests of the Japanese which victory had bequeathed to the United States, encouraged Japan's economic and military redevelopment. This encouragement did not appreciably change when the Japanese regained their sovereignty in 1952. Rather, enforced cooperation assumed the form of a balanced partnership, in the sense of both partners benefitting mutually.

Had this mutually beneficial stage in the development of U.S.-Japanese relations continued indefinitely, the postwar period would probably have faded out and been ignored until some future historian arbitrarily plucked out a terminal date. However, relations between the two states have not remained on that level. The context of the relationship changed, but the content — particularly its form— changed very little during the 1960's. A sign of the troubles ahead may be seen, with the advantages of hindsight, in the Security Treaty dispute of 1960. Many people, both in the United States and in Japan, blythly made the assumption that the United States achieved some sort of victory for its interests by securing a treaty renewal. To a degree this assumption is correct, but it passes over American desires of the time for a greater Japanese role under the provisions of the pact. The Americans did not get what they truly wanted. As a former Foreign Minister, the late Aichi, Kiichi, stated in retrospect:

> As for the contents of the amended pact, Japan's views were incorporated to such an extent that I even wondered whether the United States would accept the amendments without complaint.[1]

The year 1960 may be viewed as the watershed from a decade of balanced partnership to a decade of imbalance. The outwardly smooth tenure of Ambassador Edwin O. Reischauer served as a baffle deflecting the voices of criticism, but increasingly, during the later 1960s, the mutuality of the *status quo* became a matter for debate. The crux of this issue was that more and more Americans believed they were being "had" by the Japanese — that the Japanese now held the longer end of the stick.

The causes of this development grew out of the nature of the relationship between the United States and Japan. On most issues the Japanese have either been seated in the same boat as the Americans or their "autonomous" boat has been firmly secured to the stern of the United States' boat, riding gently in its wake. In either event the Japanese have had virtually no desire to "make waves" and gone out of their way to prevent any wave action from developing lest they themselves be swamped in the process. As an ally and partner there certainly is not anything wrong with such guidelines as long as they prove successful. There is one small danger in this process, however, one to which the Japanese have fallen victim. It

[1] Aichi Kiichi. *The Search for National Security.* Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1969; p. 8.

is quite easy, over time, to get one's roles confused and to become deluded into thinking that the tail actually does wag the dog.

On the assumption that the United States would continue to play its role even if Japan occasionally tweaked its nose, the Japanese have often taken liberties with its favors. The result of these "liberties" is that, while the United States has steadfastly provided the security and stability which enabled Japan to prosper, some Japanese have turned around and audaciously told the United States that American motives and goals are evil and immoral —all the while, of course, benefitting from the byproducts of those "evil" and "immoral" ends. The United States, often in a stance of self-abnegation, has frequently worked for Japan's interests. Not only has the United States been receiving less and less benefit from such efforts, it has been increasingly criticized by the principal beneficiary. This was the *status quo* of which Japan's leaders were so enamoured and which the United States' leaders have begun to challenge.

The phase of unbalanced partnership, although initiated by security concerns, rapidly spread to economic affairs as America's economic animal instincts were aroused by both Japanese competition and restrictive trade practices. Economic differences have indeed come to the foreground, at least temporarily eclipsing security affairs. The factors bringing this series of problems to the forefront have been multi-faceted. The world-wide economic slowdown at the turn of the decade — subsequently aggravated by various resource shortages, aggressive and successful Japanese economic growth programs, and last, but far from least, a combination of an American economic recession coupled with a noticeable turning inward by Americans across the political spectrum reflecting upon their goals —an inward-looking posture increasingly reminiscent of the United States' isolationist heritage — have all served to focus attention on economic issues. While it would be ludicrous to suggest that the United States is concerned about the prospect of Japanese military competition (although closer Japanese ties with another power such as the Soviet Union or China would cease to make it unthinkable), "competition" is precisely the fear-producing word increasingly bound to the overall U.S.-Japanese relationship.

It has, of course, been the United States' goal in Asia to make Japan its capitalist bastion against Communism. Obviously this goal has been achieved. Problems arose as Japan surpassed the goals es-

tablished for it by its American mentors. From the United States' position there has been too much of a good thing. What makes matters particularly galling to the United States is that American security policy — which, as was noted above, has received vigorous abuse from many Japanese — has underwritten much of the economic growth and prosperity which is now being seen as a threat to American interests. A seemingly quick and simple solution would be the cessation of American financing of Japan's security needs. The problem with this frequently very appealing solution is that it might well create far more serious problems that it would solve. The solution therefore must be primarily economic and diplomatic. Unfortunately, requisite solutions have not yet been found and as a consequence relations between the United States and Japan have been at a low ebb.

As the context of U.S.-Japanese relations was markedly altered by Japanese prosperity juxtaposed with American unrest the content and form of the relationship remained statically hidebound by sentimental legacies rooted in the immediate postwar period. The irrationality of this state of affairs has become increasingly apparent. The need for a change — a readjustment — was clear. The Japanese acceded to the pressures placed upon them by agreeing in a limited way at the 1969 Nixon-Sato talks to play a larger regional role in East Asia. While the Japanese viewed their promises of 1969 as a major step, to many Americans they had only made a hesitant and reluctant first step. In order to redress the unbalance, much more would be required of the Japanese. Japan's leaders were aware of American discontent and often talked of the possible new roles Japan might play which would be more commensurate with their growing power. There is not any doubt that Japan's leaders were serious in their intentions. In fact, it was the seriousness of the new vistas which were being unveiled before them which led them to ponder the issues in depth. Issues of such potential import for Japan's future required careful attention. Unfortunately, lengthy consideration of alternatives on the part of Japan's leaders appeared to be undue procrastination from the vantage point of Americans familiar and impatient with Japan's past stalling tactics.

From the perspective of the United States the Japanese needed more encouragement. This encouragement took the form of the so-called Nixon Shocks of 1971 focusing on the surprise announcement of President Nixon's trip to Peking and the series of economic shake-

ups which shortly followed that announcement. The "nikuson shokku" shook Japan to its roots. The immediate gut-reaction of numerous American Japanologists was that a horrendous mistake had been made which would, in all likelihood do grievious damage to the special relationship which has bound the United States and Japan together throughout the postwar period. More importantly, this was seen as a serious error of miscalculation on the part of the Nixon administration. This assessment is accurate with one very important exception. The relationship was shaken severely, but neither out of ignorance nor by accident. Portions of President Nixon's 1972 Foreign Policy Statement indicate that the shocks were administered to Japan in full cognizance of their probable consequences. The President stated, in part:

> **The shocks of 1971 . . . only accelerated an evolution in U.S.-Japanese relations that was in any event, overdue, unavoidable, and in the long run, desirable.**
>
> **Our relationship now requires greater reciprocity.**
>
> **The unjustified complacency of the recent past has been replaced with a greater awareness of the tasks which we both face.**[2]

President Nixon turned the screws a bit tighter in his 1973 Foreign Policy Statement when he complained that Japan had, in effect, been getting a free ride for too long. It seems evident that the United States' efforts were directed at shaking the Japanese out of their complacency. Considering the reaction the "shokku" and the subsequent hardening of American positions evoked in Japan, we may assume that the administration succeeded.

A New Era: A new Relationship

The gap which has developed between the United States and Japan has rather obviously changed the character of the relationship which prevailed over the years since 1945. Recognition of this gap by the parties on both sides of the still deepening chasm has led to an emerging consensus calling for a new era to supersede the postwar period. For lack of a better term the new era has generally been called the post-postwar period. Unfortunately, many people on both sides of the gap still cling to the images of the past, but such images are little more than the ghost images of a dead period. The sooner they are disposed of, the sooner the new relationship can be provided a firmer foundation.

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[2] *U.S. Foreign Policy For The* 1970's. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972; pp. 52-59.

A solid foundation may be found once the relationship between the United States and Japan completely sheds the unwanted legacies of mentor-student dependence bequeathed by the occupation. A huge step toward that goal was taken with the reversion of the Ryukyu Islands to Japan in May of 1972. Prior to that event former Japanese Prime Minister Sato Eisaku had noted:

> Some years ago I stated that without a settlement of the Okinawa problem, Japan's postwar period could not be considered closed. However, I consider the return of Okinawa not merely the end of an era known as the 'postwar', but a turning point that will enable the Japanese people to reaffirm their identity and to seek a proper place for Japan in the world.[3]

It can be more justifiably argued that the postwar period actually ended during the mid-1960s at some ill-defined point when the United States' flexible attitude toward Japan's intransigence began to harden, but for the sake of greater bi-national consensus we may utilize Prime Minister Sato's point of departure. If such feigned definitude will enable both peoples to recognize the nature of the Real-politik which prevails between them, the acceptance of a clear and commonly accepted symbolic benchmark date is entirely justified.

The new era has started, but without the advantages enjoyed by the "postwar". The U.S. and Japan obviously do not possess today a central authority capable of issuing SCAP-like directives which would have the effect of synthesizing both nations' energies and directions. Instead their assets are residual good-will and, more importantly, a wide range of common interests. These assets ought to outweigh the liabilities of more recent vintage which have been allowed to disrupt the common interests.

The two themes which have been dominant in U.S.-Japanese relations are economic and security affairs. Economic competition is often portrayed as a causal factor leading to the recent ill-will between the United States and Japan. Competition biased by hostility has caused ill-will, but it does not necessarily have to continue to cause ill-will in the future. Economic competition, if reasonably equitable, ought to be a healthy aspect of cooperation between states. One can only trust that competition between the United States and Japan will assume this form given continued joint efforts to relieve imbalances and to reduce misperceptions of each other's economic role and interests. This is the form which competition must take

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[3] Sato Eisaku. *New Tasks for Japan.* Tokyo: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1969; p. 13.

in the future — friendly economic competition. There are not any viable alternatives. We cannot return to a pseudo-occupation co-operative relationship in economic affairs which the Japanese might prefer and there are not any incentives to destroy the relationships which amicable competition based on equality holds for the future.

Just as we, as nations, have no need for extreme competition in economic affairs, we have even less need for hostility in our security affairs. The security issue has been a true stumbling block in U.S.-Japanese relations. This is the area of greatest imbalance. The Japanese have made numerous pronouncements regarding their intentions to take up the slack in this area of their relations with the United States. However, they have been equivocal and niggardly in their performance. Japan's Self-Defense Forces remain relatively insignificant.[4] A statement of Nitobe Tinazo written early in this century needs to be revived and presented to the contemporary Japanese:

> We must not forget that a phoenix rises only from its own ashes, and that it is not a bird of passage, neither does it fly on pinions borrowed from other birds.[5]

Japan, as the phoenix bird exemplar of the postwar period, literally rose from its own ashes and does not appear to be a "bird of passage". However, Japan falls far short of being a complete phoenix since, although her economic wing seems firmly fixen, her military wing is very definitely a "borrowed pinion" — borrowed from the United States. This is precisely what Nitobe had warned of. A bird with such a healthy economic wing cannot reasonably expect to have another bird — one which finds the sky increasingly congested — continue to support its lame wing. Flying high on one wing is impossible, even for a lustrous phoenix, and more Japanese ought to realize it. Few observers of the Japanese scene anticipate or wish this particular phoenix to develop a muscular right wing and excessively sharpen its talons. If it were to do so, it would rapidly become an apparition of its hawk forefathers. However, even a dove must have two wings capable of supporting its own weight.

Rather than a full fledged revival of military power, the Japanese seem likely to stop short of such a goal. Their national

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[4] See, for example, Martin Weinstein's book (*Japan's Postwar Defense Policy*; Columbia University Press, 1971) for policy considerations. See also the writer's unpublished M.A. thesis (*The Role of the Self Defense Forces in Postwar Japan*; U. C. Berkeley, 1970) for an examination of the forces themselves and the factors contributing to their weakness.

[5] Nitobe Inazo. *Bushido, The Soul of Japan.* Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1969 (reprint of 1905 Putnam edition); p. 189.

goals are ill-defined in most, if not all, areas of international concern. One must trust that recent shifts in world politics will cause the Japanese to structure their goals more rigorously. In the security sector Japan's conservative elite seems unlikely to stray very far from proven methods. Perhaps the statement of former Japanese Defense Agency Director-General Arita Kiichi, comparing Japan's future role to the roles of the No drama, will prove prescient:

> Until now, American strength has played the role of the 'shite' (leading role in the No) and the strength of the Self-Defense Forces has played the role of the 'waki' (supporting role in the No), but in the future conversely the Self-Defense Forces will perform the role of the 'shite' in which it will defend Japan by itself.[6]

Given the nature of American desires within the framework of the Nixon Doctrine[7] and Japanese interests, this type relationship seems quite likely.

In both sectors, economic and security, the United States and Japan are being compelled to transform their relationship. They are being compelled by changes in their comparative stature and by a changed international political milieu. Conditions have changed dramatically in East Asia during the past decade; witness the Sino-Soviet split, the Vietnam War followed by the United States' military retrenchment, the Sino-American and Sino-Japanese rapprochements, the emerging detente between the two Koreas, and — in the very long run, perhaps the most significant of all — the emergent reality of a Japan standing nakedly vulnerable in a world grown increasingly conscious of resource scarcities. All of these developments have compounded the necessity for recognizing the reality of a post-postwar stage in U.S.-Japanese relations. The necessity is confronting peoples, but neither are adequately meeting the challenges of the 1970s and beyond.

Japan does possess power. Despite its recently exposed "feet of clay", the power Japan possesses — both economic and military — has removed it from the confines of a postwar context. The post-postwar period in U.S.-Japanese relations is upon us today. The consequences of this development require that the United States and

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[6] Doba Hajime. "Jishu Boei ni tsuite" (Concerning Autonomous Defense) in *Kokubo* (National Defense), Vol. XVIII, No. 11, Oct. 1969; pp. 64-65.

[7] The writer has addressed these desires in an earlier article, see: "The Nixon Doctrine in East Asian Perspective" in *Asian Forum*, Jan.-Mar. 1973; pp. 17-28.

other major states grant the Japanese their proper place on the power continuum. It is also mandatory that the Japanese recognize and accept that place. The importance of facilitating Japan's transition into its post-postwar relationships with the United States and all other countries cannot be underestimated. This transition can and must be accomplished without unduly disrupting other extant relationships. This will not be a simple task, but it is a necessary task requiring prompt attention and concerted efforts by all concerned.

TOWARDS INTEGRATION—A REVIEW OF POLICIES AFFECTING THE MINORITY GROUPS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MANGYANS (1901-1975)*

VIOLETA B. LOPEZ

The diversity of the peoples of the Philippines was readily recognized by the Americans as a potential source of societal conflicts. In particular, the new colonial masters focused their attention on the existtence of a 'substantial' minority consisting of the "pagan" and Muslim groups. The keen awareness that these people were different and posed a problem similar to that of the Indians in the United States led them to work out policies that initially defined majority-minority relations.

Innovating on the Spanish classification of the inhabitants in ecclesiastical terms — that is, dividing the peoples into Christians, *infieles* (heathen), and *moros,* the Americans formulated the term 'Non-Christian' to

> designate the pagan and Muslim groups in distinction from the Christian Filipinos dwelling in organized provinces and towns, for whom a frame of government had been practically completed as early as a year ago (i.e., 1901 — V.B.L.).[1]

With this act, the Americans formally set the distinction between lowlanders and highlanders, 'Christians' and Muslims. In fact, the term 'Filipino' was solely used to signify the majority, lowland Christian groups. The term 'Non-Christian' however, was stripped of its religious understones or its literal meaning. In a Supreme court case, 'Ruby vs. the Provincial Board of Mindoro" involving the Mangyans, it was expressly pointed out that the term was intended to relate to the degree of civilization and not to religious beliefs. As defined in

* Research on this article was carried out in part through the help of a grant from the Philippine Social Science Council.

[1] "Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes for the Year Ending August 31, 1902" included in the *Third Annual Report of the Philippine Commission* 1902 Part I, Bureau of Insular Affairs, War Department (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903). p. 679.

the court decision, the term should refer particularly to geographical area, "and more directly to the natives of the Philippine Islands of a low grade of civilization".[2]

The colonial government took a further step by creating the Bureau of Non-Christian tribes on October 2, 1901. Its objectives, as stated in the organizing act, were: (1) to investigate the actual condition of the pagan and Mohammedan tribes and consequently make recommendations for legislation by the civil government and (2) to conduct scientific investigations in the ethnology of the country.[3]

Yet, as pointed out later by Merton Miller, the goal was not merely scientific but likewise political, since

> . . . An acquaintance with the non-Christian tribes, with their customs and ideas, would make it possible to govern them better and more easily than would otherwise be possible . . .[4]

This new emphasis on the use of scientific findings for administration of 'minorities' was a lesson learned from the blunders made in administering the Indians. This was expressly stated in the initial report of Dr. David Barrows, a chief of the Bureau who wrote that

> The variety of problem they present is equally for the ethnologist and statesman, and nowhere, it may be asserted, must the constructive work of administration be so dependent for information and guidance upon the researches of the expert . . . Out of mutual ignorance and fear have followed hatred, oppression and retaliation. In the establishment of order in these islands this government is attempting to rear a new standard of relationship between the white man and the Malay. The success of this effort will depend in a large measure on our understanding and scientific grasp of the peoples whose problem we are facing.[5]

Under instructions from the Philippine Commission, Barrows visited and made investigations in Indian reservations and schools in the United States. The trip was designed primarily to gain information concerning the results obtained by the administration of Indian affairs. On the basis of this study, Barrows proposed that since the new U.S. policy of breaking down tribal ties and dealing with the Indians as individuals rather than as tribes had failed, it could not work out as well in the Philippines. As he expressed it in his report,

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[2] Edmond Block and H. L. Noble, *Digest of the Reports of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands,* Vol. 4 (Rochester, New York: The Lawyears Co-Operative Publishing Company, 1927), p 3230.

[3] *Third Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, op. cit.*

[4] *Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission,* 1904, Part 2, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), p. 571.

[5] *Third Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, op. cit.,* p. 679.

> . . . In spite of the excellent intentions behind these efforts, the policy . . . has not brought forth satisfactory results, and in a thousand cases has not done justice to the Indians. The process of chance has been pursued too rapidly. Great difficulties attend the disestablishment of the reservation system . . . *In general, it might be stated that the policy of the United States in dealing with American Indians contain little that can be followed in governing the backward races here* (Italics mine).[6]

In particular, Barrows proposed that in dealing with the minority the reservation system must be avoided and that "the government should not cede or grant any public land to a tribe as a tribe." He advocated isolation as a policy for the Negritos for a certain length of time, but believed that for the Mangyans and other tribes of "Malayan origin, on a lower cultural plane than the Christian Filipino... governmental efforts should tend to encourage admixture rather than to maintain isolation".[7]

He reasoned that these tribes had advanced to the point of understanding individual ownership of property. Yet, a closer look at the proposition would indicate a utilitarian end, as the assignment of individual land holdings itself would leave superfluous land open to settlement from the outside. As conceived, the goal was toward a peaceful co-existence of the majority and the minority groups, with regards to the use of land areas.

On the basis of his examination of Indian education, in the U.S., Barrows further proposed that the immediate objects which education should pursue among the tribes here should be the teaching of English coupled with reading and writing. He likewise recommended the establishment of boarding industrial schools to be planted in each major "tribe" and administered by the Americans.

On the other hand, Barrows strongly argued against entrusting police and judicial authority on any ethnic group — whether "Filipino Christian or non-Christian." Contrasting Indian society and the 'Malayan society' in the Philippines, he asserted that while the former was thoroughly democratic, the latter was

> . . . . oppressively aristocratic. The power of the man of wealth position, or inheritance is inordinate. He is not only able to commit abuses, but is morally blinded to their enormity. Beneath him the man of poverty and unenlightened mind takes rank with animals that till the soil. I believe that this characterization is true of both Christian and non-Christian communities. The en-

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 684.
[7] *Ibid.*

> trusting of authority, then . . . . should be safeguarded and restricted in every possible way.[8]

Contrary to what Leothiny Clavel and Mamintal Tamano believe,[9] the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes did not continually function up to the Common wealth Period.[10] It was changed to the Ethnological Survey of the Philippines barely two years after its foundation. While this revised set-up closely approximated the Bureau of American Ethnology which dealt directly with the study of diverse Indian tribes, the results of its work, as Merton Miller said, were only of scientific value, great this was. The problem of dealing with the "tribes" in the Philippines was in fact considered "much more important than was the problem in America." Aware that the Americans could never become a 'majority' in the Philippines, Miller called for a careful investigation of American policies concerning the "tribes". In these respects, he said, "the problem here differs from that which we had to solve in the United States, and from these facts, too, its relatively greater importance appears."[11] Concerning the work of the re-organized bureau, Miller reiterated the plain proposition that the more you know about a given people the better you could get along with them. The agency was conceived as practically useful "in the work of controlling and assisting in their progress the uncivilized people in the island."[12]

However, the actual task of governing the minority groups from the onset of American rule up to 1916 fell directly under the office of the Secretary of the Interior. As such, Worcester who was the Secretary of the Interior until 1913, exercised executive control over the affairs of all members of non-Christian tribes outside the 'Moro province.' Likewise, he had the power to approve executive orders and memoranda which once promulgated had the force of law for the minority groups.

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[8] *Ibid.*, p. 685.

[9] Cf. Mamintal A. Tamano, *Needed:A Total Commitment, A Compilation of Writings*, (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1968), pp. 1-17; and Leothiny Clavel, "National Integration: A Case of Planned Change", *Journal on National Integration*, Vol. I, No. 1, (Quezon City, 1968), pp. 19, 32.

[10] In truth, Dean C. Worcester reports in 1903 that the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribe was changed to "Ethnological Survey for the Philippines Islands" cf. "Report of the Secretary of the Interior," *Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, Part 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), p. 789.

[11] *Fourth Annual Report of the Philippine Commission, op. cit.*

[12] *Ibid.*

For instance, Worcester drafted and authored the so-called "Special Provincial Government Act" (Act No. 1396, Sept. 4, 1905) promulgated by the Philippine Commission of which he was also a member. This act directly affected the lives of the non-Christian groups as it provided for the organization and administration of the 'special provinces' inhabited by the minority groups. Prior to the passage of this law, Mindoro itself was detached from Marinduque Province and given a provincial government of its own by Act No. 500 (Nov. 10, 1902) of the Philippine Commission.[13] In particular, section 18 of the same act authorized the governor of Mindoro, to deal with and provide for the government of the Mangyans.

All the same, the diverse roles the governor assumed in his post, hindered him from doing full-time work among the Mangyans. Thus, efforts made to uplift Mangyan life was limited to the establishment of settlements which covered only a small sector of the Mangyan population. It must be added that settlements were established in spite of Barrows' prior recommendations against transplanting the 'reservation system' into the country.

The set-up in the settlement established in Mindoro was a miniature form of the municipal government at that time. In effect,

> A presidente and a "consejal" were appointed, but no attempt was made to organize any form of township government. Orders were given these officials to keep the place clean, plant anything they saw fit, and to encourage others to join them.
>
> The regular form of municipal appointment was given the presidente, to which was added brightly colored seals and ribbons, and it would be a matter attach as much importance to his position as do these savages.[14]

In brief, the Americans established a form of government for the Mangyans which entailed a chain of command from the governor to the elected lowlanders who 'supervised' Mangyan affairs. The Mangyans were not given a chance to govern themselves. Often, they were governed by 'Filipinos' who, in many cases were the major source of abuses. As Offley himself reported, the biggest rascal in the community was often the elected *presidente,* owing his power to the fear the people have of him.

By and large, the efforts of the Americans to organize Mangyan settlements turned out to be a total failure. The nomadic character

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[13] See *Report of the Philippine Commission,* Vol. XI, Part I, *op. cit.,* p. 542.

[14] *Ibid.*

of majority of the Mangyans as well as the absence of "tribal" relations were seen as a major barrier to the success of U.S. policies concerning them. As Offley lamented, "Each family is mortally afraid of the other, which makes progress with them exceedingly slow."[15] It may be added that the attendant use of sheriff force in the establishment of such villages as well as the oppressive rule of the lowland *presidentes* made it doubly difficult for the Mangyans to trust the sincerity of the colonial masters. Worcester, the author of this scheme, blamed the failure of the settlement system on the attitude of 'Tagalog Filipinos' who, according to him,

> . . . look with great disfavor on the gathering of the Mangyans into settlements where they can be protected, as it renders it difficult to hold them in a state of peonage. Whenever Gen. Offley got a little group together they did their best to scatter it.[16]

Notwithstanding Worcester's claim, the accounts of this period clearly show that the Americans were themselves exploiters of the Mangyans. Paul Schebesta, a German anthropologist who visited one of the settlements, noted how the Mangyans were cultivating abaca[17] — a sign that they were to some extent integrated into the agro-commercial world system prevailing at that time. In point of fact, Offley himself revealed how one Mangyan settlement named Lalauigan produced a 'good crop' for the fiscal year 1904. For that year, he reported that

> A good crop of corn and camotes was (sic) raised and cocoanut (sic) and hemp planted, and I am now requested to furnish them cans in which they can gather rubber. Mr. Manguian is not at all backward about asking what he wants. Requests for carabao, plow, and seeds are frequent . . .[18]

An outsider's view of the American scheme for the Mangyan development program is further provided by Schebesta. Speaking of the role of his informant, Kaig, in the American administration of Mangyan affairs, Schebesta wrote that

> For a certain length of time, Kaig played the role of superintendent among the savage Mangyans. At that time, when the American government went about in a hyper-philanthropic way to build model schools among the Mangyans, Kaig was given the responsibility of overseeing the Mangyans in the north of the land. Kaig knew and fulfilled the responsibility given him. The enterprise which was extraordinarily expensive was in no

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[15] *Ibid.*

[16] D. C. Worcester, *The Philippine Past and Present, op. cit.*, p. 464.

[17] Paul Schebesta, Menschen Ohne Geschicte (St. Gabriel Modling, 1935) p. 137 as translated by Dr. Zeus A. Salazar.

[18] *Report of the Philippine Commission, vol. I, op. cit.*

> way related, however, to the results which it showed. Kaig himself had a very pessimistic opinion of it; he was convinced that the desired goal could not be reached with the paid civil forces or servants . . .[19]

A growing demand that the administration of the non-Christian groups be turned over to the Filipinos caused the American civil government to re-examine their policies toward the minority groups in 1909. Worcester in his annual report noted how the demand "has been made so publicly and so persistently as practically to force its consideration".[20] In defense of the *status quo,* Worcester reiterated the oft-repeated point made by the Americans in justifiying their policy — the question of the Filipinos

> ability and fitness to dominate, justly control, and wisely guide along the pathway of civilization alien people . . . (i.e., the Non-Christian "tribes")[21]

Worcester argued on three major points to support his trenchant words against the Filipino demand for government of the non-Christian tribes: first, there existed a wide cultural gap between the 'Filipinos' and the minority groups; second, the Filipino had no just claim to ownership of the territory occupied by 'wild men'; third, the Filipino was ignorant of the hill tribes. "Mutual distrust and hatred" formed, according to the irate colonial master, "an insurmountable barrier between Filipino and non-Christian".[22]

In effect, Worcester's view of majority-minority relations outlined the United States' policy on the ethnic problems in this period. As Secretary of the Interior, Worcester decided the tenor of the U.S. attitude toward the minorities — which at this stage favoured isolation rather than admixture of 'pagans', Muslims and Christians. In his view expressed in his annual report to the Philippine Commission (1910), Worcester expressed the opinion that

> . . . to turn the control of the non-Christian tribes over to the Filipinos would speedily result in disaster. As the Filipinos have no just claim to the territory which the non-Christians occupy, I see no reason for pursuing such a course.[22]

A staunch believer in Beyer's "Waves of migration" theory, Worcester propounded at length the American view that the 'Filipinos'

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[19] Paul Schebesta, *op. cit.,* p. 35, as translated by Dr. Zeus A Salazar.

[20] "Report of the Secretary of the Interior" in *Report of the Philippine Commission,* 1909-1911, (Washington: Government Printing Office, n.d), p. 74.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] *Ibid.,* p. 81.

comprised a distinct race and culture from the minorities. His arguments was that

> it is true that the Filipino, the Igorot, and the Moro are of common racial origin, but so are the Anglo-Saxon peoples, and there exists between the Filipinos on the one side and Igorots and the Moros on the other, for greater difference than those which distinguish the Germans, the English, and the Americans. Indeed, the width of the gap between the Filipino, whose Malayan blood has been profoundly modified by intermarriage with people of other races, and who has attained to a degree of civilization far above that ever reached by any other Malayan people, and the wild man of the Luzon mountains, with his pure blood, his magnificent physical development, and his primitive customs and instincts, is very great[23]

Ironically, merely a year after Worcester's solid pronouncement on Filipino non-Christian "diversity", the Philippine Bill of 1913 was passed, providing extended power of self-government to the Filipinos. This, of course also effected a radical change in the U.S. policy concerning the majority-manority relations. The change in the policy was in fact defined in the 1914 report of the acting governor-general. Significantly, the new policy provided answer to the issues raised by Worcester, who by then had resigned from his post as Secretary of the Interior. In part, the report stated that

> By this policy the isolation in which the mountain people were left for so many generations will gradually be removed and the way opened for a more rapid spread of civilization. By this means, also the distrust heretofore reported to exist between the hill people and the civilized people of the plains will be eliminated and a feeling of mutual regard and respect will be engendered. *It is obvious that common feelings of nationality and common sense of responsibility among the peoples of the Philippines can only be secured by bringing them into association and contact with each other. Maintaining and strengthening the barrier which has in the past been erected between them will not serve* (Italics mine).[24]

The idea of a common nationality, engendered by the propagandists and finding its most intense expression in the Revolution of 1896, reached at this point a form so distinct and vivid as to force the Americans to come to grips with it. Thus, in the 'Moro country', as well as in the Mt. Province, a new policy was inaugurated, that of 'cultivating confidence and goodwill between the non-Christians and

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[22] *Ibid.*, p. 81.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

[24] "Report of the Governor-General" in *Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), p. 39.

their Christian neighbors'. In Mindoro, however, the death of Mr. Jesse D. Ward, the assigned Mangyan agent, momentarily hindered a change of policy.

Changes were also made to centralize the work of the Department of Interior among the non-Christians. Winfred T. Dennison, the successor of Worcester, introduced a bill in the Philippine Commission which placed the administration of the 'non-Christians' in the charge of a new officer, known as "Delegate of the Secretary of the Interior for the non-Christian people". However, direct supervision of the tribes was increasingly delegated to the provincial and municipal governments.

The apparent failure of the new system, as well as the general disorganization of the work among the minority groups, led to the reconstitution of the defunct Bureau of non-Christian Tribes in 1917. The underlying principle in its re-organization was the advancement of what the Americans characteristically described as 'backward elements of the population' to economic, political and social equality and unification with the majority group. The law creating the bureau gave it the duty:

> . . . to continue the work for advancement and liberty in favor of the regions inhabited by non-Christian Filipinos and to foster by all adequate means and in a systematic, rapid, and complete manner and moral, material, economic, social and political development of those regions always having in view the aim of rendering permanent the mutual intelligence between and complete fusion of all populating the Provinces of the Archipelago . . .[25]

The newly defined goals of the bureau constituted a clear departure from what it formerly stood for — an arm for tribal research and a policy-making body for the minorities. In a word, the bureau was revived to work for the eventual assimilation of all tribal groups into the mainstreams of the national life. As the Governor-General stated in his report of 1917, the final objective

> . . . is obviously the eventual discontinuance of the bureau of non-Christian tribes by the passing of its territory to the jurisdiction of the executive bureau as regularly organized provincial territory as rapidly as the people by advance in civilization shall have qualified for such autonomous provincial and local government . . .[26]

For the first time too, the supervision and administration of the work in Mindanao and Sulu was integrated into the totality of go-

[25] *Report of the Governor-General of the Philippine to the Secretary of War*, 1917, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), p. 29.
[26] *Ibid.*

vernment programs for the minority groups. The Department of Mindanao and Sulu was thus abolished and the domain of the newly reconstituted bureau expanded to include the 'special provinces' of Agusan, Bukidnon, Cotabato, Davao, Lanao, Mt. Province, Nueva Viscaya, Sulu and Zamboanga. Obviously, Mindoro was not classified as a 'special province'. This was presumably because the Mangyans, unlike the Muslims and the Mt. Province tribes, did not constitute a 'political voice' nor a threat to the security of the colonial government. On the other hand, the areas listed as 'special provinces' (where most of the non-Christians funds went) were all troubled areas — that is, the scene of armed conflicts and bitter struggles. Thus, the Muslims and the ethnic groups from the Mt. Province and Nueva Viscaya were the sole groups which truly benefited from the positive measures taken by the colonial government.

In the formulation of policies toward the non-Christians then, the Mangyans likewise suffered discrimination in the hands of the Americans. For instance, the Supreme Court's stand regarding Mangyan civil rights which figured in a court case in 1926, defined that the "Manguianes are not free as civilized men are free."[27] Though a "person within the meaning of the habeas corpus law", the Mangyans was not considered the equal of his lowland brother. This policy, of course, further aggravated the distinction between the lowlanders and the Mangyans.

In the 20's, the influx of migrants from other regions as a result of the incentives given by the colonial government led to the intensification of the growing land problems in Mindoro. To cope with these conflicts posed by 'Christian landgrabbers', Mindoro was included among the 'special provinces' supervised by the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes. This change in the policy prescribed that the bureau, through the provincial governor, should henceforth exercise control and supervision over the territory occupied by the Mangyans. Steps were also taken to reserve the lands inhabited by the Mangyans, but this effort, as may be inferred from the reports, was not extensively carried out.

An over-all change in the American policy toward the minorities is apparent with the beginning of a new era in Philippine history in the 30's. At this point, the embryonic concept of a total national community acquired a more definite form which, in turn, paved the

[27] Edmond Block and H. L. Noble, *op. cit.*

way for the creation of the concept of integration. One of the first acts passed in the inaugural session of the 'First National Assembly' under the Commonwealth was one which abolished the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes. This action is significant as it showed the keen desire of the pioneer Filipino lawmakers to foster national unity and solidarity by abolishing any trace of distinctions set between 'Christians and non-Christians'. The whole tenor of the Filipino policy toward the minorities in fact centered around the idea of integration. Justifying the act, the late President Manuel Luis Quezon declared to the First National Assembly that there was no longer a need for the continued existence of 'specialized rule' for the minorities of Luzon, including Mindoro and Palawan. "Whatsoever may have been the reasons for instituting this arrangement," he announced,

> . . . they today no longer exist to an extent sufficient to justify the continuation of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes. Considering the marked advancement in the civilization and general progress of the special provinces, the so-called non-Christian problem has been reduced to one of solidification and development and our present effort are directed towards the simplification of the governmental agencies so as to insure efficiency.[28]

Under the Commonwealth government then, the work of administering the minority groups was merged with the Department of Interior, thus "insuring a better coordination of the development work that may be authorized by the national government for said region".[29] Recognizing the difficulty of integrating the Muslims in the South, the Commonwealth government created the Office of the Commissioner for Mindanao and Sulu to direct the development work for the said area. This office continued to function until the outbreak of World War II in 1941.

The brevity of the Japanese Occupation of the Philippines did not leave any indeliable mark on the Mangyans of Mindoro. Conklin for instance mentioned in an article written shortly after the War, that the Hanunoo had virtually to contact with either Japanese or American troops during the Occupation. "When an occasional dog-fight took place over their territory", he reported, "they ran to the family burial caves for safety and to be near their ancestors."[30] Except for this reference in Conklin's work, there seems to be no other

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[28] *Messages of the President,* Vol. 2, Part I, Revised Edition, (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1938), p. 200.

[29] *Op. cit.*

[30] Harold C. Conklin, "Bamboo Literacy In Mindoro", *Pacific Discovery,* Vol. II, No. 4, (July-August 1949), p. 7.

existing account of Mangyan life during the Second World War. Macario Landicho wrote of mass evacuations into the interior as a consequence of the Japanese occupation of Mindoro,[31] but he made no reference to the Mangyans. One is left then merely to suppose that in this new movement inland of coastal residents, reminiscent of the days of piracy when the same thing happened, the Mangyans were again pushed farther into the depths of Mr. Halcon.

The end of the War brought to the fore the existing undercurrents in Muslim-Christian relations in Mindanao and Sulu. In the early 50's this broke out into armed conflicts between the government forces and 'Moro bandits' — a fact which further underscored the age-old problem of Muslim integration into the national community. To resolve this major threat to the peaceful co-existence of Muslims and Christians in the region, a congressional committee was formed in 1954 to investigate the problem. The findings of the Committee revealed that the problem had deeply rooted sources, transcending the question of 'peace and order' in the South. It was found out that the problem had assumed historic, economic, social, educational and political significance.

One of the primary achievements of this committee was the creation of a commission charged with the specific mission to enhance the progress of the Muslims and the other minority groups. Specifically, the law creating the Commission on National Integration (R.A. 1888) on June 22, 1957 declared that henceforth the government's policy toward the minorities was

> To effectuate in a more rapid and complete manner the economic, social, moral and political advancement of the non-Christian Filipinos or national cultural minorities and to render real, complete and permanent the integration of all said national cultural communities into the body politic . . .[32]

Among the more important functions of the newly-created Commission as specified in section four of the said law were the following:

a. To engage in industrial and agricultural enterprises and establish processing plants and cottage industries to lead communities of national cultural minorities in engaging such pursuits and, upon the attainment of this objective, to sell such enterprises or industries to them at cost.
b. To construct, operate and maintain irrigation systems and dams, power structures or generating plants, electric transmission and distribution lines or systems for the furnishing of electric light, heat and power to the inhabitants in the areas not receiving the service of such plants or systems.

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[31] Macario Landicho, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

c. To cooperate with government agricultural experimental stations or demonstration farms (*sic*) and agricultural supervisors assisting farmers to acquire knowledge of modern farming or better methods of cultivating of farms.
d. To effectuate the settlement of all the landless members of the National Cultural Minorities by procuring homesteads for them or by resettling them in resettlement projects of the National Resettlement and Rehabilitation Administration.
e. To cause the establishment of more public schools in regions inhabited by the National Cultural Minorities and encourage them to attend the same.
f. To assist in the training of the National Cultural Minorities in the different fields of education and to help them secure employment in private establishments or offices in the civil service.
g. To authorize lawyers of the Commission to assist indigent members of the cultural minorities accused in criminal cases involving their landholdings.[33]

While the work of the CNI appears impressive in print, its actual performance among the Mangyans in Mindoro does not appear equally laudable. Since its inception in 1957, no breakthrough has been made in the total integration of the Mangyans into the national community. Hitherto, only one Mangyan settlement could be rightfully said to have received regular assistance from the CNI.[34] As a matter of fact, work and rehabilitation programs in Mindoro have been for the most part, uncoordinated. The Social Welfare Administration, missions and private social action groups continue to do their work individually. No effort has been made by the CNI to integrate these and other existing Mangyan welfare programs. Thus, development work among the Mangyans is largely *laissez-faire* in character — each "social action" group is left to interpret what is best for the Mangyans they are dealing with. Of course, not all 'civic-conscious' groups come up with positive programs for change. The SWA, which initiated social welfare work among the Irayas in Bayanan, Mayabig, have encouraged dependency on "aids" and dole-outs rather than encouraging self-sufficiency among the villagers.[35]

[32] From the true copy of Republic Act No. 1888 (As amended by Republic Act No. 3852, 1973 Constitution, P.D. No. 193), p. 1.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[34] This is one Buhid settlement located in Batangan, Bongabon. Development work among the Hanunoo was initiated by Fr. Antoon Postma and recently supplemented by independent projects undertaken by the Mangyan Integrated Development Program and the Elizalde group, PANAMIN. Welfare work among the northern groups has been very minimal — only those living in the foothills have received occasional help from the SWA and Catholic and Protestant missionary groups.

[35] The SWA's welfare project in Bayanan, Mayabig is sporadic in nature — no long-range projects has been instituted and the continuance of the work relies heavily on the commitment of the individual social

As defined by law, the CNI was to serve as the government's arms for national integration. While this concept acquired greater prominence in recent years, its operations have been confined mainly to the 'majority group' among the minorities. The Muslims, being large in number and constituting a political force, have received considerable attention from the government. On account perhaps of their generally passive and withdrawing character, the Mangyans have never been accorded the same or even remotely similar assistance and support. To make matters worse, the government agents sent to work among the Mangyans, in a number of instances, have been the source of fraud and treachery themselves. The first CNI representative to the Mangyans (a Kalinga man and thus a member of a cultural community himself) did not only swindle hundreds of Mangyans of their small earnings, but likewise illegally had reservation lands surveyed and sold to lowlanders.[36] It was only with the concerted action of Mangyans and missionaries that this man was relieved of his post. In other cases, municipal officials themselves take advantage of the Mangyan's ignorance in the ways of lowland culture by over-charging them in the payment of their taxes and other governmental fees.[37] All this is quite discouraging to the Mangyans who are eager to do everything, even pay taxes and file all sorts of bureaucratic forms, just to secure titles for their lands before avaricious lowlanders take over them.

Though the present government policy theoretically provides for opportunity and freedom for the Mangyans and other minority groups to preserve their cultural identity, the onslaughts of lowland pressures and the undirected (and, sometimes, misdirected) introduction of changes have led some Mangyans groups into social dysphoria. Unless the government takes a more active part in meaningful projects for these people, the continuous influx of lowlanders and their modernizing influences may soon bring an end to a culture which is of immense importance to our understanding of our history as a people.

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worker assigned in the area. Several attempts were made to introduce cottage industries but this did not last long as the Irayas were more concerned with their *kaingin* which provide them a sure source of food.

[36] Cf. Caroline Stickley, *op. cit.*, p. 193. Interviews were also made both with OMF missionaries, and Mangyans who were involved in this case.

[37] In Pinamalayan and Batangan, Bongabon, some Mangyans were made to pay as high as ₱150.00 for their income taxes. Considering the meager income the Mangyans make out of their 'kaingins' the fee is really unreasonable.

WHERE THE RICH ARE TENANTS

ESTEBAN T. MAGANNON

I.

The prevalent theory regarding the origin of tenancy holds that tenancy is the consequence of a certain type of social structure characterized by rigid class stratification. Because of class and social stratification, wealth tends to concentrate in the hands of one social class or stratum. Those who are eventually dispossessed of land or wealth in this process of concentration become tenants. To earn their subsistence they have to hire out their labor power, the only wealth they still possess.

The prevalent theory on the origin of tenancy or peonage, therefore, asserts the priority of social structure over the development of the institution of tenancy or peonage. This writer asserts that, in Kalinga society, the reverse is true: class and social stratification are the results of tenancy or peonage. Social and class stratification arose because of the institution of tenancy which enabled some members of society to acquire more wealth than others, thus raising them to a higher position of prestige, and, later, political power and influence. In present-day Kalinga society, class and social stratification are very much correlated with the possession of quantities of rice, a number of gold bracelets and earrings, Chinese jar (gosi), Chinese porcelain plates, bowls, and beads, and the possession of animals, such as the carabao, the dog, chickens, cows, etc. In more concrete terms, therefore, this paper contends that class and social stratification in Kalinga society set in with the increased and more intensified cultivation of rice in the area.

There are no precise historical dates as to the time of the introduction of rice in the Kalinga area. But it is certain that it was, together with millet, taro, and sweet potato, first cultivated in mountain swiddens called *uma* and later in the terraced paddy or *payao*. In the absence of an economic history of the area, it can only be conjectured that economic development must have followed the following stages: prior to the use of mountain swiddens, agriculture

centered on the cultivation of rice, millet, taro, sweet potato and vegetables supplemented by hunting and food gathering since the cultivation of rice takes place only once a year, i.e., the dry season, dry-rice cultivation being dependent on sunshine unlike the wet-rice cultivation in terrace paddies, which depends on the availability of rain. Finally, comes the mode of agriculture of today: wet-rice cultivation in terraced paddies, supplemented by mountain swidden-agriculture and hunting, fishing and root-crop gathering.

It should be noted that, with the shift into wet-rice cultivation, the cultivation of millet has totally disappeared, especially in the southern regions of Kalinga, and that the cultivation of taro and sweet potato has likewise become minimal. Hunting and fishing have likewise become very minimal and secondary. During the period of mountain swidden-agriculture, a certain degree of class and social stratification began to emerge. This is because the more industrious people who clear a wider area of mountainside normally save an amount or quantity from their total harvest after their subsistence needs would have been met or satisfied. As such a saving of rice accumulated, it enabled people to engage in some sort or form of barter trade. Thus came the acquisition of precious metals, domestic animals, porcelain plates and bowls, gold earrings, etc. Heirloom-collecting became a part and form of valuable wealth since it is now realized that such property can be bartered for other commodities.

The accumulation of wealth does not introduce social and class differentiation in society; there are also increases in differentiation, and the widening of such differentiation because of the tendency of accumulated and agglutinated wealth and value to multiply and reproduce by itself in accordance with the law of monopolization. The social and class stratification started during the period of swidden-agriculture is intensified and becomes more formalized in the period of wet-rice cultivation in terraced paddies. This is because the building of terraces brought about the institutionalization of private property. In the previous period of mountain swidden-agriculture, the area cultivated with rice did not become permanently attached to the land cultivator because it was only cultivated for a short period of time. After the rice is harvested it is either abandoned or replanted but still consequently abandoned after the second planting.

The mountain swidden-agriculturist is still a nomadic, albeit semi-nomadic, individual. Therefore, he does not lay any claim on the land which he has cultivated as permanently his private property.

The land belongs to him as long as his rice is still unharvested but once his rice is harvested he does not have any more claim on the land. In short, he can only claim the fruits of the land insofar as he has worked it out and planted something on it. In the period of wet rice agriculture, however, the rice paddy constructed for the planting of rice becomes the permanent private property of the individual who builds it unless he decides to sell it to somebody else or gives it to a relative as an inheritance. What is important for present consideration is the fact that as rice began to be grown in rice paddies, as more and more rice paddies were constructed, and as rice became the sole crop and the only source of other forms of wealth, class and social stratification became more and more rigid and distinct, giving rise to a stratified social structure.

The monopoly of the greater number of rice paddies and the supplying of labor power by the most industrious members of society created a society where one segment was considered lower in class and social status because it possessed more wealth in terms of land, heirlooms, work animals, etc. In Kalinga society, this higher segment of society originally was composed of the most industrious members of society who had raised themselves above the others by cultivating and constructing the more number of rice paddies, who therefore produced more rice and made their labor power available for hire once they had finished with their own work. It is therefore the contention of this paper that in Kalinga society the origin of tenancy or peonage or the habit of hiring out one's labor power was not the result of an exploitative or oppressive social structure but rather, it was generous industry which enabled some people to produce more rice and with their accumulated savings were able to buy other things of value. Because of the self-reproduction of wealth, this people came to have more and more control over the possession of land which in this stage of economic development was the sole source of wealth and income. With this ever-increasing control of land and the concentration of wealth was created a class and social stratification which distinguished those who have more from those who had less. At first this distinction did not imply poverty exploitation on the part of those who had less because the population of the society was still small and therefore there was still enough land for everybody and thus everyone was economically well-off. But later, as population increased and as more land was cultivated there was no more land for those who had less to enable them to expand their source of in-

come. It was only at this point that the social structure began to drive those who eventually had no land to become perpetual hired laborers or tenants. Prior to this those who were more industrious and more acquisitive were the ones who hired their labor power for other forms of wealth and values. This paper will document this development in the economic history of the Kalinga with the case of the Lubo tribe of the Tanudan Valley.

II.

Rice is produced or cultivated, as already indicated, both in the mountain swidden and in the terraced paddies. Although the prevalent theory in so far as the Kalinga area is concerned as to stages of the cultivation of rice is that dry-rice or mountain swidden-agriculture precedes wet or paddy rice cultivation. This theory which is evolutionary in perspective, has not been tested. In the Tanudan Valley, the reverse order of development may have been equally true. There are evidences which seem to indicate that wet-rice agriculture was practiced first before dry-rice agriculture. Apparently what happened was that before the introduction of rice in the Tanpudan era, people had as their main crops for subsistence — millet, sweet potatoes, and taro. These were cultivated or grown in small plots of land on the flat tops of hills and on the valleys. This is certainly mountain swiddening but not the swiddening of rice. When rice was introduced into the area somewhere not too far away in time before the Spanish colonization of the Philippines, it was immediately planted in wet terraced paddies. And because the terracing of rice paddies proved to be more permanent in terms of subsistence sources and in terms of supporting bigger populations, it facilitated the formation of communities which are the merging of two or more kinship groups which are today called *ili* in the entire Kalinga province.

As population kept on increasing through rice production, the terraced paddies became inadequate to supply subsistence needs because the continuous use of the land without fertilizer depleted its productive capacities. Every new year the hervest is less than the preceding year. This seems to be true, especially today. To supplement rice production in the terraced paddies people have resorted to dry rice-swiddening, though it could also be that dry- and wet-rice cultivation have always gone hand in hand, the one acting as supplement to the other, depending on the peculiar conditions of the times. Today, for example, people who can subsist adequately on what they

rice production. Moreover, people who engage in dry-rice production have always been considered as doing it because they do not have enough terraced paddies to give them adequate rice for subsistence. Thus, the people who engage in *uma* building are normally the so-called *lawa* or *ḳapos,* the lower class. But this is not always the case. Today the so-called *babaḳnang* or *ḳaḳadangyan* also engage in dry-rice production and build swiddens which are much larger than the *uma* of the so-called *ḳapos* to increase their wealth of rice and to be able to buy other forms of wealth and valuables.

Rice is usually converted into money and with money they buy heirlooms or work animals which are very much valued by the Kalinga. Again from this standpoint, the hypothesis that the rich are the tenants in Kalinga society seems to be sustained. The rich are apparently the people who are willing to work for profit and gain even to the extent of having their labor power hired. This may be very surprising from the viewpoint of the Christian West where work is despised as the consequence of sin. But among the Kalinga, work is the only source of good and to be industrious is the greatest value because with labor one can acquire anything that he would like to acquire. Labor is, therefore, for the Kalinga the source and creator of all forms of value. It appears also to be the one which gave rise to the different forms of social structure.

Dry rice cultivation covers the months of March through November. It starts with the *torba*: around the end of February or beginning of March people start looking for suitable areas to clear for mountain swiddening. People in groups discuss and choose a particular area. Once the choice is made they set one day aside to hear omens. If the omens are auspicious they continue right away to the chosen place and mark off individual plots. From then on until the end of March, or perhaps the beginning of April, they clear the mountain side. They cut down trees, the underbrush, *layanas* and other things which need to be cut down and cleared. If the omens, however, are not auspicious, they either wait for another try the following day or abandon the site altogether. After the clearing, they let everything dry under the summer sun. By the beginning of May, or roughly after a month, the whole clearing is set afire. After the firing or burning, somes the clearing away of the cinders and other fire debris. Once this is done, the mountain swidden is almost ready for planting. But before it is planted, the whole clearring is fenced to prevent wild animals, once the rice has grown,

from coming in. But this fencing is done simultaneously with the clearing of the cinder and other fire debris. Immediately before planting is the weeding of young weeds which are just trying to sprout at the beginning of the summer rain. This work is called *logam,* the verb being *lomogam.* After the *logam* is done away with, planting occurs.

Planting is done by both men and women. The men bore holes with a wood stick slightly smaller in diameter than the wrist and sharpened at one end. It is called the *gadang. Gadang* means a throw. The men bore holes by throwing the sharpened end of this stick to the ground. It is relatively easy to bore holes on the ground because it is wet. Planting happens in the month of June, the start of the rainy season in the Tanudan Valley. The men bore the holes starting from the foot of the mountain side, called by the Kalinga the *sornad* of the *uma.* They go on climbing up the top of the mountain side up to where the boundary of the *uma* is, the *so'on.* Women follow with the unhusked rice grains, *elick,* throwing from four to six grains into each hole. This is commonly how the swidden is planted. However, some men or women may decide to do the planting alone. the same manner of planting is done except that the planting is done by one man. He bores the holes with the *gadang* with his right hand and fills the holes with *elick* which he carries on the left hand. Usually in this case the stick used for *gadang* is the *beniyan.* The *beniyan* is actually a bamboo tube about four to five feet long. It is indeed a *gadang* except that the sharp end is made of carabao or cow horn. Since the horn-points are very strong there is no need to sharpen the *beniyan.*

The rice grains planted in the *uma* are well selected. They are selected from the previous harvest specifically for this purpose. Therefore they are stored in the safest place of the rice granary. This is either the middle part or base of the *ponpon.* In storing the rice, bundled rice the size of the wrist are grouped in bunches of six called *iting.* The *itings* are piled on top of one another, either in rectangular or round shapes. This kind of piling arrangement is called the *ponpon.* The base and middle of the *ponpon* are the least susceptible to attacks by rats. The *palay* or rice grains set aside for the purpose of planting rice seedlings are placed in these parts of the *ponpon.* These rice grains used as *uma* seedlings are removed from the rice stalks by trampling on them with the two feet. This manner of dislodging the grains from the stalks is called *elick,* the

verb being *manelick*. This is why the grain which is planted in the *uma* is called *elick*. After planting, work in the mountain swidden temporarily stops until about the middle of August. By the middle of August, the people begin weeding. By the time people are through with this weeding, the rice grains are almost ready for harvest. They have ripened and matured. Harvesting the ripe grains occupies the people for almost a month and by the beginning of November, harvesting, hauling of the harvest, and storing them in the granary are all over. Thus, dry-rice cultivation takes about five months.

The cultivation of wet-rice or paddy rice, in contrast with the cultivation of dry-rice, occurs twice a year because of its dependence on rain rather than on sunshine. Like the rest of the country, Mountain Province and the Tanudan Valley in particular has two seasons, the wet and the dry. The first cultivation of rice in the paddy fields occurs during the dry season. It starts with the ploughing of the paddy fields with the use of carabaos which are pulled around and around the paddy to trample the rice stalks and other kinds of weeds to the base of the rice paddy. These trodden stalks and weeds become the fertilizer for the newly planted rice. Once the ploughing is over, the paddy dikes, the *banong* and the *ngasngas* are weeded and cleaned. With this finished, the *baybay* comes next. In the *baybay,* men and women, either alone or in groups, cover once again the paddy field in the same way that it has been ploughed by the carabaos. They trample underfoot the fine dirt which are still visible on the surface of the paddy field. Sometimes they may have to remove sand which may have intruded into the paddy field either by washed out dikes or overflowing of the irrigation system. Once the *baybay* is over, then planting may start. Planting is started by the so-called *mantotomong,* the medium who is designated by the community to start the planting. There are a number of *mantotomong* in any given Kalinga community but usually the one who by experience has always started the planting with the most bountiful harvest is naturally always designated to start the planting as long as he or she is alive.

Ploughing, cleaning, repairing of irrigation dikes, etc. for the dry season rice in the paddy fields take place on the months of December and January. By the beginning of January, the *tampik* of the moon — the time when at dawn the moon is right above the Tanudan river — the rice grains which will give the seedlings for

the coming planting are planted in an enclosed portion of one of every family's rice paddies. By the beginning of February, the seedlings, called *panar,* have grown about four to five inches long. They are sufficiently mature and strong to be transplanted in the paddy fields. Planting then occurs the whole month of February and perhaps the first week of March. After planting, work in the rice paddy temporarily stops until about the month of April and the beginning of May when women go and weed the fields. Weeding is called *sagamsam.* By the time the *sagamsam* is over, the rice grains are just about ready for the harvest. The whole month of June is spent by the Kalinga in the harvesting, hauling, drying and storing of his rice. Thus, the first cycle of rice cultivation in the terraced paddies is over. This cycle covers approximately six months. The rice planted for this season of the year is called *oyac.* This variety of rice has proved to be the most suited to the season. This period is sometimes referred to by the Kalinga as the season of the *oyac.*

The second planting in the rice paddies occurs by the middle of August. The ploughing, cleaning of dikes and over-all preparatory work which is the same as the previous cycle are all done in July and the earlier part of August. The rice seedlings used for planting are grown not in the rice paddy but in a small plot of land cleared in the nearby hilsides. Weeding of the new rice occurs in the month of October. November is usually harvest time. By December, all work in the rice paddies for the rainy season is over; the people rest for a while before starting the work for the *oyac* rice once more. The rice variety planted during the rainy season is called *onoy.* This part of the year is sometimes called the *onoy* season. This is in summary the yearly cycle for the production of rice.

III.

In dry-rice agriculture the instruments of production are fairly simple. Only a few simple tools are needed; the axe, bolo, digger (*saro'an*), the *landoḳ*, and perhaps some hardwood. These are the instruments for the clearing and cleaning of the mountain side. Fire is of course the most important tool for clearing. After the burning, the most crucial instruments are the bolo, *landoḳ,* the digger and some hard wooden sticks. These instruments are for the clearing of roots obstructing the fertile surface of the soil, weeds and other undergrowth. For the planting of the *uma* rice, the important instruments are the *gadang*, the *beniyan*, and the baskets and bowls where

the *elick* is carried. For harvesting the instruments used are the *gipan* or the *lokom* (knives) and the baskets for hauling the harvest. For men this basket is called the *gimata*, though there is also a *gimata* without the baskets, just the balancing pole. The basket women use for transporting the harvested grains is called the *batawil,* if it is very big, or the *damos* if of ordinary size. In all forms of harvesting, the *danog,* the tying string used to keep the *botok* together, is used. The *danog* is made from the wild bamboo, called *a-nos.*

In constructing a rice paddy, the builder first calculates the width of the terrace. Once this is more or less calculated, on gradient ground, he starts digging at the point of the gradient which would stand at midpoint of the calculated width. The reason for this is a very simple geometrical principle. The dug-up soil would be enough to fill in the empty space between the proposed *banong* and the midpoint or half of the gradient. Once the *buka* is all dug up, the next problem is to see to it that the floor of the paddy is level in all parts. Water is sent to the newly finished paddy until the whole field is filled up. The water level will indicate the places which are deep and the places which are high. These places are accordingly measured with a stick by taking note of the water level. The high places are leveled off and the soil taken off used to fill in the pockets of deep holes or lower places. After the water shows that the floor of the paddy is more or less level, then the top block soil is spread out all over the field, the field is ploughed with the use of carabaos which trample on the soil to soften and ready it for the first planting. The floor of the field must be even to facilitate the flow and distribution of water coming from the irrigation duct. This is especially important to note in consideration of the pattern of terracing: the fields are built on top of one another following the inclination of the hill or mountain gradient. This means that, since the irrigation stops at the first paddy field on top, the rice fields in between the topmost and the lowest in the *dapat* serve as the conduit for the water. If the rice paddies are not level, it would be very difficult for the water to flow over the *dapat.*

The unfinished terraced paddy or one that is in the process of construction is called a *buka.* A *buka* is located in a place where an irrigation canal can easily be constructed or where there is already one in existence. It is always built where there is sufficient water supply since water is the essential requirement for paddy building. Moreover, the *buka* must be built on a flat ground or on a moun-

tain or hill side whose slope is not too steep. In almost all cases, however, in the Tanudan Valley, the rice paddies have been built on the sides of the mountains along the banks of the Tanudan River or along the sides of its big tributaries. On flat ground it is relatively easy to build a rice terrace because all one has to do is to set the boundary dikes, called *banong,* and dig up the soil to about six feet deep. Before digging up, however, the black soil on the surface is first collected and put aside in some places. This is later on returned and spread out equally all over the surface of the terraced paddy.

This fertile surface soil forms the soft mud on which the rice seedlings are planted. It forms, so to speak, the fertile incubator which nurses the rice planted on the rice fields. If the rice paddy is built on a hillside gradient, it is always assumed that the irrigation water comes from above. In the building of the rice paddies, the rice paddy on top of the gradient is the first one which is built. The reasons for this are, first, it is easy to dispose of the dug-up earth on the lower gradient, and second, it is much easier to calculate the size of the next paddy. This is important since the boundary separating the lower and the upper paddy must be of a height which would not give way in case of water overflow or earthquake. The pressure from the one on top should not cause it to collapse. The expansion of the width of the rice paddy is determined by how much space the dug-up earth can fill up.

The instruments used for the building or construction of a terraced paddy are the following: a string for measuring the length, width and height; spade; digger (*saroan*), *balita* to lever and root out big stones and rocks; *balloko* (a square-shaped basket made of either bamboo or rattan strips about a foot in diameter) to haul the dug-up earth to the edge of the terraced paddy; *arorod* (a wheeled cart) used to haul the dug-up earth or stones to the paddy; *parok,* sharp wooden markers to mark off the paddy field; *pasok* (used to crack or support cracked stones); and blasting caps (*bongbong*).

VI.

Group work and cooperation have always been the rules in Kalinga society. This is no less true in the Tanudan Valley. Based on contemporary evidence, hunting and food-gathering, as well as fishing, have always been group activities. This is perhaps more true in the earlier economic history of the people in the area. For exam-

ple, in hunting there is what they call the *anop*. In the *anop,* an individual or a group sets out for the forest to hunt with dogs. The dogs are used to run after the wild boar or the deer. Hence, there is not only cooperation between men but also cooperation between man and his domestic animals. The dogs try to fight the deer or boar or they simply chase it. Once the wild animal is cornered by the dogs the hunters kill or catch it. The meat of the animal is then divided equally among the hunters with the head going to the one who led the hunting party or the member who will need it for giving a *pango*. If only one man went to hunt, he divides one-half of the animal among the dogs, which actually means that the meat is the share of the owners of the dogs.

In fishing, there is what is called the *sopnak*. In the *sopnak* a big group composed of old men, young men and small boys together go down the river and fish. The *asar,* a kind of basket, is strategically placed in a portion of the river where the water and the stones limit the passage of the fishes. Then it is bounded on both sides by green leaves, usually the leaves of the coconut or the banana tree, or any other tree whose leaves are very green. These leaves are used to block the spaces where the fish can escape. Once all the possible exits are blocked, all the members of the *sopnak* party start driving the fish towards the *asar*. The *sopnak* usually takes place in the afternoon, but it can also be done in the morning, during summer when the tide is very low. The catch is divided equally among those who participated in the *sopnak*. The older men take turns in placing the *asar* but if there is one who is reputed as a good *man-toto'on* he does the work of *to'on*. The young men and small boys take care of carrying the leaves which are used to block the path of the fish. Everybody helps in driving the fish towards the *asar*. This driving of the fish is called *abor*. The leaves used for blocking the fish exits are called *saboy*. There are other types or forms of fishing which are done by an individual and the catch becomes the individual's alone. But the Kalinga is a very generous person. He may share his catch with women, especially old women whom he may encounter on the way. He is especially generous if he has a good catch.

The priority of cooperative spirit over the spirit of individualism follows logically from the fact that the Kalinga group was originally a kinship system. The first hunting and food-gathering groups were therefore very closely related individuals. At this stage in the eco-

nomic development of the Kalinga, it would be difficult to think of individuals coalescing together especially in the situation of the jungle where people tend to be more suspicious of their neighbors.

During the period of the introduction of dry-rice agriculture, when the production of rice had become more intensified, more formal structures of cooperative work groups must have started to develop. Originally, each family, or, in the wider context of social organization, the kinship system or clan, must have cooperated and worked together to hasten and facilitate work in the swidden. At this point, each member in the cooperative work group, since everyone belonged to the same family or clan, did not receive any renumeration for his or her work. The labor of each member must have been considered his or her contribution for the subsistence and upkeep of the family or clan. All help rendered to the group must have been free and voluntary and done in the name of brotherly love. Moreover, since the land cultivated and the population were still very small and the blood ties still close, there could not have been any reason for giving extra compensation. These factors would not have allowed the development of wage or hired labor. Wages developed only in the period of wet rice agriculture or cultivation when wage or hired labor began to be practiced. Population multiplied not only through the growth of the number of the original inhabitants but also through the influx of migrant populations. The bond of kinship has also weakened, inasmuch as some individuals have become far distant in the vertical genealogical line. The quantity of land being cultivated has also increased tremendously. Therefore, the principle of brothers and sisters helping one another could not be operative between those who are already considered outside the family or kinship group, although it is still true that they all belong to the same territorial boundary. At the same time the increased number of rice paddies and the more intensified concentration of land ownership to a limited few required the hiring of labor power. Those who have much land to cultivate and who could not do all the work had to look for wage laborers to fill in the labor gap which they needed very much to maintain their level of production as *babaknan.*

While those who had land had a labor shortage problem, those who had less land had the problem of having too much time in their hands. On the other hand, because of the multiplied population, a scarcity of subsistence resources set in. To make up for these inadequacies on their part, they had to sell their labor power. Thus, an

incipient tenancy system, though of seasonal or temporary duration started to emerge. Tenancy as known among the lowland populations of the Philippines never developed in the Kalinga area because the basic subsistence nature of the economy has never changed.

The sources of extra-power are primarily the kinship group and the different forms of cooperative work groups and a form of slavery or peonage, i.e., the *poyong* system. As already indicated above, the family or the kinship group used to be a close knit work group in the period of mountain-swidden agriculture. This closeness is carried over to the period of wet-rice cultivation. And the kinship group constituted basically the first *pango* work group. The *pango* work group is an aggrupation of individuals, often close kins, though it may be composed of individuals coming from different families or even different barrios who come to help in the finishing of a harvest, planting, roofing, etc. of a relative or neighbor who is in need of help or who is behind in his work. This group which helps is not compensated but are fed by the person who needs help. The *pango* at the maximum lasts for a day because of the nature of the work to be done. It occurs usually in the final phase in the case of planting and harvesting, and requires only half or a whole day's work in the case, for example, of the hauling of lumber from the mountain forests, or the roofing of a house or granary.

The cooperative spirit working in this kind of cooperation is actually the normal *bayanihan* common all over the Philippines and in the countries of Southeast Asia. The benefits of the help rendered in the *pango* are enjoyed by all the members of the community or *ili*. Anybody who has some work to be done can always expect that people will come to help if he so desires. In this sense the *pango* is a reciprocal process although the members of the *pango* may not benefit immediately from the help which they render to another. In the case of a *pango,* the one who is being helped may decide to butcher a pig for those who came to help him or at least a couple of chickens. This is normally the case, or it may be that he had gone to hunt for wild pigs or deer before he undertook his work precisely to call a *pango,* especially if the work involved is quite a big job as in the case of putting up the foundations of a house or transferring a granary to another place. In the olden days people usually requested the rich people to *pango* their work just so the poor people could have a chance to taste coconut which was very new at the time. The coconut is cooked mixed with chicken. This recipe is called *binaranao.* If many people

come to help usually the person who is being helped is forced by his own conscience to butcher a pig for the people who come to help him in his work. He has to butcher one out of *bi'in,* they say. The fact that many people come to help out of their own volition is an indication of their respect and goodwill towards one's person. This is the reason for the feeling of *bi'in* on the part of the person who is being helped. *Bi'in* translated into English is roughly, the word self-respect.

The other forms of cooperative work are the *ab'ab'boyog* and the *ḳil'lo'ong* or *Kil'ḳil'lo'ong.* Both are forms of reciprocal help. The difference between them is that the *ḳil'lo'ong* is always a group of at least more than two members who have agreed to form such a group. The *ḳil-lo'ong* group becomes operative during the seasons of harvest and planting. They rotate helping each member of the *ḳil'lo-'ong* until the last of the group is helped, then the next rotation starts. It goes on and on until the harvest is finished. The *ab'ab'boyog* in a sense is more personal. All that one does is to go and help in the planting or harvest of another and then when he harvests his help will be equally reciprocated. The *ab'ab'bolog* is again more common during the harvesting and planting seasons. This is especially true for the planting of the *uma.* The *uma* needs to be planted for one whole day. It cannot be done in two or several days. So, if a person has a wide *uma,* before he contemplates planting, he and the other members of his family go and help in the planting of others or *umaboyo.* When he finally plants, the people whom they helped will now come to reciprocate the help. So, his planters or harvesters will consist of his *ab'boyog* and those who came to *umaboyog.*

The other source of extra or additional labor power are the *po-yong.* The *poyong* are of two kinds. There are the *poyong* who have no property of their own. They are totally dependent on their master. Because of their total dependence on their master, the mas-ter exercises all kinds of domination over them. As a matter of fact they are indeed part of his property. He can do whatever he likes with them. He could even sell them or kill them as Gobyaon did with his *poyong* Agguin and her family. How did these people come to be *poyong*? The rich people forced them into slavery by con-fiscating their property and intimidating them. Most of those who became *poyong* came from the poorer classes. Because they were not powerful enough to defend their rights and their persons, they were forced into slavery by the more powerful because these were in need

of additional labor power. Other *poyong* were people captured from enemy tribes. Because they were captives the conquerors subjected them to slavery. This happened when heterogenous populations came into contact with one another looking for land. The more numerous tended to dominate the less numerous. The other kind of *poyong* is the *poyong wey tagabi*. The *poyong wey tagabi* are not totally dependent. They own property but they join another family as *poyong* for purposes of protection. They cannot afford to defend themselves from their enemies. So that they can work and live in peace, they offer themselves as *poyong* to a family or kinship group which is strong for protection. Security appears to be the sole reason why they accept to become *poyong* of another family or kinship group. To a certain extent therefore their becoming *poyong* is voluntary. They render services to the family or clan which accept them as *poyong* in return for the protection which they receive from that family. They may live in the same house or more usually they live near the house of the master. They can marry freely except that the new families join the master in his locus of residence. Their children inherit whatever property their parents possess. Their property does not go to the descendants of the master. But if they decide to remain the *poyong* of the descendants of the original master they also help in the work of the descendants of the original master. They cease to be *poyong* when they extricate themselves from the protection of the family to whom they have submitted themselves for security. The classical example of this type of peonage in the barrio of Lubo are the people from Bawak who submitted themselves to Wanawan, one of the more prominent *baknang* of Lubo as *poyong* or ward. Every planting and harvesting time, Wanawan would go and get them from their village so that they can help him in his work in the rice paddies. They later became the *podon* of Wanawan when they no longer needed the protection of Wanawan's family.

An individual or individuals may also become *poyong* because of debt or laziness. There are individuals for example in the village of Lubo who were formerly rich people but because they gambled they lost their property — land and heirlooms. Because they became *lawa* or poor, they decided to sell their labor power for basic subsistence. Some became pure and simple slaves, especially those who lost all their property and others who had little left became *poyong wey tagabi* because they just added whatever little remained of

their property to the wealth of a rich family and therefore joined the richer family for more stable subsistence. Although they do not need protection, they became *poyong wey tagabi* because they exchanged their labor power for the additional subsistence provided for them by the richer famly. Others who were simply lazy to work in their own fields became *poyong wey tagabi* just so their field could be worked properly. They could have become landowners hiring labor to work their fields but what happened is that because of their laziness, they sold all their property or most of their property and thereby became economically deprived. Whatever is left, they offered to more industrious families or families willing to work their property for them. In return for the acquisition of such additional property the family who accepts them as wards or *poyong* promise to give them basic sustenance provided that they give them the lease of their property and that they help in the working of such properties especially in the rice paddies. There are numerous examples of this type of *poyong* in the village of Lubo.

V.

Thus, because of these processes of economic ascendency and deprivation, class and social stratification came to exist in the village society of Lubo and the other Kalinga villages. Population came to be stratified into two main divisions: the *baknang* class and the *lawa* classes. The *baknang* class, the possessor of real estate wealth, heirlooms, work animals and the key social values accepted by society, is substratified into three categories: first, the *kammaranan* who are described by the Kalingas as possessing everything. These people really do not possess everything as they allege. What they mean really is that the person possess one or more of the following items of wealth — *tapak* (celadon plates), *gosi* (porcelain jars), *gangsa* (brass gongs or silver and gold admixture gongs), *binaraddan* (gold bracelet), *payao* (rice fields), carabaos (water buffalos) and other minor items of wealth like pigs, chickens, etc. Before cattle was nonexistent. Now cows may also be counted among the wealth of a *baknang*. A rich person is a *kammaranan* because he possesses a *binaraddan*, the highest valuable item of heirloom which a Kalinga can afford to buy. He is *kammaranan* precisely because he has other items of wealth to buy with it. It is an index of his economic potential. This type of *baknang* is also called an *angammarot*. The next category of *baknang* is the *kadangyan*. The *kadangyan* pos-

sesses the other items mentioned previously except that he does not own a *binaraddan.* The last category of *baknang* is the *alla'atan.* The *alla'atan* possesses *tapak, bongor* (chinese beads), *gangsa, payao, lowang,* and the other items which make for a *baknang* but they possess no *gosi* and *binaraddan.* In short the alla'atan is somebody or family which is just starting to rise.

The "lower" class is composed of those individuals who possess a meager number of ricefields, say two to three *banong* of rice paddies. They are self-sufficient insofar as basic subsistence and existence is concerned. They are not starved. They do not possess heirlooms and if they do, it is very little in quantity and the items are not really of much value. These mass of people are called *lawa.* Below the mass of common or poorer people in a Kalinga village are those who possess no property whatsoever. This class is composed of the slaves, serfs or the *poyong* as mentioned above. This segment of the village population is called the *kotlanga.* They work in other people's fields especially the rich for their subsistence and their existence. They are indeed the poorest of the poor, the downtrodden of the society.

RAPID SOCIAL CHANGE AMONG IGOROT MINERS

WILLIAM HENRY SCOTT

During the summer of 1962, the author conducted a series of interviews as part of a study of rapid social change among Philippine Episcopalians under the direction of the Rev. Dr. Joseph G. Moore, then Director of the Episcopal Church's Unit of Research in Evanston, Illinois. Thirty male Igorots employed in the gold mines in the Baguio area of the Mountain Province—now Benguet Province—were interviewed, and thirty of their same age groups, nativity and education living in their home barrios. The reports of these interviews were duly forwarded to the Unit for analysis and interpretation, but the present article is based on a talk given at the Seminar on Development of the Baguio Mining Community on May 9, 1964 sponsored by the Baguio Cooperative Mining Ministry. A shorter version, abridged by the Editor of *Church and Community,* appeared in that journal, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Jan.-Feb. 1967), pp. 22-27.

Three aspects of local culture proved a minor handicap in eliciting accurate information, both in the mines and in the barrios. In the first place, there was strong reluctance to acknowledge wealth in any form or to discuss financial matters. Then there was a concept of being the victim of one's environment so that attempts to examine relations with "the Company" or "the Mission" critically were considered perplexing, eccentric or impertinent. And finally, interrogation was seen as a kind of personal contest rather than a means for eliciting information and attempts to pursue an argument to a logical conclusion frequently roused resentment.

Workers were interviewed at Antamok Tram, Antamok, Acupan and Balatok, all of whom were employed by the same company, and at Baguio Gold, where working conditions and wages differed slightly. At the time, all the mines provided bunkhouses for their men and their families — two or three-story barracks-like buildings with porches on front and back, each individual quarters being a strip approximately 10 x 20 feet from one porch to the other, usually divided into two or

three makeshift rooms by the occupants. Large public toilets and washrooms of concrete were provided in separate buildings, and a few bunkhouses had running water in the individual quarters. Electricity was provided in all. The large mines had hospitals and medical care, elementary school education, and such recreational facilities as a library, movie theater, billiard hall, and basketball courts. All merchandising was done in regulated licensed concessions and alcoholic beverages were strictly forbidden but readily available.

The mines also had areas where they permitted employees to build their own shacks outside the fenced-in mining area itself. In some of these squatter settlements, water pipes, public toilets and electricity were available. Reasons given for preference for living outside the bunkhouses were freedom from such restrictions as those against raising pigs and chickens, inspection of goods being brought in or out, interference by police with rowdy conduct and noisy drinking, and the police right to inspect bunkhouses for stolen property, contraband goods, or homemade smelters. Despite the comparative cleanliness and solid construction of the bunkhouses and the wretched appearance of the flattened-tincan shacks of the squatters, overall living space and luxury did not vary greatly. With one exception, every dwelling observed in the mines was distinguished from the typical barrio house in having some sort of bed and warm blankets of commercial manufacture.

Ten farmers were interviewed in Besao, most of them illiterate and all of them fairly representative of their age groups in a modern Mountain Province town on the national highway, with public and private elementary schools, a mission-supported church, and a local rural health unit. Seven men were interviewed in Sagada of widely varying backgrounds, Sagada being a comparatively prosperous community with an atypically high percentage of literate and cash-earning citizens. Three men were interviewed in Mainit and one in Guinaang (Bontoc), all illiterate practicing pagans in communities as conservative as any in the province. Three men were interviewed in Masla and Lubong, both towns being accessible by bus and the latter being comparatively prosperous and progressive. Six men were interviewed in Agawa, Balili, Data and Taccong, all isolated settlements off the highway, in most of which it was impossible to find the exact opposite numbers of the miners interviewed in cases of higher education. (Men who have gone to high school are expected

to find paying jobs elsewhere rather than returning to their old farming communities.)

It should be noted that since no college graduates were encountered in the mines, the relatively important class of village school teachers is not represented in the survey.

All these men in the barrios lived within walking distance of an elementary school, and a shorter distance from public water pipes (or, in the case of Guinaang and Mainit, natural springs). With few exceptions, they all used pit toilets or pigpens; all were engaged in farming or had land being farmed; all raised pigs and chickens for their own consumption, and few were dependent upon purchased food. Their diet included the same items as the miners'—rice when they could afford it and camotes when they couldn't, supplemented by vegetables, salt, lard, canned goods, sugar, tea, coffee and milk depending on their income, and in that general order or preference. Eight men who were over 35 and had less than a fourth-grade education were wearing G-strings. With only two exceptions, all men found their only recreation in conversations with other men, often accompanied by light drinking, and usually in the *dap-ay,* the community male "clubhouse" platforms.

The traditional native houses in the barrio were one-room windowless structures with a thatched roof and no chimney, heated by a pine fire in an open hearth. The more expensive and impressive modern houses were characterized by a roof of galvanized iron and a separate kitchen so that the living space was cleaner and colder. (People "progressive" enough to own a G.I. house expected to keep warm by wearing additional clothing.) Additional features of G.I. houses, in ascending order of affluence, were windows, additional rooms, one bed and one table, glass in the windows, doors between rooms, window curtains, furniture (tables, chairs, wardrobes, cabinets), and a second story. Kerosene was used for cooking only by people with a steady cash income not living in their home towns.

Cooperative agricultural work in all of these communities was traditionally associated with public pagan sacrifices and few farmers found it possible to exist in isolation from the system. At least half the men interviewed performed pagan sacrifices themselves, and ten others participated passively by contributions—e.g., a vestryman of a parish church who held the common view that pagans and Christians

should mutually support one another's civic enterprises for the common weal.

With the exception of a few storekeepers or municipal employees, people in the barrios rarely saw cash, their only access to which being seasonal agricultural labor for those wage-earners who did not work their own fields, and from this meager source they purchased such things as matches and salt or pencils and notebooks for their children. The most frequently expressed concern in this line was for the school expenses of high school age children or the truly staggering sums involved in sending a child to college in Baguio or Manila.

Igorots in the mines, on the other hand, lived on a strict money economy—none of those interviewed subsisted off rice brought from their home barrios even where available, and every mouthful they ate was purchased in cash. Wages were difficult to establish because of the reluctance of miners to admit their affluence: almost all readily named the going minimum daily wage of ₱3.99 or the few centavos deducted for social insurances, but vigorously belittled the possibility of additional bonus from "making their contract," that is, by meeting a certain quota in cubic content excavated, in proportion to which they were paid more than the minimum. The fact that mine regulations called for the dismissal of workers who repeatedly fail to make these quotas, however, indicates that such pay was not an oddity but the norm, and a local superintendent confidentially stated that eight or ten pesos a day was probably average with twenty by no means rare. Many mining families supplemented this income by other means—weaving cotton cloth, bringing in vegetables or operating stores, running kitchen smelters, dealing in lucrative contraband, lending money at high rates of interest, or "high-grading." ("High-grading" is stealing ore of such high grade as to make a quantity small enough to be secreted on the person worth the risk.)

It was noteworthy that household furnishings conspicuously implying increased living standards—wall clocks, tablecloths, proper dish storage, reading material, etc.—were not observed as a distinction between people in the mines and those in the barrios; rather they were found in both environments but only in the homes of those who had gone as far as high school. Indeed, some well-paid veteran miners lived with no more physical amenities than they had been used to at home.

Each person interviewed was asked to compare his present status with conditions ten years ago; did he think he was better off or worse off? Here again, reluctance to admit wealth moved the prosperous to answer so inaccurately that bystanders all snickered. One storekeeper, for instance, who had doubled his stock the year before and installed a flush toilet and electric generator, said he could see no improvement in his living standards. At the other extreme, however, in the barrios, the answers were unambiguous: farmers now had more mouths to feed on the same number of fields and therefore had fewer clothes and "never tasted good food" any more.

Conversations seeking to discover the comparative happiness of miners and farmers elicited no contrast whatever, for all expressed the same aspirations—the desire for material amelioration (especially in food), and the education of their children. This latter incentive was named by practically every miner as his reason for laboring in the mines. Some said, on the one hand, that they would be happy to have their children follow the mining profession but, on the other, that they wanted them to escape such drudgery—some expressed this in terms of wanting to give Fate the chance to determine whether their children could make the grade or not.

All men with any experience in the mines were agreed that the work was cruel, unhealthy and even dangerous. Many considered it normal or necessary to quit after a year or two to "rest up" at home for a similar period before returning to work, and many reported as a common expression that "Everytime you go underground you take your life in your hands." These grim facts, however, were accepted as inevitable, and little interest was expressed in the mild agitation of labor unions (which were headed almost completely by lowlanders) for better hours, wages, benefits or working conditions; instead, words like "luck" and "Fate" came easily to the lips of miners discussing their particular underground assignments. Many contrasted the miner's lot with the farmer's by saying that at least in the mines when your shift was over you could clean up and relax. But the most frequently mentioned advantages of life in the mines was the ready availability of cash to borrow when you needed it.

Travel seems not to have been a significant difference between men in the mines and those at home. Few miners had gone farther than the mines and a good number of men in the barrios had travelled

either to Tabuk or Baguio, or to the mines themselves. A few miners had visited the neighboring province of Pangasinan or the seashore with fellow miners from those places, and a select few had become miners only after considerable knocking about in the lowlands in their youth. All miners had gone home during their first few years and built a G.I. house, and some had remained there for the pagan period of taboo appertaining, but the infrequency of visits to the old home town was noteworthy and must represent a considerable factor in the changing society of which these men are a part. However, they almost unanimously retained strong emotional loyalty to their birthplace and expected to die and be buried there; one exception was a well-established police sergeant who had grown up in the mines and whose children had been born there.

Although the main recreation of men both in the mines and in the barrios was conversation, little interest or knowledge was shown in subjects beyond the immediate environment. A few men who were regular newspaper readers were enough aware of world events to suggest that "if America keeps talking tough, there'll be no need to fear Russia," but admitted that they had no companions with whom they could discuss such topics. (One reported that better-informed people like himself had noted with interest that President Kennedy's election had given America "its first non-Anglican president.") The usual topics of conversation in the barrio were the hardships of life and speculation on possible government aid, while in the mines it was the unpleasant working conditions or the injustices of overseers. When qualified voters were asked why they had voted for the candidate of their choice in the last national elections, the young said they voted as they were told, others said they blamed the rising prices on the last administration or that they had heard so much about its corruption, while still others had voted for the one they thought was going to win.

No significant difference was noticed in marital relations between the barrio and mining communities. Although direct inquiry was not possible about extra-marital intercourse or concubinage, against which there are strong sanctions in both traditional and modern society, in both environments there were cases of wives being replaced with an extra-legal straightforwardness not rare under a Civil Code which forbids divorce. The basic family household was the same in both—a couple with their unmarried children or occasional children

of siblings—but the extensive relatives who are an important part of the barrio environment were completely lacking in the mines. This was an immediate material advantage to the miner for, although ready help in non-monetary form was wanting, the steady income from wages need not be shared but could be invested privately or even secretly. Lively conversation was forthcoming every time the interviewer enquired about some miner known to be earning high wages but living frugally; speculations indicated that the purchase of land in Tabuk or the lowlands, or the construction and renting out of houses in Baguio, were favored areas for such surplus wealth. The ability of men to invest large sums of money without even their closest neighbors or companions discovering it was an impressive evidence of the impact of the new money economy upon the life of the Igorot.

But this same separation from such relatives and neighbors as exercised strong social controls on individual conduct has had a serious disrupting effect, too, one which was aggravated by two traditional characteristics of barrio life. The first of these is that, while parental obedience is required of young adults, children are rarely disciplined by their own parents, and the other is that mild social drinking is the normal adult male pasttime. Given this background and the new availability of cheap strong drink, it was probably not surprising to find mining families helplessly deploring the fact that their undisciplined children of all ages were more at home in the teeming streets than in the house. Not a few miners who were respected members of their communities and leaders in the local church habitually gave themselves over to drinking as soon as the rugged day shift was over, falling asleep at night from a state of semi-consciousness so that their children rarely saw Daddy really sober. Understandably, juvenile delinquency was both widespread and serious, with school-age truants more often a part of the household than not. It is an ironic fact, and the source of some disillusionment to the parents involved, that alhough all miners gave as their main incentive for working in the mines the desire to educate their children, few had seen all their teen-agers graduate from high school.

It is important to add, however, that where financial emancipation from the traditional restrictions of society was met with in the barrios, juvenile delinquency was also present, and although it never reached such extremes as attempted "thrill killings," the difference would seem to be one of degree rather than kind.

What had happened to the general outlook, the "world view," so to speak, of the Igorot who left his ancestral village and took up life in the mines? In the barrio way of life, for instance, a guaranteed reward for personal diligence was unknown and the good life was seen as the result of proper personal relations between the "have-nots" and the 'haves", which latter category includes deities and deceased relatives as well as powerful mortal members of the community. Did the miner's experience with regular wages for regular labor suggest a more mechanistic explanation of the universe to him? Evidently not. The miner saw the getting of jobs, promotions, disability benefits, X-rays and vacations as dependent upon magical slips of paper obtainable only by good personal relations with somebody in authority, and remembered with praise such American missionaries as knew how to "get along with people," by which they meant, not cordiality between pastor and flock, but the ability to manipulate such sources of bounty as a mine superintendent at whose whim a truckload of used lumber might be dumped down for the construction of a chapel.

As part of the same pattern in the old philosophy, individuals rarely bore personal responsibility for their behavior—it was a man's "nature" to be hot-headed or lazy; school children "have to" be naughty under certain temptations; even one's soul may impetuously wander off to hobnob with another soul and bring about illness or insanity. So, too, the mining community has given birth to an Igorot verb, *menbulakbol,* which nicely refocuses guilt from the individual to society at large: it stems from the term "blackball" which is applied to any miner caught stealing ore—he is blacklisted and can't get a job in any other mine—but it is used to mean hanging around pool halls or barber shops, or general deliberate vagrancy. As a teen-ager remarked, "If nobody gives me a scholarship, I won't go home and work the farm, I'll *menbulakbol.*"

Nor did there seem to have been any modification of that traditional equation of the desired with the desirable which makes "I do not like" a statement of reason rather than appetite. Miners discussing contracts of the Company's role in the community never spoke in terms of legality, justice or equity, but of the welfare of the employees involved. Miners might serve as well as their barrio counterparts, too, as examples of one of the tenets Dr. Frank Lynch, SJ, has analyzed as basic to a pan-Philippine metaphysic—"The good is limited." It was the concensus both in the mines and in the barrios that stealing

in particular and crime in general was the result of poverty, and that it was the Government's job to keep prices down to protect the common people because it was natural for the strong to take things away from the weak.

The interviews produced no information suggesting any change in miner's ethical views, either. High-grading, for instance, was considered so acceptable a practice ("A carpenter's allowed to take the chips home, isn't he?") that the interviewer wasn't even able to get the question across, "Are there any miners who think it's morally *wrong*?" People kept replying, "Sure, some are afraid they'll be caught." The vigorous reaction of the mining companies to high-grading was accepted as a justifiable part of the life-and-death struggle of a world of limited bounty rather than as being based on any intrinsic rightness or wrongness. An incident which was current at the time of the interviews may serve to demonstrate how loyally the mining community preserved the value judgments of the old "clan" culture. Sergeant Jaime Gateb of Posposaan [not true names] was one of five policemen searching miners going off duty when he discovered some stolen ore on a miner who had whispered too late, "You fool! I'm from Posposaan!" Following the miner's dismissal, others from Posposaan petitioned the company for Sergeant Gateb's dismissal, and the sergeant's brother, an influential foreman in a nearby mine, rushed down to smooth things out. As the brother explained it, "I told them Jaime couldn't help it—the other policemen would have reported him if he'd failed in his duty."

To this generally negative picture must be added a few positive examples of a changed or changing world view among members of the Igorot mining community. In discussions of factors involved in making one's contract (that is, earning the bonus for exceeding a day's minimum work), it was agreed that success depended upon the geologic location of one's assignment or his relationship with his foreman, but in private conversations miners would comment that people who worked steadily and paid attention to their business seemed to make higher wages—that is, miners who did their digging instead of wasting time looking around for high grade ore to steal.

Truly noteworthy was the miner's evident emancipation from his native xenophobia, for all seemed to be willing to work in two-man teams with a member of another ethnic group or province, requiring only that he be a hard worker. Experienced miners felt that no one

tribe was any lazier or more hard working than the next, nor did they distinguish between Igorots and lowlanders in this matter. Moreover, in marked contrast to the barrio attitude that the Mountain Provinces were the poorest part of the Philippines, miners attributed the predominance of Pangasinan natives in the mines to the poverty of non-landowners in that province—"After all, no matter how poor we are at home, we can always live on camotes, but poor lowlanders can't even get a bite to eat except from their landlord."

One of the main areas of investigation in the interviews was the relationship between these men and the Episcopal Church, and here participation did not appear to be significantly different between mining families and those at home. In both places, church attendance was predominantly female, although there were more young men regularly present in the mines than in the barrios. There were civil marriages in both places, but a larger proportion of pagan weddings in the barrios were not subsequently blessed by a Christian service. There were almost no unbaptized children in the mining community but there were a number in the barrios, as well as a larger number of men with unbaptized wives. In both places there were also a few "members" who had never been baptized at all, as well as some older illiterates who had not entered a church since the day they were carried in for baptism in their mothers' arms. The eagerness with which these nominal members were claimed by the Christian community in the mines, together with the attendance by young men, is probably indicative of a greater need for group identification there.

Attitudes toward other denominations did not vary between barrio and mine, but according to the presence or absence of other groups. Where the Roman Catholic Church rewarded its members with regular handouts, the comment was made that it seemed more like a business than a church, while in the barrios with pentecostal sects, informants stressed the need for broadmindedness toward other Christians. But it was the common concensus in both environments that (1) all churches are basically the same ("There's only one God, isn't there?"), (2) it's a sin to be baptized twice, and (3) everybody ought to remain loyal to the church into which he was baptized.

Everybody interviewed was asked what he thought was the Church's role in society, and here there was a marked difference between the opinions of Episcopalians in the mines and those in the barrios. With the exception of an ex-catechist who said that the

Church's job was to worship God, barrio folk were unanimous in their view that the Church's *raison d'etre* was to convert pagans, make peace between warring tribes, educate children, and assist the Government in ameliorating the physical plight of the people. The emphasis given material charities ranged from Sunday-school chairs to fully equipped and staffed clinics; a number of thoughtful farmers saw no reason why relief goods like cornmeal or milk powder should not continue indefinitely; at least one believed that priests could readily be replaced by school teachers; and most thought the idea of a barrio's supporting its own clergyman was impractical or even ridiculous.

In the mines, on the other hand, people recognized that government and Company agencies had taken over this older Church role, and castigated as childish such people as would change denominations for a sack of cornmeal or used clothing—although they did not doubt such tactics would bring nominal Anglicans back to the fold. More than one discussion group entertained the possibility of paying a clergyman's salary in cash or in kind, but not until there was more faithful attendance by the large majority of lax members in the mines. Like the barrio folk, the miners, too, were fairly unanimous in defining the Church's role—but they considered it to be the spiritual education and moral guidance of both children and adults since men are naturally greedy and given to crime.

All interviews were concluded with a request for specific suggestions as to how the life of the Church could be improved and how the Church could better serve the community. As was to be expected in the light of what has been said above, the barrio people recommended increased material aid—with the exception of one progressive community whose loyal members pointed to the large number of modern houses with G.I. roofs as evidence that the Church had already done a successful job. Igorot miners, however, limited such material requests to recreational facilities for children, and reflective laymen suggested that with the existing shortage of clergy, the responsibility for poorly attended services lay with the people rather than the priests. But everywhere the complaint was heard that the clergy were not "with the people" enough. In the barrios the priest's limiting his personal contact to the church, his office, and pastoral calling, instead of passing his leisure in the common village gathering places, was strongly criticized. In the mines it was frankly stated that the periodic administration of the Sacraments was good but not

good enough, and that laymen should be "authorized" to read and explain the Bible, and, significantly, miners tended to evaluate the possible residence in the community of a Filipino catechist higher than an English-speaking missionary as a means of ameliorating this condition.

Summary

Igorots in the Baguio gold mines live in more crowded conditions than in their home towns, but enjoy such physical amenities as electricity and community toilets and washrooms with running water, as well as minor medical attention and recreational facilities like basketball courts and movies. They live on a strict cash economy, and are able to invest their surplus earnings without sharing it with a large group of relatives, but suffer a higher rate of juvenile delinquency and adult alcoholism. Marital relations, church attendance, ethical outlook and personal morals, travel to other provinces, and disinterest in national politics and world events do not seem to differ significantly from those of Igorots in the barrios, with the exception of an awareness that Igorot economic conditions are no worse than other farmers' and an open-mindedness about Filipinos of other ethnic backgrounds. As far as attitudes toward the Episcopal Church are concerned, Igorots in the barrios see it more as a means of material amelioration than miners do, but both are agreed on its role as a means of moral uplift and the failure of its clergy, both Filipino and foreign, to identify with the people they serve.

JUAN PUSONG: THE FILIPINO TRICKSTER REVISITED[1]

DONN V. HART and HARRIETT E. HART

Introduction

One of the most popular characters in Filipino folklore, Juan Pusong (or Tamad), has been largely disregarded by Filipino folklorists and those interested in the oral literature of the Philippines. This article re-examines, and adds too, the extensive existing corpus concerning this mercurial figure. The basic data are 141 tales, some published, some from unpublished manuscript sources, and the rest collected in the field by the authors. Among the topics which this article discusses are Pusong's physical appearance, family background, social class and personality traits. Basic motifs of these tales are also examined, including Pusong's success in his contests with others and his means of achieving victory. The distribution of Pusong tales among different Filipino cultural linguistic groups is briefly surveyed. A comparison is made between Pusong and other folkloristic tricksters. Finally, new Pusong tales, gathered in rural and urban communities in Samar and Negros, are presented with commentary on their relationships to the entire corpus.

The Philippines: Background Sketch[2]

Three is a significant number for most Filipinos. It represents the three major geographical divisions of the archipelago as symbo-

[1] Research for this article was supported by the Fullbright Research Fellowships to the Philippines in 1955-56 and 1964-65. We wish to acknowledge the expert assistance of our junior colleagues in Boroñgan and Lalawigan, Miss Cecilia Viñas and Mr. Felipe Dala, and for Dumaguete and Caticugan, Miss Ramona Ragay, Dioscoro Ragay and Isidro L. Somosa, Jr. We are particularly indebted to Professor Timoteo Oracion, and other supportive faculty, of Silliman University. This manuscript has profited from critical readings by Morton Netzorg, M. Jamil Hanifi, and Cecil Brown.

[2] Donn V. Hart, "Christian Filipino Society Approaching the 21st Century," *Silliman Journal* 18 (1971) :21-55.

lized in the nation's flag — the northern island of Luzon, the central cluster of islands known collectively as the Bisayas, and the southern island of Mindanao and its appendage, the Sulu Archipelago. The population of the Philippines traditionally is divided into three broad categories. The largest group is composed of Christian Filipinos who occupy the lowlands of the nation and its cities. The second largest group, concentrated almost entirely in southern Mindanao and Sulu, is the Muslim Filipinos or Moros. The last group is the smallest, the hill or mountain people (primitives) who live mainly in the forested uplands of northern Luzon, Mindoro, Negros, Panay and Mindanao.

All Philippine languages are similar in phonetic and grammatical structure; they belong to the Austronesian linguistic family, with their closest affinity to Indonesian languages. There are approximately 75 main linguistic groups in the country. However, linguistic diversity should not obscure the fact that most Christian Filipinos will find their mother tongue on this list of eight — Ilokano, Tagalog, Pampango, Bikolano, Cebuano, Hiligaynon, and Samareño. English is still widely spoken in the country but today a slightly larger percentage of Filipinos speaks Filipino, the national language based on Tagalog.

Three, as a symbol of the Trinity, is of additional significance because most Filipinos are Catholics. This is their heritage of nearly 400 years of Spanish contact (1521-1898). Spain's greatest impact on the Philippines was to transform the archipelago into the only Christian nation in Asia. Although Filipinos were extensively Hispanized, the process of acculturation was not uni-directional. There was both the Hispanization of lowland Filipino culture and society and the Filippinization of diffused Spanish customs. This dual process is of utmost importance in understanding Philippine folklore.

As a result of a series of complex later events, with the end of the Spanish-American war, the Philippines became the United States' sole possession in Southeast Asia. In the four decades the United States governed the Philippines, Americans established a national public educational system based on instruction in English. Church and state were separate. Giant steps were taken to improve sanitation, expand medical facilities, and end epidemics. After the destruc-

tive Japanese occupation of the country during the Second World War and an equally ruinous liberation of the nation, the Philippines gained independence in 1946. In 1972, formal democracy's stormy history in the Philippines ended, at least temporarily, in a "benevolent" dictatorship by its president — after a hectic period of crises (both real and managed).

Research Areas

Bisayan Filipinos are the largest cultural-linguistic group in the Philippines. They live in the major islands separating Luzon and Mindanao — Panay, Negros, Cebu, Bohol, Leyte and Samar and on many smaller islands. Three major sub-groups of Bisayans are identified; each speaks a related but different language. Those who speak Cebuano reside mainly in Cebu, eastern Negros, Bohol, and western Leyte. Those who speak Ilongo or Hiligaynon are concentrated in Panay and Western Negros. The third group, who speak Samareño live in eastern Leyte and Samar. The northern part on Mindanao is occupied primarily by Cebuano-speaking Bisayans.

In 1955, the authors live in Borongan, a small town of about 5,000 people in eastern Samar. Harriett Hart spent full time collecting folklore in this town and the adjacent rural communities. Donn Hart did collecting in Barrio Lalawigan, a village of nearly 900 peasants about five miles south of Borongan. Elsewhere the authors have written about the corpus of more than 750 tales they collected in eastern Samar, including a detailed description of their field research techniques.[3]

In 1964, the authors returned to eastern Negros. In 1950, Donn Hart had begun research in Barrio Caticugan, a village of about 750 people 35 miles southwest of Dumaguete, the provincial capital of Negros Oriental province. During 1964, Donn Hart resided in Caticugan, while Harriett Hart collected folklore in Dumaguete and Siaton, a small town about two miles south of Caticugan. Previous pub-

[3] Donn V. Hart and Harriett E. Hart, "Collecting Folklore in Eastern Samar," *Silliman Journal* 3(1956):207-236. This article discusses the selection and training of our assistants in eastern Samar, introduction to the communities, location of informants, collection milieu, problems and interview and questionnaire schedules used with most informants.

lications have described various aspects of life in these communities (and those in Samar), including their folklore.[4]

In 1955, Borongan was a typical small Philippine town with a plaza bordered by an old stone Spanish church, the public hall, and a post-war private Catholic college. Although most residents of Borongan were Catholics, there was a small Protestant church in the town. Eastern Samar, then and now, is isolated from its western shores by a central mountain complex that is forested and largely uninhabited. Bus transportation provided minimal services to towns along the eastern coast and to nearby Leyte, to the west, ferrying the narrow strait between the two islands.

The residents of Lalawigan were all Catholics whose livelihood depended on fishing and rice agriculture. The main cash crop was Manila hemp (abaca). Residences were made of bamboo and palm thatch, raised several feet above the ground on poles. In each house was a family altar with saint figures, usually including the patron saint of the village. Community life centered around church affairs, the annual patron saint's fiesta, school programs, and the rituals and festivities associated with baptism, marriage, and death.

Dumaguete had a population of 35,000 in 1964. It consisted of several major streets of movie houses and stores — hardware, tailor, grocery, and general merchandizing. There were four hospitals and three private colleges and universities in the city. The major educational institution was (and is) Silliman University, founded by American Presbyterians in 1901. The local airport provided flights to nearby Cebu, to Manila, and to cities in Mindanao. The urban core of the city was surrounded by villages some of whose household members worked in the city while others cultivated nearby corn fields.

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[4] Donn V. Hart and Harriett E. Hart, "Sleuthing for *Susumatons* [Folktales]," *The National Police Gazette* (Manila) 4(1956) : 11-12,15; Donn V. Hart, "A Philippine Version of 'The Two Brothers and Dragon Slayer' Tales," *Western Folklore* 19 (1960) : 253-275; Donn V. Hart, *Riddles in Filipino Folklore: An Anthropological Analysis* (Syracuse, New York, 1964); Donn V. Hart and Harriett E. Hart, "Cinderella in the Eastern Bisayas: With a Summary of the Philippine Folktale," *Journal of American Folklore* 79(1966) : 307-337; Donn V. Hart and Harriett E. Hart, "Maka-andog: A Reconstructed Myth from Eastern Samar, Philippines," *The Anthropologist Looks at Myth*, eds. M. Jacobs and J. Greenway (Austin, Texas, 1966): 84-108; and Donn V. Hart, *Bisayan Filipino and Malayan Humoral Pathologies: Folk Medicine and Ethnohistory in Southeast Asia* (Ithaca, New York, 1969).

Siaton municipality is located on the southern tip of Negros. The municipal center, of the same name, was a small town of a few thousand people. The Catholic church dominated Siaton's plaza. Nearby were the public marketplace, a few stores, the elementary school, and a small Catholic college. There were several small Protestant groups in Siaton. In 1964, Siaton was about two hours by bus from Dumaguete.

Caticugan (with about 750 residents in 1964) was reached by wading the shallow Siaton river. The villagers were subsistence-agriculturalists; they primarily grew corn and some rice. Caticugan and Lalawigan did not have electricity or running water. The priest nearest to each barrio (village) was the one who resided in the nearby town. Both villages were peopled by single-class subsistence farmers or fishermen. No drastic social or technological innovations were found to have occurred in these communities during the past several decades. The people shared many characteristics: most still reside in whichever village they were born; mate selection was localized; and the means of living were precariously insecure.

Sources of Tales

It was these Bisayan communities, both rural and urban, that the 56 Pusong tales this article analyzes were collected, primarily by Harriet Hart. The tales were collected either by longhand or a tape recorder. Their translation into English was facilitated by personally trained research assistants who were local residents.

A second source of unpublished tales utilized in this article are Silliman student reports presented to Professor Timoteo Oracion for his introductory folklore course. Students gathered the tales in their home communities during vacation. They were presented in English. Since most Silliman students came from the Bisayas, their tales, with some exceptions, were collected in the vernacular of this region, including northern Mindanao. Two master's theses dealing with folklore were also examined.[5]

[5] Fe Java Dignadice, "A Critical Study of Folklore in the Western Visayas (Antique, Capiz, Iloilo, and Negros Occidental)" (Dumaguete, Philippines, 1955). M.A. thesis in English. Maria Caseñas Pajo, "Bohol Folklore" (Cebu City, Philippines, 1954). M.A. thesis in English.

A third source of tales was obtained from printed sources, including Dean Fansler, Gardner Fletcher, Mabel Cole, Berton Maxfield, W.H. Millington, H. Arlo Nimmo, Maria Coronel, and others.[6] Other tales, often taken from those sources and then rewritten, were found in books published primarily for use in the schools or for the general public.[7]

Finally, the published folklore of primitive groups in the Philippines was searched e.g., Bagobo, Bontoc, Ifugao, Tinguian, Nabaloa, Apayao, and Mangyan. With a single specific exception, no tales about Pusong were found in this quite large group of publications. On the other hand, tales about Pusong (and his prototype, Pilandok) appear to be popular among some Muslim Filipino groups.[8]

Since Pusong tales often are boldly erotic, or emphasize scatalogical themes, student reports and especially published sources intended for public school or popular consumption bowdlerized such tales. However, it is believed that most student reports do not suffer

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[6] Dean S. Fansler, *Filipino Popular Tales* (Hatboro, Penn., reprinted 1965); Harriott E. Fansler, *Types of Prose Narratives: A Textbook for the Story Writer* (Chicago, Illinois, 1916); Berton Maxfield and W. H. Millington, "Visayan Folktales," *Journal of American Folklore* 19 (1906): 97-112; H. Arlo Nimmo, "Pusong, Trickster of Sulu," *Western Folklore* 29(1970): 185-191; Herminia Q. Meñez, "Juan Tamad: A Philippines Folktale Hero," *Southern Folklore* 35 (1971) : 83-92; Maria Delia Coronel, *Stories and Legends from Filipino Folklore* (Manila, Philippines, 1968); Juan Francisco, "Themes in Philippine Folk Tales," *Asian Studies* 10(1972) : 6-17; Clara K. Bayliss, "Philippine Folk-Tales," *Journal of American Folklore* 21 (1908) : 46-53; and Lucette Ratcliffe, "Filipino Folktales," *Journal of American Folklore* 62(1949) : 298-308.

[7] Gaudencio Aquino and others, *Philippine Folktales* (Quezon City, Philippines, 1969); Gaudencio Aquino, *Philippine Legends* (Manila, 1972); Manuel Arguilla and Lyd Arguilla, *Philippine Tales and Fables* (Manila, Philippines, 1965); Ismael V. Mallari, *Tales from the Mountain Province: From Materials Gathered by Laurence L. Wilson* (Manila, Philippines, reprinted 1969); F. Landa Jocano, *Myths and Legends of the Early Filipinos* (Quezon City, Philippines, 1971); Maximo Ramos, *Tales of Long Ago in the Philippines* (Manila, Philippines, 1953); Maximo Ramos, *Philippne Myths and Tales for Young Readers* (Manila, Philippines, 1957); Laurence L. Wilson, *Apayao Life and Legends* (Manila, Philippines, reprinted 1967). The shortcomings of these sources are discussed by E. Arsenio Manuel, "On the Study of Philippine Folklore" in Antonio G. Manuud, ed., *Brown Heritage: Essays on Philippine Cultural Tradition And Literature* (Quezon City, Philippines, 1967) : 262.

[8] Nimmo, *op. cit.;* Coronel, *op. cit.;* Robert D. McAmis, *An Introduction to the Folk Tales of the Maranao Muslims of Mindanao in the Southern Philippines* (Chicago, Illinois, 1966).

greatly from this limitation because the tales that would be told students would be selected to meet their expectations.

Filipino folklore as the folk knows it often deals with excrement, breaking wind, or illicit coition. For many Filipinos, especially those in the villages, these themes are not considered as offensive as they would be to most westerners or urbanized Filipinos. Finally, scholarly works published dealing with Pusong, especially those printed during the early part of the 20th century, did not escape censorship. Gardner suppressed some tales about Pusong he felt were "too coarse for Western ideas."[9]

In summary, it is believed that few Pusong tales published in English have escaped our notice. Moreover, the corpus of these tales has been increased by more than one-third by the addition of stories collected in Samar and Negros.

Pusong's Name

The two most common names for this Filipino trickster are Juan (Suan) Pusong (Posong, Osong, or Puson) or Tamad. He may also be called just Juan with no surnames. Most tales in Fransler refer to him as Juan the Fool or, only in one tale, Juan Loco. Gardner suggests that, in English, Juan Puson translates as "Jack Paunch".[10] Generally speaking, Juan usually is called Pusong by Bisayans, while Tamad is his more popular name among non-Bisayans, e.g., Tagalogs. In six tales he is known as Pilandok, Padol, Masoy, and Andres.[11] Finally, in some tales he remains unnamed, but his character and actions quickly identify him as Pusong or Tamad.

Table 1 gives the various meaning of *pusong* or *tamad* in seven Philippine languages. The most detailed definition of *pusong* is in Wolff's dictionary where the word is said to mean

> a person who is good in putting up a front of innocence when committing mischief, so called from the character Huwan Pusong of folk tales who is always getting the better of people.[12]

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[9] Gardner, *op. cit.*, 104.

[10] Gardner, *op. cit.*, 104

[11] Ramos, *op. cit.*, (1953); Ramos, *op. cit.*, (1957)192; Coronel, *op. cit.*, 516; Fansler, *op. cit.*, 332; and McAmis, *op. cit.*, 101.

[12] John U. Wolf, *A Dictionary of Cebuano Visayan* (Ithaca, New York, 1972) : Vol. 2 : 811.

As Table 1 indicates *pusong* and *tamad* have common meaning in five Philippine languages. Although the definitions of *pusong* cover a broad range, each is accurate, for Pusong is tricky, arrogant, and mischievous in addition to being a braggart, liar, knave and arrogant rogue. As will be demonstrated shortly, Pusong neither always bests his opponents nor is he always lazy and indolent. The definitions of *pusong* in Table 1 omit, based on an anlysis of our corpus, such meanings as shrewd, witty, immoral, etc. The Pusong of our tales is truly a "man for all seasons."

TABLE 1

MEANINGS OF PUSONG AND JUAN TAMAD IN SEVEN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

Language	*Pusong*	*Tamad*
Ilokano	Arrogant, haughty, proud, lordly, imperious[13]	*
Tagalog	Knave, arrant rogue, saucy, buffonery, foolishness, impudent, insolent, arrogant, proud, lofty, overbearing[14, 15, 16]	Lazy, indolent[15]
Pampango	*	Lazy, indolent[15, 17]
Bikolano	*	Lazy, indolent[15]
Cebuano	To pretend to be innocent, michievous,[18] tricky, prankster, bluffer	To feel too lazy to do[19]
Hiligaynon	Liar, boaster, braggart, teller of invented stories[20]	Idle, lazy, indolent[20] *
Samaraeño	Buffonery, foolishness[15]	

* Term not used in the dictionaries consulted.

Most of our informants in Samar and Negros orally defined *pusong* as meaning tricky, cunning, unscrupulous, liar, funny, im-

[13] Andres Carro, *Iloko-English Dictionary* (Baguio, Philippines, 195-251).

[14] Pedro S. Laktaw, *Diccionario Tagalog-Hispano* (Madrid, reprinted 1965) 3 : 1100.

[15] Jose Villa Panganiban, *Diksyunaryo-Tesauro Pilipino-Ingles* (Quezon City, Philippines, 1972) : 836.

[16] Maria Odulio de Guzman, *An English-Tagalog and Tagalog-English Dictionary* (Manila, Philippines, 1966) : 642.

[17] Michael L. Forman, *Kapampangan Dictionary* (Honolulu, Hawaii, 1971) : 221.

[18] Wolff, *op. cit.*, 2 : 811, 975.

[19] Thomas V. Hermosisima and Pedro S. Lopez, Jr., *Dictionary Bisayan-English-Tagalog* (Manila, Philippines, 1966) : 486.

[20] Panganiban, *op. cit.*, 836, 951.

moral, etc. Some better-educated, more "Americanized" urban informants thought we should not collect stories about Pusong since they often were concerned with immoral activities. They would reflect unfavorably on Filipinos when read by Americans.

Rural informants, however, always considered Pusong's amatory adventures hilarious and never criticized them, for he was behaving like a "normal young Filipino male." Filipinos known for telling "tall tales" are said to be nicknamed Pusong. Dignadice's survey of the folklore of the Western Bisayas (Panay and Negros Occidental) described Pusong as a rustic, uncouth simpleton, but added that he was entertaining and amusing.[21]

Pusong's Physical Features, Family and Social Background and Personality Traits

With a few exceptions, Pusong's physical features, and most of his personality characteristics, are not specifically described or emphasized in the tales. His traits emerged as each tale's action unfolds. This topic, therefore, is discussed on two levels. First, on the basis of direct statements made in the tales, usually during the opening paragraphs. Second, this character delineation is expanded by an analysis of Pusong's activities in the stories. The two accounts, one based on direct statements and the other implied by Pusong's adventures, are usually but not always in agreement.

All tales were read and every direct statement about Pusong's physical appearance, age, social class, family life, and personality was recorded and collated. This is the basis for the assertion that certain features or traits were mentioned in specific tales.

Storytellers in eastern Samar and southern Negros rarely gave titles to their tales. It is assumed, therefore, that when published tales have titles, they were added by the collector or editor. For this reason, titles were excluded as sources of data in this analysis.

Pusong's age rarely is mentioned in the stories. In one tale he is a "small boy," in three tales he is seven years old, and in one tale apiece he is eight, twelve, sixteen and twenty years old. However, in most of the tales Pusong must be assumed to be a young married adult. At the start of many tales he is unmarried, although often at their conclusions he weds the princess (or rich girl) whose hand he has won through trickery or achievements. In several tales

[21] Dignadice, *op. cit.*, 47-48.

the plot centers on his search for a wife at the behest of Pusong's worried mother.

Four tales state that Pusong is "handsome," while one tale indicates he is so ugly the princess will not marry him. Since he usually wins the girls, most listeners must assume he is physically attractive. One tale presents a detailed and certainly inaccurate (based on our corpus) description of Pusong's person — a most unflattering picture of a Filipino.

> Juan is twenty years old . . . . He is short in stature. His eyes are neither bright nor dull; they are very black, and slowly roll in their sockets. His mouth is narrow. He has a double chin, and a short flat nose. His forehead is broad, and his lips are thick. His hair is black and straight. His body is round like a pumpkin and his legs are short.[22]

In six tales Pusong is said to be an only child (in one, the "favorite"). Three tales state Juan lives with his widowed mother; however, numerous tales mention only his mother, although several indicate Pusong lives with his family. In a few tales Pusong's father is the main protagonist. In one tale Pusong resides with his grandmother. On the whole, Juan appears to be an only child of a widowed mother; siblings are rarely mentioned.

Invariably Pusong is a peasant, usually a farmer who lives in a village. Although some tales specifically state that Pusong, or his family, is poor, their poverty is only implied in most stories. Pusong's lower class status is everywhere made obvious in the tales. For example, in one story he must learn to wear shoes since he always had gone barefooted. The listeners are always delighted when Juan marries the princess for it is a case of a "poor boy making good."

The three most prominent personality traits of Pusong, based on specific statements in the tales, are laziness (21 tales), stupidity (12) and cleverness (9). He is also said to be a liar (6), rudiculously obedient (4), mischievous (4), a drunkard (2) and a braggart or boaster (2). Other characteristics each mentioned only once in the stories are Pusong's criminality, deceitfulness, bravery, compassion, and possession of miraculous powers. An analysis of Juan's behavior in these tales underlines these qualities but also indicates that he is immoral, selfish, greedy, generous, honest, cruel, kind, crude, disrespectful to his parents and elders, a laughable dupe, a victorious contestant, witty, rich, and a glutton.

Pusong's personality is one of mixed opposites. Although he is a complete fool or a native dupe, he is also clever, shrewd, and

[22] Fansler, *op. cit.*, 339.

wise. He acts both honestly and dishonestly, humanely and cruelly, generously and selfishly. Pusong is a poor peasant yet often he marries a member of the royal family or elite class. However, there are two sides of Juan's personality that are not balanced by positive opposites. First, lazy Juan rarely is industrious, although his indolence may bring him profit. Second, his sexual immorality as a young unmarried man lacks any counterbalance. However, as already mentioned, this last aspect of Pusong's personality probably is not as negative a trait in the minds of rural Filipinos as it would be for many Americans.

Meñez's analysis of these trickster tales claims that "The emphasis in the Philippine versions is on the laziness of Juan Tamad while the Spanish analogues stress Juan's stupidity..."[23] Our analysis, based on a more comprehensive corpus for the Philippines, does not support this finding. Frequently Pusong is as stupid in his behavior as he is lazy; moreover, his laziness often is rewarded. Finally, Juan's laziness often is mixed with shrewdness and luck.

Meñez, in comparing Spanish and Philippine trickster stories, found in the former "... the conclusion is always negative. Juan gets scolded, beaten, punished, or even killed."[24] The conclusions of the Philippine stories are "always positive" for "... in the end, Juan becomes master of the situation and definitely subdue both [mother or wife]."[25] Table 2 presents data regarding the conclusions of Pusong tales analyzed in this article. Table 2 supports Meñez's statement in the sense that when Pusong is involved in a debate, he wins much oftener than he loses. However, this table underlines another crucial aspect of the tales: namely, that in about one-third of all tales, *no contest occurs*. This feature of the corpus reflects the large number of numskull tales.

TABLE 2

THE CONTEST THEME IN PUSONG TALES[26]

Wins Contest	*Loses Contest*	*No Contest Involved*	*Total*
92	13	58	163

[23] Meñez, *op. cit.*, 87.
[24] Meñez, *op. cit.*, 87.
[25] Meñez, *op. cit.*, 88.
[26] The total of Table 2 is larger than the corpus since some tales include several contests; each contest was counted separately. A contest was defined as an event in which Pusong struggled with others for a certain goal, e.g., wealth, marriage with a princess, seduction, community prestige, besting an opponent in a verbal duel, etc.

Table 3 indicates the means by which Pusong wins his contests and the results of his victories.[27] In addition to many and varied tricks, the most common means are soothsaying, the substitute of another person for himself, and helpful animals. One might argue that in the tales where Pusong is aided by helpful animals, the ultimate victory should not be credited to him. His most popular rewards are marrying the princess (or rich girl), or wealth, illicit sexual intercourse, prestige, or merely the pleasure of defeating his opponent.

TABLE 3

HOW PUSONG WINS HIS CONTESTS AND THEIR ASSOCIATED RESULTS*

How Contests Were Won	*Number of Times*	*Rewards*	*Number of Occasions*
Trickery	20	Marries princess or rich girl	33
Substitute another for himself	14	Wealth	12
Pretends to be a soothsayer	15	Illicit coition	12
Helpful animals (dogs, cat, monkey, eel, crab, snake, horse and bird)	11	Defeats opponent (victory is sole reward)	12
Lying	11	Gains prestige (praise from parents, community helped, local fame, etc.)	12
Disguises himself	5	Food (often in excessive amounts)	10
Uses magical objects	5	Sells wares	6
Wisdom	2	Escapes execution	5
Miscellaneous (one apiece, bribery, laziness, honesty, frightens opponents)	4	Miscellaneous (one apiece, freed from slavery, becomes sultan, gets class dismissed early)	3

* Since in many single tales Pusong wins dual or triple rewards, the totals for the two columns in Table 3 are not identical.

[27] Various difficulties occurred in constructing Table 3. First, trickery is a broad topic. It is an element in other means by which Pusong wins his contests, e.g., pretending to be a soothsayer. However, it was sometimes difficult to be more specific; for example, trickery in some instances was an accident, etc. Second, the numerous variants focused on one motif (e.g., how Pusong escapes from the cage by convincing another

The Philippine Distribution of Pusong Tales

With some exaggeration one might claim the distribution of Pusong tales to be pan-Philippine. They have been collected from the north to the south in the archipelago, for primitive, Christian and Muslim Filipinos. However, only one Pusong tale has been published for a primitive group, the Mangyan of Mindoro.[28] This tale, collected by an anthropologist, is a popular one in the Philippines — Juan sells to a gullible king an animal that is purported to defecate money. When the animal does not perform as promised, the King imprisons Pusong in a cage for his fraud. (See I: *Pusong and The Cage-in-the Sea Trick*).

Several stories were located for other primitive groups in Luzon that are quite similar to Pusong tales, although the main character is neither identified as Pusong nor Tamad. One common motif in Pusong stories is how Juan tricks his parents or friends so he may enjoy feast. The Apayao (of northern Luzon) tell about Ekkon, a "naughty boy," who tells his mother a friend blind in one eye is coming to slaughter their pig. He leaves, returns with a sticky substance he has put in one eye, fools his mother, and kills the pig. "That was the best supper that Ekkon ever had in his life."[29] The Tinguians and Kankanay, also of northern Luzon, tell a brief story about a man who visits a town where people replied, when their visitor asks what they were eating, that it is *labon* or bamboo sprouts. He returns home, cuts and cooks his bamboo house ladder, thinking the people had said they were eating *aldan* or the house ladder.[30] Numerous Pusong stories are based on the confusion over the meaning of words or purposely giving incorrect names to objects or terms.

Moss published a large number of "Trickster Stories and Fables" for the Nabaloi, again from Northern Luzon.[31] All the trickters

to be his innocent substitute) were counted separately; they might have been counted only once. Third, in some tales additional rewards are indirectly implied, e.g., when Juan marries the princess he eventually would become the king. However, this and other rewards are listed in Table 3 only when specifically mentioned in the tales.

[28] Coronel, *op. cit.*, 151-154.

[29] Wilson, *op. cit.*, 230.

[30] Fay-Cooper Cole, *Traditions of the Tinguian. A Study in Philippine Folklore* (Chicago, Illinois 1915) 14 : 198-199. In the Kankanay version the man dies from eating his residence bamboo ladder. Morice Vanoverbergh, C.I.C.M., "Tales in Lepanto-Igorot as it is Spoken at Bauco," *University of Manila Journal of East Asiatic Studies* 1(1952) : 6-118.

[31] C. R. Moss, "Nabaloi Tales," *University of California Publications in Archaeology and Ethnology* 17(1924) : 296-353.

in his published selection are animals and no tale is a variant or duplication of our Pusong corpus. However, Moss states "A few [tales] which were told to me were not recorded on account of their similarity to lowland Filipino myths that had previously been published."[32]

Although most of the standard published folklore sources for the major primitive societies in the Philippines were examined, a more comprehensive search might locate additional Pusong tales. It is our opinion, however, that Pusong tales are rarely told among these groups. Of all Filipinos, they have lived and continue to live in the most isolated areas of the country. For this reason they were the least influenced by the Spaniards and Americans or the people of folklore of these groups was "no more 'uncontaminated'" than that of Christian Filipinos.[33] The final word on this subject is yet to be written.

According to anthropologist Nimmo, "Stories of a comic trickster called Pusong are told by both the [Muslim] Taosug and Samal inhabitants of the Sulu Islands of the Philippines."[34] Coronel writes that

> The stories of Pilandok are very many and varied. Each story shows how he manages to escape a complicated situation by his wit or lack of it. Many a situation happens due to his being a half-wit. Though generally considered a funny man, Pilandok now and then shows brillance of mind and wit . . . He is the Muslim counterpart of Juan Tamad.[35]

Unfortunately, Coronel published only one tale about Pilandok, collected from an informant (Muslim?) in Zamboanga city in Southern Mindanao.[36] Finally, the Muslim Maranao (Western Mindanao) tell trickster tales in which the central character is a man called Pilandok.[37] One Filipino writer equates the Maranao Pilandok with Juan Tamad.[38]

A popular trickster of Sabah is the clever mouse-deer (Malay: Pelandok) who outwits larger animals but usually is beaten by smaller ones. The numerous tales about Pelandok (Pilandok or P'landok)

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[32] *Ibid.*, p. 320.
[33] Fansler, *op. cit.*, xviii.
[34] Nimmo, *op. cit.*, 185.
[35] Coronel, *op. cit.*, 30.
[36] Coronel, *op. cit.*, 30-32.
[37] McAmis. *op. cit.*, 101.
[38] Abdullah T. Madale, "Pilandok of the Maranaws," *This Week Magazine* (Manila, May 8, 1960).

have many parallels with stories told by Muslim Filipinos in Mindanao and Sulu.[39] Francisco speculates that Juan Tamad may be a "modern Tagalog adaptation of the Pilandok character."[40]

Pusong as a Trickster

In discussing Coyote tales, Thompson states this trickster has three roles: the beneficent cultural hero, the clever deceiver and the numbskull.[41] Pusong is never a cultural hero but the tales in this article vividly illustrates that he is both a clever deceiver and a numbskull. As indicated earlier, Pusong's personality is that of thesis and anti-thesis; like other tricksters he is both smart and stupid, he cheats and is cheated.[42] He shares another trait of American Indian and African tricksters — he is a glutton.[43] The plots of various tales are centered on the tricks Pusong plays to obtain food to satisfy a voracious appetite. He, like other tricksters, also has his helpful companions or stooges[44] and often appears as a "retarded" child in his "... preoccupation with the humor of elemental incongruities, scatology, and cruelty..."[45]

Yet the Filipino trickster differs from the general pattern of tricksters in other cultures. Pusong is human, and normally without supernatural qualities. Our Filipino trickster does not give Filipinos their basic cultural equipment (e.g., fire, plants, etc.) or important customs that determine and guide their behavior.[46] But it is not "inaccurate to call him a 'Trickster' "[47] for he is both intelligent and clever. Pusong often plays wilful tricks on his opponents, displaying both brilliance and cunning.

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[39] Juan R. Francisco, "Some Philippine Tales Compared with Parrallels in North Borneo," *Sarawak Museum Journal* 10(1962) : 511-523. Also see George Jamuh, Tom Harrisson, and Benedict Sandin, " 'Pelandok', The Villain-Hero—In Sarawak and Interior Kalimantan (South Borneo)," *Sarawak Museum Journal* 10(1962) : 524-534.

[40] Francisco, *op. cit.*, 518-519; McAmis, *op. cit.*, 101.

[41] Stith Thompson, *The Folktale* (New York, 1951) : 319.

[42] Linda Degh, "Folk Narrative" in *Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction*, ed. Richard Dorson (Chicago, Illinois, 1972) : 68.

[43] Thompson, *op. cit.*, 326; Paul Radin, *The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology* (New York, 1956) : 155-156; Susan Feldman, ed., *African Myths and Tales* (New York, 1963) : 15-16.

[44] Maria Leach, ed., *Funk and Wagnall's Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Tales* (New York, 1936) : 1124.

[45] John Greenway, ed., *The Primitive Reader. An Anthology of Myths, Tales, Songs, Riddles, and Proverbs of Aboriginal Peoples Around the World* (Hatboro, Penn., 1965) : 57.

[46] Radin, *op. cit.*, 156.

[47] John Greenway, *Literature Among the Primitive* (Hatboro, Penn., 1964) : 72.

> Greenway concludes that of all primitive narratives, Trickster tales are the most offensive to Euramerican readers because of his habit of committing unnatural sexual acts and wallowing in excrement.[48]

Pusong tales discussed in this article (and others not included) illustrate the prominence of excrement in their plots. The feature is a common characteristic of Filipino folktales that do not involve Pusong. Yet Pusong for all his sexiness never commits an unnatural sexual act. This is not because deviant sexual practices are unknown in the Philippines. Male and female homosexuality, including transvestism, are part of life in Caticugan and Dumaguete.[49]

Finally, Pusong has another prominent trait usually not associated with trickster stories in other societies — his abnormal indolence. In one tale collected from a female informant in Eastern Samar, Pusong was so lazy that he did not brush his teeth or wipe his mouth after eating. During the night the rats smelled the odor of food in his mouth as he slept in bed.

> The rats began to eat Juan's lips. He expected his wife to drive them away. His wife was watching and expecting her husband to drive them away. In the morning Juan's lips had been eaten by the rats.
>
> "Why did you not drive the rats away?," asked his wife. "Look at your handsome face now!"
>
> The wife was so angry she left Juan. They were separated because of Juan's laziness.

Yet Pusong's laziness may be rewarded. In one tale (collected in Samar) he was so lazy that he threw his wife's valuable golden hairpin at the thieving birds in their fields. Later the hairpin was found in a bush that grew where a buried treasure was found. So in some tales Pusong's indolence is profitable either through luck or shrewdness.

> One Pusong tale ends by the storyteller commenting on his character. But are there different Juans asked the granddaughter?
>
> Oh yes there are many kinds. There is Juan whom they sometimes call Suan who is lazy and full of bragging lies and and other Juans who are not as lazy or stupid as they seem. How can you tell which Juan is which? You can never tell chuckled the grandmother. You only wait and see.[50]

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[48] *Ibid.*, 76.

[49] Donn V. Hart, "Homosexuality and Transvestism in the Philippines: The Cebuan *Bayot* and *Lakin-on*," *Behavior Science Notes* 3 (1969) : 211-248.

[50] Arguilla and Arguilla, *op. cit.*, (1965) : 81.

In conclusion the Juan Pusong (or Tamad) stories remain a luxuriant and relatively unexplored field for folklorists interested in trickster tales. Numerous generalization about Trickster tales remain either inaccurate or incomplete since they do not include data from the Philippines — and the rest of insular Southeast Asia. Juan Pusong urgently needs to be "revisited" by folklorists.

New Pusong Tales from the Bisayas

Space prohibits the inclusion in this article of all 56 Pusong tales collected in Eastern Samar and Southern Negros. This section presents a selection of these stories arranged around popular Pusong plots. When variants were collected for the same tale, the "best" example is given, e.g., the longest tale that has the greatest detail, internal consistency, etc. The footnotes indicate the variants for each tale, as found in student reports, theses, and published sources. A brief summary of the basic plots of all the tales in each group precedes the presentation of the story actually gathered in Samar or Negros.

I. *Pusong and the Cage-in-the-Sea Switch*

Fifteen variants of this tale were collected in Samar or Negros and located in the other sources previously described. Versions of this tale occur among Christians, Muslim, and primitive (Mangyan) Filipinos.

Pusong is imprisoned in a cage (fish trap or chicken coop) by the king (paymaster or captain of a ship) because he: 1) courted a princess; 2) had illicit sexual relations with a queen; 3) sold an animal (carabao, chicken, etc.) that he fraudulently claimed defecated money; 4) claimed the owner's cows he watched were buried in the ground (when only their severed tails had been covered); or 5) broke the law.

Pusong is placed in a cage to be dropped into the sea. He manages to trick someone (executor, judge, friend, student, fisherman, etc.) to enter the cage as a substitute (often falsely claiming he was in the cage because he refused to marry the princess). Pusong "miraculously" returns from the sea, claiming his executor's deceased parents or other relatives lived under the sea, possessed great wealth, and wanted to see their kinsman. After the cage with the executor is thrown into the sea, Pusong claims the bubbles, feces, blood (said

to be wine) and other signs indicated he was being welcomed by his relatives. Actually, he drowns. Pusong marries the princess, becomes rich, and, by implication or direct statement, is proclaimed king or sultan.

Story No. 1

There is a story from the olden days about Juan Pusong. Juan Pusong was a watcher of cows. The cows were in a corral along the beach. One day Pusong went to the corral to inspect the cows. What he did was to cut off the tails of all the cows and bury them in the ground so only their tips showed. He then opened the corral and drove the cows into the forest. After this he reported to the king. He told the king:

'Señor, all the cows in the corral burrowed into the sand except for their tails that are still sticking out."

The king walked to the corral with Pusong; there were no trucks [i.e. buses] then. The king was worried what to do when he saw only the tails of his cows exposed. He ordered Pusong to go to the queen to borrow a *sadol.* [*Sadol* in Samaran means a type of pick but also, by double-entendre, coition]. Pusong went to the queen. On his arrival at the palace he told the queen:

'Señora, I was told to come for the *sadol.*'

'Oh, you foolish Pusong, get out of here,' the queen said.

Pusong went to the king at the corral and told him:

'The queen does not want to give me the *sadol.*'

'Go again and get the *sadol* from the queen,' ordered the king.

Pusong ran to the palace and said to the queen:

'Señora, I was told to *sadol* by the king. So the queen permitted him to *"sadol"* her.

'Where is the *sadol*?,' the king asked Pusong.

'Oh, I lost it on my way. I don't know where it is now.'

The king returned home with Pusong. The queen told the king that Juan Pusong had come and 'made foolishness' [coition].

'He asked for *sadol* and I gave him *sadol,*' said the queen.

The king imprisoned Pusong in a cage. The cage was built along a path. To the many who walked past along the path, Pusong kept shouting:

'I don't want to marry the princess!'

The princess was the most beautiful girl in the city. She was like Miss Philippines. Friends of Pusong passed while he cried out:

'I don't want to marry the princess.' A prince asked Pusong: 'What did you say?'

'The princess is forcing me to marry her but I don't want to,' answered Pusong. They agreed to change places on the next day.

'I'll come and take your place. Will that be all right?' said the prince.

'Well, if you would like to marry the princess, that's all right with me,' Pusong said. [Here the informant commented: 'Pusong is very tricky.']

Early the next day, about 5 a.m., the prince came in full uniform. Pusong gave him the key and he opened the cage.

The prince took off his uniform and exchanged it for Pusong's clothes. He took Pusong's place. Pusong closed the cage.

Be sure to say you want to marry the princess,' Pusong said.

Then Pusong strutted around in the uniform with its sword like a real prince. Many people passed the cage saying:

'Pusong will soon be killed by the king." The prince kept saying:

'I want to marry the princess,'

Around 4 p.m. the King rode around in his coach. When he passed by the cage he heard the prince say:

'I'd like to marry the princess.'

The king got out and scolded the prince.

'You had better keep still, Pusong, and get ready for what will happen to you tomorrow.'

'I want to marry the princess,' said the prince.

The next day the king called his ministers and policemen and told the policemen to throw Pusong into the ocean. The policemen brought the prince in the cage and threw him into the ocean. When Pusong heard the prince was thrown into the ocean he visited the palace. When the king saw him he was surprised.

'Why, Pusong,' said the king. 'Why are you here?' Pusong told the king:

'I went to the place where your parents are living. They are rich and have a big store. They are lonesome for you. I was told to tell you to visit them.'

'Oh, what a nice place to have been to. I wish I could see my parents,' the king said.

'You can go as long as you do what you did to me,' said Pusong.

The king ordered the policemen to build a cage for him. The following day the cage was ready. The king ordered the policemen to bring him to the queen. Pusong went with him. The king said goodbye to the queen.

'I'll go with you and show you the right way to get to your parents,' Pusong said.

While sailing on the ocean Pusong tied a rope and iron bar around the king's neck. The king asked Pusong:

'Why are you tying a rope and iron bar around my neck?"

'Well, I am doing this so you will immediately sink to the place where your parents are living. Otherwise you might be eaten by the big fish around there.'

In the middle of the ocean the king was thrown into the water. Later bubbles and feces came up to the surface.

'Oh, the king is enjoying himself with his parents,' said Juan. 'They have eaten so much food that feces are floating up.[51]

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[51] This tale was collected from a 27-year old married male Filipino, one of our best storytellers, who lived in the rural outskirts of Borongan. He said the tale was first told him by his grandfather when he was five years old. He had not retold the tale since learning it! The "moral" of the story, according to his grandfather, was that he should not grow up to be a liar like Juan Pusong. In later questioning, he said Pusong did not marry the princess — "he just went away." Pusong had buried the tails of the king's cows "to see if the king could see through his trick." Six similar versions of this tale were collected in Boroñgan and two in Dumaguete. Two versions were found in Oracion, *op. cit.*, 92-93, 94-101.

II. Pusong and His Obedient Monkey Servant

Seven versions of this tale were located, of which one was collected in Samar and another in Negros.

Juan Pusong captures (in several tales he used a tar-baby) a monkey raiding his fruit trees or field (corn or camotes). He spares the monkey's life since he promises to be his faithful servant. Several times, the monkey borrows a measure from the king (rich man) on the pretext it is required to count Juan's great wealth. Each time the measure is returned, the monkey sticks to it a silver or gold or coins of increasingly larger denominations. The king is convinced Pusong is a wealthy man; so Pusong marries the princess.

In some versions the king says that before he will agree to the proposed marriage, Pusong must own a palace, land, and animals. The monkey goes to a witch (*ingkanto* or environmental spirit or a king whose subjects are animals) who owns a palace and digs a large hole in the ground. The owner of the palace is tricked into jumping into the hole (to hear sweet music or escape a fictitious invading army) where the monkey kills and buries him. On the way to see Pusong's palace, the people he passes tells the king (on the instructions of the monkey) that their animals land belong to Pusong. Juan usually marries the princess; however, in one tale the princess refuses to wed him because he is ugly. The monkey either returns to the forest or remains a valued friend of Pusong.

> Once there was a family who owned a camote field. This family has a son named Juan Pusong. He watched their camotes because monkeys often stole them. Juan made some traps to catch the monkeys. He caught one in his trap. When he caught the monkey he went to it with his *bolo* [a broad-bladed multipurpose knife most farmers carry]. He intended to kill the monkey.
>
> 'Juan, please do not kill me. I'll be your servant,' said the monkey.
>
> Juan still intended to kill the monkey and moved toward him. The closer Juan came the more the monkey pleaded. So Juan did not kill the monkey but brought it home with him. The other monkey in the forest no longer raided his camote field because they saw that the monkey had been caught in the trap, so they were taught a lesson.
>
> Most of the time Juan went to the sea to fish. The monkey, because it was tame, often went to town for a walk. He did this for a long time. One day the monkey found a 50-centavo coin.

Published versions are included in Maxfield and Millington, *op. cit.*, 108-109; two versions in Coronel, *op. cit.*, 151-154, 30-32; and one version in Nimmo, *op. cit.*, 188-189.

He did not give the money to Juan. The next day he found a one -peso bill. He kept the bill, too. One day he said:

'Juan, you'll have to prepare our meals because I have a job in the town as a clerk and can no longer cook.'

Juan believed the monkey; so he no longer went to the sea, because he had to have the meals ready as soon as the monkey came home.

One day the monkey went to the king to borrow a measure. When he was before the king, he said:

"King, may I borrow your measure because Juan is going to measure his money?'

The king lent him the measure. On the following afternoon the monkey returned the measure, putting the 50-centavo coin inside it. The king saw the coin in the measure and asked:

'What does this coin you left here mean?'

'That is the money Juan wants to pay you for the use of your measure,' answered the monkey.

'No, you do not have to pay me, for I have plenty of money,' the king said.

'Juan has more money than you have,' replied the monkey.

[The informant chuckled most of the time while telling this story.]

So the king kept the coin. The following morning the monkey again went to the king to borrow the measure.

'King,' he said, 'may I borrow the measure again because Juan is going to count his money?'

'Yes, I'll lend you my measure.'

The following afternoon when the monkey returned the measure he put the one peso bill inside. The king saw the one peso bill in the measure.

'What does this one peso bill mean?,' he asked.

'That is payment for the use of your measure.'

The king told the monkey that he had plenty of money and did not need the peso.

'Juan has plenty of money, more than you have,' answered the monkey.

The monkey went back to Juan's house and asked permission to be away for a week. Juan gave him permission. So the monkey left. He went to a palace where the king was a human but his subjects were animals. He thought the palace must be enchanted because the subjects were animals. Before he entered the palace he dug a deep hole. He then went before the king.

'King, come and hear sweet music. I hear sweet music. Do you want to hear it?'

'Certainly I do. Where is it?'

'Come with me,' said the monkey.

The king followed the monkey to the hole.

'Put your ear to this hole and you will hear the sweet music,' said the monkey.

When the king put his ear to the hole the monkey pushed him into it and quickly buried him. He then went to the dead king's palace. There he found some keys and a bell. He rang the bell. As soon as he rang it the animals gathered before him. He said to the animals:

'You must be very obedient now, for you have a new king.'

He rang the bell again and another group of animals appeared before him and he told them the same thing.

The monkey then returned to Juan's house.

'Come with me. You will marry the princess,' he said.

'I will not be accepted by the king. He is a king and we are lowly persons.'

'Believe me, the king will accept you as the husband of his daughter.'

So Juan went with the monkey to the palace. True enough, the king liked Juan because he believed the monkey when he said that Juan had plenty of money. Juan was married to the princess.

After their marriage, the monkey told Juan about the kingdom of animals. He said Juan was going to be their king. So Juan and his wife went to that kingdom to live. Juan became their king. From that time on Juan was very rich through the monkey's cleverness.

Then the monkey asked Juan's permission to go home to the forest. Juan gave him permission. When the monkey arrived in the forest the other monkeys did not recognize him. Maybe it was his bad odor. [The informant, when asked about this odor, said it was a different odor than the other monkeys. It was the odor of humans for the monkey had lived with people for a long time]. So he lived by himself. He never went back to Juan.[52]

III. *Pusong, The Stupid Yet Successful Vendor*

Six versions of this tale were located, including two collected in Samar and one in the Caticugan.

Juan Pusong is sent to the market (by either his mother or father) to sell pork or rice cakes. On the way he "sells" his food to various animals (dog, cat, housefly, frogs, and a pig) and to his reflection in the water in a well.

The next day Juan returns to be paid. By threatening the owners of the animals and the well (or the person on whom a housefly has lighted), Juan collects. In one tale, Juan is praised by his father as a skillful vendor. In another tale, Juan "sells" his rice cakes to some frogs, fails to collect, and his mother promises never again to send him alone to the market.

Story No. 3

Pusong's father had a pig. Pusong once said to him: *'Tatay* [address term of respect, also Daddy], kill the pig so we can sell it.'

His father agreed. He killed the pig. Juan left to sell the meat in the market. On his way a housefly lighted on his meat. He spoke to the fly:

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[53] This tale was collected from a 65-year old spinster who lived in Boroñgan and first heard this story from her mother. She had rarely retold this tale. Another version was collected in Boroñgan and one in Caticugan. Versions are also given in Fansler, *op. cit.*, 352-353; Oracion, *op. cit.*, 61-62; and Arguilla and Arguilla, *op. cit.*, (1965):69.

'Do you want some of my meat? Here it is. I'll give you the meat, but you must pay me on Thursday.' He put some meat on the ground.

He went on his way. He met a dog and said to the dog: 'What, do you want some of my meat? Here is some, but you must pay me on Thursday.'

He continued and came across a well. He looked down and saw his reflection on the water.

'What are you looking at? My meat? Do you want the rest of it? You must pay me on Thursday.' He threw the meat into the water.

Pusong went home. When he arrived he said to his father: *'Tatay,* my meat was bought on credit. I sold it ahead of the rest. They are all going to pay me on Thursday.'

When Thursday came Pusong went to collect his money for the meat. He saw a housefly on the head of a Chinese. He said to the fly:

'You must now pay for my meat. Give me your money.'

The Chinese thought Pusong was speaking to him.

'No, I did not buy any meat from you.'

'Yes you did,' said Juan. 'You must pay now!' He was talking to the housefly.

'If you do not pay me I shall kill you with this stick.'

The Chinese, fearing for his life, paid Pusong.

Pusong continued until he saw a dog. He said:

'You pay me. This is Thursday.' The dog run away. Pusong ran after him until they arrived at the house of the dog's owner.

'What is wrong?' asked the owner.

'He bought some of my meat and he is supposed to pay me today. If he does not pay me I shall kill him,' answered Pusong.

The owner did not want his dog killed so he paid Pusong what the dog supposedly owed him.

Pusong continued. He came to a well. He looked down and saw his reflection in the water. He said:

'Don't look at me! Pay me! You are supposed to pay me today.'

His reflection did not answer. Pusong became angry. The owner of the well saw him. He did not want Pusong to make his well dirty so he paid Juan the amount the well was supposed to pay.

Pusong went home after he had collected all the money owed him.[53]

IV. *Pusong: The Trickster Farmer and the "Pig Nest"*

Nine versions of this tale were located, of which four were collected in Boroñgan and Lalawigan and one in Caticugan.

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[52] This tale was collected from a 70-year old married male informant who lived in Boroñgan and first heard this story from an aunt of his father. The aunt, a schoolteacher during the Spanish period, told stories after the evening prayers. Although he has told this story many times, he has never told it to his children. Another version was collected in Negros. Two versions can be found in Fansler, *op. cit.,* 326-328; and one apiece in Gardner, *op. cit.,* 108-109; Ramos, *op. cit.,* 192-203; and Ratcliffe, *op. cit.,* 289.

Juan Pusong tricks his parents (or only his mother) into believing he has hired workers (in one tale 100 farmers) to work their field. He does this by putting hats on stumps and a *bolo* along each hat. At Juan's request his parents prepare a large feast for the workers. Juan eats the food. As a result of over-eating, he defecates, creating a large pile of excrement. He covers the pile with leaves and twigs, and returns home.

There he tells his father he has found a nest where a wild pig is delivering. He urges father to capture the pig. When his father jumps on the "nest" he is covered with Juan's feces. Realizing he has been tricked, the father lets the feces on his body dry. Later he serves the dried feces to his son, claiming they are *pilipig* (roasted, pounded rice, a Filipino delicacy).

In one version Pusong is sent to the forest to gather *egot,* a wild edible tuber. He fills the basket with only a few tubers, gets inside, covers himself with leaves. Later his unsuspecting father carries the basket home. Juan is again sent to the forest on the same errand. This time he fills the basket with tubers but his father, thinking Pusong again has tricked him, stabs the basket with his fish spear. The tubers emit a red juice that is mistaken for Juan's blood. When he thinks his father is no longer angry with him for his trick, Pusong returns home to tell him he has discovered a wild pig's "nest," etc.

In two versions Juan is punished by his father but is not fed his own feces. In another tale he hides when his mother comes to the field where she finds out his ruse and sees the great pile of feces Juan made by eating the food for the workers.

Story No. 4

> On one occasion Pusong asked permission form his father to go to their *kaingin* [a semi-permanent field cleared in the forest] that they had harvested earlier so as only grass remained. His purpose was to clear the field so they could plant camotes.
>
> There were many big stumps in the field. What Pusong did was to make many big hats (*sadok*) from broad shaped leaves of *anahao* and put them on each stump. In the distance it looked like many persons were working in the field. As soon as he was finished he went home.
>
> 'Father, I have many workers. If I were you I would kill a big pig for them.'
>
> Pusong and his father went near to their field. The father saw many hats and believed Pusong.

His father, being an honest man, killed one of their pigs for Pusong's workers. Pusong kept on going back and forth from the field to his father's place to see what his father was doing. When he saw his father was through cooking the pig, he told him:

'Father, it is best to bring the food to the place were my workers are.' It was almost noon and time to eat.

When they were some distance from the field, Pusong said to his father:

'Let's place the food here.'

His father followed Pusong's advice. They brought not only a cooked pig but also other food. After this his father went home and Pusong carried the food further away from the place where his father had put it. He put the food near a bent tree. He sat on the bent tree and ate and ate the food. He became full and moved his bowels. While eating he moved his bowels, ate some more, moved his bowels again, etc. But he could not eat all the food, for there was too much. The extra food was returned to where his father had put it earlier.

Pusong had made a big pile of feces. He covered it with some leaves and small branches so it looked like a nest where a wild pig was delivering. Pusong went home and told his father:

'Father, I saw a *dogmon*' [nest where a wild pig delivers].

His father went with Pusong to the *dogmon.* On their arrival Pusong told his father to jump on the *dogmon* but to do it carefully and to be sure to jump on the top for otherwise the wild pig might run away. The father jumped on what he thought was a *dogmon* and was covered with feces. Pusong ran away for he feared his father would punish him.

His father was angry but Pusong was gone.

'My goodness, how foolish is Pusong!'

His father went to the field and found the 'workers' were only stumps on which Pusong had put hats. His father got angrier. His father went home without cleaning his body. On his way home he kept thinking how to take revenge on Pusong. He stayed under the sun. After a long time the feces on his body were hard and brittle like *pilipig.*

He took the feces off his body and dried them again in the sun. The feces became more brittle. His father put the feces in a small basket and brought it home, hanging it from a rafter.

Pusong did not return home for nearly two weeks. The *pilipig* still was in the basket. After two weeks Pusong returned home.

'Father, do you have food for me to eat?' he asked.

Oh, Pusong, we have no food.' His father answered slowly to hide his anger.

'Don't you have anything to eat?' Pusong asked.

'There is a basket hanging from the rafter where you will find *pilipig,*' replied the father.

His father said it was even *linubi* [*pilipig* repounded with grated coconut and sugar].

Pusong got the basket and began to eat the *'linubi.'* While eating he said:

'Father, this smells bad.'

'Oh, maybe it is because we have been saving it for a long time,' his father said.

After Pusong ate all the *'inubi,'* his father laughed and said:

'What you have eaten was your own feces. Because you tricked me earlier, now I have tricked you more.[54]

V. *Pusong, The Seducer*

Eight tales were collected whose plots center on how Pusong seduces women (usually princesses). Three versions come from Boroñgan, and one apiece from Lalawigan and Caticugan.

The seduction methods used, in addition to that given in the following tale, were: 1) luring the girls to bend over to listen to "sweet music" coming from a hole in the ground; 2) disguising himself as a pregnant woman to gain entrance to their bedroom; 3) tricking the princesses into permitting him to enter their warm quarters by pretending a terrible chill (two versions); and 4) telling the princesses they can go to "paradise" only after being "nailed", i.e. coition. In one additional story, Pusong actually is seduced by the princess who unties his penis when he sleeps with her. He had tied his penis to his waist so he would be unable to have intercourse, and would thereby gain her hand in marriage.

Story No. 5

One time Juan Pusong made a boat from the trunk of the *badyang*. The *badyang* is a tree whose sap makes one itch and have to scratch. After the boat was built Juan invited some young unmarried ladies (*daraga*) to accompany him on an excursion. The girls were glad to go because Juan said he had plenty of food. So they went with Juan in his boat on the river.

Before they started Juan told the ladies to pull up their dresses around their waists before sitting down. This was so their dresses would not get wet. [Informant acted out how the girls raised their dresses to their waists]. The ladies did as Juan advised. After a short time the girls' bottoms and sexual organs began to itch from the sap of the *badyang*. The girls were very uncomfortable, scratching and moving around inside the boat.

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[54] This version was collected from a 56-year old married male informant living in Boroñgan; he had first heard the story when residing in Suribao, southern Samar. The last time he told the story was several months earlier to his grandchildren, the eldest being 14 years old. He said the moral of the story was not to trick people, especially your parents, for one would eventualy be tricked more by the person fooled. Three versions were found in Oracion. *op. cit.*, 116-117, 58, and 78-79. The sole printed version is in Arguilla and Arguilla, *op. cit.*, (1965): 79-81. In this story lazy Juan actually plants and harvests the rice field, to the great surprise of his mother and neighbors.

Juan paddled the boat to the river bank. The girls got out. When they were out of the boat, Juan found a tree called *malobago*. He removed the bark from the tree so its trunk was barkless. When this tree has no bark it is very slippery. Juan then told the girls to climb to the top of this barkless tree so their itching would stop.

The girls climbed the tree, one by one. Because the trunk was slippery, when one almost got to the top, she would slide down. What Juan had done was to sit at the base of the tree, straddling the trunk with his legs, penis erect. As each girl slid down the tree his penis went inside her womb and they had coition. After this the girls went home and the excursion ended.

This is why Juan made his boat from the *badyang* tree and told the girls to pull their dresses up before they sat in the boat. Later the girls found out he had no food but was only bluffing.[55]

No versions of the next three Pusong stories were located in published or manuscript sources. Apparently they are new additions to the Pusong corpus. Although variants of the first two stories were collected in either Samar or Negros, the tale of how Pusong killed Maka-andog was not duplicated in Negros. The many tales Samarans tell about the mythical Maka-andog have been analyzed elsewhere.[56]

VI. *Pusong Wins the Princess*

Only one similar version of this tale was collected in Samar. In this version Pusong was the handsome houseboy of the king. He successfully met three challenges before he could wed the princess. First, through the help of a fish, he found the ring the princess had dropped in the sea. Second, through the help of a cat, he located a horse with wings. Finally, he was able to survive in a caldron of boiling water, emerging from this test dressed as a prince. The king beheaded his three competitors, all princes, and Pusong married the princess.

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[55] This tale was collected from a 70-year old married male resident of Boroñgan who first heard the story from his father when he was a small boy. He had told it one afternoon about five years earlier when his audience consisted of children, but no girls. The audience during the time this story was collected included the informant's two married daughters and a visiting female cousin. They all thought the story amusing. This story is quite similar to one of the three variants collected by Nimmo, *op. cit.*, 186-189. The Muslim version has Pusong overhearing the seven daughters of the Sultan planning to go to their farm. He hurries there, buries himself under a tree with only his erect penis above the ground. The daughters climb the slippery tree, only to slide down onto Juan's penis. Finally the youngest girl told her sisters that the "delicious stick" was Juan's penis. This tale then continues with how Juan escapes from drowning in a fish trap by obtaining an innocent substitute.

[56] Hart and Hart, *op. cit.*, (1966).

Story No. 6

Juan was 16 years old and his mother was 53 years old. The mother supported Juan and they were very poor. There was a famine in the land so all the people were poor.

One day Juan Pusong's mother told him to cook a cup of ground corn while she went to a distant village to look for food. She told Juan not to leave the house. Juan followed her orders. He sat by the window watching the people pass. He was attracted by an old man carrying a cat. Juan asked the man where he was going with the cat.

'I'm going to throw the cat into the sea. He is not a good cat for he eats our food and chickens.'

Juan pitied the cat so he exchanged his cup of ground corn for the cat.

When his mother came home she was very angry to learn that Juan had exchanged their only cup of ground corn for a foolish cat. Juan explained he felt sorry for the cat. The next day he was again left alone in the house and told not to leave while his mother went to look for food. Again he sat by the window. This time he saw a man with a dog. He asked him where he was going with the dog. The man told him he was going to throw the dog into the sea because it ate his food. Juan offered to exchange a cup of ground corn for the dog.

The next day while he was again by the window he saw another man with a snake.

'Where are you going?,' asked Pusong.

'I am going to throw the snake into the sea. It ate six of my roosters last night.'

Juan said he would exchange a cup of ground corn for the snake. The two made the trade.

When his mother came home she was again very angry with Juan. But Juan explained that the cat, dog, and snake were very unhappy in their former homes. This was why they ate all the food. Now in their new home they would never eat any of their master's food because they would always be fed.

One day the king called a meeting of all the people in his kingdom because he wanted to find out if his dreams were true. All the people came to the palace except Juan. He did not go because he was lazy — he was the laziest person in the kingdom. The king had dreamed that his future wife lived in a kingdom under the sea. At the first meeting the king did not find any one brave enough to go to get his future wife. Then someone said there was a certain person who was the laziest person in the kingdom. He would be the one to go for he was not doing anything else.

The king sent three soldiers to get Pusong. The soldiers arrived while Pusong was eating. Juan said he would follow after he had finished his meal. Later Juan went to the palace. He saluted the king and said:

'Your Majesty, I am here and ready to do what you command.'

'Juan, get my future wife who is in a kingdom under the sea.'

Juan said he could not do this because the kingdom was under the sea. The king became angry and gave him alternative — either get his future wife in three days or be killed.

Juan went home. He was crying so loudly that when his mother returned she asked him why. He said he was commanded by the king to get his future wife from a kingdom under the sea.

'*Tatay*,' said the cat, 'I hear you crying. Tell me your troubles for I am ready to help you.'

Because Juan was very angry he threw the cat out of the window. The cat returned and said:

'Tell me what to do, for I am ready to help you.'

Juan told him the king commanded him to get his future wife who lived under the sea. The cat said he could not do that so Juan again threw him out of the window.

The snake said:

'*Tatay*, I heard you and I am ready to help you.'

Juan kicked the snake and said:

'Don't bother me.'

'Tell me what to do, for I am ready to help you.'

Juan said the king commanded him to get his future wife who lived under the sea. The snake seplied:

'Very early tomorrow, at dawn, we shall eat breakfast and then go to the sea. You put me on the sand and I'll become a horse. Since you do not know where the kingdom is, listen to my instructions. You ride on my back. Remember we shall pass many houses and many beautiful girls. Do not touch any girl unless she is the right one.' So they did this.

They passed many big houses and saw many beautiful girls under the sea. They finally arrived at a big city. They were walking in the big city when they passed a small house. The snake said:

'See the beautiful girl sewing? Do not leave my back for I'll do some tricks.'

Then the snake, disguised as a horse, jumped in front of the window. The girl saw them and was attracted to the horse and said to the handsome man:

'Where are you going to sell that horse?'

Juan the foolish, pretending to be the son of the king of dry land, said:

'I'll not sell the horse because my father will get angry.'

'Who is your father?'

'The king of dry land,' said Juan.

'Well, I am attracted by the well-built body of that horse,' said the girl.

Juan invited the girl to take a ride with him. The horse whispered that once the girl was on his back they would run as fast as they could to dry land. When they were on dry land the girl could not go back to her house. She cried. They continued to the king's palace. All the people were surprised to learn how Juan had gotten the girl who lived under the sea.

The king said she would be his wife. The girl said she wanted to marry Juan since he had got her from under the sea. The king said that Juan was only one of his subjects. The girl said:

'All right, I will marry you but first you must get my ring that fell in the sea on my way here.'

The king commanded Juan to get the girl's ring lost in the sea. Juan refused but the king said:

'I'll kill you if you do not do as I tell you.'

Juan went home and cried again. The cat came and said:

'*Tatay*, tell me your troubles. I will help you.'

Juan said the king wanted him to look in the sea for the girl's lost ring. The cat said:

'Early tomorrow we will eat breakfast and then you get on my back and we will go to the sea.'

When they arrived at the sea the cat suddenly dived into the sea looking for the ring. They could not find the ring but they met a fish called *botiti*. The cat said:

'Juan, since this is a big fish I'll tickle him and he will vomit the ring.'

The fish vomited the ring. They got the ring and went to the palace, returning it to the girl. The king said to her:

'Now will you marry me?'

'I have a last request. Look for a caldron, fill it with boiling pig fat and have Juan swim in the fat,' asked the girl.

The king called Juan and commanded him to swim the next day in the boiling fat. Juan went home and cried and cried. The dog said:

'*Tatay*, tell me your troubles for I'll help you.'

'The king said I must swim in boiling fat,' said Juan.

The dog told him not to worry. Pusong was told to cut one of the veins in the dog's neck and to massage the blood over his body. He could then enjoy swimming in the boiling fat.

Early the next morning Juan cut one of the veins in the dog's neck and massaged his own body with the blood. He went to the king's palace. The king was surprised to see how happy Juan looked facing death in the boiling fat. With the sound of the trumpet Juan swim in the fat.

After swimming for one hour in the boiling fat, Juan said:

'Give me some soap. I enjoy swimming.'

The people were surprised because while swimming in the fat Juan also had become very handsome. The girl said to the king:

'Now it is your turn to swim in the boiling fat so you will become more handsome.'

The king, however, was not brave enough to swim in the boiling fat right away. He said he would do it tomorrow. That afternoon the king sent for Juan and asked him what trick he did to survive in the boiling fat.

'You have a very big dog in your palace. Cut one of its veins and massage the blood on your body,' Juan replied.

Early the next morning the king cut one of the veins of his bulldog and massaged its blood on his body. He called the girl and said he was ready for the swim. At the sound of the trumpet the king jumped into the boiling fat and died. The girl announced to the people of the kingdom that Juan was now king. All the soldiers respected Pusong because of his great deeds.[57]

VII. *Pusong Pretends to be a Live Saint*

Two similar versions of this tale were collected in Lalawigan.

In one story Pusong poses as a saint when the fisherman husband of an unfaithful wife unexpectedly returns home. The husband, while

[57] The informant was a 59-year old married male residing in Siaton poblacion who had been a municipal official of Siaton for most of his adult life.

lighting a lamp on the altar, sets fire to Pusong's pubic hair as he poses there. Pusong runs away. In the second version Pusong hears a young girl tell her father she would like to have a large image. Juan gets the woodcarver, ordered by the father to make a large image, to paint him as a saint and sell him to the girl's father. One day while the girl was dusting, she raised Pusong's robe and saw his penis. The father thought the woodcarver had not finished the image. He remarked he would get a saw to remove the "unfinished piece of wood"; on hearing him Juan runs away.

Story No. 6

There was a rich king who was fond of collecting different types of images. He had many. But he was not contented with his collection. He wanted to collect more but different images. He thought of getting a living saint. He told Pedro, his houseboy, to look for a living saint. For three weeks Pedro went about the town looking for a living saint. After three weeks he returned and told the king that he could not find one.

The king could not get the desire to have a living saint out of his mind. So he asked Juan Pusong to try for another week. Juan and Pedro talked to each other about how they could find a living saint. Juan had an idea. He said:

'I will paint all of my body and pretend to be a living saint.' Pedro agreed.

Pedro told the king the following day that he had found a living saint. The king was happy and gave Pedro five hundred pesos. Juan immediately went to a store and bought different colored paints. In the afternoon Pedro painted Juan's body. Three days later the paint on Juan's body was dry. Pedro carried Juan to the palace. The king was happy to have a living saint, not knowing it was Pusong. The king told Pedro to put the image on the altar.

The following day the king left for Manila to attend a conference. He was to stay there for a long time because he would also tour the island. Before he left he told his three daughters to take good care of the living saint. Whatever he asked for should be given him. The three princesses listened carefully to their father's instructions.

After the king left that morning Juan became hungry. In a loud voice, he said:

'I am hungry. Give me some food. I am used to eating good food in heaven.'

The eldest princess quickly ran to the kitchen and got food for him. Pedro, who was listening to Juan, laughed.

During lunch time Juan again asked for food. The second princess ran to the kitchen to get food for him. In the evening Juan asked for his supper. It was the turn of the youngest princess.

The following day, early in the morning, Juan shouted that he had to move his bowels. This time Pedro carried him downstairs. The two were laughing at Juan's naughtiness. The three princess took turns in feeding Juan.

In the evening Juan thought of more foolishness. He said to the eldest princess that he wanted to sleep in her room. The eldest princess was afraid that her father might be angry with her but she consented because he had told them before leaving to give the saint all he wanted. In the morning Juan went back to the altar.

The next night Juan told the second princess that he wanted to sleep in her room. The second princess agreed. On the third night, Juan told the youngest princess he would sleep in her room. The youngest princess did not like him to stay in her room. The two elder sisters told the youngest sister that their father might be angry if she did not agree. They said:

'Remember what our father told us. He said that whatever the living saint wanted should be given him.'

The youngest princess consented because otherwise she might be scolded by her father. They took turns having Juan sleep in their rooms.

Four months later the king returned home. He was surprised to see all his daughters were pregnant. He asked them what happened. The princesses told him that it was because of the saint. The king went to his room to get a gun. Juan saw him so he left the palace as fast as he could. He went to the river and took a bath. He rubbed all parts of his body. Then he went home in time for the arrival of Pedro from the palace.

'Juan, you are called by the king,' said Pedro.

Juan and Pedro went to the palace. The king asked Juan what kind of saint he had brought him. He told the king that he did not know who the living saint was. The king could not do anything. It was his fault for wanting a living saint.

The three princesses delivered at the same time. The children of the princesses were the ones who told the king who their father was. They said.

'Our father is Juan Pusong.'

Juan was summoned by the king and told that he would be hanged because he was the father of his grandchildren. Juan said:

'Señor Hari [Mr. King], first let me explain. It was by your order that I looked for a living saint. You told me that if I did not find one you would hang me. So my life would be spared, I thought of painting myself so you would be happy.'

The king agreed that Juan was right.

'But you must marry one of my daughters,' he protested.

Juan chose the youngest princess and they were married a week later.[58]

VIII. *Pusong and Friends Kill Maka-andog*

A major mythical figure in eastern Samar is the benevolent giant known as Maka-andog (Samaran, "a person who when walking creates a loud noise like thunder and shakes the earth like an earthquake"). According to our informants, he was the first inhabitant of Samar

[58] The informant was a 68-year old married resident of Boroñgan who did not remember when he first heard this story.

and also the founder of Boroñgan. He had supernatural powers, an enormous appetite, and his adventures in eastern Samar explain many local landmarks, e.g., indentations in the coral where the sinkers of his fish net rested and his "footprints" can still be seen in certain rocky coastal formations. Many stories are told by the older people of Lalawigan and Boroñgan about Maka-andog; it is not unusual that some Pusong tales would adhere to this cycle.

Story No. 7

A story is told about Maka-andog and Juan Pusong who were friends. One day the two friends had an angry dispute. Both claimed that they were stronger than any animal in the world. To settle their argument they agreed to fight to see who was stronger; the loser would become the slave of the winner. So the two men fought. Pusong struggled with all his might but to no avail. Maka-andog, famous for his physical strength and supernatural powers, merely tapped Pusong with a finger and he fell at once prostrate to the ground. Maka-andog won so Pusong became his slave.

Pusong was a faithful and obedient slave to his master. He was given a field to cultivate. He went there to work each day. Maka-andog brought his food everyday. One day Maka-andog failed to bring food, for he slept all day. Pusong became very angry with him. So he started to his home in a boat with a plan to kill his master.

On his way he met a whetstone [*kamanga*].

'Good afternoon, Pusong' said the whetstone.

'Good afternoon,' answered Pusong.

'Where are you going?'

'I'm going home to kill my master. He did not bring me food this noon and I'm very hungry. Perhaps he is still asleep.'

'If you'll only let me ride in your boat I will help you kill your master,' the whetstone requested.

Pusong permitted him to ride and the two sailed on.

While they were sailing they met an eel. Like the whetstone, the eel asked Pusong where he was going. Pusong told him the story.

"If you'll let me ride in your boat I'll help you kill your master,' said the eel.

'All right, get in the boat,' said Pusong.

The three friends then sailed on until they met a bird called *getget.*

'Good afternoon, Pusong. Where are you going?' asked the bird.

'I'm going to kill my master because he did not bring me food this noon while I was at work.'

'Will you let me ride in your boat? I will help you kill Maka-andog,' said the bird. Pusong, happy to have him, allowed the bird to ride with them.

The four friends continued sailing until they met a *copapa* [a fern frond used as a fan]. Like the other passengers *copapa* asked Pusong where he was giong. Pusong told hm the story.

Finally the five friends sailed on together. At last they met a big bee.

'Good afternoon, Pusong. Where are you going?,' asked the big bee.

I'm going to kill my master because he did not bring me food this noon.'

'May I ride in your boat? I'll help you kill your master.'

'Yes, you may,' replied Pusong.

So the six continued sailing. [The informant forgot in the first telling to include the meeting with the crab, making six members for the group.] As they sailed they planned how they would kill Maka-andog. As the leader, Pusong said:

'All right, please listen to me. I'll tell you what each and everyone of us will do. Maka-andog is still sleeping. So what we will do is — we will arrange ourselves in the house. *Getget* will stay on a rafter above the place where Maka-andog is sleeping. The fan will stay by the cooking hearth. The crab will hide inside the drinking water jar. The big bee will stay by the door. The eel will lie flat on the top rung of the house ladder. The whetstone will stay on the ground, at the bottom of the house ladder. I shall shout as loud as I can in the yard to awaken the snoring Maka-andog. As he awakens he will yawn. As he opens his mounth *Getget,* on the rafter will drop his waste in his mouth as it opens.' Pusong then told the rest what their respective duties would be.

Soon they arrived at Maka-andog's house. The members of the group at once went to their assigned places while Pusong stayed in the yard. Seeing all of them were ready, Pusong began to shout as loud as he could to awaken his master. As his master opened his eyes, he yawned and yawned. Then the bird who was on the rafter began to drop his waste into Maka-andog's mouth. This forced him to rise. He ran to the kitchen. As he passed by the door, the big bee stung him. He went to the cooking hearth to build a fire for he was going to kill the bee. When he got there, the fan blew ashes into his eyes, blinding him.

Maka-andog went to the drinking water jar. He was going to wash the ashes out of his eyes. But as he dipped his hand inside the jar, the crab bit his fingers. By now he had many pains in his body so he decided to leave the house. As he stepped on the first rung where the eel was laying, he slipped and fell on the big whetstone on the ground in front of the ladder. Maka-andog broke his head and died.[59]

[59] The informant was an unmarried Filipina in Boroñgan. She first heard this tale from a 44-year old married male informant who lived in Sorok, a rural area of Boroñgan city.

A PRELIMINARY LIST OF ILOKO DRAMA

By Filonila Madamba-Tupas
Assistant Professor, Department of English, Arts and Sciences

The following is a list of extant manuscripts of Iloko drama, collected in the last three years in conjunction with a team research project on Philippine vernacular drama, approved and supported by the Social Sciences and Humanitarian Research Council of the University of the Philippines. The collection of holographs and typescripts includes transcriptions from folk memory of short, semi-dramatic forms and theatrical materials that have never been performed on stage. Only two of these works have been published.

This separate listing from a larger bibliography of Iloko drama that is being prepared for the team research project is a tribute to all the authors or owners of these manuscripts, who either gave them as an outright donation or for a token free and allowed them to be copied, and to all the informants who helped locate the "depositories" of these fast-vanishing artifacts and expressions of Ilocano life and culture.

The collection is a total of 232 titles but there is a lot more waiting to be retrieved and rescued from the limbo of anay-infested *bauls* and *aparadors,* or from the ravages of fire, water, time and neglect. This is especially true of La Union and Abra, two Ilocos provinces represented in this collection by only a dozen titles, and of other towns and areas in the Philippines and Hawaii where Iloko cultures has spread and taken roots.

The well-known *comedia* and *zarzuela* forms comprise the bulk of the collection. There is also a profusion of plays of varying lengths, with or without music, dealing with religious or secular themes, or else designed for specific occasions. The *comedia* and the *zarzuela* in Ilocos are a living tradition and they continue to this day to be performed during town fiestas. The degree to which they attract and hold their audiences is the measure of their continuing influence and relevances to Iloko life and culture. Very interesting is the existence in 2 or 3 vernacular translations of several *comedia* titles.

The semi-dramatic, indigenous dramatic forms, if they are cast and studied in their historical and cultural context is the more engaging study and a more authentic mirror of Ilocano culture and character. Aside from the dramatizations of certain events in the liturgical calendar or the life of Christ, the Virgin or the saints, the *dungaw* and the *pasion,* and the *Bukanegan,* there is the *dallot,* a verse dialogue sung by a man and a woman who match their wits on the subject of love and marriage; the verses sung during birthday celebrations, while a chosen guest, with measured steps, approaches the birthday celebrant and crowns him/her with a wreath of flowers, after which he/she addresses the honoree in flattering and endearing terms; the games played during wakes and other gatherings, very much like the *duplo,* the most popular being a question and answer type in which the leader asks a quotation and any one in the group who can not give the expected answer or finish the quotation is fined or punished by singing a song or reciting a poem; the *luante,* verses recited in praise of Christ, the Virgin or a saint recited during religious feasts; the *suelto,* a short song and verbal joust, often funny and/or naughty, between a man and a woman, usually performed during the intermissions of *comedia* or *zarzuela* performances; and a multitude of amusing skits, very popular to provincial radio program listeners.

Appended to this collection is a list of 178 primary materials culled from the checklists of different libraries, private collectors and bibliographers. Together they warrant various studies in the Iloko language, literature, history and culture.

For the present, a new, broader and closer view of Iloko drama is due and forthcoming, and from it a new insight into the Ilocano character drawn from the very element that helped nurture and enrich it.

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THE MUSLIMS IN THE PHILIPPINES: A BIBLIOGRAPHIC ESSAY

MOHAMMAD FATTHY MAHMOUD

A review of literature pertinent to the study of Muslims in the Philippines indicates the availability of a fairly good number of studies on the subject consisting of books, monographs, newspaper and magazine articles, speeches, researches, theses, dissertations and position papers. Most of these materials, however, were written by authors who merely echoed the Spanish chroniclers' account of the unimportant or villainous role that the Muslims played in Philippine history. Other works on the topic constitute studies and surveys which the government through its various agencies undertook for the principal purpose of discovering what the so-called "Moro Problem" is all about. There are, of course, a few fairly recent materials which deal with current efforts to know and understand the Muslims in the Philippines.

Another important source of related literature about the Muslims in the Philippines may be found in their own *tarsilas* or *salsilas*. They are genealogical accounts, some of which are written in Arabicized script and kept securely by trusted members of a Muslim clan. However, these genealogical accounts are mostly undated and fairly interspersed with myth and folklore. Nevertheless, they are useful sources of information in tracing one's ancestry as far back as the Prophet Mohammed.

One of the earliest and comparatively more reliable books written about the Muslims in the Philippines is *The History of Sulu*[1] by Dr. Najeeb M. Saleeby, a christian Arab from Souk el Gharb, Lebanon, who came to the Philippines in 1900 as an American Volunteer and who, in later years, became an active participant in the American administration of the Philippines in various important positions. In describing Saleeby's book Dr. Cesar Adib Majul, himself an eminent scholar on Islam, said:

> . . . The *History of Sulu* is the first and, so far, the only attempt to present in a historical narrative the origins of the Sulu

[1] Najeeb M. Saleeby, *The History of Sulu* (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, Inc., 1963), pp. 264.

> sultanate, its days of glory and vicissitudes up to the eve of its decline during the Spanish regime in the Philippines.
>
> . . . Since he was intimately connected with the American government in the Philippines especially at a time when the political integration of the country under the United States was being vigorously pursued, a colony politically distinct from the other colonies in Malaysia that were under either Dutch or British rule. Possibly, too, the data and resources available to him were limited.[2]

Dr. Saleeby's work attempts to explain the history of Sulu, particularly its Islamization, with the use of tarsilas or genealogical accounts which became available to him. He cross-checked and compared the data in the tarsilas with information, i.e., events and personages in the *Sejarah Melayu* in order to formulate a chronology relating to the introduction of Islam and the reign of the first Sulu sultan. Although the recent availability of additional historical sources necessitate the revision of certain facts and data in *The History of Sulu,* its importance to the student of the Muslims in the Philippines cannot be minimized. In fact the latter portion of the said book which were based on Blair and Robertson's definitive work, *The Philippine Islands,* continues to be accurate history. But most important of all, Dr. Saleeby has succeeded in documenting the historical role which the Sulu sultanates played in Philippine history.

Actually, Dr. Saleeby wrote an earlier book on the Muslims entitled *Studies in Moro History, Law and Religion*[3] which was published in 1905 and which contains a short history of the Maguindanaon sultanate as well as a few tarsilas of the sultans and the leading datus. Like the later book, *The History of Sulu*, the *Studies in Moro History, Land and Religion* is a pioneering effort, an attempt of an Arab scholar to conceptualize Moro history, law and society as a basis for government policies.

Another early book on the Muslims is Dr. Sixto Orosa's *The Sulu Archipelago and Its People*[4] which was first published in 1923. In this book, Dr. Orosa described the history of Sulu and its people as he saw it from his long association with them. He also described the Sulu sultanate, its rise and fall and later political developments in the province as a consequence of westernization. Indeed the book is rich with historical data and first-hand information on the inhabitants of Sulu.

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. ix.

[3] Najeeb M. Saleeby, *Studies in Moro History, Law and Religion* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1905).

[4] Sixto Y. Orosa, *The Sulu Archipelago and Its People* (Manila: New Mercury Printing Press, 1970), pp. 190.

The 1970 edition of Dr. Orosa's book has been further updated. Essentially, however, Dr. Orosa's observations remain as relevant and accurate as when he first made them in the early 1900's. As a historical work, Dr. Orosa's book may be considered as valuable as those of Dr. Najeeb Saleeby. Both writers worked in Sulu and they have had ample opportunity to know, understand, and observe the Suluano at close range.

An important material on the problems of the Muslims in the Philippines is the report of the House Special Committee to investigate the so-called Moro Problem in 1954.[5] Briefly, the Report found that there is indeed truth to the existence of the so-called Moro Problem consisting of socio-cultural, economic, political, educational, and religious factors. Consequently, the Report recommended a number of solutions to the problems of the Muslims including the creation of a Commission (the Commission on National Integration) which would work eventually toward the integration of the Muslims into the national body politic.

The Report of the House Special Committee contains important first-hand information on the problems of the Muslims *circa* 1954 and should prove valuable to scholars, policy-makers, and planners.

Another important document on the Muslims is the *Report on the Problems of Philippine Cultural Minorities*[6] which was undertaken by the Senate Committee on National Minorities from October 15, 1962 to January 15, 1963. According to the Report, there are five broad classes of problems confronting the members of the Cultural Minorities, namely, (1) land problems, (2) education, (3) livelihood, (4) health, and (5) transportation. On the basis of the Committee's findings, recommendations were presented which called either for legislation or for administrative action. Like the earlier Report of the House Special Committee to Investigate the Moro Problem, the Senate Report is rich in data and information on the problems of the Muslims in the Philippines.

One of the recommendations presented by the Congress Reports was the establishment of the Mindanao State University. Soon after its creation, its first president, Dr. Antonio Isidro came up with three

[5] *Report of the House Special Committee to Investigate the Moro Problem* especially with regard to peace and order in Mindanao and Sulu, 3rd Congress, 2nd Session, 1954.

[6] Congress of the Philippines, Senate, *Report on the Problems of Philippine Cultural Minorities*, 1963, pp. 36.

definitive studies on the Muslims in the Philippines. The first of these studies was *Muslim-Christian Integration at the Mindanao State University.*[7] Although the book contains data on the so-called Moro Problem, its emphasis is on the objectives and conditions which brought about the establishment of the Mindanao State University, to serve "as a government instrument for social change". Aside from a narration of the different courses which Mindanao State University offers, the book also highlights certain programs, both academic and non-academic, which were intended primarily for the purpose of achieving integration among the Muslim and Christian populace of the Minsupala region. In brief, the book *Muslim-Christian Integration at the Mindanao State University,* is a valuable piece of literature on the different strategies which an educational institution or a government entity may use in its attempts at integration and, ultimately in achieving unity in diversity.

Another book, *Muslim Philippines,*[8] which actually is a reprint of the first chapter of the book *Muslim-Christian Integration at the Mindanao State University,* emphasizes the importance of understanding the so-called Muslim Problem. In this book, the editors, Dr. Antonio Isidro and Dr. Mamitua Saber tried to trace the historical development of the Muslims in the Philippines, their society and culture, government and politics, economy, health and medical problems and education. It is the contention of the editors that understanding and assisting the Muslim Filipinos is important in the context of developments in Southeast Asia where the Muslims are a majority. They also believe that it is possible to achieve unity in diversity *vis-a-vis* the Muslim-Christian relationship.

A third important book from the Mindanao State University staff is *The Moro Problem: An Approach Through Education.*[9] The book describes the sad state of public education in the Minsupala region, particularly in the Muslim areas as compared with education in Luzon and the Visayas. As a consequence of the unhappy educational situation in the Muslim region, the people continue to lag behind their Christian brothers. Dr. Isidro comes up with convincing sta-

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[7] Antonio Isidro, *Muslim-Christian Integration at the Mindanao State University* (Marawi City: MSU University Research Senter, 1968), pp. 455.

[8] Antonio Isidro and Mamitua Saber, (eds.) *Muslim Philippines,* (Marawi City: MSU Research Center, 1968), pp. 108.

[9] Antonio Isidro, *The Moro Problem: An Approach Through Education* (Manila: Rangel and Sons, 1968), pp. 141.

tistics on the percentage of drop-outs, the retention rate, quality of teachers, and other factors to prove his point. A highlight of the book is his proposal for a system of education which would not only improve the present system of education in the Muslim areas but also assure its relevance to Muslim needs, goals, and aspirations. This proposal also contains the scope and cost of the project which amounts to one million pesos. It is the opinion of Dr. Isidro that the solution to the so-called Moro Problem lies in education.

A highly provocative book on the Muslims is Alunan Glang's *Muslim Secession or Integration?*[10] which came out at a time when certain segments of the Muslim population in Mindanao had started talking of an Independence Movement. In the words of the author,

> Here, in the Philippines, the Muslim Filipino was born — and here, will he die. It is this country which has witnessed the pain and glory of his struggles — as he wrote down with his blood the meaning of his existence, and nurtured it to life with his tears. His story echoes through the centuries with the cry of an unvanquished spirit seeking to root down his identity in the beautiful land that gave him birth — and if here he saw the nights, it is here, just as well, where he knows the brightness of the day.[11]

It is the thesis of this book that under the present conditions in the Philippines (pre-martial law days) the Muslim Filipino is faced with the choice of either seceding from the country or being integrated into the mainstream of Philippine life. He proposes, therefore the institution of a "Federal Republic which allows the development of the cultures of the Muslims and harmonizes and coordinates with the rest of the nation for the formation of a truly Filipino image and identity."[12]

Jainal D. Rasul, a Muslim-Filipino lawyer from Sulu and a scion of the local ruling families, has written a book entitled *The Philippine Muslims: Struggle for Identity.*[13] Starting with the introduction of Islam, the book traces in great detail the history of Muslims in the Philippines. A genealogical enumeration of the different Sulu and Maguindanao rulers presumably on the basis of tarsilas which have come to the author's attention, was made. As a narration and description of the Muslim situation from the point of view

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[10] Alunan C. Galang, *Muslim Secession or Integration?* (Quezon City; R. P. Garcia Publishing Co., 1969), pp. 122.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. iii.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

[13] Jainal D. Rasul, *The Philippine Muslims: Struggle for Identity* (Manila: Nueva Era Press, Inc., 1970), pp. 149.

of a Muslim, the book is quite interesting and worthy of a scholar's serious perusal. Unintentionally, however, the author has made the book a sort of an apologia for his people.

The book of Rasul is a brave attempt of a Muslim scholar to interpret his people's history and culture in the light of his being an active participant and member of that history and culture. It is also an important chronicle of historical events in which the Muslims were significant participants and it is in this context that Rasul's book should be viewed.

A more recent and significant book is Cesar Adib Majul's *Muslims in the Philippines.*[14] In the Preface, the author wrote:

> A better understanding of the Muslim peoples in the Philippines requires a knowledge not only of the nature of the impact of Islam on their social transformation and early political development but also of the circumstances and manner by which their early history became a part of that wider entity, the Malaysian world which was progressively becoming Islamized. xxx The history of the Muslims in the Philippine Archipelago shows how the arrival of the Spaniards hereabouts and that of other European powers in nearby areas so isolated them from other Muslims that they were forced to fully mobilize and depend more, at times almost solely, on their own resources to preserve their way of life.[15]

Majul's book fulfills a long felt need for a basis for further inquiry and subsequent elucidation on a vital aspect of Philippine history. A greater appreciation of the concept and implications of a pluralistic society is a must for future generations of Filipinos, who will have to view the historical and cultural forces that were at play in the Muslim South as part and parcel of the nation's heritage.

The book also displaces much of the vacuum in the scholar's cylinder of organized historical data on the Muslims, of whose past Najeeb Saleeby's accounts on Maguindanao and Sulu had practically been the sole authoritative source. It is part of Majul's thesis that the Islamization of Sulu and Maguindanao went through the same process, only in miniature, as that which prevailed in all parts of the world regarding expansion and subsequent colonialism and imperialism: commerce followed by religion, then politicalization. Thus is the foothold gained, developed and strengthened.

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[14] Cesar Adib Majul, *Muslims in the Philippines* (Quezon City; University of the Philippines Press, 1973), pp. 392.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. vii.

Because the book is basically a historical work, Majul leaves the question of the future of the Muslims in the Philippines unanswered. It is clear, however, that the Majul's book has uncovered for many, the dominant features of Muslim history and culture that must be taken into account by programs of development and integration in Muslim Mindanao.

A basic study on the interplay between traditional government among the Muslims and Western-type constitutional government may be gleaned from a monograph written by Teresita V. Benitez entitled *The Politics of Marawi*[16] which was based on a master's thesis. The monograph constitutes a pioneering study on modern political institutions and traditional governments. In the words of Dr. Ruben Santos-Cuyugan,

> Proceeding along the "community power approach" it (the monograph) scrutinizes the record of the city's political process and examines the nature and structure of power in Marawi. However, it also focusses attention on the interplay of modern and traditional political norms and institutions. In presents findings which support two conclusions: x x x that those who hold power and make decisions for the government of Marawi do so by virtue of legally constituted authority x x x and that the people who elect them, cast their votes on considerations other than their own interests.[17]

The author contends that there is a monolithic power structure in Marawi which brings about the subordinate role the population plays in government management and decision-making. Under this situation, therefore, there exist no significant and effective groups. Ultimately, the power of the political elite is reinforced.

An important work on the transition from a traditional to a legal authority system is Dr. Mamitua Saber's doctoral dissertation.[18] This dissertation examines the passing of tradition through a focus upon change in the authority system, which is an important part of the network of social relations. It is also concerned with the replacement of traditional system by governmental forms imposed or impressed by larger, controlling, and essentially outside agents which is the situation in many small societies and tribal groups today. Saber's work is important in the sense that by analyzing the various factors

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[16] Teresita V. Benitez, *The Politics of Marawi* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1969), pp. 67.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. v.

[18] Mamitua Saber, *The Transition From A Traditional To a Legal Authority System: A Philippine Case* (Kansas; University of Kansas, 1967), pp. 212.

which interact as a result of the transition from a traditional to a legal system it becomes possible to draw the appropriate development plans and programs necessary for planned change.

Nooh H. Indin, a Tausug educator, did a study on the Tausugs for his master's degree entitled *The Tausugs: A Study of Their Religious Heritage.*[19] In this study, the author attempted to provide background informatioon on the Tausugs of Sulu particularly their customs, traditions and practices, to clarify misconceptions about the Muslims, and to offer possible solutions to the problems of education of the Muslims in the Philippines. The author also intended his study as an instrument for better understanding and cooperation between and among Muslims and Christians in the Philippines.

Juanito A. Bruno, another Tausug educator, undertook a study of the Tausug for his doctoral dissertation entitled *The Social World of the Tausug.*[20] The study is intended to show how to improve the quality of Tausug life through education. It includes an exhaustive analysis of the problems of the Tausug and pertinent proposals for preventive and remedial measures seldom found in critical documents of public interest. The author believes that "now, not tomorrow, is the time to articulate and press for desirable educational improvements because the educational system is in the process of reorganization and reorientation."[21]

Another academic study of the Suluanos was undertaken by Anne Lindsey Reber for her Master's degree at Cornell University entitled *The Sulu World in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: A Historiographical Problem in British Writings on Malay Piracy.*[22] Briefly, this study explains and analyzes the so-called Raffles' theories of the origins of piracy as these are related to the Sulu sultanate during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It also describes Sulu's policy, commerce, and neighborhood relations. Its value lies in its description of the state of affairs in the Sulu sultanate during the

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[19] Nooh H. Indin, *The Tausugs: A Study Of Their Religious Heritage,* Unpublished Master's Thesis, (National Teachers College, Manila, 1960), pp. 120.

[20] Juanito A. Bruno, *The Social World of the Tausug* (Manila: Centro Escolar University Research and Development Center, 1973), pp. 189.

[21] *Ibid.,* p. xiii.

[22] Anne Lindsey Reber, *The Sulu World in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: A Historiographical Problem in British Writings on Malay Piracy,* Unpublished Master's Thesis, Cornell University, 1966, pp. 316.

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It is a critical analysis of how the foreigners' particular biases show in their chronicle of events, especially historical accounts.

The Muslim Armed Struggle in the Philippines[23] is the title of a study undertaken by Samuel Kong Tan for his doctoral degree at the Syracuse University. The paper explores the historical factors and forces which have brought about continued armed Muslim struggle against the Spaniards, against the Americans, and more recently against the Philippine government itself. The author also attempts to describe and analyze the various armed struggles the Muslims put up over a period of several years including the Kamlon Uprising in Sulu and related events in Cotabato and Lanao. This study is a valuable guide to the problem of armed struggles put up by the Muslims against their "enemies".

Dauday Ayo Tago, a Muslim from Lanao del Sur, undertook a study entitled *Problems of Muslim and Chinese Minorities in the Philippines,*[24] for his master's degree in political science at the Cairo University, Arab Republic of Egypt. Tago believes that the "Muslim and Chinese minorities in the Philippines . . . like other minorities everywhere . . . are entitled to and should demand safeguards for their protection and development."[25] Tago's study focuses on the need for the government to come up with substantial and workable reforms for its Muslim and Chinese minorities so that the sense of belongingness may be developed among them.

Another study on the educational problems of the Muslims in the Philippines was done by Abdullah T. Madale for his doctoral dissertation at the Al Azhar University, Cairo, Arab Republic of Egypt. The study entitled *Proposal for a System of Education for the Muslims in the Philippines*[26] attempts to discover the reasons behind the failure of the Philippine educational system in the Muslim areas by examining the curriculum, teacher-training, administrative and supervisory program and physical facilities of existing schools in selected Mindanao and Sulu communities.

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[23] Samuel Kong Tan, *The Muslim Armed Struggle in the Philippines,* Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Syracuse University, 1973.

[24] Dauday A. Tago, *Problems of Muslim and Chinese Minorities in the Philippines,* Unpublished Master's Thesis, Cairo University, 1970, pp. 138.

[25] *Ibid.,* p. 133.

[26] Abdullah T. Madale, *Proposal for a System of Education for the Muslims in the Philippines,* Unpublished dissertation, Al Azhar University, Cairo, Arab Republic of Egypt, 1974, pp. 203

The study of Madale is particularly significant in that it proposes a new solution to the perennial problems of Muslims in the Philippines. He contends that it is only through education that permanent frontiers in Mindanao and Sulu can be established. Madale's proposal, however, does not imply establishment of a separate system of education for the Muslims but rather a complementary and supplementary educational program which would he relevant to the needs, problems, and aspirations of the Muslims in the Philippines.

A study on the Muslims conducted by a team of experts under the auspices of the Filipinas Foundation, a private, non-profit, non-religious organization, is *An Anatomy of Philippine Muslim Affairs*.[27] The study traces the history of the various Muslim groups in the Philippines, the development of their traditional government, Muslim-Christian relationship, agents of change and barriers to integration, and prospects of their participation in the economic development of Mindanao.

Another study on ethnic relations which has relevance to the problems of the Muslims was conducted under the auspices of the Boy Scouts of the Philippines, Committee on National Solidarity on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of Philippine Scouting. Entitled *Two Minority Groups in Philippine Society*,[28] the study is intended as a response to the awareness of the growing need for the Filipino to understand himself and his social environment. It has four principal goals, namely (1) to examine the attitudes of the different ethnic groups toward one another and identify problems relevant to majority-minority ethnic relations, (2) to provide a better understanding of the ethnic Chinese, (3) to lay the groundwork for a general and intensive in-depth study on ethnic relations and attitudes, and (4) to recommend some lines of action that may be undertaken to promote national unity. This study is very rich in data and information on ethnic relations particularly between Muslims and non-Muslims. Its findings on ethnic relations and attitudes are highly interesting and revealing because they show how the Muslims look at their Christian brothers and vice versa. Although the study suffers from certain

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[27] *An Anatomy of Philippine Muslim Affairs: A Study in Depth on Muslim Affairs in the Philippines* (Rizal: Filipinas Foundation, Inc., 1971).

[28] *Two Minority Groups in Philippine Society: A Study on Ethnic Relations*, Boy Scouts of the Philippines, Committee on National Solidarity, Manila, 1973, pp. 345.

biases it is indeed useful in the understanding of Muslim and Christian relations.

Other important documentary materials on the Muslims are the numerous reports, mostly annually, of various government entities or commissions whose sphere of responsibility include the Muslims in Mindanao and Sulu. The following is a listing of these reports and a brief description of what each contains:

1. *Report of the United States Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War,* December, 1901. This report deals with the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes created to conduct a systematic investigation of the non-Christian tribes, define the limits of their territories, their number and social organization, their languages, beliefs, manners, customs and traditions in order to bring about their advancement in civilization and material progress for their ultimate integration into the body politic.

2. *Report of the United States Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War,* 1903. This report contains data and information on the creation of the Moro province composed of Sulu, Cotabato, Lanao, Davao and Zamboanga and the creation of the Council composed of the Governor, the Secretary, the Treasurer, the Superintendent of Schools and the provincial engineer who were all appointed by the Governor-General.

3. *Report of the Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War,* July 1, 1913 to December 31, 1914. This report contains information on the abolition of the Moro Province and the subsequent creation of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu comprising the provinces of Sulu, Lanao, Cotabato, Zamboanga, Davao, Agusan and Bukidnon, with its headquarters at Dansalan (now Marawi City). The administrative body was composed of the governor, treasurer, secretary, attorney and one delegate who were all appointed by the Governor-General with the approval of the Philippine Commission.

4. *Revised Administrative Code of the Philippines*[29] with amendments up to September 10, 1955. Sections 701-705 of this Code which was approved on March 10, 1917 constitutes the organic law of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes.

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[29] *Revised Administrative Code of the Philippines* with amendments up to September 10, 1955 (Bureau of Printing, Manila, 1958). For data on the Muslims, please see Chapter 28, Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, pp. 340-341.

5. *Report of the Governor General of the Philippine Islands to the Secretary of War*,[30] January 1, 1917 to December 31, 1917. This Report contains information on the special duties and purposes of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes.

The reports of the Philippine Commission are also excellent sources of materials about the Muslims in the Philippines. A particular report[31] contains information on the Moro Province, specifically its peace and order situation and administration. Other reports of the said Commission, when available, are rich sources of first-hand information on Muslim affairs during the American regime and up to the establishment of the Philippine Commonwealth.

A significant monograph on possible constitutional reforms for the solution of the problems of the Muslims is that of Atty. Michael Mastura, a delegate to the 1971 constitutional convention from Cotabato. Entitled *The Moro Problem: An Approach Through Constitutional Reforms*,[32] the monograph tackles four important aspects of the so-called Moro Problem, namely, political structure, economic security, Muslim institutions, and the economic development of Mindanao. Atty. Mastura holds that while the problems of the Muslims are many and complicated, it is still possible to solve them through constitutional reforms. He concludes:

> Hopefully, the Muslims look forward to a definition of their role in the new constitution. Political representation is looked upon as a matter of right. Partial demonstration of their share in the sovereign power is to guarantee them seats in the government. A schedule of national minorities and their corresponding seats according to their population is in order.[33]

In the mind of Atty. Mastura, the Commission of National Integration should be replaced by a representative agency through which all the demands for the collective needs of the Muslims may be submitted to the national government. He also desires changes in the educational system, an array of guarantees in the constitution for minority right, and finally increased economic power for the Muslims.

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[30] This Report and others submitted by the Philippine Commission contain first-hand information about the Muslims. Usually each Report covers most if not all the Departments in the government.

[31] For more detail, please see *Philippine Commission Report*, 1910; *Philippine Commission Report*, 1911, *Philippine Commission Report*, 1900-1903.

[32] Michael Mastura, *The Moro Problem: An Approach Through Constitutional Reforms* (Manila: 1971 Constitutional Convention Press, 1971), pp. 80.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

Another worthwhile monograph is Mamintal A. Tamano's *Needed: A Total Commitment*[34] which contains the author's compilation of his writings particularly on the problem of national integration. According to Tamano, the problem of integrating the Muslims into the mainstream of Philippine national life requires not a partial but a total commitment as well as a conscious and deliberate effort from all sectors of Philippine society and all branches of our government. The book also attempts to thresh out the *raison de etre* of the present crisis in Mindanao.

A historical study on the Islamization of the Philippines, the coming of the Spaniards and the Americans and the century-old battle which the Muslim Filipinos waged in order to reassert their sovereignty and preserve their religion, culture, and society was written by D.J.M. Tate. Entitled *The Making of Modern Asia*,[35] the book is a rich introduction to the history of modern Southeast Asia for students at the pre-University level and beyond, as well as for the general reader. It is also a valuable source of information on the history of Islamization in Southeast Asia including Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines.

The first volume tells the story of the coming of the Western powers and how they asserted their presence in Southeast Asia which resulted in their virtual control of the said region. It is a political story dating back to the arrival of the Portuguese pioneers and culminating with the last struggles of the old states of Southeast Asia for their independence.

What makes the said book different from other history books in the Philippines is that the historical events and their implications to the Islamization of the Philippines are treated as objective historical happenings which need to be understood in the context of the meeting of two opposing forces, each one intent on subjugating the other. The book views Islamization in the Philippines as an integral part of the Islamization of Southeast Asia and not as an isolated historical phenomenon. It also considers the struggles of the sultanates of Sulu and Maguindanao against the Spaniards as a conscious and integral part of the regional struggles of the traditional rulers of the various

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[34] Mamintal A. Tamano, *Needed: A Total Commitment* (Manila: CNI, 1968), pp. 53.

[35] D. J. M. Tate, *The Making of Modern Southeast Asia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), Vol. 1, the European Conquest, pp. 582.

Asian countries against Western colonizers. It is the contention of the book that the spread of Islam in Southeast Asia was partly be attributed to the role it played in the politics of the area. This role was significantly increased at the beginning of the sixteenth century and thereafter with the appearance of the Europeans on the scene.[36]

A book on the influence of Spanish culture on Philippine indigenuous culture may be found in John L. Phelan's book *The Hispanization of the Philippines*.[37] In his book, Phelan traces the contact between indigenuous Philippine society and Spanish culture which he terms "hispanization". He also touches briefly on what he calls the Philippinization of Spanish Catholicism or the influence of indigenuous Philippine society and culture on Catholicism.

According to Phelan's views, the Spanish government envisaged a radical transformation of native Philippine society in the religious, political and economic aspects. The importances of Phelan's book lies in its attempts to determine the nature of the Spanish programs and projects in the Philippines and their effects on the country and its people.

A valuable guide to the history of the Philippines, *vis-a-vis* its developments is found in the book *The Philippines*[38] by Joseph Halston Hayden. The book traces the historical development of the Filipino people including the development of their governmental institutions from pre-Spanish days up to independence. It also touches on the educational programs for the Filipinos, problems of the commonwealth government and external relations with countries like China, Japan, and the United States.

Recently, a number of definitive work on the question of majority-minority relations in Southeast Asia have surfaced as a result probably of current developments in the area. One of these books is Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff's *Minority Problems in Southeast Asia*.[39] This book deals with the various minorities in Southeast Asia like the Chinese, the Indians, indigenuous minorities, Buddhists,

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[36] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[37] John L. Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines*: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1959).

[38] Joseph R. Hayden, *The Philippines* (New York: MacMillan Co., 1955), pp. 984.

[39] Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *Minority Problems in Southeast Asia* (California: Stanford University Press, 1955), pp. 385.

and Christian minorities, their impact on the present and future of these said countries. The authors, in undertaking this pioneering study, focus on the Chinese and the Indians in Southeast Asia because of the important role that they are playing at present. Other minority groups have also been included. The authors look at their study as an eye-opener to the problem of minorities in Southeast Asia which is now fast becoming serious.

The book is a very timely contribution to the limited literature available on the minorities in Southeast Asia. Aside from being a guide to the student of political science in understanding the minority phenomenon in the area, it may also help policy-makers draw up programs for these people.

Philippine Nationalism[40] is another book worth reading because of its lengthy and scholarly treatment of the historical development of nationalism. Mahajani traces the development of Philippine nationalism from the Spanish period up to the Japanese period. She says that "Filipino nationalism leaders who helped shape the history of one period were themselves largely the products of the history of the previous period."[41] This, to her, constitutes what she calls one of the elements of continuity which has not been explored in the study of Filipino nationalism.

The book is a valuable contribution to the understanding of Philippine history, of Asian nationalism as a whole, and of the colonial policies of the three ruling powers. The author argues that perhaps Philippine nationalism which has now started to attack "colonialism" is beginning to mature. She says, however, that although the chronological pattern of Philippine nationalism differs from that of other Asian nationalism movements, it has all along possessed most, if not all, of the common characteristics of Asian nationalism.

The Filipino in the Seventies: An Ecumenical Perspective[42] is an inter-denominational effort to picture the Filipino in the current decade from the point of view of theologians, social scientists as well as laymen. Containing a number of essays, the book considers such topics

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[40] Usha Mahajani, *Philippine Nationalism: External Challenge and Filipino Response* (Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1971), pp. 530.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 58.

[42] Vitaliano Gorospe and Richard Deats, (eds.) *The Filipino in the Seventies: An Ecumenical Perspective* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1973), pp. 425.

as the search for national and individual self-identity; the major social issues of the seventies, including urbanization, the population problem, physical environment, and the overwhelming problems of economic development; the situation of the minorities in the Philippines, and the mission of the Christian churches in promoting social justice.

The book is highly interesting and affords the reader an insight into what the Filipino in the current decade looks like, i.e., what he thinks, what he believes in, what he does, etc. An important section of the book considers the minorities in the Philippines such as the Chinese, the Muslims and others. Although the book is largely influenced by Catholic and Protestant writers, it, nevertheless, is informative, challenging, and beneficial because it deals with issues and subjects which are contemporary to the present Philippine scene.

A Short History of the Philippines,[43] is a historian's account of the "turbulent past and the uneasy present of an emerging nation". The author describes his subject, the Filipino as

> . . . a mixture of races, of East and West, although he is descended from the Malay. Centuries of contact with the countries of Asia and almost four hundred years of domination of Western Powers have made the Filipino an Asian in Western garb. Outwardly, he is the most Westernized Asian but at heart he is still an Asian. He has traits that show curious contradictions which foreigners are apt to misunderstand. His basic philosophy is the folkloric *bahala na* which, loosely translated, is equivalent to the English "come what may". It is a way of life that is animated by a sense of fatalism . . . Thus he faces disaster or tragedy with equanimity. He appears indifferent in the face of graft and corruption. He appears impassive in the face of personal misfortune.[44]

The book as a historical account is very comprehensive. It begins with the pre-colonial period and ends with postwar nationalism. Fortunately, this history book has deviated from the usual run of Philippine historical accounts which usually echo the chronicle of Philippine events as seen by Spanish writers. If only for this, the book deserves a place in Philippine history and literature.

There are special reports related to the understanding of the problems of the Muslims in the Philippines which the writer believes should be included in this review of related literature. One of this is

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[43] Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *A Short History of the Philippines* (New York: The New American Library, 1969), pp. 319.

[44] *Ibid.*, foreword.

The Muslim Referendum Vote: A Mandate with the New Society[45] which was prepared and submitted by Lininding P. Pangandaman, first Philippine Muslim ambassador to the Royal Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The study is in the form of a report on the analysis and evaluation of the 1973 referendum votes and remarks sheets covering the provinces of Lanao del Sur, Lanao del Norte, Cotabato, South Cotabato, Sulu, Zamboanga del Sur and Zamboanga del Norte; and the cities of Marawi, Iligan, Cotabato, General Santos, Basilan, Zamboanga, Pagadian, Dipolog, and Dapitan. "The report on the Muslim vote in the last referendum," to quote the writer, is "a mandate that unites the Muslim Filipinos with the New Society."[46] It also briefly describes the Muslim vote, thus crystallizing the aspiration of Muslim Filipinos.

Anoher report entitled *Project Report on the UP-MSU Executive Development Program for Mindanao-Sulu-Palawan*[47] deals with the plan to institutionalize an executive development program for the Minsupala area. The report consists of two major topics: the results of the survey of the executive development "market" and a formulation of the executive development program which is proposed for implementation. The report contains valuable data and information on the proposed executive development program, particularly how it will affect the development of the Minsupala area.

The author also consulted books writen about Southeast Asia and neighboring countries which contain materials about the Philippines particularly the Muslims in the Philippines. A listing of these books follows:

1. Dick Wilson, *Asia Awakes*.[48] This book includes materials on the problems in Jolo between Christians and Muslims. It is also a major new examination of the vast turmoil and changes affecting the peoples of Southeast Asia, sometimes referred to as the cradle of emerging nations. This book, in the words of its author,

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[45] Lininding P. Pangandaman, *The Muslim Referendum Vote: A Mandate with the New Society* (Manila: Commission on Elections, 1973), p. 105.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. i.

[47] Project Report on the *UP-MSU Executive Development Program* 1971-1972. Prepared jointly by a staff from the Mindanao State University and the University of the Philippines and submitted to President Salvador P. Lopez, UP president, and President Mauyag M. Tamano, MSU President, August, 1972.

[48] (New York: The New American Library, 1971).

> vividly depicts the huge changes now occuring, the leaders directing them, the political and economic systems being used to carry them out, their successes and failures, and their future prospects. It is essential reading for anyone seeking to understand the world of today — and tomorrow.[49]

2. K. J. Ratnam, *Communalism and the Political Process in Malaya*[50] is an attempt to present, discuss, and analyze the political consequences of communal divisions in the Federation of Malaya. It concentrates on the post-war period when the bulk of the non-Malay population in the country ceased to be transient and became a part of the settled population demanding widely increased political rights and thereby threatening the privileged position of the Malays. The relevance of the book with the subject under study lies in its accurate description and analysis of the problem of communalism as it refers to the relations between majority and minority groups such as in the Philippines. In this regard, therefore, this book will be of benefit to the student of integration in the Philippines.

3. Fred R. von der Mehden, in *Politics of the Developing Nations,*[51] studies and compares politics and political development in emerging nations in Asia. The author believes that the two major problems of these new nations are maintenance of a stable government and the establishment of a unified state. His findings show that of the 84 countries studied, 40 have been victims of successful coups or serious attempts to overthrow the established governments. Fourteen former colonies achieved independence in the period 1945-55; in 11 of these, the government have been either attacked or overthrown by extra-legal forces. The book analyzes some of the problems of political instability and disunity in the new nations. It also contains information on the economic, social, and political heritage of colonialism; the basic problem of national identity as well as forms of alienation and efforts to counter their impact on the developing countries; the present status of political parties, elites and national ideologies and the question of unity and stability.

4. Charles W. Anderson, *et. al., Issues of Political Development*[52] is about three political aspirations that seem to be common to all emerging nations and the problems that the leaders of those states must resolve such as nationalism, cultural pluralism; stability; and

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[49] *Ibid.*, p. 1.
[50] (Kuala Lumpur: University of Singapore, 1965).
[51] (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964).
[52] (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1967).

development. The authors are of the opinion that the three issues involved are "fundamental ones, for they deal with the establishment, maintenance, and purpose of political life itself".

5. Robert N. Bellah (ed.) *Religion and Progress in Asia*[53] is based on papers presented at a conference on cultural motivations to progress in South and Southeast Asia held in Manila from June 3-8, 1963. The book contains essays which explore the role religions play in the modernization process taking place in the said area. It explores the "modernization of the soul". According to the writers,

> Religion, whatever its ultimate orientation, is very much bound up with the totality of the social process and the concreteness of individual existence, especially in Asia where religion still largely shapes the traditional forms of culture.[54]

6. Fred R. von der Mehden's *Religion and Nationalism in Southeast Asia*[55] deals with the interrelation of religion and nationalism. According to the author the birth of nationalism in Asia had a number of causes, including color discrimination, economic oppression and disruption, Western education, Japanese expansion, religion and the development of communications. Three states form the nucleaus of this monograph, namely, Burma, Indonesia and the Philippines. The author thinks that Burma and Indonesia are examples of the relationship between religion and nationalism while the Philippines is considered only when its peculiar situation illustrates a specific point.

A good number of scholarly publications including magazine articles have also been consulted. Some of them are the following:

1. *Sulu Studies 1,* Coordinated Investigation of Sulu culture, edited by Gerard Rixhon.[56] This publication, which comes out regularly, is undertaken by the research staff of the Notre Dame of Jolo College. This particular issue contains studies made on Sulu in a span of ten years, and includes descriptions of Tausug policy and the Sulu sultanate, the setting of vocal music, housebuilding, reciprocity in Samal marriage. It has also a selected list of recent works on Sulu, folk literature collection, and an article on Mullung, a Tausug storyteller.

The Coordinated Investigation of Sulu Culture is the research arm of the Notre Dame of Jolo College.

> It conducts research on the culture and history of the people living in the area formerly covered by the sultanate of Sulu

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[53] (New York: The Free Press, 1965).
[54] *Ibid.,* p. ix.
[55] (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1963).
[56] (Jolo: Notre Dame of Sulu).

and coordinate with visiting scholars doing fieldwork in the Province of Sulu.

It makes available to researchers a small library of books, articles, microfilms and microcards on Sulu and adjacent areas along with a collection of recent reference books in the various social sciences.[57]

2. *Sulu Studies 2.* This is the second issue of the above stated publication from the research arm of the Notre Dame of Jolo College. This issue contains reports of researches made on Sulu art, classification of Tausug verbs, Tausug orthography, an archaeological approach to ethnic diversity in Zamboanga and Sulu, folk tales, the Parang Sabil of Abdullaa and Putli Isara irn Spanish times (a Tausug ballad), Abunnawas, a Samal trickster, and a selection of Tausug riddles and proverbs.

3. Samuel K. Tan's "Sulu Under American Military Rule: 1899-1913,[58] is intended to recreate a new perspective in Muslim history. It deals with Sulu under American military administration from 1899-1913. The study gives a background on the American rule, the Bates Treaty, armed disturbances, political and educational reforms and development, socio-economic reforms and progress and other related matters. In the writing of this research work the author used available American materials as well as other information gleaned from newspapers like the *Manila Times* and the *Mindanao Herald.*

4. Aprodicio A. Laquian's "The Political Integration of Muslim Filipinos,"[59] explores the problem of political integration as it affects national development. It looks at the problem both at the level of the local community and at the national level. The article is very interesting reading because of the materials it provides on the Muslims *vis-a-vis* their integration and the insight it gives on the political development of these people.

5. *Journal on National Integration,* edited by Alice H. Reyes[60] contains interesting articles written by leading Muslim scholars and writers on such topics as Muslim higher education in medieval times, the Muslim social organization, Palawan social organization, Muslim Filipinos in unity within diversity, and national integration as an antidote to separatism.

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[57] *Ibid.,* p. 1.

[58] *Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review,* Vol. XXXII, No. 1, (March, 1967).

[59] *Philippine Journal of Public Administration,* Vol. XIII, No. 4, (October, 1969), pp. 357-380.

[60] Vol. II, No. 1, (1969).

6. Cesar Adib Majul's "Theories of the Introduction and Expansion of Islam in Malaysia,"[61] deals with the nature of the introduction and expansion of Islam in the Philippines, especially in the southern islands, namely, the Sulu archipelago and Mindanao. Majul, in this article, discusses several theories on the spread of Islam in Malaysia such as the trade theory, the missionary theory, the Sufi influence, the political theory, and the crusader's theory.

7. Robert B. Fox's "A Consideration of Theories Concerning Possible Affiliations of Mindanao Cultures with Borneo, the Celebes, and other Regions of the Philippines,"[62] is another important article on the possible affiliations of the cultures in Mindanao with those in neighboring countries like Borneo, the Celebes, and other regions in the Philippines. The theories presented are backed up by historical documents and archaeological findings.

8. Alice H. Reyes and Artemio S. Rodriguez, (eds.) *Journal on National Integration.*[63] This first publication of the Commission on National Integration contains interesting articles on integration and how it affects other aspects of Philippine society such as planned change, mass media, education, and related topics. There is also an article on the oral literature of Philippine minority groups.

9. Cesar Adib Majul's "Cultural and Religious Responses to Development and Social Change,"[64] deals with the changes which take place in a society, particularly with Muslim society, as a result of development and social change. The author describes how Islam as a religion and a way of life responds to change and development using Muslim students in Manila as example of the manifestations of these changes.

10. *Solidarity,*[65] contains two important articles dealing with the problems of the Muslims in the Philippines. One of these articles is Robert D. McAmis' "Muslim Filipinos in the 1970's." According to McAmis, the prospects for the Muslims at the beginning of the

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[61] *Silliman Journal,* Vol. XI, No. 4 (October-December, 1964).

[62] *Philippine Sociological Review,* Vol. V, No. 1 (January, 1957), pp. 2-11.

[63] (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1968).

[64] *The Diliman Review,* Vol. XVIII, No. 1, (January, 1970).

[65] Vol. VIII, No. 6, (December, 1973). Other articles of the Solidarity which contains materials on the Muslims in the Philippines may be found in the following issues: Vol. 4, No. 3 (March, 1969) pp. 1-34; Vol. VII, No. 4 (April, 1972), pp. 6-42; and Vol. VII, No. 1 (January, 1972), pp. 3-6.

1970's were good although these were shattered by the uprising in Marawi City. In a sense, the article is a Christian's way of looking at the Muslim problem. The other article written by Mamintal A. Tamano is entitled "How to Solve the Muslim Problem Without Bullets." Tamano is of the belief that the Muslim Problem can be solved by determined and well-planned government programs and projects which the author enumerates in great detail.

11. *Philippines Quarterly*.[66] is a special issue devoted to the Muslims in the Philippines. It contains articles written by a number of Muslim scholars on such topics as the story of the Filipino Muslims, the Muslim Problem, response to challenge, encounter of two cultures, reconstruction and development program, Muslim art, and other relevant articles. Briefly, the issue presents the government's views on the problems of the Muslims in the Philippines and what it is doing to solve these problems. There are articles by Cesar Adib Majul, Dr. Carlos P. Romulo, Secretary of Defense Juan Ponce Enrile, and Ambassador Leon Ma. Guerrero. The issue is valuable to the researcher because it gives him an insight into what leading government policy-makers think of the problems of the Muslims. Another significant article is Executive Secretary Alejandro Melchor's "Reconstruction and Development Program for Southern Philippines".

Other magazines which the author has had a chance to read are:

1. *Archipelago, The International Magazine of the Philippines*.[67] (This publication of the Bureau of National and Foreign Information, Department of Public Information, contains two articles of interest to Muslim scholars or scholars on Muslims. These are: Cesar Adib Majul's "The Sultan of Sulu: Some Prerogatives of Allah's Shadow on Earth," and Julian E. Dacanay's "What is the Sari-Manok?")

2. *New Philippines*.[68] This fortnightly publication of the National Media Production Center contains news items on Minister's Sahkaf's visit to the Philippines, Philippine-Libyan relations, and an interesting article by Secretary Alejandro Melchor on "It's not a jihad, but RAD that is going full-blast in Mindanao." The issue will be of interest to students of Muslim problems in the Philippines because of the government programs discussed therein.

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[66] Vol. 5, No. 3, (September, 1973).
[67] Vol. 1, No. 2, (February, 1974).
[68] Vol. V, (January, 1974).

3. *Salam.*[69] This is the first issue of this bi-lingual magazine (English and Arabic) published monthly by the Philippine Muslim Information Center. In this issue there are articles on Islam's arrival in the Philippines ahead of Christianity, Philippine-Arab Relations, and Philippine foreign policy reorientation, as well as policy statements on Mindanao. There are also newsworthy articles on President Marcos, Mrs. Imelda Romualdez Marcos, the Mindanao State University's King Faisal Institute of Islamic and Arabic Studies, and the establishment of the Philippine Amanah Bank.

4. *Salam,* Vol. 1, No. 2.[70] This second issue contains significant articles on the royal sultanate of Sulu, the majority-minority situation in Southeast Asia, codification of Philippine Muslim laws, a special report from the Middle East and the vision of a New Society by Sultan Kudarat. The issue also contains the approval of Muslim holidays by President Ferdinand E. Marcos.

5. *Far Eastern Economic Review,* May 14, 1973 contains an article "Spectre of Jihad" written by Brian Phelan which describes in detail the Cotabato encounters between Muslim and government forces.

6. *Far Eastern Economic Review,* January 14, 1974 contains an article "Love Goes Down With the Sun," by Bernard Wideman. It again describes the Cotabato situation as seen by the writer based on interviews with the people of the troubled community.

7. *Impact,* international fortnightly, Vol. 3, No. 1,[71] contains an article entitled "Marcos' Little Known Holy War". Briefly the article tries to shed more light on the problems of the Muslims in the Philippines.

Certain government reports which have been made in the last two years are also relevant to this study. They are:

1. *Report on the Reconstruction and Development Program for Mindanao* prepared by the Presidential Task Force for the Reconstruction and Development of Mindanao. This report contains proposed programs, on-going projects, and completed programs for the development of Muslim Mindanao and includes types of development projects envisioned by the government. Special attention is

[69] Vol. 1, No. 1, (March, 1974).
[70] (June, 1974).
[71] (May 25 - June 7, 1973).

focused on the need for the development of the human individual and along this line, projects such as the codification of Muslim laws in the Philippines, cultural and information program, cultural community centers, the Maharlika housing project have been launched. The special projects discussed are the Sama-Sama and the Philippine Amanah Bank. Special mention is also made of government projects for the reconstruction and development of Jolo which was recently burned.

2. *Proposed Draft of the Administration of Muslim Law Code of* 1974 prepared by the Research staff for the codification of Philippine Muslim Laws, Presidential Task Force for the Reconstruction and Development of Mindanao and Sulu and submitted on April 4, 1974. This Report is an exhaustive study on the proposed code of Muslim laws in the Philippines.

A few publications in Arabic which have a bearing on the subject of this study are:

1. Shaik Ahmed Basher, *Taarikh al Islam fi al Philippine* (History of Islam in the Philippines).[72] This is a historical treatment of Islamization in the Philippines.

2. *Al Islam Fi Al Shark el Akea* (Islam in the Far East), *Wusuluh, wa Intisharuh wa Wakioh* (Arrival, Spread and Foundation) is a translation by Dr. Nabil Sobby el Tawil[73] of Majul's article on the theories of the introduction and expansion of Islam in Malaysia which appeared earlier in the *Silliman Journal* (Vol. XI, No. 4 (October-December, 1964).

3. Mohammed Tewfil Oweida's *Al Ilaqat al Islamia al Masihia* (Islamic Christian Relationship),[74] is a speech delivered by His Excellency Dr. Mohammed Tewfil Oweida before students, faculty and staff of the Mindanao State University and Muslims of the Lanao and neighboring provinces during his visit to the Philippines in 1970 to inugurate the organization of the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs in the Philippines. The same speech has been translated into Maranaw and English and published both in Cairo and in Manila. This paper is a timely treatise on the need for understanding between and among Muslims and Christians in the Philippines.

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[72] Cairo: Medanni Publication, 1384 H. (1964) A.D.
[73] (Lebanon, Betalarabia, 1966).
[74] (Manila: U.A.R. Embassy, 1970).

4. Mustapha Momen's *Azrae Malysia al Philippine* (The Islamization of the Philippines),[75] is an attempt to describe and analyze important events leading to the Islamization of the Philippines, the "deflowering" of the Muslims as a result of centuries of war with foreign colonial powers, and current Muslim-Christian confrontations in Mindanao. This paper is supposedly largely based on interviews with Muslim Filipinos who have the opportunity to visit the Middle East countries.

[75] (Libya: Dar al Fath, 1392 (A.H.), 1972 (A.D.).

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