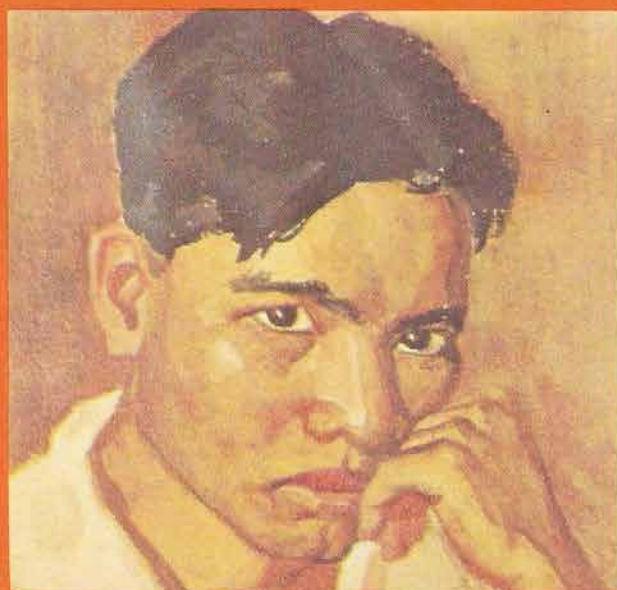


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Asia's surpassing achievements in religion,
art and thought looms large in history

REVISING ASIAN HISTORY

By CARLOS P. ROMULO

The history of Asia, as we know it, is composed of two disconnected episodes. The first is a record of Asian civilization of which the highlights are the rich Asian contributions

to the realms of religion, art, poetry, philosophy and science. It is a long and nearly unbroken series of the achievements of the Asian mind, in every way comparable to the achievements of the West. Buddhism, Hinduism, Mohammedanism, Confucianism and Christianity comprise the highest reaches of the human mind in this particular form of activity. Nowhere is there a parallel to these systematic, if intuitive, efforts to comprehend man and his relation to his natural and supernatural environment.

As in the field of religion, so it is in art. The ruins of Angkor and the similar ruins of Borobudur attest to creativity of the noblest order. They are accomplishments which are perhaps rivaled but never excelled in any part of the globe.

But the second episode in Asian history is nebulous and disjunct. It begins with the coming of the white man, gathers force as his values impinge on the traditional Asian values, and finally gains ascendancy when he decides to establish a more or less permanent presence in the continent. We who live in our times continue to be under the spell of this episode; and we, the historians included, continue to be perplexed by the effort to establish which is Asian and which Western in the confusing flux of events during the so-called Vasco de Gama age of Asian history. For the brand of colonialism is not only on the events themselves; it is also on the recording of events.

It has been said that the history of Asia since the coming of the West is not in fact a history of Asia, but the history of the West's activities in Asia. The clear implication is that Asia had no history for four hundred years. The gray age of colonialism is for the Asian a huge blank sheet on which nothing Asian is recorded, except perhaps indirectly the story of his subjection. It is as if the flow of events in Asia, as Asians lived it, had stopped, its current dammed up completely and resuming

only when the Asian regained his lost identity with the era of decolonization.

There is an element of hyperbole in this view, for the fact is that the Asian endured. Nevertheless it is true that the Asian and the events which revolved around him are seen considerably refracted in the prism of the histories of the age of colonialism. The reason for this is that the histories of the period were written by the Westerners and therefore reflected their points of view and inevitably embodied their values, not to speak of their prejudices. These histories narrate the rise and eventual decay of the West's political and economic hold on Asian populations, but not of the persisting vitality of native traditions and institutions which, as it were, lived underground lives of their own. Nor does it tell of the tiny but vital spark of freedom which, when it finally ignited, turned into the mighty nationalist movements in the first half of this century.



Historians who tend to view everything under the aspect of eternity will no doubt regard the era of Asian colonialism as a mere speck in the limitless continuum of Asian history. But Asian historians cannot so quickly ignore four hundred years of Asian history,

nor should they dismiss it in so summary a fashion.

The Asian historian, it seems to me, has a special obligation. In any age, the function of the historian is to establish the facts, discover the connecting links between them and thereby confer meaning on discreet and apparently random events. But the Asian historian has a second burden, and this is to discover a tradition that can serve as a guide to the future of Asia.

All colonized Asian nations, once they became independent, set themselves two important tasks. The first was to recover their identities; the second, which followed from the first, was to discover from the nebulous colonial past the strands of indispensable tradition upon which they could build the present and provide directions for the future.



In these tasks, the Asian historian plays an important role. I would say it is not only important but crucial. More than the poet or the legislator, with whom he shares these tasks, he is in the privileged position of being on terms of intimacy with the historical facts and therefore in a position to rearrange them in their true order, and to correct errors of Western interpretation in order to establish the Asian character of Asian history.

Thus, he is first of all a revisionist. And he is secondly a man of great independence of mind who sees the facts afresh and in a new

light, and weighs the same facts in the full consciousness that he is contributing to the process of shaping a tradition hitherto absent in the history of Asia.

I hazard the guess that the important historians of Asia today are nationalist historians, although many will refuse to admit it because the term sometimes has pejorative connotations. But I fail to see what else he can be. Unless he is unnecessarily selective, in which case he shares the faults of the Western historians of Asia in reverse; or is unbendingly doctrinaire, in which case he weakens his own case, the Asian historian of today has no choice, if he is to perform a task imposed on him by the times, except to become a nationalist in its best sense.

I have two objections to history as it has been written. The first is the small space allotted to Asia's great contributions to civilization in most of the existing works of universal history. If universal history is in equal terms a record of civilization and a record of political and social events, then Asia's surpassing achievements in the realms of religion, art and thought must surely loom large in it and indeed in any record of human achievement. Yet the treatment of Asia's contribution in these universal histories is in shocking disproportion to the actual measure of its achievements.

Perhaps it is because I am an Asian that I note this. Or is it perhaps because universal histories are written by men of the West who suffer not so much from errors of perception as from unconscious bias in favor of the civilization in which after all they find their spiritual home? If this is the case, then the only corrective I can think of is for Asians themselves to write universal histories, not to depreciate the achievements of other great civilizations which is also a part of our heritage but merely to fix more firmly the character of Asian civilization in human consciousness.



Since the new Asian historiography is young, its practitioners would perhaps consider it more realistic to concentrate on the less ambitious, though not less difficult, task of writing national histories. As a step in this direction, I suggest that each country henceforth establish Asian Studies. It is a necessary discipline for Asians and it should have the further merit of awakening or re-enforcing general historical awareness among the people.

I have said that I have two objections to history as it is written. My second objection is the disproportionate treatment of war and the heroes of war, as if history were no more than a series of military encounters, and as though its purpose is to excite the ignoble martial ardor of mankind.

No doubt conflict forms a large and inevitable part of the life of mankind just as it does in the life of the individual. But I find it a curious inversion of values that we should glorify deeds of war at the expense of deeds of peace.

I am not the first and I shall not be the last to note the heavy strain of mere megalomania in the conquerors who have, throughout history, devastated peoples and nations.

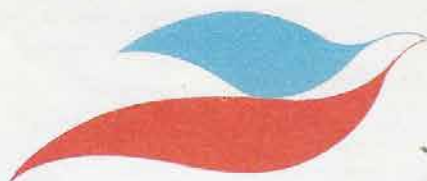
Yet it is their deeds that are presented for our edification. I am old and can, I trust, view these things in correct perspective, but I shudder at the thought that the young should be constantly exposed, as it were, to the bloody corpse of history.

Man, surely, has far greater achievements to show than the ability to shed blood. Let us not for a moment doubt that man, in his failures, in his excesses, in his folly, is nevertheless the true wonder of the whole creation. For civilization is the product of his own hand and the great cultures which overstep mere national boundaries attest to his basic nobility.

It is not the function of history to teach the value of peace in an overt and polemical way. But I suggest that it can do so, indirectly but not less forcefully, if histories are written from the point of view of the achievements of civilization. At few times in the history of the world has the need for peace been greater than today and at no time has the need for peace been felt more keenly. To the efforts to achieve peace, the historian can contribute, perhaps more decisively than he suspects. By what he writes and what he chooses to record and what he emphasizes as values more truly reflective of the character of man – these can often set the tone of an age and create a climate more conducive to world peace.



*A cross-section of the geography of the country
as well as the manners and life of various ethnic groups*



NAYONG PILIPINO

By NATI NUGUID

The Philippines is an archipelago composed of 7,083 islands. This bit of touristic data however should not faze the foreign visitor, for he need not go hopping from island to island to get a general taste of life in the country.

In fact, the transient visitor with only a few hours of stopover in Manila can get a fair cross-section both of the geography of the country and the manner of life of the various ethnic groups that inhabit it. A two-hour tour of the Nayong Pilipino, or the Philippine Cultural Village, just outside the gates of the Manila International Airport, should do it. Here, on 35 hectares of what barely two years ago was wild cogon land, has been set up what, to the foreign eye, would look like some exotic fairyland but in reality is the Philippines in a nutshell.

There is a lake in the center. Lakes abound in the country. But this one was dug up by workers until they touched water level and what with the rains cooperating, a wide lagoon winding in parts was the result.

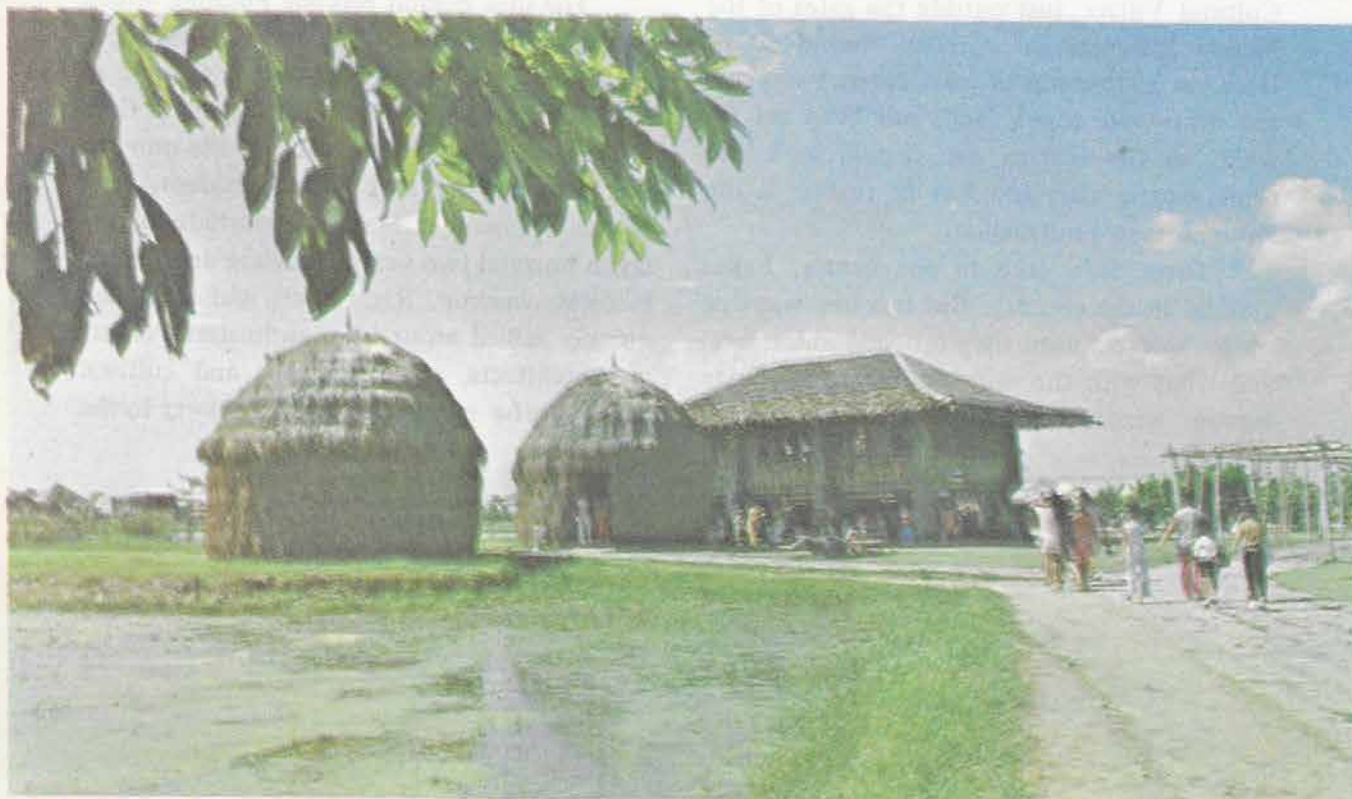
Around this lagoon seven Philippine regions are represented by the houses and the industry typical of each area, from the mountain peoples of the north down to the pagan and Moslem minorities in the south, and in between the rice and sugar provinces. Here and there are reproductions of historical landmarks and some points of geographical interest. All over, one is presented with evidences of the Filipino's cultural heritage, his art and his architecture, his commerce and his industry.

The idea behind Nayong Pilipino, which reminds the visitor of the Spanish Village in Barcelona and the Polynesian Center in Honolulu but which certainly surpass both in size and in detailedness, came to the mind of the wife of the Philippine President, Mrs. Imelda Romualdez Marcos, reportedly as she lay in hospital two years ago while undergoing medical checkup. Right there and then, she quickly rallied around her enthusiastic artists and architects, travel officials and cultural experts, who saw in the idea an answer to the





A man-made lagoon is focal center for Nayong Pilipino.



Palay stacks give rustic touch to Central Luzon region.



Flag-raising ceremony features opening day ceremonies.



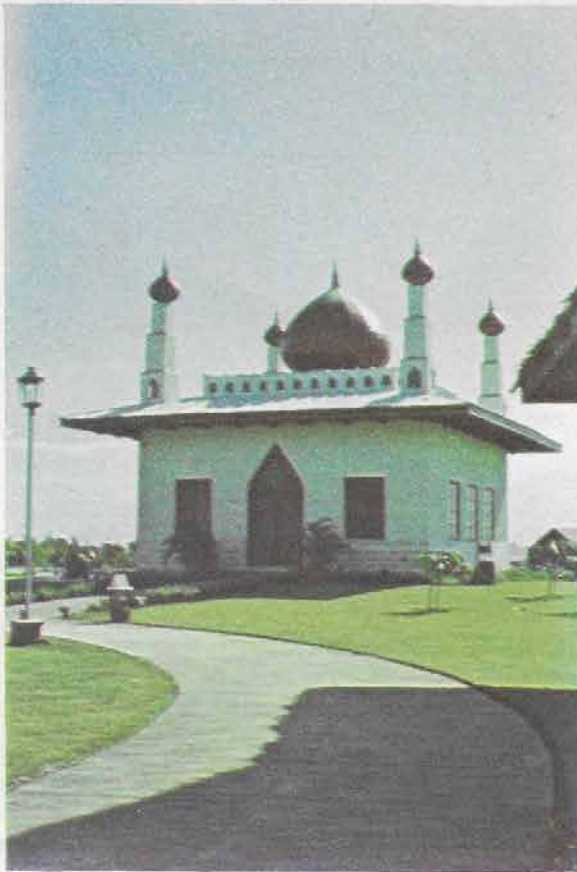
Weekly regional programs include choral groups.



Gaily decorated tilburis lend festive air at inauguration of Nayong Pilipino.



President and Mrs. Ferdinand E. Marcos at the ipauguration of the Nayong Pilipino.



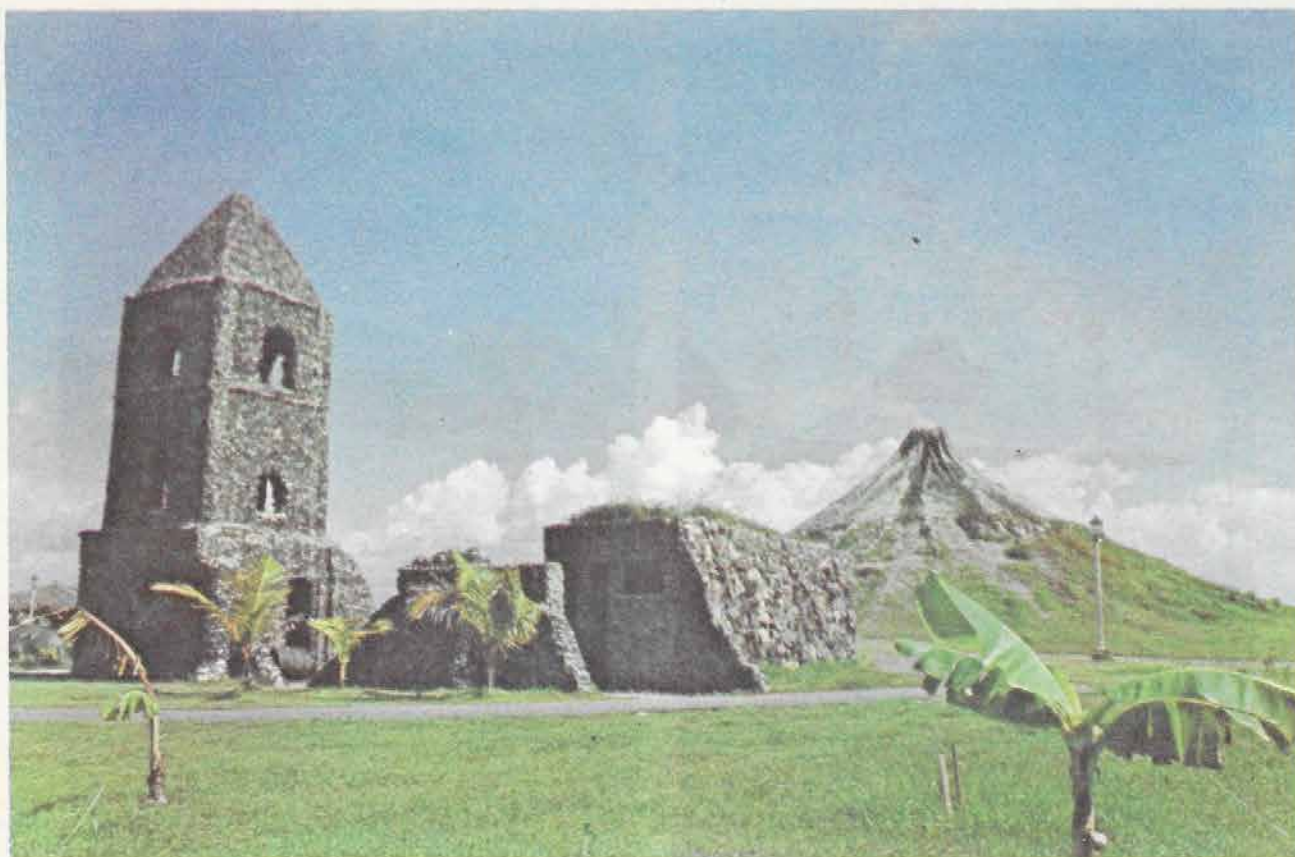
A mosque lords it over the Muslim section.



Igorot "bulol" stands guard at path leading to Mt. Province section



A reproduction of Jose Rizal's birthplace in Calamba, Laguna houses administration, post office and PNB branch.



Mayon Volcano, background, and ruins of Cagsawa church, foreground, are among geographical and historical points of interest reproduced.



A trellised walk affords visitor a shaded "paseo" in Visayan section.

problem of the transient visitor who would like to see something of the country while awaiting his connecting flight.

But more than just serving as a place where the transient can cool his heels both gainfully and pleasantly, the Village has become a big attraction for local tourists as well. 75% of the visitors are now made up of Filipinos living in or around Manila or coming to the capital for business or for a vacation.

The project has in record time become a sound financial venture, proving what tourist experts of the World Bank pointed out at a recent international tourism conference held in Berlin. A paper read at that conference said that money invested in projects designed to attract foreign currency via the tourist trade is about the surest way of getting back profits and generating employment in a comparatively short time. Tourism-oriented projects therefore, according to the study, are an ideal investment venture for the developing country that could well do with some extra jobs and these on short order.

The arch that welcomes the visitor on entering Nayong Pilipino has this advantage: should it be toppled down by a wayward typhoon, it can as easily be set up again. Anyway, it is an arch just like those the town folk set up when welcoming guests to their annual patron saint's *fiesta*, or a homecoming son who has made good in the world beyond, or national politicians come to convince voters of their qualifications. The roof is of nipa palm and the supports of bamboo, two light building materials that grow profusely in the countryside and are moreover just right for the warm climate. A lot of nipa and bamboo are used again and again throughout the Village, maybe in a "palamigang bayan" or refreshment stand where the visitor may have a serving of ice-cooled tender coconut; or in a humble farmer's typical hut, certainly

the coolest, best nature-ventilated home one might find any place in the world. The flooring, made of bamboo slats laid with spaces in between, allows the air to pass through. It proves a boon for the housewife too. Dust and dirt easily fall through making sweeping a light if not altogether unnecessary job.

But wood is used as well, notably in the Spanish-influenced homes of Filipinos economically better off, and in the trellised walks that afford one a shaded and romantic "paseo" in the section of the Village representing the Visayan region. Here live the affluent sugar barons of the country and gracious women clad in outfits of hand-woven "hablon", a product of its cottage textile industry, smilingly offer one the sweets and the candies of the region.

In the Northern Luzon section, one will do well to pay particular attention to the replica of one of the old houses which may still be seen in Vigan, capital of Ilocos Sur, a powerful bishopric during the Spanish regime. A guide will tell you that the house was actually transported beam for beam and rafter for rafter from Vigan to its present site in the Village. A close look at the woodcraft will indeed attest to its age. The barandilla or railing in the stairway and the capiz-paned sliding windows that run practically all around the house, are typical of the medieval structures that were homes for old Filipino families not only in northern Luzon but in other Christianized parts of the country as well.

A mosque, complete with minaret, lords it in the section for Mindanao. To one side are a datu's house with elaborate sari-manok wood juttings and, on a lower level, the lesser houses of his wives, for a Muslim may have four and surely finds it more sensible not to house them all under one roof. Brass jars and chests inlaid with mother-of-pearl are the

main furnishings in the Muslim home. A Muslim's economic prosperity is measured by the number of brassware he possesses. Not far from the Muslim houses are the structures on stilts above water where live the pagan sea peoples of the Sulus.

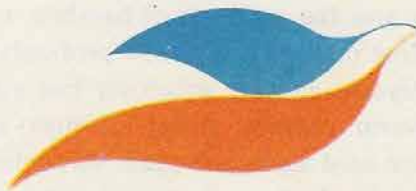
"Mundaguh ayu nikhito" means in Igorot language, welcome. Welcome to the mountain provinces where dried grass-roofed huts crouch close to the ground and saucer-like rims attached to the post discourage rats from coming up and sharing the rice. The Igorots are mountain tribes that may in due time disappear as such since they are gradually assimilating with lowlanders. But standing as enduring monuments to their industry will be the rice terraces which generations of them have been hewing out of the slopes of the Cordillera Mountains so they can have flat strips on which to plant their staple crop. Dams hold in the rainwaters and the overflow irrigates the terraces under. Centuries of this patient agricultural engineering have yielded a sight unique in this world. The tourist may of course still see the terraces at Banawe near the summer capital of Baguio, one hour away from Manila as a two-engined PAL plane flies. A scaled-down rice terrace which is one of the features of the Mountain Province nook at the Nayong Pilipino should give the time-pressed tourist a general idea of this old standing pride of the Filipino.

All about in the Village, workers sit at their looms, chisel at wood or weave straw into hats and bags and artifacts demonstrating to the onlooker some of the home industries that keep a predominantly agricultural people occupied as they wait for the grain to ripen. That artificial lake may soon yield fish for the angler. When the Village was inaugurated a year ago, President Marcos poured in a basket of fry in the hopes that they would soon grow and multiply.

From region to region, a jeepney line operates to ferry the visitor who may not fancy blisters from all the walking. The jeepneys themselves are part of the exhibit. They are a testament to the ingenuity of the Filipino, who, in the post-war years, faced with a shortage of proper vehicles for public transportation on the one hand, and a surplus of American army jeeps on the other, decided to add more body to the jeep, paint it red and yellow and blue, add here and there a sampling of folk art and thus obtained the jeepney as it is today: the main means of public transportation on Manila streets. One need not pay the jeepney driver for being ferried around the Nasyon. The fare is included in the one peso gate fee.

Should the Village tour whet the visitor's appetite for Filipino food, there is a restaurant with Malayan motif close by the lake. Here a buffet is maintained of food truly Filipino, from ox-blood soup to chicken adobo heavily flavored with garlic.

Administration offices for the Village are housed in another reproduction of an old, Spanish-influenced structure. It is the house of a national hero, Dr. Jose Rizal, where he was born in his hometown of Calamba, Laguna, in Luzon. Upstairs are counters that sell handicraft, and downstairs a post office for mailing facilities and, conveniently enough a Philippine National Bank branch just in case the tourist forgot to change his currency into pesos.



Philippine Industrialization Strategy And Foreign Investment Policy

The seventies should see fruition of plans placing emphasis on export development and establishment of linkage industries.

By CESAR A. VIRATA



This paper (a) analyzes the growth of manufacturing and the evolving structure of manufacturing incentives which have supported the post-independence structural change in

the Philippine economy and (b) surveys the climate for foreign investment resulting from implementation of the Investment Incentives Act of 1967 and recent legislation supple-

menting that law.

During the period 1950-70, the production index of the manufacturing sector rose from 56.6 to 257.3 or about 4.5 times within 20 years. In terms of GNP share, manufacturing rose from 12.3% (1950) to 17.4% (1970.)

Before the Philippines regained its independence on July 4, 1946, the United States Congress assured the status of American business in the independent Philippines in the Bell Trade Act of 1946 which included provisions governing the future trade and investment relationships between the United States and its former colony. This Act included the proviso that war damage payments would not be made until the Philippine Constitution was amended to give national treatment to Americans in the exploitation of Philippine natural resources and the operation of public utilities. Although the treaty arrangements of 1946 were subsequently modified by the Laurel-Langley Agreement of 1955, major substantive aspects of the earlier treaty regulating trade and investment relations until July 3, 1974, were little affected.

Since we are concerned essentially with post-independence policy it should be recalled that 1946 to 1950 was a period of reconstruction in the Philippines. The damage caused by the war was devastating to manufacturing industries and infrastructure development. During the postwar period of reconstruction, the traditional industries such as sugar milling, coconut oil mills, cordage factories, cigar factories, etc. were rehabilitated and mines were reopened.

In terms of the evolution of investment policy, one of the first laws enacted by the Philippine Congress following independence was Republic Act No. 35 which encouraged and stimulated investments in industries defined as "new and necessary". Along with

reconstruction of traditional industries, Philippine policy makers sought to restrict the tax exemption benefits granted under the new law to "new and necessary" industries in order to diversify the industrial structure. In addition the Petroleum Act of 1949 providing for concession rights for exploration, exploitation and refining, and which was patterned upon existing United States laws, was enacted. With the continuing decline of foreign exchange reserves of the Philippines in the post war period, import controls were instituted initially in 1948, to be followed in 1949 by comprehensive exchange controls extending to all foreign exchange transactions.

The controls over imports of finished goods, especially those not considered essential to the consumption of low income groups, was tightened. On the other hand, the manufacture of the same items was considered a "new and necessary" industry and local manufacture of such items was strongly encouraged. As a result, there was little change in consumption policy as domestic manufactures replaced commodities formerly imported. The establishment of industries in this pattern was accelerated further by the extension of the "new and necessary" industry tax exemption to domestic industries producing import substitutes and by exchange rate policy which maintained an overvalued peso vis-a-vis the dollar. The raising and processing of wage goods consumed widely were not encouraged since these commodities were assigned foreign exchange priority and liberal allocations of exchange sustained high levels of imports of these goods and their manufacture in the Philippines was thereby inhibited.

The period of import and exchange controls, therefore, was an era of import substitution, wherein the merchant was

induced to become an assembler of imported components. This type of maneuvering development continued despite attempts by the Central Bank to impose the requirement that manufacturers must take steps to integrate backward their manufacturing activities if they were to retain their foreign exchange allocations. The granting of foreign exchange allocations to merchants who shifted to light manufacturing of imported components in order to continue commodity trading resulted, of course, in the proliferation of small assembly plants. As backward integration received higher priority it was soon realized that component manufacturing plants of economic size were unlikely to materialize because of the variety of models being assembled to replace the spectrum of brands previously imported. On the other hand, manufactures activities ancillary to the "assembly plant" manufacture of import substitutes appeared, such as printing and packaging industries including those producing glass and plastic containers, cartons, boxes, labels, tin cans, tubes, inks and paints.

The allocation of equipment from Japan through reparations payments to the industrial sector followed a similar pattern, as small paper mills, cement plants, chemical plants, and similar enterprises were brought into existence.

In other words, Philippine policy followed the trend found in a number of countries seeking to industrialize—manufacture of import substitutes; transformation of the commercial sector to manufacturing; control over the distribution of scarce foreign exchange, reparations and credit resources to many new industrial entrepreneurs; and the concentration of industrial activity in and around the capital city where the authority to allocate foreign exchange, port facilities and the prin-

cipal market were found. Dispersal of industries and the economics of backward integration were given little attention at the time. Another development which was not considered carefully in allocating scarce foreign exchange was the appearance of restrictions on exports of manufactures produced in the Philippines by subsidiaries or licensees in the Philippines of foreign-owned parent companies which had initiated manufacturing in the Philippines to obtain access to the internal market protected by peso over-evaluation and exchange and import controls.

Along with manufacturing activities, the mining industry was encouraged with a similar structure of incentives. Gold and iron mining were revived, the latter primarily in response to the import requirements of Japan, and chromite and copper mining were similarly stimulated. The export sector remained depressed during this period, however, as exchange rate policy heavily subsidized industrial development at the expense of activities earning foreign exchange.

The expected foreign exchange savings through import substitution did not materialize. In fact, many countries including the Philippines, learned that import substitution industries were difficult to control. Manufacturing associations and labor unions became active in protecting their foreign exchange supply. Potential foreign exchange savings gave rise to the contention, analogous to the "shop and save" slogan of the retail merchant that more foreign exchange should be allocated to "save" foreign exchange. Ultimately, steps had to be taken to introduce corrective measures in the pricing of foreign exchange, such as barter privileges exempt from the control system for marginal exporters and "margin fees" for imports. This became known as "gradual decontrol" of the foreign exchange system which, in effect, installed a multiple rate system for a four-year period.

Eventually, the effects of controls were worked off and the need arose to change the exchange rate in order to establish a new equilibrium.

By this time, the focus of industrialization was no longer on light industry. The Basic Industries Act which was passed in 1961 included lists of both basic and non-basic industries. The tax exemptions provided in the 1961 law were limited to taxes due on the importation of equipment and there was no nationality qualification imposed for those seeking to avail themselves of this privilege. Lessons learned under the "new and necessary industries policy" had demonstrated that income and general tax exemptions were not wise, hence the limited provisions for tax exemption in the Basic Industries Act. In all probability the 1961 law represented an overreaction to the liberal incentives granted under the earlier "new and necessary" industries policy. A second law similar to the Basic Industries Act extended to mining benefits paralleling those given to manufacturing industries.

As industrialization proceeds and becomes more complex and specialized, controls over imports become more difficult, because inter-industry relationships no longer involve the same firm as importer and manufacturer. Because the control system had lost its effectiveness, one of the first acts of President Macapagal after he assumed office in 1962 was to move to complete decontrol combined with devaluation of the peso. In essential aspects, a free enterprise economy was restored. Tariffs were used in conjunction with special time deposits for imports to establish protection for domestic producers and to control imports. As a result of the effects of devaluation and the removal of controls which affected the solvency of enterprises

favorable by the control systems, there were shifts of ownership of manufacturing enterprises. Firms that had been Filipino controlled became foreign controlled in oil refining, appliance manufacturing, paper mills, tire manufacturing, and in a number of other industries.

As expected, devaluation encouraged the exploitation of forest and mining resources (except gold which remained stagnant despite heavy subsidization) and expansion took place in pineapple and sugar plantations especially after the Cuban sugar quota in the United States market was redistributed to other supplying countries. There were also applications for investments in banana plantations to serve the Japanese market.

Attempts to enact a foreign investment law during the Macapagal administration were unsuccessful, but they continued when President Marcos assumed office in 1966. He set up a joint committee of business and government representatives to recommend features to be included in such a law. During the first year of President Marcos' term, congressional consideration of proposed Philippine participation in the allied effort in Vietnam took virtually the entire session of Congress and foreign investment legislation along with many other proposals failed to receive congressional attention. President Marcos, in the absence of new legislation, issued Administrative Order No. 21 defining areas of investment and listing the guarantees to investors contained in the Constitution. Although the Administrative Order was an expression of the policy of the new administration no additional incentives could be offered beyond those existing in law and the order was essentially a listing of desirable basic industries, public utilities and other infrastructure projects.

The second year of the Marcos administration found Congress preoccupied with

drafting legislation establishing investment policy. The resulting law reflected Philippine experience with both domestic and foreign investments during the control period as well as during the free enterprise period initiated in the early 1960s.

In the process of congressional hearings and discussions the following were among the basic issues aired which contributed to refinement of Philippine investment policy. First, the role of foreign investment in any country is basically minor, amounting at most to twenty percent of total capital formation even where incentives are very liberal. It was felt, therefore, that the law should be addressed primarily to promotion of investment by Filipinos. Limitation on entry into the domestic market was recognized as a major incentive for investors. Such regulation must be used to prevent the appearance of substantial excess capacity and to provide investors with assurance of initial protection. Thus the concepts of measured capacity -- the productive capacity necessary to supply estimated Philippine requirements -- and post-operative tariff protection emerged to influence the subsequent legislation. The value of listing priority areas of investment and the need to create an institution to annually program the investment goals was also recognized. Those investment areas in which measured capacity has been filled need to be removed from the list of priority areas and new areas added. The need to vest the programming agency with the power to initiate new areas of investment, and to limit executive authority to overrule actions of this agency were concerns of the Congress. The resulting legislation provides that new investment areas must originate with the Board of Investment and must be approved by the National Economic Council, before they are reviewed by the President.

Foreign investment is most valuable to

the host country in areas where requirements of modern technology and capital are combined. For this reason, the resulting Investment Incentives Act includes incentives designed to induce foreign investment in such areas which are called "pioneer areas." Furthermore, it was the thinking of Congress that Filipino investors may not be as interested in these areas because they are not familiar with the technological and capital requirements of such industries.

The area of pioneering industries as provided in the Investment Incentives Act of 1967 has been criticized by some analysts as too restrictive and likely to inhibit investment activity. To explain the Filipino position in defining the scope of pioneering activities, I think a look at the Philippine copper industry is instructive. We are now exporting copper concentrates equivalent to about two hundred thousand tons of copper metal a year. On the other hand, at the other end of the industry, we must import copper wire for our wire-making facilities. The Philippines today is one of the world's largest copper producers without a smelter. The pioneering areas in this industry, therefore, include those enterprises which will engage in smelting, refining and the tolling of refined products such as bars and sheets and wires.

Similar opportunities exist in many potential industries that have not been developed in the Philippines including, among others, nickel, aluminum, steel and chemicals.

On the other hand, Congress thought it was wise to reserve non-pioneer areas to Filipino control because production in these areas has been started largely by Filipino entrepreneurs and competition with foreign enterprises needs to be controlled to ensure

the viability of these Filipino controlled industries. The law reflects the belief that the primary objective of a foreign investor when he invests in or takes over an established enterprise, is to share the existing market.

It is likely that foreign observers and potential investors will not appreciate this particular point of view, but our policy makers hope that such a policy will prevent the ill-will created when foreign interests takeover existing enterprises, as well as that generated by competition between foreign interests and Filipinos. Therefore, Congress delineated non-pioneer investment areas as essentially those areas existing in the Philippines at the time of enactment of the law. A pioneer investment area, on the other hand, is defined as an area which does not exist in the Philippines and which, if introduced, will bring a substantially new process to the country.

The Congress defined the role of domestic and foreign investments in the preamble to the Act which states that "it is hereby declared to be the policy of the State to encourage Filipino and foreign investments in projects to develop agricultural, mining and manufacturing industries... and to welcome and encourage foreign capital to establish pioneer enterprises that are capital intensive and would utilize a substantial amount of raw materials in joint ventures with substantial Filipino capital, whenever available."

Once an investment area is designated as non-pioneer, the law provides that it must remain so designated for three years. This requirement ensures that Filipino controlled enterprises are given the first option to expand existing investments or initiate new enterprises in the non-pioneer areas until estimated Philippine requirements defined in

the law as "measured capacity" are capable of being met by Philippine production. However, if they are not able to fill the requirements within three years, then the nationality requirements for equity participation in pioneer enterprises applies to non-pioneer areas.

The waiting period in the Act was a compromise; some legislators wanted seven years, others none; the Executive recommended two years. As the result of this provision, seven areas of investment originally designated as non-pioneer were liberalized on June 1, 1971. Every year in the foreseeable future will see additional areas where production requirements are not filled by Filipino-controlled enterprises. Hence, foreign enterprises can control even up to one hundred percent ownership—subject, of course, to the Constitution and laws that govern equity participation in specific industries such as retailing and the rice and corn trade.

Some foreign companies have expressed the concern that they may risk violation of the anti-dummy law if they attempt to participate in marketing activities required by law to be fully Filipinized (not nationalized). The Investment Incentives Act responds to this precise fear by including a provision that a marketing affiliate may be established to undertake such marketing activities.

It is hoped that the intentions of our policy makers in writing these provisions of the Investment Incentives Act are understood. The distinction in the treatment of potential Filipino investors and their non-Filipino counterparts will not in any way curtail, but on the contrary will improve, the climate of cooperation between the Philippine entrepreneurs and foreign investors. Foreign and domestic investors are treated alike in the pioneer areas and in fact incentives given in this area compare favorably with the most liberal incentives in other countries. There is one condition in the Act which some obser-

vers have pronounced unacceptable to foreign investors although such assessments have already been disproved by the decision of the Imperial Chemical Industries of the United Kingdom to invest in an area designated as "pioneer," the manufacture of industrial explosives. The condition in question arises in a provision of the Act requiring that beginning in the eleventh year after registration of a new pioneer investment with the Board of Investment, the enterprise must tender shares to the public at a rate that will result in sixty percent Filipino ownership of the voting shares within the twentieth year after registration with the Board. If the required Filipino ownership cannot be attained within the period designated, an extension for a further twenty years is allowed by law.

The Philippine Congress sought in this provision to induce foreign capital to move successively into new pioneering fields. In other words, the Act views an investment that is twenty to forty years old as non-pioneer and such capital will benefit the Philippines most by becoming pioneer again. Since transfers of capital from one area to another under the Act are tax-free, it was believed that the foreign investor could be induced to perform the pioneering function again.

A concern of Philippine businessmen and policy makers is the reluctance of subsidiaries of foreign controlled enterprises to sell shares to the public. Whereas it has become a way of life for Americans to participate in the ownership of public corporations, it seems to Filipinos that the reluctance of American corporations to sell shares of subsidiaries operating in the Philippines creates a wide gap between American preaching and practice. Furthermore this behaviour gives rise to suspicions that perhaps intra-corporate tran-

sactions are not at "arm's length" and, therefore, they cannot be exposed to the scrutiny which would result from Filipino ownership participation.

Americans as well as other foreign observers are repeatedly critical of Filipino family corporations but, in fact, subsidiaries closed to Filipino ownership are similar in their effects to family controlled corporations. From one point of view, a young foreign executive assigned to head one of these subsidiaries plays a role analogous to that of the young family member managing a Filipino family enterprise.

Still another compromise in the Investment Incentives Act is found in the nationality requirement for equity participation in investments in non-pioneer areas. The required minimum ratio of Filipino participation refers to voting and non-voting shares and not to other types of participation. In other words, control over company policy to ensure that Philippine interests would be reflected was deemed most important by Congress, whereas participation in profits was relegated to secondary importance. Congress provided further, that such enterprises can be managed by contract, hence the possibility of management by a minority partner whose contribution is primarily technology is not precluded.

The Investment Incentives Act is also designed to provide equal treatment in tax exemption granted for capital expenditures on equipment whereas previous laws did not allow tax exemption for equipment manufactured in the Philippines. The Investment Incentives Act provides that equipment purchased by a registered enterprise from a local manufacturer will carry a tax credit equivalent to the taxes that would have been levied had the purchaser imported it, plus a second tax credit equivalent to fifty percent of the tax to go to the manufacturer of the

equipment without regard for nationality. This provision measures the importance assigned by the Congress to encouraging capital goods production in the Philippines.

The Investment Incentives Act also included incentives to corporate reinvestment as investments in pioneer enterprises by Philippine citizens and corporations are allowable deductions from taxable income tax up to ten per cent of such income. Moreover, capital gains taxes are waived if the proceeds, from sales of such investments are reinvested in preferred areas of investment.

A provision of the Corporation Law of the Philippines was also amended in 1967 to allow holding companies to acquire up to thirty percent each of the capital of three mining companies and permits a mining company to acquire up to forty percent of the ownership of a second mining company. These practices were not allowed under the Corporation Law which was enacted in the 1930s using an existing California statute as a model.

After the passage of the Investments Incentives Act investment policy was further refined by Republic Act No. 5455 of 1968 which regulates business practice in the Philippines. The Board of Investments is empowered by the law to regulate the act of doing business in the Philippines when the equity participation of foreigners exceeds thirty percent. In other words, any foreign participation up to thirty percent is "free" of regulation except insofar as the role of the Board of Investments registers the investment. Once this percentage of foreign ownership is exceeded then the Board can exercise its power to restrict the entry of such investment where it would not redound to the benefit of the economy. This is an extension of the

desire on the part of Congress to channel foreign investments into areas that will contribute positively to the development of industry, trade and services rather than to areas which would only duplicate existing capacity or create excess capacity.

Consideration and approval of the 1968 law was accompanied by unfavorable comment and, in fact, the foreign Chambers of Commerce including that of the Americans were strongly opposed to this law. This was not surprising since business firms usually resist any form of regulation. On the other hand, an unrestricted free enterprise concept is not in the interest of a developing economy since such a policy will concentrate investment in light industries and lead to the creation of excess capacity. A major reason for the balance of payments problem faced by the Philippines in 1970 was the lack of control over industrial capacity during the period where there were no exchange and import controls. (1962-69)

The Investment Incentives Act also provides export incentives in the forms of double deduction of promotional expenses and shipping costs from income for tax purposes and a special tax credit for taxes paid on raw materials inputs into export industries. This section of the Act was eventually transformed into a more comprehensive Export Incentives Act law (Republic Act No. 6135 of September 1970). This law contains many features of the Investment Incentives Act, but in addition to the earlier act which covers only production activities, the new law recognizes the importance of trading companies and exporters of services by extending to these activities the incentives of the Investment Incentives Act. The Act extends special tax incentives for minor exports of the Philippines, which are defined as those exports which had not exceeded \$5 million in value in 1968. This provision encourages

diversification of exports particularly into exports of manufacturers.

A controversial feature of the Export Incentives Law giving rise to differences between the Executive and Legislative branches of the government, is the requirement that to qualify for export incentives Filipino equity participation must be at least sixty percent. The Executive Branch took the position there should be no such nationality restriction for export enterprises and that steps should be taken to prevent foreign parent companies from restricting the exports of manufacturing subsidiaries operating in the Philippines. In other words, from the Philippine viewpoint it would be appropriate for foreign enterprises knowledgeable of international markets and whose brands are well known to be spearheading the effort to export and to develop the Philippines as the manufacturing base for regional production. At this time, of course, the export incentives in the Act economically are not too meaningful as the peso exchange rate has been floating since early 1970 and the value of the peso has fallen substantially from the level maintained following 1962. Tax incentives for exporting are of marginal significance as compared to the higher peso prices of exports resulting from the fall in the value of the peso beginning in 1970.

Another feature that could be improved is the time schedule of export benefits. The contribution of the incentives to exports development will depend upon their duration whereas the law establishes a time schedule under which the benefits begin to decline. In fact, if present conditions were expected to prevail indefinitely there would be no need for generous fiscal incentives for exports because business enterprises currently realize lucrative advantages from the change in the exchange rate. We are hopeful that appropriate modifications in the Export Incentives Act can be introduced in the next congress-

sional session.

A further step to maintain a buoyant export position is represented by the bill submitted to the Congress by the Executive which allows the establishment of export processing zones in the Philippines similar to those existing in the United States. The zones envisaged for the Philippines will differ in orientation from those in the United States in that they are expected to be facilities for export oriented industries which depend essentially on low wage rates. A law has been passed authorizing such an area at the tip of Bataan directly across from another famous spot—the island of Corregidor. The Mariveles Free Trade Zone is being developed and there are already three firms constructing factories there.

Government investment has traditionally been assigned a major role in Philippine plans for industrialization and during the Commonwealth period government enterprises such as cement plants, textile mills, a city gas plant and hotels were established, to be followed after Independence, by government corporations engaged in shipbuilding, coal mining and steel making. The government also invested in airlines and incandescent lamp manufacturing. The National Development Company became the holding company for many of these government investments including the land leased for pineapple plantations.

As the private sector went into these areas the government withdrew. Currently, further withdrawals are being planned in which government enterprises will be exchanged for properties subject to present land reform policy. The Investment Incentives Act provides that the government must not be in competition with private enterprise. Similarly, a joint resolution of Congress states that "Every effort shall be exerted by the Govern-

ment to induce Filipino private entrepreneurs to establish and operate basic and integrated industries." This resolution goes on to say that "Whenever necessary, the State shall assume entrepreneurial functions, particularly in vital areas which have not been duly developed. The Government shall supplement but not supplant private capital, and shall relinquish its enterprises to the private sector whenever the latter is ready to take over."

Finally, and of great importance, the government, through its diverse financial institutions supports the investment activity of private industry by extending loans or guarantees.

I feel that my paper for this conference would be incomplete without my mentioning the preparations that have been made for the expiration of the Laurel-Langley Agreement in 1974. The Philippines took steps as early as 1966 to emphasize that discussions as provided in the Laurel-Langley Agreement of trade and investment matters affected by the termination of the treaty were necessary. As much as possible, it is the desire of the Philippines that adjustments which become necessary upon termination of the treaty result from private transactions among businessmen and that government interference in the adjustment process be minimal. In the case of public utilities—electric power, telephone, and some transportation companies—controlled by American corporations, the phase-out of foreign participation has been accomplished. In extractive mining, where the Constitution requires that Filipino ownership must be at least sixty percent, only three mines have foreign equity in excess of forty percent and these companies have already made plans to comply with the ownership requirement by either a corporate spin-off of the extractive mining activities or

dilution procedures to reduce the share of non-Filipino ownership to 40%. Those engaged in logging, another form of natural resource exploitation, have been encouraged to exchange their shares with adjoining Filipino concessionaires to comply with the nationality requirement. The processing of natural resources such as ores and logs are not covered by the Constitutional requirements. It is definitely the policy of government not to drive foreign investors out but to enable them to conserve their capital and at the same time become involved in other ventures in the Philippines. Such transfers of capital are tax-free under the Investment Incentives Act since they would be investing in preferred areas.

A remaining problem confronting a number of American firms operating in the Philippines is that of reducing the non-Filipino proportion of land ownership to the level of forty percent permitted by the Constitution. The Philippine Government has provided several suggestions for solving this land ownership problem facing American firms such as creating a real estate corporation where sixty percent of the capital is Filipino to hold the land necessary to the firm's activities; using the pension funds of American companies to own the land; and assigning or creating a Philippine government corporation to hold the land temporarily while the American enterprises arrange solutions which comply with the Philippine Constitution and at the same time meets the needs of the foreign investors. Other foreign investors are content to lease land on long-term basis, some for 99 years.

What concerns us is the misleading publicity giving rise to unjustified impressions which has been generated by the coming termination of the Laurel-Langley Agreement. Many pronouncements convey the impression that American business exists in the Philippines only because of the Laurel-Langley

Agreement. This is not the case. In almost all areas where American businesses operate there are other foreign interests that operate along side and in competition with the American enterprises whether it be in paper-making, toiletries, oil refining, drug manufacturing, car assembly, wood processing, appliance manufacturing, and many others. Termination of the Laurel-Langley Agreement and the expiry of the "Parity" amendment to the Philippine Constitution on July 3, 1974 will require American businesses to operate on the same basis as other foreigners and I really don't see any reason why they cannot do so. I don't think American business needs any special privileges to be able to compete with other foreign business interests in the Philippines. Some observers predict that there will be massive repatriation of American capital as Americans pull their enterprises out of the Philippines. I think this forecast is not accurate and there is no useful purpose served by misrepresenting the situation. I am quite certain that this is one area which should be better understood after this conference. It is definitely Philippine policy to treat all foreign investors alike and we offer incentives to foreign investors in desirable areas of investment.

Efforts to improve investment conditions in the Philippines continue. I earlier mentioned the Petroleum Act passed in 1949. There have been moves on the part of the Philippine Government to modify this law since, among the import substitution industries, petroleum holds the greatest promise of development. In legislation introduced in Congress, a new method of allocating petroleum lands for exploration and leasing has been proposed based on the service contract concept. The proposed legislation provides that all companies qualified technically and

financially, will have the opportunity to enter into service contracts either with the government or with private enterprise in the Philippines.

Past experience has shown that merely opening the doors to foreign investment in any or all areas and just plain liberalization of access to resources and markets in the Philippines will not work. I think you are aware of countries which have maintained very liberal foreign investment policies but which now realize the defects of such policies. I believe that the basic explanation of the differences in policies between these countries and the foreign investment climate in the Philippines is that we are a bit further along in our development and realize the necessity of defining the areas which will contribute most to further development of the manufacturing sector, especially those that link the light industries to the natural resource based industries.

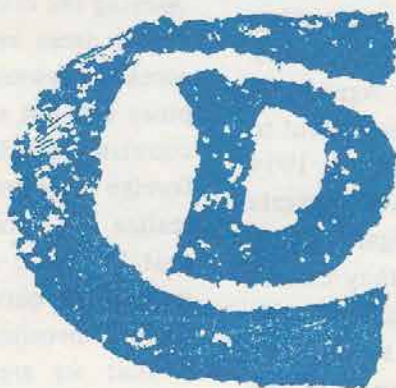
The 1950s saw the establishment of import substitution industries which remained dependent on imported raw materials, however, and therefore failed to produce expected savings in foreign exchange.

The 1960s was a period of realization and reaction in which policy actions designed to reorder the economic structure and to counterbalance the effects of the previous decade were taken.

The 1970s should see fruition of recent plans and changes which place special emphasis on export development, the establishment of linkage industries using inputs produced in the Philippines, and greater emphasis on public participation in equity ownership.

I believe that in the long run, Philippines investment policy will work to the advantage of both our countries as we provide profitable opportunities for foreign investors without unduly adding to the irritants between the host country and the investing country.

There has been a revival of interest in the paintings of Castañeda, whose choice and treatment of subjects show fidelity to nature



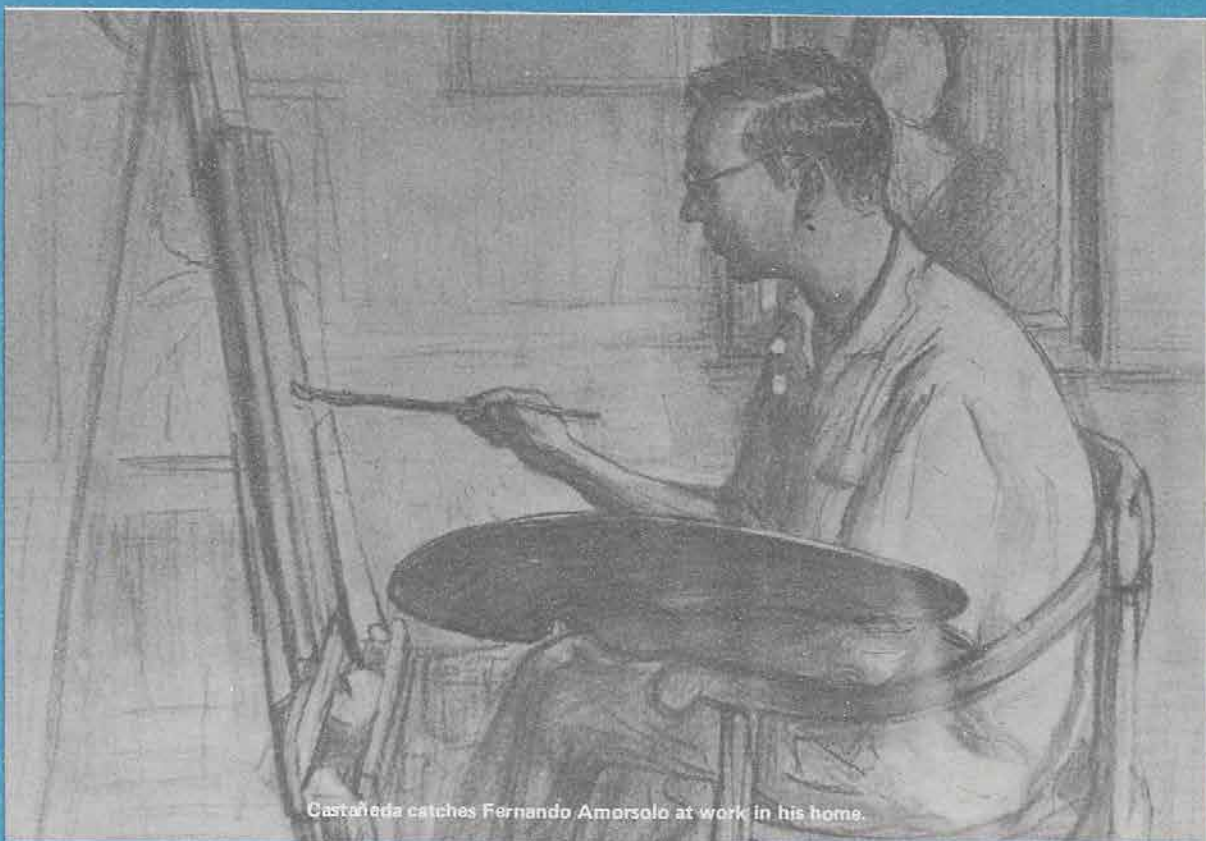
DOMINADOR CASTAÑEDA

Airily dismissed by the moderns, when they were still struggling for recognition, as a mere follower of Fernando Amorsolo, the unassuming dean of the state university's College of Fine Arts remained in comparative obscurity to the end. Then, after his death in 1967, his reputation started to rise almost immediately. It was not simply a belated and insincere tribute to a dead artist. In the last few years, in fact, there has been a revival of interest in representational art side by side with the continued development of the abstract. Today, more people can look at a Castañeda without wondering whether this is art or merely a substitute for photography or, worse yet, an imitation of Amorsolo.

For Castañeda has an individuality all his own despite the obvious influence of Amorsolo on a certain period of his art. Returning to the University of the Philippines art school from studies abroad around 1930,

he impressed teachers and students alike with his boldly executed landscapes and portrait studies. Before long, his work came more and more to resemble Amorsolo's. But the resemblance was limited to technique. In his choice and treatment of subjects, Castañeda showed more fidelity to nature.

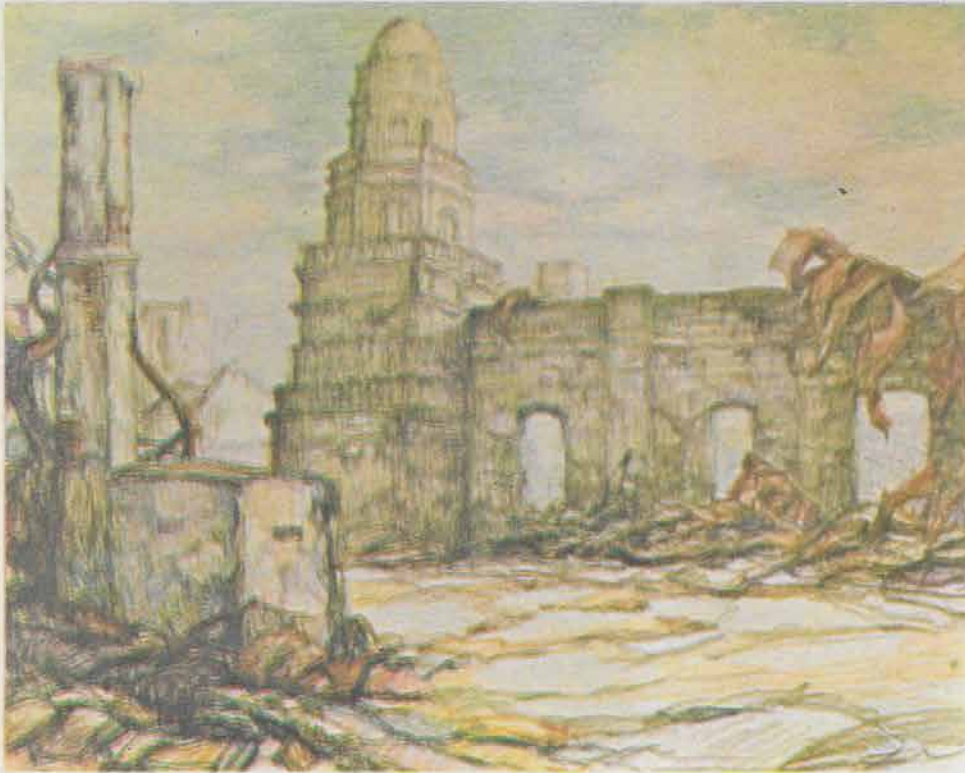
Part of the explanation may lie in the watercolor and pencil drawings reproduced on the following pages. More than any of his contemporaries, Castañeda cultivated the art of drawing from nature. His favorite scenes were the streets, houses and people of the suburban town where he lived. These were later used in the composition of paintings depicting local events, such as religious processions, which possessed some cultural significance to the inhabitants. He once said that this type of enlarged genre, so to speak, was his main object in painting.



Castañeda catches Fernando Amorsolo at work in his home.



Like his contemporaries, Castañeda dabbled in nude studies.



Ruins of Intramuros included those of all but one of its numerous churches.



A backyard scene in the country. Castañeda was an inveterate outdoors sketcher in his spare moments.



A religious procession leaves the "spot," the drawing faithfully depicts



ward in late afternoon. Made "on the
hitectural features of the church.



A SHORT STORY

MAY DAY EVE

By NICK JOAQUIN

The old people had ordered that the dancing should stop at ten o'clock but it was almost midnight before the carriages came filing up to the front door, the servants running to and fro with torches to light the

departing guests, while the girls who were staying were promptly herded upstairs to the bedrooms, the young men gathering around to wish them a good night and lamenting their ascent with mock sighs and moanings, proclaiming themselves disconsolate but straight-

way going off to finish the punch and the brandy though they were quite drunk already and simply bursting with wild spirits, merriment, arrogance and audacity, for they were young bucks newly arrived from Europe; the ball had been in their honor; and they had waltzed and polka-ed and bragged and swaggered and flirted all night and were in no mood to sleep yet — no, caramba, not on this moist tropic eve! not on this mystic May eve! —with the night still young and so seductive that it was madness not to go out, not go forth—and serenade the neighbors! cried one; and swim in the Pasig! cried another; and gather fireflies! cried a third—whereupon there arose a great clamor for coats and capes, for hats and canes, and they were presently stumbling out among the medieval shadows of the foul street where a couple of street-lamps flickered and a last carriage rattled away upon the cobbles while the blind black houses muttered hush-hush, their tiled roofs looming like sinister chessboards against a wild sky murky with clouds, save where an evil young moon prowled about in a corner or where a murderous wind whirled, whistling and whining, smelling now of the sea and now of the summer orchards and wafting unbearable childhood fragrances of ripe guavas to the young men trooping so uproariously down the street that the girls who were disrobing upstairs in the bedrooms scattered screaming to the windows, crowded giggling at the windows, but were soon sighing amorously over those young men bawling below; over those wicked young men and their handsome apparel, their proud flashing eyes, and their elegant mustaches so black and vivid in the moonlight that the girls were quite ravished with love, and began crying to one another how carefree were men but how awful to be a girl and what a horrid, horrid world it was, till old Anastasia plucked them off by the ear or the pigtail and chased them off to bed—while from up the street came the clackety-clack of the watchman's boots

on the cobbles, and the clang-clang of his lantern against his knee, and the mighty roll of his great voice booming through the night: "*Guardia sere no-o-o! A las doce han dado-o-o!*"

And it was May again, said the old Anastasia. It was the first day of May and witches were abroad in the night, she said—for it was a night of divination, a night of lovers, and those who cared might peer in a mirror and would there behold the face of whoever it was they were fated to marry, said the old Anastasia as she hobbled about picking up the piled crinolines and folding up shawls and raking slippers to a corner while the girls climbing into the four great poster-beds that overwhelmed the room began shrieking with terror, scrambling over each other and imploring the old woman not to frighten them.

"Enough, enough, Anastasia! We want to sleep!"

"Go scare the boys instead, you old witch!"

"She is not a witch, she is a maga. She was born on Christmas Eve!"

"St. Anastasia, virgin and martyr."

"Huh? Impossible! She has conquered seven husbands! Are you a virgin, Anastasia?"

"No, but I am seven times a martyr because of you girls!"

"Let her prophesy, let her prophesy! Whom will I marry, old gypsy? Come, tell me."

"You may learn in a mirror if you are not afraid."

"I am not afraid, I will go!" cried the young cousin Agueda, jumping up in bed.

"Girls, girls—we are making too much noise! My mother will hear and will come



and pinch us all. Agueda, lie down! And you, Anastasia, I command you to shut your mouth and go away! ”

“Your mother told me to stay here all night, my grand lady! ”

“And I will not lie down! ” cried the rebellious Agueda, leaping to the floor. “Stay, old woman. Tell me what I have to do.”

“Tell her! Tell her! ” chimed the other girls.

The old woman dropped the clothes she had gathered and approached and fixed her eyes on the girl. “You must take a candle,” she instructed, “and go into a room that is dark and that has a mirror in it and you must be alone in the room. Go up to the mirror and close your eyes and say:

*Mirror, mirror,
show to me
him whose woman
I will be.*

If all goes right, just above your left shoulder will appear the face of the man you will marry.”

A silence. Then: “And if all does *not* go right?” asked Agueda.

“Ah, then the Lord have mercy on you! ”

“Why? ”

“Because you may see—*the Devil!* ”

The girls screamed and clutched one another, shivering.

“But what nonsense! ” cried Agueda. “This is the year 1847. There are no devils anymore! ” Nevertheless she had turned pale. “But where could I go, huh? Yes, I know! Down to the sala. It has that big mirror and no one is there now.”

“No, Agueda, no! It is a mortal sin! You will see the devil! ”

“I do not care! I am not afraid! I will go! ”

“Oh, you wicked girl! Oh, you mad girl! ”

“If you do not come to bed, Agueda, I will call my mother.”

“And if you do I will tell her who came

to visit you at the convent last March. Come, old woman—give me that candle. I go.”

“Oh, girls—come and stop her! Take hold of her! Block the door!”

But Agueda had already slipped outside; was already tiptoeing across the hall; her feet bare and her dark hair falling down her shoulders and streaming in the wind as she fled down the stairs, the lighted candle sputtering in one hand while with the other she pulled up her white gown from her ankles.

She paused breathless in the doorway to the sala and her heart failed her. She tried to imagine the room filled again with lights, laughter, whirling couples, and the jolly herky music of the fiddlers. But, oh, it was a dark den, a weird cavern, for the windows had been closed and the furniture stacked up against the walls. She crossed herself and stepped inside.

The mirror hung on the wall before her; a big antique mirror with a gold frame carved into leaves and flowers and mysterious curlicues. She saw herself approaching fearfully in it: a small white ghost that the darkness bodied forth—but not willingly, not completely, for her eyes and hair were so dark that the face approaching in the mirror seemed only a mask that floated forward; a bright mask with two holes gaping in it, blown forward by the white cloud of her gown. But when she stood before the mirror she lifted the candle level with her chin and the dead mask bloomed into her living face.

She closed her eyes and whispered the incantation. When she had finished such a terror took hold of her that she felt unable to move, unable to open her eyes, and thought she would stand there forever, enchanted. But she heard a step behind her, and a smothered giggle, and instantly opened her eyes.

“And what did you see, Mama? Oh, what was it?”

But Doña Agueda had forgotten the little girl on her lap: she was staring past the curly head nestling at her breast and seeing herself in the big mirror hanging in the room. It was the same room and the same mirror but the face she now saw in it was an old face—a hard, bitter, vengeful face, framed in greying hair, and so sadly altered, so sadly different from that other face like a white mask, that fresh young face like a pure mask that she had brought before this mirror one wild May Day midnight years and years ago . . .

“But what was it, Mama? Oh, please go on! What did you see?”

Doña Agueda looked down at her daughter but her face did not soften though her eyes filled with tears. “I saw the devil!” she said bitterly.

The child blanched. “The devil, Mama? Oh . . . Oh!”

“Yes, my love. I opened my eyes and there in the mirror, smiling at me over my left shoulder, was the face of the devil.”

“Oh, my poor little Mama! And were you very frightened?”

“You can imagine. And that is why good little girls do not look into mirrors except when their mothers tell them. You must stop this naughty habit, darling, of admiring yourself in every mirror you pass—or you may see something frightful some day.”

“But the devil, Mama—what did he look like?”

“Well, let me see He had curly hair and a scar on his cheek—”

“Like the scar of Papa?”

“Well, yes. But this of the devil was a scar of sin, while that of your Papa is a scar of honor. Or so he says.”

“Well, he had mustaches.”

“Go on about the devil.”

“Like those of Papa?”

"Oh, no. Those of your Papa are dirty and greying and smell horribly of tobacco, while these of the devil were very black and elegant—oh, how elegant!"

"And did he have horns and a tail?"

The mother's lips curled. "Yes, he did! But, alas, I could not see them at that time. All I could see were his fine clothes, his flashing eyes, his curly hair and mustaches."

"And did he speak to you, Mama?"

"Yes... Yes, he spoke to me," said Doña Agueda. And bowing her greying head, she wept.

"Charms like yours have no need for a candle, fair one," he had said smiling at her in the mirror and stepping back to give her a low mocking bow. She had whirled around and glared at him and he had burst into laughter.

"But I remember you!" he cried. "You are Agueda, whom I left a mere infant and came home to find a tremendous beauty, and I danced a waltz with you but you would not give me the polka."

"Let me pass," she muttered fiercely, for he was barring her the way.

"But I want to dance the polka with you, fair one," he said.

So they stood before the mirror; their panting breath the only sound in the dark room; the candle shining between them and flinging their shadows to the wall. And young Badoy Montiya (who had crept home very drunk to pass out quietly, in bed) suddenly found himself cold sober and very much awake and ready for anything. His eyes sparkled and the scar on his face gleamed scarlet.

"Let me pass!" she cried again, in a

voice of fury, but he grasped her by the wrist.

"No," he smiled. "Not until we have danced."

"Go to the devil!"

"What a temper has my serrana!"

"I am not your serrana!"

"Whose, then? Someone I know? Someone I have offended grievously? Because you treat me, you treat all my friends like your mortal enemies."

"And why not?" she demanded, jerking her wrist away and flashing her teeth in his face. "Oh, how I detest you, you pompous young men! You go to Europe and you come back elegant lords and we poor girls are too tame to please you. We have no grace like the Parisiennes, we have no fire like the Sevillians, and we have no salt, no salt, no salt! Aie, how you weary me, how you bore me, you fastidious young men!"

"Come, come—how do you know about us?"

"I have heard you talking, I have heard you talking among yourselves, and I despise the pack of you!"

"But clearly you do not despise yourself, señorita. You come to admire your charms in the mirror even in the middle of the night!"

She turned livid and he had a moment of malicious satisfaction.

"I was not admiring myself, sir!"

"You were admiring the moon perhaps?"

"Oh!" she gasped, and burst into tears. The candle dropped from her hand and she covered her face and sobbed piteously. The candle had gone out and they stood in darkness, and young Badoy was conscience-

stricken.

"Oh, do not cry, little one! Oh, please forgive me! Please do not cry! But what a brute I am! I was drunk, little one, I was drunk and knew not what I said."

He groped and found her hand and touched it to his lips. She shuddered in her white gown.

"Let me go," she moaned, and tugged feebly.

"No. Say you forgive me first. Say you forgive me, Agueda."

But instead she pulled his hand to her mouth and bit it—bit so sharply into the knuckles that he cried with pain and lashed out with his other hand—lashed out and hit the air, for she was gone, she had fled, and he heard the rustling of her skirts up the stairs as he furiously sucked his bleeding fingers.

Cruel thoughts raced through his head: he would go and tell his mother and make her turn the savage girl out of the house—or he would go himself to the girl's room and drag her out of bed and slap, slap, slap her silly face! But at the same time he was thinking that they were all going up to Antipolo in the morning and was already planning how he would maneuver himself into the same boat with her.

Oh, he would have his revenge, he would make her pay, that little harlot! She should suffer for this, he thought greedily, licking his bleeding knuckles. But—Judas!—what eyes she had! And what a pretty color she turned when angry! He remembered her bare shoulders: gold in the candlelight and delicately furred. He saw the mobile insolence of her neck, and her taut breasts steady in the fluted gown. Son of a Turk, but she was quite enchanting! How could she think she had no fire or grace? And no salt? An arroba she had of it?

*"... No lack of salt in the chrism
At the moment of thy baptism!"*

he sang aloud in the dark room and suddenly realized that he had fallen madly in love with her. He ached intensely to see her again—at once! —to touch her hand and her hair; to hear her harsh voice. He ran to the window and flung open the casements and the beauty of the night struck him back like a blow. It was May, it was summer, and he was young—
—young! —and deliriously in love. Such a happiness welled up within him the tears spurted from his eyes.

But he did not forgive her—no! He would still make her pay, he would still have his revenge, he thought viciously, and kissed his wounded fingers. But what a night it had been! "I will never forget this night!" he thought aloud in an awed voice, standing by the window in the dark room, the tears in his eyes and the wind in his hair and his bleeding knuckles pressed to his mouth.

But, alas, the heart forgets; the heart is distracted; and maytime passes; summer ends; the storms break over the rot-ripe orchards and the heart grows old; while the hours, the days, the months, and the years pile up and pile up, till the mind becomes too crowded, too confused: dust gathers in it; cobwebs multiply; the walls darken and fall into ruin and decay; the memory perishes... and there came a time when Don Badoy Montiya walked home through a May Day midnight without remembering, without even caring to remember; being merely concerned in feeling his way across the street with his cane; his eyes having grown quite dim and his legs uncertain—for he was old; he was over sixty; he was a very stooped and shriveled old man with white hair and mustaches, coming home from a secret meeting of conspirators; his mind still resounding with the speeches and his patriot heart still exultant as he picked his way up the steps to the front door and inside

into the slumbering darkness of the house; wholly unconscious of the May night, till on his way down the hall, chancing to glance into the sala, he shuddered, he stopped, his blood ran cold—for he had seen a face in the mirror there—a ghostly candlelit face with the eyes closed and the lips moving, a face that he suddenly felt he had seen there before though it was a full minute before the lost memory came flowing, came tiding back, so overflowing the actual moment and so swiftly washing away the piled hours and days and months and years that he was left suddenly young again: he was a gay young buck again, lately come from Europe: he had been dancing all night: he was very drunk: he stopped in the doorway: he saw a face in the dark: he cried out . . . and the lad standing before the mirror (for it was a lad in a night gown) jumped with fright and almost dropped his candle, but looking around and seeing the old man, laughed out with relief and came running.

"Oh, Grandpa, how you frightened me!"

Don Badoy had turned very pale. "So it was you, you young bandit! And what is all this, hey? What are you doing down here at this hour?"

"Nothing, Grandpa, I was only . . . I am only . . ."

"Yes, you are the great Señor-Only and how delighted I am to make your acquaintance, Señor Only! But if I break this cane on your head you may wish you were someone else, sir!"

"It was just foolishness, Grandpa. They told me I would see my wife."

"Wife? What wife?"

"Mine. The boys at school said I would see her if I looked in a mirror tonight and said:

*Mirror, mirror,
show to me
her whose lover
I will be."*

Don Badoy cackled ruefully. He took the boy by the hair, pulled him along into the room, sat down on a chair and drew the boy between his knees. "Now, put your candle down on the floor, son, and let us talk this over. So you want your wife already, hey? You want to see her in advance, hey? But do you know that these are wicked games and that wicked boys who play them are in danger of seeing horrors?"

"Well, the boys did warn me I might see a witch instead."

"Exactly! A witch so horrible you may die of fright. And she will bewitch you, she will torture you, she will eat your heart and drink your blood!"

"Oh, come now, Grandpa. This is 1890. There are no witches anymore."

"Oh-ho, my young Voltaire! And what if I tell you that I myself have seen a witch?"

"You? Where?"

"Right in this room and right in that mirror," said the old man, and his playful voice had turned savage.

"When, Grandpa?"

"Not so long ago. When I was a bit older than you, Oh, I was a vain fellow and though I was feeling very sick that night and merely wanted to lie down somewhere and die I could not pass that doorway of course without stopping to see in the mirror what I looked like when dying. But when I poked my head in what should I see in the mirror but . . . but . . ."

"The witch?"

"Exactly!"

"And did she bewitch you, Grandpa?"

"She bewitched me and she tortured me. She ate my heart and drank my blood," said the old man bitterly.

"Oh, my poor little Grandpa! Why have you never told me! And was she very horrible?"

"Horrible? God, no—she was beautiful! She was the most beautiful creature I have ever seen! Her eyes were somewhat like yours but her hair was like black waters and her golden shoulders were bare. My God, she was enchanting! But I should have known—I should have known even then—the dark and fatal creature she was!"

A silence. Then: "What a horrid mirror this is, Grandpa," whispered the boy.

"What makes you say that, hey?"

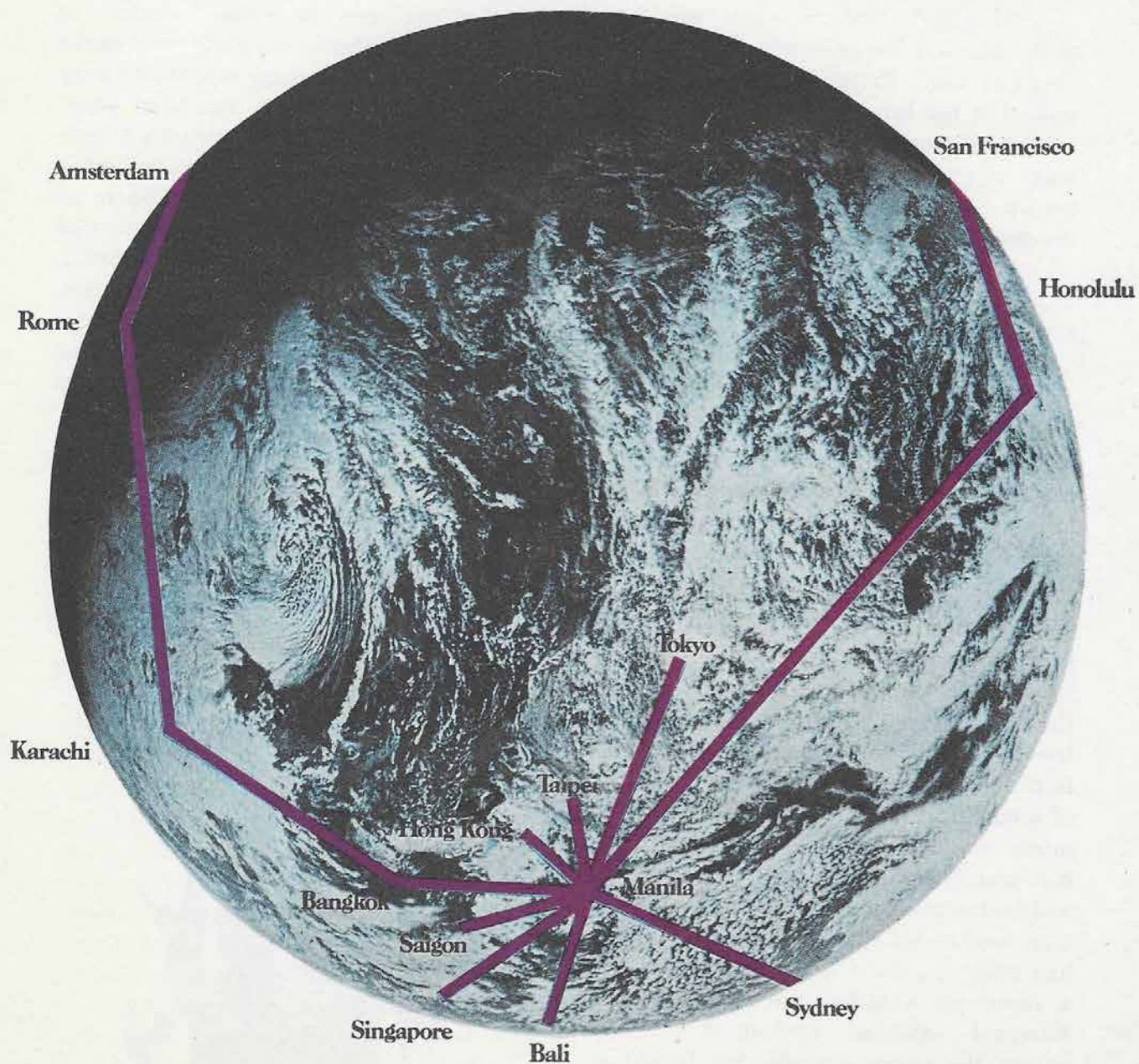
"Well, you saw this witch in it. And Mama once told me that Grandma once told her that Grandma once saw the devil in this mirror. Was it of the scare that Grandma died?"

Don Badoy started. For a moment he had forgotten that she was dead, that she had perished—the poor Agueda; that they were at peace at last, the two of them, and her tired body at rest; her broken body set free at last from the brutal pranks of the earth—from the trap of a May night; from the snare of summer; from the terrible silver nets of the moon. She had been a mere heap of white hair and bones in the end: a whimpering withered consumptive, lashing out with her cruel tongue; her eyes like live coals; her face like ashes . . . Now, nothing—nothing save a name on a stone; save a stone in a graveyard—nothing! nothing at all! was left of the young girl who had flamed so vividly in a mirror one wild May Day midnight, long, long ago.

And remembering how she had sobbed so piteously; remembering how she had bitten his hand and fled and how he had sung aloud in the dark room and surprised his heart in the instant of falling in love: such a grief tore up his throat and eyes that he felt ashamed before the boy; pushed the boy away; stood up and fumbled his way to the window; throw open the casements and looked out—looked out upon the medieval shadows of the foul street where a couple of street-lamps flickered and a last carriage was rattling away upon the cobbles, while the blind black houses muttered hush-hush, their tiled roofs looming like sinister chessboards against a wild sky murky with clouds, save where an evil old moon prowled about in a corner or where a murderous wind whirled, whistling and whining, smelling now of the sea and now of the summer orchards and wafting unbearable Maytime memories of an old, old love to the old man shaking with sobs by the window; the bowed old man sobbing so bitterly at the window; the tears streaming down his cheeks and the wind in his hair and one hand pressed to his mouth—while from up the street came the clackety-clack of the watchman's boots on the cobbles, and the clang-clang of his lantern against his knee, and the mighty roll of his great voice booming through the night: "*Guardia sereno-o-o! A las doce han dado-o-o!*"



Global route of an airline



PAL

STORY

The story of an airline

On December 3, 1946, the Philippine Air Lines flew its first scheduled flight across the Pacific to Oakland, California, with a Trans-Ocean DC-4. The plane had upholstered seats but no luxury trimmings, the aisles were narrow, and pressurized cabins were to come only with the following year's DC-6.

But the DC-4 flew its flag proudly to the United States. It was one of two of the country's first flag carriers, the only one to which the US Civil Aeronautics Board gave a permit to operate scheduled flights between Oakland and Manila.

The other flag carrier was the FEATI. PAL and FEATI had been designated as flag carriers by the Philippine government shortly after an air agreement was signed between the

United States and the Philippines in November 1946. The United States picked Pan American and Northwest Orient Airlines as its own flag carriers.

Actually, the Philippine Air Lines had flown the first Asian plane across the Pacific several months before. On July 31, 1946 a Douglas DC-4 Skymaster leased by PAL from TOA took off for a non-scheduled flight to Oakland. On board were 40 servicemen, who would have otherwise been stranded in the Philippines for some time for lack of available air transport. They were more than happy to board the plane which awaited them at the Nielsen Airport in Makati. The terminal was not much more than a makeshift shack and kitchen facilities meant well-packed meal



This is a model of the DC-3, the aircraft used by PAL in 1946.

boxes. But things were looking up.

That first non-scheduled flight took 41 hours to get to Oakland, with stops in Guam, Kwajalein and Honolulu. Manning the plane were eight American TOA personnel and one Filipina, PAL's chief flight attendant Rebecca Verzosa.

Actually the first step in the Philippine participation to international air traffic was taken in November 1944, when the country's government-in-exile became one of the signatories to the International Convention in Chicago on November 1944. The Philippines was represented by Jaime Hernandez, Urbano Zafra and Joseph Foley. The agreement established the "five freedoms" by which nations would exchange rights in the conduct of international air transportation. These "five freedoms" were not necessarily given to all countries and airlines, and were as follows:

First freedom - The right of the aircraft of one country to fly over the territory of another country.

Second freedom - The right of the aircraft of one country to land in the territory of another for technical or non-commercial purposes.

Third freedom - The right of the aircraft of one country to carry traffic (passengers, freight and airmail) to another country.

Fourth freedom - The right of the aircraft of one country to carry traffic from another country to its own country.

Fifth freedom - The right of the aircraft of one country to carry traffic from one foreign country to another foreign country.

Different countries extracted different "freedoms" and in the case of the Philippines not all the freedoms were made available all at once.

Nevertheless, Col. Andres Soriano, then the President of PAL, was to launch the airline as an international carrier. And to secure two flights weekly across the Pacific, PAL became a member of the International Air Transport Association (IATA), and by

1948 two DC-6s, larger versions of the DC-4s and with pressurized cabins, were delivered at a cost of P1,380,000 each.

But PAL was not without a strong local competitor, nor did it escape some tragedies that also befell other airlines. FEATI, the other flag carrier of the Philippines, had permit to fly non-scheduled flights to the United States. It suffered its first tragedy, however, when a DC-3 struck Mount Banahaw on December 14, 1946. Thirteen out of the fifteen persons aboard died. Another accident occurred the following year when FEATI was forced to land on the sea on a flight from Shanghai. Shortly after, PAL suffered its first accident on January 25, when a cargo DC-3 hit a hill on an island near Hongkong. Three members of the crew died in the crash.

On May of 1947, PAL purchased FEATI for over P3 million and assimilated many of FEATI's employees. Now owning a fleet of DC-4s, DC-6s and later DC-6Bs, PAL had become one of the ten leading international air carriers in the world in terms of unduplicated route miles. PAL planes flew to San Francisco, Honolulu, Wake, Guam, Hongkong, Taipei, Okinawa, Bangkok, Calcutta, Karachi, Beirut, Rome, Zurich and London at the start of 1954.

But the excitement of PAL's soaring flights, literally and in the language of transport business, had its counterpart in the excitement of dangers that now and then visited the flights themselves. At one instance a DC-3 domestic flight disappeared while travelling from Daet to Manila, with 13 persons aboard. Later bits of wreckage washed ashored in Quezon province and others recovered in the sea indicated that the plane had been exploded in mid-air. It was later reported that "investigators of the NBI and PC turned up three men who had planted a time bomb in the plane before it left Daet. The motive was to murder a businessman with

whose wife one of the killers was allegedly carrying on an illicit affair."

Even more exciting was the December, 1952 attempt of a young Chinese who tried to flee the charge of frustrated murder, by hijacking a PAL plane that had taken off from Laoag and ordering it to land on Communist territory. Nationalist planes sighted the unscheduled PAL plane, and through a series of complicated moves of which the hijacker was not aware, the plane landed, not in the Communist territory, but in a Chinese island, within Nationalist borders. Two Filipino crewmembers had been shot, and Ang had to stay in Taipei, for lack of an extradition treaty. On May 1953, the Chinese air force flew him to Manila. He pleaded guilty and was sentenced to life imprisonment.

For several years PAL flew an international route which covered Asia, the United States and Europe. But on March, 1954, the government which was then the majority stockholder of the airline, suspended PAL's international services, and only the domestic services plus the Hongkong routes were retained.

Only after eight years did PAL return to the Pacific route. At the end of last year, the airline had flown about 2.5 billion revenue seat miles on international routes since 1946. Philippine Presidents and their families have at various times made use of the flag carrier to take them to domestic points and to international ports.

The look of the vessel has changed, as have all those of other airlines. Music, movies, wide aisles, completely pressurized cabins, warm food and pretty flight attendants make up some of the attractions of today's airlines. Aside from the 747s which by sheer size alone reach farther both on land and by air, today's airlines seem to be running a jet race for service, comfort and safety, and PAL is right there among those in the lead.

The metal age is said to have emerged in the Philippines sometime in 1,000 AD. Archeologist Dr. Robert Fox opines that the use of bronze came even before iron. In the finds of Tabon cave in Palawan, site of the oldest human remains found in the Philippines consisting of a paleolithic skull CB dated at 22,000 years, an earthenware mold for casting bronze axe heads was uncovered. In various digging sites from the iron age to 16th century sites occasional bronze objects

have been unearthed such as bells, mirrors, arrow heads and anklets. Brass and bronze are of course not the same thing; bronze being an alloy of copper with tin, while brass is copper alloyed with zinc. This pre-historic reference serves as a backgrounder of sorts, because the advent of brassware into the country is not known. Since bronze was used early, the precise point when zinc was alloyed with copper to make brass should prove interesting detective work for a scholar.

Brass is an integral part of the material and art world of the muslims

MUSLIM FILIPINO BRASSWARE

By ALFREDO R. ROCES

Brassware is being found among diverse Filipino primitive tribes to this day. Dating them is difficult however, as some are heirloom pieces while others are of recent vintage. Brass, like iron, may have come in the form of trade objects which were subsequently melted down to form other objects. While there are brass tobacco pipes and sculptured heads used by the Mountain tribes, the place where brass was, and is most prevalent, is among the tribal groups in Mindanao, among those strongly influenced by Muslim religion and culture.

The Spanish attempts from the 16th century to the end of their empire here to conquer these Muslim groups were met with *lantakas* (brass cannons) and brass spearheads.

Up to the present, brassware is an integral part of the material world of the Filipino Muslim. It is regarded as a measure of one's economic wealth. Everyday objects are made of brass: plow-points, kitchen utensils and even a carpenter's plumb. Body adornment, too, come in brass such as rings,

buttons, belt buckles, bracelets. Horses moved to the tinkle of brass bells on their harness, ladies danced to the rhythmic jingle of brass anklets. Brassware was most popular as household objects, particularly betelnut boxes, finger bowls, and large brass containers. Brassware served diverse needs of the Muslim Filipino, as utensil, adornment, weapon, or as simply symbol of status. Workmanship in brass naturally was greatly appreciated. Wide variations of style show clearly that craftsmanship flourished with the demand for these brassware. Boxes in brass for betelnut with silver inlaid or inlay of other shades of copper metals from yellow to rose to dark brown, was greatly appreciated. Lime boxes are also common.

The method of making the brassware is the oldest process known, and despite modern technology, continues to be basically the method used even today. This is what is called the "cire perdue", or the "lost wax" process. When the American educational system introduced into the country with the help of the Thomasites sought to provide some technological assistance to local crafts without trying to destroy the indigenous forms, the then Bureau of Education tried to implement this program. An article in the *Philippine Craftsman*, March 1915 issue, describes the process:

"Most of the brass shops are in temporary buildings—nipa roofs supported by bamboo poles covering a clay furnace which forms a smelter. One or more wooden bellows connecting with the smelter by a bamboo tube are operated by a small boy or an old woman perched on a bamboo bench near the bellows. The smelter is made of clay and is 18 to 20 inches high and about 24 inches in diameter. The smelting pot is placed in the center; around it is heaped charcoal which is kept burning by a constant draft from the bellows. It takes from one to two hours to melt a half kilo of brass.

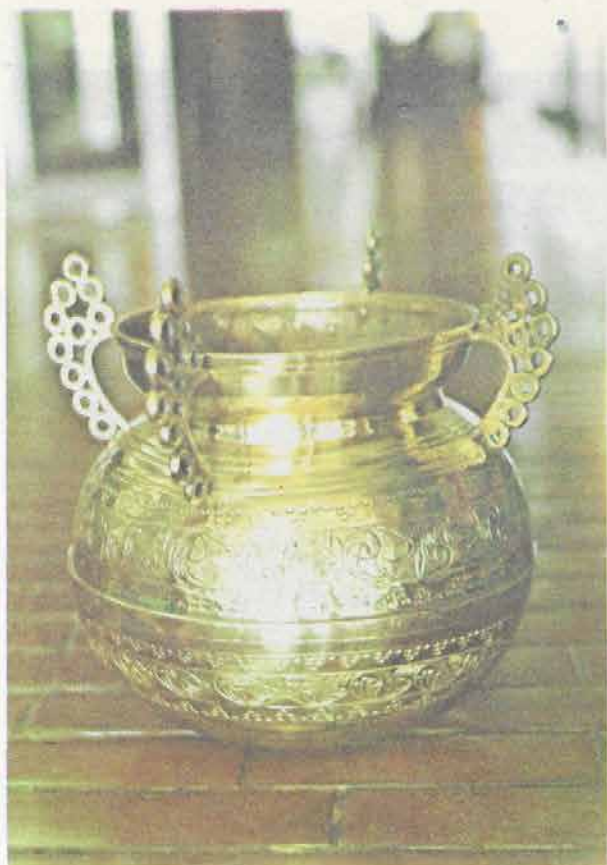
"Many times in lifting the smelting pot from the furnace the molten metal is lost by too rough handling—that is, the pot, which is made of clay, breaks because it has been used too often. The smelting pot can be used only two or three times, then a new one must be made. The clay used for making these pots is obtained from Polloc Point near Parang. The bellows are made from the trunk of the lauan tree and are usually 4 feet high and 10 inches in diameter. A wooden plunger padded with kapok works through the center. Usually two bellows are used for each furnace, the operator working the plungers up and down alternately.

"Let us follow each step through the making of one article. Suppose a *buyo* box is desired. First, a perfect specimen (already manufactured) is found. The outer surface is cleaned and polished and the lid is detached. Beeswax is heated and strained through cheesecloth and cooled. It is then placed on a smooth block of wood (*kalipapa*), and worked into large flat sheets about one-sixteenth of an inch thick; the beeswax must be of equal thickness at all points. To insure this, the block must be perfectly flat and a perfect rolling pin be used. The wax sheet is then carefully pressed around the model (*buyo* box) and sealed with a hot iron. We now have a brass box with an outer casing of wax which, of course, is the exact duplicate of the box within. The wax casing is called the pattern, the lid and the box making two separate pieces. Next the wax pattern is cut exactly in two in the center around the box and carefully removed. The two halves are now fitted together and sealed with a hot iron. The sealing of the two halves will leave a slight impression which will appear in the finished article and must be filed off. A wax lip is sealed to the completed pattern; later it will be seen for what purpose the lip is used. The wax pattern is now ready for the sand mold.



Brassware is regarded as a measure of wealth





The tangla is a fruit tray.



Kodon is used for cooking rice.



Another variety of the tangla.



The sari-manok, a popular bird motif among the Maranaos.



Brass ornaments are found in many Muslim homes.

"In making the mold, sand and charcoal are mixed together and sifted through several cloths until they are as fine as flour. This mixture is then packed firmly around the wax pattern to a thickness of about 1 inch; lastly, there comes a packing of wet sand and clay, or clay alone, to a thickness of about 1 1/2 inches. The mold is now ready for drying or setting. Great care must be taken that it does not dry too rapidly or cracks may occur. If placed in a well-shaded place where wind will pass over it, the mold dries in about twenty-four hours and is then ready for burning. For this operation dry logs are placed in a quadrangle and set afire. As the dry mold is within the quadrangle in the flames, it is burned to a brick in a few hours. During the burning process the wax pattern which is inside of the clay mold, melts and runs out, leaving the hollow form of the pattern. When the clay is first packed around the wax model the lip, which was referred to before, is left above the surface of the clay. This lip, when melted, leaves a canal through which the melted wax runs out and into which the molten brass is poured.

"The sand mold is now ready for the molten metal. Into the smelting pot, which is made of clay from Polloc and mixed with rice chaff, there is placed a chunk of brass, the pot is next set in the furnace and charcoal heaped around and over it. The bellows are then started and after an hour or more the brass become a white liquid. After removing the smelting pot from the furnace with a long-handled lifting iron, the liquid is quickly poured into the molds. Usually more liquid is in the pot than is needed, but it is not lost as it is left for the next article. In a few minutes the sand mold may be broken and inside is found a brass box the exact duplicate of the wax pattern.

"A perfect article is seldom molded. In many cases the wax is unevenly rolled, so that the sand mold when packed around it nearly meets, and as the molten metal takes the place of the wax the sand drops in, mixing itself with the brass, thereby causing a core which must afterwards be drilled out and a brass rivet put in. Ninety per cent of the brass articles are imperfect. Some are very cleverly finished and it is very difficult to find the

imperfections, but nevertheless they are there in most cases. When finishing a brass article, it is fastened in a crude lathe and revolved by a rope and spindle worked by hand. A rasp is held to the surface and the rougher parts are smoothed. Then a finer file is applied, after which a wet cloth on which sand has been dusted is held to the article, forming a sort of buffing machine. However, the results obtained are not perfect; power is lacking and in most cases the brass article is not perfectly round. In modern brass molding, muriatic acid is used to facilitate the melting, and zinc or aluminum is added to make the molding more malleable. The Moro brass is very brittle and the rough application of a file or hammer breaks it."

Brassware was obviously highly-prized by Muslim Filipinos. There probably was some brassware that came in through Borneo because today Muslim antique dealers like to distinguish between Lanao brassware, Cotabato ware and what they call "Boronai" ware. Malaysia brassware is also highly valued and shows a strong affinity. Some of the designs seem to indicate some very vague ancient links with India in the concept of form, such as a bird form which is called *sarimanok*, particularly used as the culminating form in a pyramid arrangement of brass oil lamps, or the use of inlaid work. Other designs apparently show Middle East influence, understandable enough because of the Mohammedan roots and extensive trade between the two cultures. China brass could have been an influence too, as this was actually imported in the past. But one can discern indigenous forms, too. A shell bracelet, for example, which obviously has been worn since pre-historic times retains its form in brass bracelets. Some of the heavy brass containers have roots in pre-hispanic Muslim earthenware. Bamboo tobacco containers, too, have been the inspiration for brass versions.

The collector today may find quite a variety of brassware in antique shops. There are many articles of brass including "brass knuckles", small brass cannons and cookie molds, but the major items are the betelnut boxes, the finger bowls, and brass containers called "gadus".

As elements of social ritual, both the betelnut boxes and the ceremonial brassware from fingerbowls to ornate and large gadurs, served both aesthetic and functional needs of the Filipino Muslims. The betelnut boxes was a gauge of social status from a viewpoint of the quantity and quality of such brass objects. Wealth was in fact often gauged in terms of brassware; or inversely, brassware was equated with material equivalent such as carabaos, or among primitive groups, wives.

The method of decoration was quite crude, but it is this impression that gives them their charm. There is basically an innate feel for form in the overall shape and balance of the brassware that fuss ornament with general shape. The ornaments consisted of either inlaid-metal work such as silver or copper; or relief forms, mostly raised. thread-like patterns and geometric motifs. Some brassware also used incisions in light and delicate patterns. Unlike the Chinese brass which have symmetrical, simple shapes with dragons or similar shapes, or the Middle East brass which is finely made ornate with clean precision, or the Indian brassware with its richly elaborate and graceful forms, its designs crowding every space, the Filipino Muslim brassware has a touch of primitive art and a touch of the sophisticated art of the Muslim world. It has appeal that grows with scrutiny and time. The artifacts, however, have lost some of their local value and appeal for the Muslim Filipinos with their changing life patterns; and these brassware, relics of the past have now found their way into antique shops from Marawi and Zamboanga to the sophisticated areas of Mabini to Makati.

In song or verse, they tell of heroic deeds and supernatural events and testify to the customs and values of the people

FILIPINO FOLK EPICS

(First of three parts)

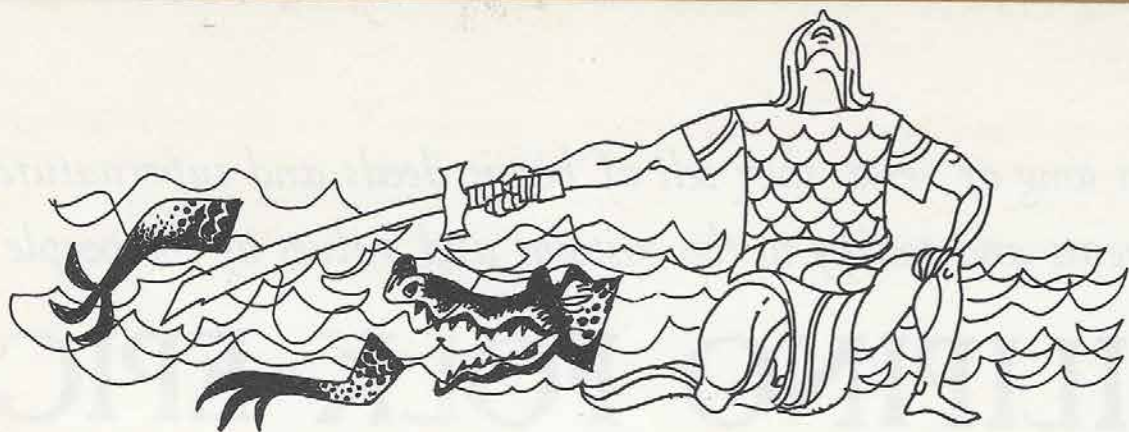
By MONINA A. MERCADO



A man, full-grown, falls into the mouth of a shark. His flesh is eaten, but his bones are spewed out to the bottom of the sea where they are gathered by a diver and returned to his widow. She drapes the bones with her skirt, while the family pets—a rooster and a dog -- crow and growl over them. The bones stir, mend, stand, take flesh and life: the man is resurrected. He embraces his wife, gathers his pets and lives happily ever after.



A maiden, goddess of the eastern sky, forsakes domain and privilege to marry a mortal man. She delivers three sons as their first born and calls a high priest of petition for their good health. Vine leaves and incense are burned, the north wind allowed to caress the infants. With the first gust, the little ones spring to their feet: grown men, handsome, eager to bear arms, woo and conquer.



Rampaging carabaos wreck the fields, flying sharks devour fishermen, crocodiles eat women and children who bathe in the rivers. There is terror in the land, but the chieftain is too old and weak to help his people. A warrior, passing by, learns of the perils and sets his men in teams to slay the beasts. All rivers run red with the blood of the vanquished animals.



A man and a giant fight over a maiden. Spears are split, daggers are chipped, shields are shattered. Splinters from the weapons fly and sink into the ground where they grow into trees. The combat continues, the warriors now using their bare hands. Days, weeks pass, the fight is even. Then the giant whips out his magic weapon, an iron bar which imprisons his opponent. But the man merely raises his hand to free himself and, maddened, brings out his own magic weapon: a rope of gold. With a power of its own, the rope winds around the giant, bursts into flames and kills him. The victor claims the maiden and rides home with her on the wings of lightning.

These are scenes from Philippine folk epics, lavish chronicles of men who were like gods and gods who were like men. Once as gripping to their audience as the movies are today to the mass mind, the ancient epics are now in shadow, of fascination only to scholars. So shifts the role of medium, for the epics once were all to many men: fantasy, prayer, aspiration, history, law book, etiquette. If a history of the awakening mind is to be made, surely the influence of the epics must be counted for their functions of shaping and of opening spiritual horizons. How intrusive

seems the probing of today's sophisticated mind into these records, how like ill manners the inquiry of today's over-bombarded perception into the deceptively simplistic appeal of the epics. How like cursory curiosity the questions: who made the epics, who kept them alive, where are the epics now so that even if they may never again be of mass fascination as they were in their time, they may at least be accessible to the interested?

For the most incisive examination into the epics must be as they reflect the subconscious of an ancient race, befogged as it is

in unfamiliarity, of an ancient people who are our genealogical reference, if not consciously our spiritual forefathers (for a western-oriented education has conditioned us to look to alien lands and strange peoples for our psyche). To look then into our folk epics is to unravel an umbilical cord: the first fact of racial identity, the initial base of emotional make-up, in sum, the foundations of what must now be known as Filipino soul.

Anthropologists and students of literature have not been remiss and have conscientiously been submitting Philippine folk material to universally-held criteria for the epic: a narrative of sustained length in verse form, telling of supernatural events and heroic deeds, either chanted or sung, with a seriousness of purpose for they testify to beliefs, ideals, values and customs of the people. (Chanting or singing must be a singular standard for Philippine folk material which were not written and were transmitted only orally from man to man, from generation to generation.)

Although the Philippine folk epic is of relatively recent interest to scholars—serious documentation could only be traced to the late 19th century—there are enough available material for study from printed sources, unpublished records, raw field notes and taped but untranscribed materials. These are measured according to norms which ultimately determine if they may be elevated to epic status. Some of the norms are: internal evidence through a scouring of the contents; external evidence from the verse form and from the length and magnitude; oral attestation by the people themselves who chant or sing the stories; library documentation, if available; confirmation by field work and the existence of variants to the stories.

In a survey by Anthropologist Arsenio Manuel, where 19 verse narratives were con-

sidered, six passed the criteria. The number is advisedly not final nor definitive, however, since some of the 19 narratives are still to be transcribed, two have no text, two are unrecorded, one text was lost during World War II.

The six epics are *Lam-ang*, from the Ilocos; *Handiong*, from Bicol; *Hudhud*, from the Ifugao tribe; *Hinilawod I* and *Hinilawod II*, from the Sulod tribe of Panay; *Tuwaang*, from the Manobo tribe; and *Bantugan*, the Muslim epic.

Lam-ang is the only fully recorded epic in both original text and in translation. It is complete in one song. First documented late in the 19th century, it has since then been extensively studied and variously adapted in prose. One of the best known literary authorities on *Lam-ang* is Professor Leopoldo Yabes of the University of the Philippines.

Handiong is unique because it is known only in Spanish translation and is not supported by original text. The missionary, Rev. Fr. Jose Castaño, was supposed to have transcribed the story from the Bicolano bard, Cadagnung. In 1896, the first song of *Handiong* was published in Madrid by Wenceslao Retana.

Hudhud was recorded in 1954 from singers (one was a chief priest) in Banawe who learned them from their forefathers and their forefathers before them. Documented in the original text and in translation, four songs from *Hudhud* have been published, three are synopsisized in prose. The poet Amador Daguio translated the harvest song, appended notes and made it the subject of an M. A. thesis at Standord University in 1952.

Hinilawod I and *Hinilawod II*, long-winded, complex, full of characters, are available in original text and in translation. They were discovered in 1931 by Eugenio Ealdama, who was attracted by the style of singing: first monotonous, then humming, then esca-

lating in pitch and timing. The first ballads written down by Ealdama are part of a very long epic which Anthropologist F. Landa Jocano recorded in the 1950s from a single woman singer. The people who possess *Hinilawod I* and *Hinilawod II* is the Sulod tribe, *kaingeros* by life-style in Panay.

There are 47 known songs in *Tuwaang*, but only two are actually documented in the original text and in English translation, the rest are still in tapes and field notes.

Bantugan is in English, translated in the 1930s by the Catholic missionary, Frank Laubach. Two songs have been published, eleven others synopsized.

From recording to transcription to translation, the task of scholars on the epics has barely began. "It will take more than a generation of scholarship," according to Professor Manuel, "before all the constituent songs could be recorded, gathered and collated..." The task, furthermore, requires a special skill from the scholar: that of being a multi-dialect expert. The epics are in different dialects, some of them obscure and confined only to tribal use. The scholar must be a master of these tongues to capture meaning and nuances and also to translate the songs himself or else provide the guidelines for their literary transmission. The ideal epic scholar must be, in the practical sense, a schooled member of the people who possess the songs in the first place.

Accusing fingers have often been pointed on Spanish scholars for their neglect of Philippine epics of which they knew and dutifully reported. Yet that no one of them, until the late 19th century, made records or documents of these epics may not necessarily have been caused by indifference or even prissyness (one chronicler, Diego Lopez Povedano, in 1578 expressed shock at the "indecent and lewd" songs), but by the

language barrier. There was an untracked number of tribal dialects then (as there are now) which must have required greater scholarly capacities than what the Spaniards then possessed.

Scholarly efforts from the 1950s to the present were given strong impetus by Professor Otley Beyer who provided the clues where the epics may be found intact and in currency. He pinpointed pagan and Muslim regions, deducing that since they did not fall under Spanish or American rule, they would have preserved ancient traditions. Following this thinking, field workers have discovered as many as 13 verse narratives from the pagan tribes and four from the Muslim tribes. In contrast, only two epics are known from the Christianized regions.

Professor Beyer's thinking has also been responsible for the prevailing classification now in use for the epics. It is a grouping according to ethnic origins. Hence, Muslim epics (of which *Bantugan* is the best known); pagan epics (*Hudhud*, *Hinilawod I* and *II*, *Tuwaang*); Christian epics, in reference to the region of origin and not to doctrinal content (*Lam-ang*, *Handiong*).

Sleuthing on the epics of the Mountain Province which was his home, Professor Beyer and his son William came upon the definitive meaning in practical and rather dramatic dimensions of the term: "sustained length". To record *Hudhud* in 1954, William Beyer filled 20 reels with 40 songs at 15 minutes per song. Much earlier, his father, Professor Beyer, had sent an Ifugao school teacher from town to town in Banawe to listen to the songs and estimate how many days it would take to complete the *Hudhud*. If a day is morning to evening or evening to morning, with an average of ten hours, it was estimated that it would take a total of 102-1/2 days. Professor Beyer believed that the *Hudhud* must have at

least 50 songs and may actually have 100 when completely recorded.

The length of an epic is determined by the number of lines in the original text, the number of hours it takes to chant or sing the whole or the parts and the complexity of the entire story. Some of the truly grand and complex verse narratives are called macro-epics and they may consist of one whole extended song or several integral songs. These integral songs are called micro-epics and may be sung by themselves, apart from the others. The magnificent *Hudhud* of 102-1/2 days duration is clearly a macro-epic and the Ifugaos have always preferred to sing it in one sitting.

By text count, *Hinilawod I* has 3,822 lines and takes five hours to chant; *Hinilawod II* has 53,000 lines and takes 25 hours to complete. Neither is usually sung as a whole and the practice is to single out a few episodes or micro-epics to fit the occasion.

Measured by the episodes, *Tuwaang* has songs which can be completed in one evening, some in two evenings, some in several evenings. The meeting of *Tuwaang* with the maiden of Buhong sky has 1,417 lines; the episode where he attends a wedding has 1,547 lines.

Father Frank Laubach once sat a Maranaw epic singer at a typewriter and asked him to write down *Bantugan*. The first episode alone covered 200 pages.

The age of the epics remains a most fascinating study, if only because it is evasive. The sweeping date for most of them is pre-Spanish, but how far into the unrecorded centuries is matter unknown and highly provocative. Some authorities would go back into the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. when Indian influence was ascendant in Southeast Asia, pointing out that some of the epics are mark-

edly Indian in style, tone, content. The most proximate Indian state to the Philippines at that time was East Borneo from which boat traffic was relatively easy.

Professor Manuel suggests that internal evidence within the epics themselves indicate that they are definitely pre-Spanish: the heroes are native and not Iberian in derivation; the verses have no imposed regularity as in the literary creations of the historic period; the epics are most likely found among pagan and Muslim peoples who were not colonized.

If the Spanish chronicles serve at all to clarify the epics, it is in conveying the relevance and the relish which they had in the lives of the people. In 1582, Miguel de Loarca visited Panay and wrote: "... since these natives are not acquainted with the art of writing, they preserve their ancient lore through songs which they sing in a very pleasing manner, commonly while playing their oars, as they are island dwellers. Also, during their revelries, the singers who have good voices recite the exploits of olden times, thus they always possess a knowledge of past events."

In *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas*, Pedro Chirino wrote: "Having well eaten and drunk, they whisk away the tables, sweep the house and, unless it is a funeral feast, they fall to singing, playing stringed instruments and dancing and in this manner, spent days and nights, making a tremendous racket . . ."

In our times, F. Lando Jocano came upon such similar enjoyment when he recorded the *Hinilawod* among the Sulod people. Although parts of the epics are sung during weddings and wakes, it really does not take a big event to set off the story-telling. Some nights, after supper when drinking *tuba*, gossiping and telling jokes, a group may ask the singer to oblige with some epic songs. If the singer is a woman, she sits in a hammock, swaying in rhythm with her chanting. If the

singer is a man, he merely sits on a bench or on his haunches, keeping time with his head.

The hero of the known epics is a spectacular figure. Like the three brothers of the *Hinilawod*, like the child *Lam-ang*, he may spring full-grown from babyhood. While born of human parents or of a liaison between god and mortal, he is special from birth, anointed with a *mana*, which may be mere magic or sheer supernatural power. His exploits suspend all that is natural or normal: spears do not wound him, fires do not burn his skin or hair, he can fly with the wind and wrestle with giants and monsters. He is quick to help and easily roused to defend kin and friends, but no one drives him to his feet quicker than a beautiful woman. For the epic hero is a notorious lover, plunging into combat, monsters' lairs and the deep sea for woman after woman after woman. (No sooner has Labaw Donggon of *Hinilawod I* brought home a wife, whom he won from a monster, when he is off again to rescue a maiden from the hundred arms of a giant. Months later, when his wives give birth to sons, Labaw Donggon is again away, wooing the bride of the lord of darkness.) As the epic hero is lusty, so is he violent and even ruthless. (*Lam-ang* plucks an enemy hair by hair, tooth by tooth, eye by eye and leaves him alive.) But this tenderness is spontaneous with children, his respect strong for his parents, his worship and tribute

constant for his gods. He therefore never dies. parents, his worship and tribute constant for his gods. He therefore never dies.

In the epics, woman is either virtue in the flesh or witch. (Bugan of *Hudhud* is an ethereal mountain maid, as gentle as her husband is fierce; but Oriol of *Handiong* is wily, clever and a total sorceress, dedicated to the proposition that man is to be dominated, no matter the thousand knots he ties to keep her in place.) As prize or prey, she is the beginning of trouble but also the end. Her ultimate grace is motherhood and all mothers in the epics, especially the mothers of the heroes, are magnificent, perpetually waiting and comforting figures.

It is said that the people who possess the epics believe that they are stories woven by the gods, for they are so fantastic and spectacular, so unremitting in awe and wonder. Yet only man really could compose such heroes and such exploits, for they embody a shining conviction of what he, when blessed and when brave, can ambition for and achieve.

The epic landscape is seductive, ever vivid and fresh and to walk through it is to know something of the infinity of human imagination and the constancy of wonder. There is no yesterday in the creation of fantasy, everything is today: as conflict is, as ambition is, as virtue is, as evil is, as love is.





Romulo



Virata



Roces



Mercado

CARLOS P. ROMULO (Revising Asian History) is Philippine Secretary of Foreign Affairs. The article was delivered recently before a meeting in Manila of Asian historians. The former newspaperman, editor and publisher has a formidable background: he was President of the fourth General Assembly of the United Nations (1949-1950), Ambassador to the United States (1952-1962), President of the University of the Philippines and concurrent Secretary of Education (1962-1968). He won the Pulitzer Prize for distinguished correspondence for a series of articles written on a trip through the Far East just before World War II.

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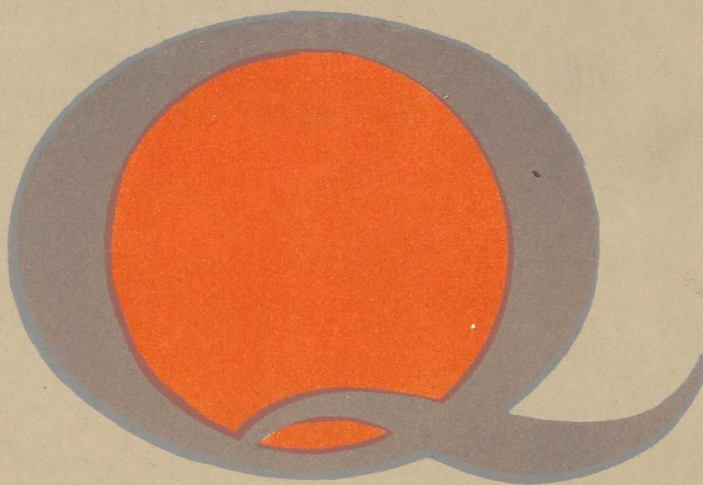
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COVER. Four illustrations are excerpted from the contents, clockwise: an old Spanish house found in the Nayong Pilipino, a goddess forsakes domain to marry a mortal, (Filipino Folk Epics), a Castañeda portrait and a Muslim Brassware Illustrations by M. Baldemor.