

DISCUSSION

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Moderator: Dr. Vicente Quiton
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Prof. Carmencita Aguilar: The presentation of Dr. Tadena should be really commended. I would like to commend especially the very scholarly presentation of the substance of his paper, and also his calling attention that political development in this country must choose the kind of political culture and values of the Filipinos. And that the measure of political development must not be based on Western criteria, particularly, the American model.

He has also a very original and relevant observation on the role of the citizens and lower implementors or the administrative personnel, in the realization of the society's goals to set up a political and administrative structure for institutionalized political purposes. However, political development is represented in the revival of *baranganic* democracy as well as through the IBP, as he had mentioned. The process of consensus, that is very Asian and very Filipino, indeed, must be made through the representation of people's will, people's consensus. We must not repeat the same mistake of consensus, where the elite's will is equated with the people's will. I'm sure that if a start can be achieved, then the institutionalization process will not be so difficult this time.

The professionalization of the bureaucracy itself as mentioned in the paper, I agree, must be given attention. The gap between policies and their implementation are often due to the inadequacy of the bureaucracy. No matter how adequate policies are if the bureaucratic structure is incompetent or had not understood fully the philosophy and processes of implementation, then all objectives of development and change are meaningless.

I suppose that the region can be a useful agent of political development in the sense of political participation if the citizenry can be really ascertained of their role in the *barangay* activities so that the danger of societal imbalance can be avoided.

Also, I should like to comment on the concept *bono pater familia*. Well, we do agree that indeed this is basically a Filipino culture and value. We accept the father of the family, of the authoritarian figure of the family, and therefore we are so predisposed to authoritarian family relationship. But I

suppose that a *bono pater familia* must be one that should really consolidate and must anticipate the need of the children in the family. That is my concept of a *bono pater familia*.

That is all.

Mr. Mariano Fiez: I will not quarrel with Prof. Tadena, when he gave certain definitions here which according to him are Western definitions of political development. He mentioned, among other definitions, that political development is a long-range linear process between the goals and demands. It is a pattern, according to his paper, which is concerned with the expansion of functions of the political system, the attainment of new levels of integration, and the increase in capacity of the political system to cope with new problems attendant to political integration.

I conform to this definition. Perhaps there are some people who would say that it is wrong. But I think that the same are products of our point of view. We might take exception because we are Orientals and we are living under a different milieu.

As a linear process, political development could even pass for a flow—backward or forward. Put it backward and there is political retrogression. It can be made faster, it can be made slower. This does not mean that there is only one possible road to political perfection, that there is only one possible road to the political utopia that all of us are dreaming of. There are several roads.

Because needs are different. The needs of each people of each nation are different. And the means and resources for attaining these needs, these aspirations, are also different.

As a sovereign nation, I believe that we must choose our own road to the dream of political utopia. We must choose also our own pace as we go towards political perfection. And this depends upon our cultural and economic needs. The form of government we should have should be in accordance with our culture. It must be culture-bound.

Now, the paper states that since political development is a pattern, it implies a sequence of steps. These steps are characterized by new aspirations and new demands, probably due to acculturation and cultural borrowing. Aspirations grow with intensity; they grow in number. And sometimes it is difficult for society, for the policy to meet these aspirations. Since society does not have the institutional machinery and resources nor the will to satisfy these needs, the results will be political instability. But the most important of these elements, in order to fulfill such aspirations, is the will, the will of the people—the will to bridge the gap, the yawning gap between the aspiration and the reality.

For example, even if there is an institutional machinery, the technology, and the resources to satisfy these needs, if the people manning the administrative machinery of the government are lackadaisical, then the results will again be frustration. Another thing, if the people are not committed to

satisfy their own needs, then the result is that all the aspirations will come to naught.

It is therefore important, if we want to build a stable government, that we should redefine the role of the citizens. We have to build mechanisms so that they will support the programs, the projects, and the activities of the government.

There is a need to redefine the citizens' role vis-à-vis their demands because if their demands are greater than their support, the result is political instability.

At this point, I would like to comment on the process of consensus which, I think, is a classical process. While I would not say that this is impossible, I would say that it is not probable. It might take a long time, especially if the people are not disciplined.

It is important that if we want to have a legislature which decides by consensus, all our assemblymen must be disciplined and all our people must be disciplined also.

Thank you.

Dr. Vicente Quiton: Thank you Mr. Diez. Mayor Rivera?

Mayor Hospicio Rivera (Dolores, Eastern Samar): I did not have the time to read the paper of Dr. Tadena but I listened intently to his lecture. I found out later in diagnosing further his diagram that, perhaps, in my opinion, the cultural field may be absorbed in the social fields; economics may also be absorbed in the social field. Eventually, the social field may be absorbed in the political field. So I think it is enough to sustain the political area of discussion. However, I have taken into account the fact that when we plan for development, we will have to take into account the total milieu of society so that we will have a development-oriented plan.

I was also touched by his lecture on the need to go deeper into our culture. According to Mr. Diez, in developing we must be culture bound; we have to trace back our indigenous culture.

Now, will you accept, Dr. Tadena, that our culture during the pre-Spanish period is better than the culture we have now? Would you sustain this idea, if we take into account the system of justice then in which a person under trial was exposed to the ants, or dipped into water and whoever comes out first was the guilty person? Can we compare this system of justice to what we have now where the rules of court are there to assist in finding out who is the innocent and who is the guilty? Which culture would you say is less developed or more developed? To me, going back to the pre-Spanish *baranganic* democracy which was more or less dominated by the strong is a mistake. (If you are a strong chief, you would even annex the next tribe.)

Dr. Tadena: I would like to react to that.

By the way, before I answer the question, I would like to tell you that Mayor Rivera is an old friend of mine. We were together in the College of Public Administration once upon a time.

I would like to make some clarification, some distinction. First of all, when we speak of *indigenized* culture, we can't easily say, in the same breath, *indigenous* culture. In other words, we have to distinguish between what is truly indigenous, i.e., the culture which came out of the innovative genius of our people; and that which were of alien origins which we have adapted into our own, i.e., that has been *indigenized*. This latter phenomena has been discussed exhaustively in the paper of my good friend Pete Daroy.

Secondly, culture is not static. It is a dynamic, moving thing. And, therefore, according to the stage of thinking, according to the temperament of our people, culture is bound to change. That itself is an essence of development as Dr. Fernandez pointed out earlier this morning. I see no reason why we have to go back to the Kalantiaw Code and the Roman Law system because in terms of the modern concept of the rehabilitation of prisoners, we have come out of the retribution type of justice to a more conciliatory and development-oriented system. So there is no quarrel, *pañero*.

We accept the rule of law; we accept the Catholic doctrine that no man is beyond salvation. On the other hand, I would like to mention also, that in the process of trying to change our values we need not destroy some of those which we found to be useful for our own purposes. In other words, we need not destroy everything simply because they are not in conformity with what the Americans taught us. It is not exactly true that everything Western is superior. As a matter of fact, in communicating with our people to arrive at a consensus, we have to make use of indigenous techniques.

Mr. Emmanuel Saño (Student, Divine Word University): I am supposed to be working in a development agency (LSBDA). Dr. Tadena, I would like to ask if you agree that in the order of priorities of development, economic precedes social, then from social to political, and from political to cultural?

Dr. Tadena: One of the problems contained in your question is balance. It does not mean that everything should be equal, because it is almost impossible to have balance all the way through. There is bound to be a time-lag in terms of effect from one state to another. That's why, at any given moment in time, there is bound to be some imbalances. But the imbalance need not be so great as to create so much instability. In other words, if we are not going to have any imbalance, *hindi na tatakbo ang makina*.

Now, when we speak of priorities, we do not speak in terms of a particular subsystem. In other words, the economic, social, political, cultural subsystems are all priorities. The point is, if our project is economic in nature, we ask ourselves: What are the underpinnings in so far as the social, political, and cultural spheres are concerned? In other words, we shall speak of priorities not in terms of sectors or subsystems, but in terms of programs and projects. But for every program, for every project, whether they be economic or political, there is bound to be questions asked: *Ano*

ang pangangailangan in the cultural and social fields? The trouble arises when we always think as if the economic aspect of the planning process is everything. *Hindi puwede 'yan*. My point is that if we speak of economic development, we should ask ourselves: What are the requirements for this economic project to prosper? *Ano ang mga* social requirements? *Ano 'yung mga* political requirements? *Ano 'yung mga* cultural requirements? That's my message.

Mayor Policarpio Cruzada (Silago, Southern Leyte): Being a mayor, I am exposed to the masses and I know their real problems. During my travels to my barrios—and I'm informing you that my municipality is the most depressed municipality in the region (laughter)—when conducting community assemblies there, I interview the poor people on what they think of our present system of government. And they say that in this system of government we cannot achieve development by ourselves because the source of development is supposed to be the barrios. I have organized the Barangay Development Councils of all the barrios there. But then the problem of the members of the councils there is where to get the resources to fund the projects. We have none. We have no funds. Money is nowhere to be found. And my municipality is also the smallest municipality and has the least income—a sixth class municipality. We are facing the same problem that my barrios have. Now, how could we even achieve that goal of equal distribution of wealth when our municipality cannot cope with the standards of the other municipalities?

We have just finished our position description and pay plan. The concept there is equal pay for equal work. But how could a mere campaign clerk of my municipality equal the salary of a campaign clerk of a first class municipality? So there is no sense in that concept of equal pay for equal work.

Since our topic today is political development, I think I have the right to introduce a system of government in which everybody can share equally!

I think it is the slogan of President Marcos that *pantay-pantay tayong lahat*. But in this system of government, *wala! Hindi tayo pantay-pantay* (Applause). There are those very wealthy millionaires, while there are beggars. So I would like to introduce to you another system of government. Not communism! But before I mention this system of government, I would like to ask you if you are aware of the massive development efforts of Saudi Arabia at present. Saudi Arabia has a massive development program. They are importing Filipinos to do the work for them. And Saudi Arabia is the wealthiest Muslim nation because of its oil. The Philippines is also the wealthiest nation in the Far East because of its natural resources. So why don't we just let the Americans or aliens exploit our natural resources! (Laughter) No, no, don't laugh at it. The Americans dug wells for Saudi Arabia and what happens now? Saudi Arabia is one of the wealthiest nations today. My introduction of this system of government reminds me of President Macapagal's idea—the welfare state. Because I know that

Filipinos are lazy people! (Laughter.) They just want to be fed by the government. This is the system of government I am introducing now.

Dr. Tadena: Well, at least we have some innovation. . . I would like to point out a few things though. One, we should make a distinction between equity among people and equality among political units. *Hindi ho magkapa-reho 'yan, e. Iba 'yong equality ng political units.*

Pangalawa po, that the concept of equal pay for equal work—and by the way, I'd like to mention that I happen to be a consultant to the Budget Commission, I think I know something about this technical problems regarding personnel administration—actually means equal pay for equal responsibility. The volume of work is the basic factor to be considered in the determination of equality or inequality of responsibility.

Hindi, como sinabi natin that equal pay for equal work *na* everything is equal whether it be a small unit or a big unit. A clerk in a bigger unit is bound to have greater responsibility than a clerk in a small unit.

Ngayon, pagdating diyay sa mungkahi ng ating mayor, I think, that is the kind of spirit which we should generate among ourselves. Because it is only by coming out with ideas, no matter how strange they may seem to others, that we generate discussion and in the process perhaps we will arrive at consensus. As a politician and coming from a politician, I think I understand the technique.

Josefino Naval (Student, U.P. College Tacloban): The speaker mentioned about *baranganic* democracy as similar to participative democracy in the American context. I would like to ask what participative means, or the extent of participation in our *baranganic* system, because we all know for a fact that we are in a state of martial law which to paraphrase President Marcos comes out from the barrel of the gun (sic). This means that we are in a state of anxiety and fear. Now, psychologically, how can an individual express or spell out what he feels or what he thinks about his government if he fears something might happen to him if he criticizes the policies and programs of the government.

Secondly, we cannot achieve political development, in my own way of thinking, in the sense that in the present regime, there is a *cordon sanitaire*. The advisers of the commander-in-chief or the president for that matter make it appear to him that everything is okay, but actually there are some which are not okay.

Dr. Tadena: Okay. I think there were four points raised. Some on content; some on process. Let us try to distinguish one from the other. Let's not mix them.

Firstly, I think I have read all the speeches of the President, and I have not come across any statement that martial law means the barrel of the gun! I think it is my business to read all the speeches of the President. Although I have read about that elsewhere in another context.

Now, again when we speak of martial law, *anong klaseng martial law ang pinag-uusapan natin?* Is it as defined by Filipinos wherein you don't see

tanks or battleships parading? *Dahil* martial law connotes to us a certain western definition. *'Yan ba ang ating ginagamit?* I'd like to ask that. But in so far as the incongruity between what is expected and what actually happens, my challenge is this: *tayong mga nasa gobyerno; tayong mga nasa sanggunian; sa municipio, sa probinsiya; anong ginagawa natin? Pagdating sa tinatawag natin na* participation of the citizenry in the discussion of issues vital to the national interest—*nasa atin lahat na 'yan. Pang-apat, 'yong "cordon sanitaire."* I think we have the wife of a minister here. I'd like to tell you that the bugaboo about the *cordon sanitaire* may not be as simple as it had been pictured. That's all that I would like to comment on the comment.

Quiton: I was told that we could continue with our open forum while taking our snacks. So we proceed up to 3:15. Ahh, yes sir!

Mayor Luis Moscosa (Arteche, Eastern Samar): I'm the mayor of Arteche, Eastern Samar, the most depressed town in our province which is a war zone. Our topic is "Political Development: The Philippine Experience." This is an experience in my own municipality and the nearby municipalities where we suffer from economic barriers because we don't have the facilities and the aid from the government. For example, we are agricultural but we don't have scientific methods of farming because we don't have the culture. Some of our people don't even know how to use the *arado*. And moreover, we don't have irrigation facilities.

Also, our municipality does not have adequate school buildings. Some of our buildings are dilapidated. They have been there since the American regime. We were given this year only two of the *bagong lipunan* type. Our cultural development is very much behind because up to now we don't have a show (movies) and other ways of teaching our people cultural styles.

I have experienced the inequity in political development. There is inequity in our government, in the distribution of income of our government. If we will only receive equal aid from the government as those in Manila and Luzon, there is no reason why we won't have development in my municipality. So that without equal distribution of government income we cannot have a municipal government that is as developed as the others.

Quiton: Thank you, Mayor Moscosa. We have one last question from the gentleman at the back. No more than two minutes.

Mr. Romeo dela Paz (Student, Leyte Institute of Technology): I'm a student delegate of the Leyte Institute of Technology. I am also a *kagawad* of the *Sangguniang Bayan* of Dulag, Leyte. I am going to comment on two aspects of political development: that which concerns the studentry because I am a student; and another with regards to the bureaucracy of which I am also a member. I am very glad about the enlightenment given by Dr. Tadena with regards to the political development of our country, martial law, the barangay, and the so-called participative democracy.

As a student, I believe that the student sector of our society, instead of developing politically, is now regressing. The development of the student

sector is now at a standstill. If we shall conduct a survey of the schools and colleges in Tacloban City, which is the educational center of the region, we will note that unlike before, when we had forums for student participation, e.g., the student council and student papers, there are none today. How can the students be politically developed and be instrumental in the development of our region if we have no student politics and student representation in the policy-making of the schools?

We know that the problems of the school is not an isolated problem. It is a problem not detached from the problem of the region or the society. And so the students should be given a voice so that they can participate in the development of the region.

Another aspect I'd like to touch on is the bureaucracy. I agree with one of our discussants, Miss Aguilar, that no matter how good the plans of development of the government are if there is a lack or insufficiency on the part of the bureaucracy that will implement the good plans of government, then the plans are nothing. I know that there are many elective officials in this conference. I know that there are many mayors who are development-oriented. But then we cannot deny that many of the elective officials now are products of the old society. And since there has been no election, they are the bureaucracy now. This orientation of many of the members of the bureaucracy now, I think, could be one of the problems or the causes of the failures of government programs. So I'd like to know if Dr. Tadena will agree that the weeding out of the unfit members of the bureaucracy is an urgent need of our government.

Dr. Tadena: I'd like to thank my friend for voicing out these sentiments. I agree with him 100 per cent. I think that in any system of rationality, inefficiency has no place. Whether it be public or private, inefficiency or ineffectiveness has to go overboard. Now, I would like to mention however, that perhaps at no time in our history can the students participate more meaningfully in our political development. You see, if we speak of political development to mean only politics, *hindi po ganoon*. Because we can still participate in the decision-making process, and decisions need not be political in nature. *Ibig kong sabihin*, the essence of political participation is not simply arguing pro and con on political issues. Discussions may be on questions that are economic, or social, or cultural in nature. The moment we give ourselves an atmosphere such that our voices are heard, that to me is part of our attempt at political development. And politicians, parties, and politics are different from political development. I think we should make it clear for sometimes we commit the mistake of saying that just because we cannot participate in political decisions we do not have political development. For as long as we are consulted, for as long as we are free to discuss things that affect us, there is participation in the decision-making process.

Finally, I'd like to mention that when the Hon. Armand Fabella briefed the members of the IBP on the concept of continuing government reorganization, i.e., on the bureaucracy, he did mention four major areas of

concern. To mention two, he dwelt on the relationship of local officials and national officials; second, on the so-called integrated area development scheme. This means to say that the President is not exactly unaware of the problems besetting mayors and governors. They are known to him. And by the way, in terms of resources for local governments, I think there are two major sources: one is, of course, the government, but more importantly, some of the resources for development is in the people themselves—the goodwill of the citizenry, goodwill created by the interplay of government activities and support of the citizenship.

Thank you.