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PUBLISHER

Department of English, School of Humanities
Ateneo de Manila University
Loyola Heights, Quezon City, Philippines 1108
Tel. Nos. +63 (2) 426-6001 loc. 5310 or 5311
Telefax: +63 (2) 426-6120
Email: kritikakultura@admu.edu.ph

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JOSE GARCIA VILLA: VICISSITUDES OF NEOCOLONIAL ART-FETISHISM AND THE "BEAUTIFUL SOUL" OF THE FILIPINO EXILE

E. San Juan, Jr.
Fellow, W. E. B. Dubois Institute, Harvard University
philcsc@gmail.com

Abstract
The publication of Jose Garcia-Villa's *Doveglion: Collected Poems* by Penguin Books in 2008 is remarkable not because it reveals a renewed interest in Villa's work (as Luis Francia claims in the introduction of the book) but because it presents the nostalgic posthumous return of the repressed. Francia, a Villa critic, fails to situate the poet in the context of the Philippines' neocolonial status. Francia's mapping of Villa's trajectory as a poet is teleological; it elides those historical contexts that allowed US imperialist power to dominate the Philippine political economy in certain periods. Timothy Yu, a Chinese-American Stanford scholar, contends that Villa is a "universal" writer whose mastery of the "imperial" language is impressive, not unlike Conrad's or Nabokov's. Both critics' evaluations, in fact, reify the poet as a transnational figure, belying the Philippines' neocolonial status. In the face of criticism that rests easy with a pat labeling of the poet as a proponent of "art for art's sake," what this paper suggests is a reading of this artistic practice as a symptom of the bourgeois artist's alienation from neoliberal globalization. In reading this as a symptom, I wish to frame Villa's work around conditions of possibility that are responsible for the resurrection of Villa as a classic.

Keywords
criticism on Villa, transnationalization

About the author
E. San Juan, Jr. is a member of the international Board of Editors of *Kritika Kultura*. In Spring 2009 he is a fellow of W. E. B. Du Bois Institute, Harvard University. He was keynote speaker at the Second International Conference on Asian Literature sponsored by the Academia Sinica, Taiwan, in November 2008. His most recent books include *From Globalization to National Liberation* (U of the Philippines P, 2008) and *Critique and Social Transformation: Lessons from Gramsci, Bakhtin, and Raymond Williams* (Mellen, 2010). He has been hailed a vital public intellectual by Amiri Baraka, Michael Denning, Bertell Ollman, Bruce Franklin, Alan Wald, Fredric Jameson, and other prestigious scholars.

> A single motive underlies all my work and defines my intention as a serious artist: the search for the metaphysical meaning of man's life in the Universe—the finding of man's selfhood and identity in the mystery of Creation.
>
> - Jose Garcia Villa (1955)

Both Hegel and Kierkegaard wrote about the "beautiful soul" of the "unhappy consciousness," an adolescent stage in the development of the human psyche. Hegel

foresaw its dialectical supersession in a more concrete historical understanding of life; whereas Kierkegaard, repudiating Hegel, wanted to sacrifice the aesthetic sensibility to a higher ethical mode of existence. Villa rejected the Hegelian alternative, but instead of moving on to the ethical stage, he opted for a permanent aesthetic beatitude. The publication of Jose Garcia Villa's *Doveglion: Collected Poems* by Penguin Books in 2008, edited by his literary executor and introduced by a devotee, clearly shows the itinerary of the poet from the colonial adolescence of rejection of the "Name of the Father" (to use the Lacanian term) and the ethical dilemma to a preference for erotic bliss in semiotic indeterminacy. But this rejection of symbolic differentiation also equals death, the repetition-compulsion of a mannerist style. The "beautiful soul" of infantile repetition self-destructs into a dead-end: the cutting and splicing of commodified prose, an ironic parody of the comma poems and reversed consonance. Thus, the publication of this volume of Doveglion's corpus may be said to mark not "a growing revival of interest" in Villa's work—as Luis Francia claims—but rather the final nail on his coffin. It may, however, arouse antiquarian interest and nostalgia for the posthumous return of the repressed.

Villa died in February 1997, literally unknown. His last volume, *Selected Poems and New*, was published in 1958, in which he preserved (as though he were a museum curator) those poems he wrote in the twenty years (1937-1957) that saw his maturation in New York City. No resurgence of interest greeted that last collection. Its centerpiece was "The Anchored Angel," selected by feudal-vintage impresarios Osbert and Edith Sitwell for inclusion in a 1954 issue of the London-based *The Times Literary Supplement*. From then on Villa ceased to be a publicly acknowledged creative writer. In fact, even when he was actively publishing, his recognition was quite limited and confined to a narrow circle of friends and patrons. Except for Conrad Aiken's 1944 anthology of *Twentieth-Century American Poetry*, no anthology of significance—not even of minority or ethnic writers—has included Villa's poems. In effect, Villa remains an unknown writer for most Americans, let alone readers of American or English literature around the world. In the country of his birth, today, only a few aficionados and college-trained professionals are acquainted with Villa's writings.

A PEER AMONG EQUALS?

Where is the Villa file in the Western archive? Francia celebrates Villa's arrival to the New York literary scene dominated by white writers with the famous 1948 *Life* magazine

photograph. The photo is a palimpsest or tell-tale rebus in itself. Aside from patricians Osbert and Edith Sitwell, whom Villa courted slavishly, we see left-wing or Marxist-inspired poets such as Delmore Schwartz, Horace Gregory, W. H. Auden, Stephen Spender, Marya Zaturenska, Randall Jarrell, and certainly non-conformist writers like Tennesse Williams, William Rose Benet, Richard Eberhart, Marianne Moore, and Gore Vidal—Vidal would eventually prove to be the most anti-imperialist maverick of them all. There are no African Americans or other person of color except Villa. e. e. cummings, Villa's model and idol, is remarkably missing.

In the photo, one may discern some allegorical innuendo which may be happenstance: Villa is sandwiched between the young Vidal and the mature Auden, whose anti-fascist sympathies explicit in his eloquent attacks against Franco, Hitler, and Mussolini were quoted and broadcast around the world. In short, the major American and British writers in the photo were mostly veterans of the global campaign against fascism in Europe and also against Japanese militarist aggression one of whose main victims were millions of Filipinos in the only US colony in Asia, the Philippine Commonwealth. Villa was and

remained a Filipino citizen throughout his life, and was the only colonial, subaltern subject in the photo.

The Penguin Classic biographical note on Villa cites Villa's employment as a cultural attaché to the Philippine mission to the UN from 1952 to 1963, at the height of the Cold War, and his position, from 1968 on, as adviser on cultural affairs to the dictator Ferdinand Marcos. Indeed, Villa was made a National Artist for Literature in 1973, the year after Marcos imposed martial law and began fourteen years of bloody and ruthless rampage. This may be merely a trivial footnote to worshippers of Villa's aura. But it is cynical not to document this connection of the National Artist to the neocolonial state and its oligarchic retainers/clients for the US imperial power.

The Gotham Book reception for the Sitwells, however, already took place in the second year of the Cold War, which Churchill and Truman inaugurated in 1947 with their shrewd incarceration of the Soviet Union in a fabled "Iron Curtain." The Philippines counted itself America's most trusted ally in the "Free World" crusade against world communism. The next year, 1949, witnessed the victory of Mao Tsetung against Chiang Kai-shek in China, the outbreak of the Korean War, and the ferocious repression of the Huks in the Philippines led by Col. Edward Lansdale of the CIA, adviser to then President Ramon Magsaysay. Lansdale used the Philippines as an experimental laboratory for the systematic "Phoenix" assassination of communists in Vietnam in the sixties and seventies.

None of these historical contexts is mentioned by Francia. Villa's itinerary of success, traced by Francia from the beginning of the poet's migration to the US in 1930 up to his death in 1997, follows an evolutionary and teleological scheme. There seems to be no real break or interruption in the route to fame. Villa ends in fact "belonging to the pantheon of Asian American literature," despite minor violations of Eurocentric norms and even though excluded by the gatekeepers of the Asian American canon. Villa received prestige-granting awards from Establishment sources: Guggenheim, Bollingen, Rockefeller, etc. But such prizes did not result in the class-defined distinction only reserved for EuroAmericans for the greater part of the twentieth century.

Now monumentalized, however, Villa—Francia continues his accolade—was "a creature of his age." In other words, he conformed to the conventional, standard pattern—Villa's models were all European, traditional, and respectable. In what way then did he demonstrate his originality, his bold deviation from the norms, so as to earn or deserve admission to the mausoleum of modernism? Aside from his technical innovations, not always appreciated or accepted by the arbiters of the Anglo-American mainstream canon, in what way was Villa a rebel, a dissident writer, who challenged the standards of his day

and initiated a new, radically innovative aesthetics and world-view?

TECHNICIAN OF THE SACRED

As time has proved, the technical innovations of "reversed consonance" and "comma poems" were too idiosyncratic and problematic to stimulate much concern among younger writers or academic scholars. Unlike sprung rhythm or Ezra Pound's imagist movement, they were not associated with a substantial body of work that has social and historical breadth and resonance. Villa's themes of angelic rebellion, the solitary genius, and artistic exceptionality that have also preoccupied contemporary poets such as Wallace Stevens, Dylan Thomas, Charles Olson, and others, have proved too rarefied or linguistically constricted as to appeal to readers who expect more elaboration in terms of concrete determinations and cultural or social exemplification.

For this occasion, I will not dwell on the rather familiar and tedious recitation of Villa's debt to the canonical texts of the Western literary tradition, from the Bible to the Metaphysicals, Hopkins, e. e.cummings, etc. This has been thoroughly explored by numerous essays by American critics, including Villa's sponsors, from Edward O'Brien to Babette Deutsch and Mark Van Doren. In my previous essay on Villa in *The Philippine Temptation* and elsewhere, I surveyed the ambivalent and often duplicitous tenor and implication of the existing commentary on Villa. Many of them are actually ironic or back-handed compliments, either subtly or openly condescending and certainly patronizing in a rather sly and coy manner. No Filipino critic is acknowledged as contributing worthwhile knowledge about Villa.

In any case, Francia quotes Timothy Yu, a Chinese-American scholar at Stanford University, as an authority on the poet. Yu argues that while Villa was heavily Orientalized by his critics and patrons—Sitwell's insulting portrait of Villa as a "green iguana" is certainly unprecedented—and thus fixated or reified, Villa resisted this placing of his work in the Western canonical hierarchy. In fact, Yu contends that Villa "threatens to overturn the Orientalist hierarchy at the heart of modernism." After much specious and speculative argument, Yu suggests that Villa is not really Asian American but a transnational writer, one bridging the Philippines and the US, a transmigrant artist belonging to several continents, in effect a writer with universal or global appeal, such as that exerted by Salman Rushdie or V. S. Naipaul, by the authors of *Sargasso Sea* and *The English Patient*.

Francia contends that Villa is that kind of universal writer, despite his critics' praise of his command of English as a foreign language to him, because he resembles Joseph Conrad and Vladimir Nabokov in his mastery of the "imperial language." This is quite a plea. First of all, like Yu, Francia commits the fundamental mistake of ignoring the colonial and neocolonial status of the Philippines in the international hierarchy of nation-states and national cultures. Conrad's Poland and Nabokov's Russia are not in the same subordinated position as the Philippines, nor are they exactly identical as socioeconomic formations with specific modes of production. Like most of the proponents of transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and kindred neologisms, Yu and Francia do not really understand the historical and political subordination of a US colony to the quite complex and subtle strategies of a US imperial hegemon distinguished for claiming "exceptionalism." If they have some inkling of it, it is superficial and not integral to their evaluation of Villa.

In fact, Yu and Francia have willy-nilly, without being aware of it, endorsed "American exceptionalism," despite their gestures of being against imperialism or colonialism as such. Why? By equating Villa with Conrad or other postcolonial writers now in vogue, they convert the Philippines into an independent entity, if not equal partner, with the colonizer. It is as if Conrad and Nabokov were natives of Puerto Rico, or Guam, or even Hawaii. Transnationalism is the alibi of special pleading for a subaltern poet who made good in the metropolitan center, who proved an exceptional pupil of colonial tutelage and demonstrated agency for postcolonial mimicry.

Francia's exorbitant claim that Villa was fluent in all three languages, Tagalog and Spanish and English, makes his other judgments suspect. Without even alluding to the deeply subjugated position of the Filipino body-soul after centuries of Spanish, US, and Japanese domination, and the ideological utility of English as a weapon of colonial manipulation, Francia ends up mystifying the situation of Villa as a Filipino subject, ascribing to him the identity of a "prophet" and an "unusual man," thus belonging to no country or culture—in effect, a universal creature for all or none. This rescue of Villa strikes us as a hubristic act of "salvaging," as the term is used during the dark days of the Marcos "martial law" regime.

Yu is to be credited with analyzing the covert and patent mode in which American and British patrons or handlers really colonized and neocolonized Villa without scruples. Yu aptly focuses on Edith Sitwell's heavily racialized depiction of Villa as "this presumably minute, dark green creature, the color of New Zealand jade, spinning these sharp flame-like poems" some of which are bad in Sitwell's view. Yu also notes that apart from the Orientalizing distortion, his patrons reduced or inflated Villa into an alien mystic, a foreign

body, an outlandish race. As Sitwell emphasized, "But Villa is a Filipino" to excuse the unacceptable nature of his comma poems.

Yu, however, overestimates Villa's proto-transnational status. He completely ignores the political and cultural changes that have occurred in the Philippines from the time of Marcos' despotic rule to the present, believing that Chua's volume marks a nationwide resurgence of interest in Villa.

There is some legitimacy in noting that Villa's work and its reception is a "trans-Pacific phenomenon." But that is not a simple geographical placing but a geopolitical one that the equalizing and leveling inference borne by the prefix "trans" occludes and even expunges from our critical intelligence. In short, Yu is ignorant of the profound anti-colonial and anti-imperialist history of the Filipino people from the time it resisted US invasion in 1899 at the outset of the Filipino American War through the peasant uprisings in the first twenty years, to the Sakdal and Huk rebellions in the thirties, forties and fifties, up to the New People's Army and Communist resurgence in the sixties up to the present. That is, Yu is blind or insensitive to the long durable history of revolutionary action that has formed the physiognomy and cultural tradition of the Filipino people from the time of Magellan up to the present.

Lacking this historical trajectory of the political-cultural transformation of a whole people, its national-popular habitus and sensibility, it is unwise to calculate Villa's current worth—both his use-value and exchange-value as a producer of cultural artifacts such as books like the Penguin Classics—and future value, if any. It is unwise, that is, to measure Villa as a Filipino poet worthy of the national-popular tradition of asserting national integrity and autonomy.

PROBLEMS OF VALORIZATION

Villa can indeed be used for cosmopolitan exchange, but his use-value remains unknown or hypothetical so far. Now that I have introduced the twin sides of value—use and exchange—I want to quickly delineate the historical contexts necessary to appraise Villa's writings as produced carriers or bearers of value. Such value is necessarily social and implicated in the multilayered social, political, and cultural conflicts of his time.

The hypothesis often posited by devotees of Villa, as illustrated by Francia's allegation that "Villa had no fashionable cause to advance or defend except that of poetry itself" is no doubt self-serving and apologetic, to say the least. It is meant to justify Villa's

naïve aestheticism. But what it does is to eviscerate whatever surviving element of worth remains in these highly mannered, stylized, and deliberately antiquated poetic discourse. It fails to contextualize Villa's calculated and reflexive essentialism and aesthetic purism.

To say that Villa is concerned only with art or poetry is to say nothing much, unless you compartmentalize culture in a Byzantine fashion and artificially exaggerate the division of social labor and products of that labor into really specialized niches. In that case, poetry is a freakish and weird sport, a disease whose etiology is unknown or an accidental product of labor which nobody really understands and appreciates. What is poetry in itself? Can one define an essence by itself without locating the totality from which it is distinguished? From Plato up to Hegel, metaphysics never postulates an essence without the intermediary surroundings and the whole structure from which it acquires its status/definition as an essence, or a distinctive if distilled element. I want to call attention again to Theodor Adorno's essay, "Lyric Poetry and Society," and also to Pierre Bourdieu's genealogy of European aestheticism in *The Rules of Art* to demonstrate how "art for art's sake" is a historical symptom of the bourgeois artist's alienation from a commodified, reifying milieu.

I suggest a historical-materialist appraisal by situating Villa's labor as part of social labor occurring at definite periods of history. Of course, it is assumed that such labor is artistic—the shaping of materials into a concrete formally-specific product, its formal characteristics being already given as a distinctive quality of his work. But the hermeneutic process does not end at the level of formal analysis; rather, that serves as a point of departure for further empirical and functional analysis and theorizing. I suggest the following large contexts, what might be described as "conditions of possibility," lived collective situations that can frame Villa's work and allow the further specification of its qualities and possible effects. What Villa's response to these contexts remains unknown, and what has been documented need to be further specified by class analysis of Philippine and US society and the cultural and intellectual formations in which the texts and the circumstances of their production and reception are inscribed.

LOOK HOMEWARD, ANGEL, NOW

The Philippines into which Villa was born may be described as a tributary socioeconomic formation produced by three hundred years of Spanish colonization. The Filipino nation was in the process of being born from the collective endeavors of Filipino

propagandists and agitators in the nineteenth century, an offshoot of numerous peasant-worker revolts and indigenous insurrections throughout the islands culminating in the Katipunan revolt of 1896. This process was aborted by the US imperialist intervention in 1898 as part of the Spanish-American War and the defeat of Spanish imperial forces in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. Villa's father was a high military officer and adviser to General Emilio Aguinaldo, the president of the first Philippine Republic, who succumbed to US military and political power. Villa welcomed the invaders and in fact assimilated to US metropolitan culture, despite weak oppositional or disrespectful impulses and tendencies.

When Villa was born in 1908, the US military and civil administrators were in the process of stifling the survivors of Aguinaldo's revolutionary army. Macario Sakay, one of Aguinaldo's officers, and his comrades were hanged a few years earlier; but the *insurrectos* would continue up to the second decade, with the Moro resistance proving the most resilient and formidable. Villa grew up in this milieu of cruel terror against seditious, recalcitrant natives. Later on, with strong nationalist protests, Villa saw the accomodationist and conciliatory policies of the Americans winning over Quezon and the oligarchs. Villa left before the Commonwealth was established in 1935.

When Villa was an adolescent, Filipino nationalism smoldered in the organizing efforts of workers in Manila and peasants in Central Luzon, primarily those involved in the Colorum insurrections of Tayug and other towns in the twenties, and later the Sakdalista uprising in the thirties. By the time Villa was a medical and law student in 1929, just a year before his move to the US in 1930, the Communist Party of the Philippines had already been founded after years of agitation, propaganda, and mobilization of union workers and peasants. This occurred even as Manuel Quezon, Sergio Osmena, and other members of the Filipino oligarchy, through parliamentary and legal means, continued to demand immediate independence from the colonial power. Villa left at the time of heated debates on how that demand was to be articulated locally and in the metropolitan heartland.

Meanwhile, Filipinos have struck an autonomous path in the US. They have been organizing and agitating in the Hawaii plantations, and later in the West Coast and Alaskan salmon canneries, since their advent in the first decade of this century. Carlos Bulosan narrates their odyssey in his 1948 chronicle *America is in the Heart*. Their efforts culminated in bloody strikes together with Japanese and other ethnic workers in the first two decades of the twentieth century, through the Bolshevik revolution of 1918 and the fascistic Palmer raids before and after World War I. Pedro Calosa was expelled from Hawaii only to lead the Tayug revolt in Pangasinan a few years later.

VILLA AGONISTES

The era of the "Great Depression" in the US after the 1929 Wall Street collapse, up through the Communist-led organizing of workers in the thirties and early forties, to the beginning of World War II—this is the main arena in which Villa found himself struggling for recognition as a serious poet. The Depression was symptomatically recorded in the experiences of his deracination and isolation in New Mexico, and represented in epiphanic episodes in his 1933 short stories collection *Footnote to Youth*. By 1933 he was residing in New York City where he experienced the nadir of the Depression. None of his works indicates that he registered any visible sustained response to the massive mobilization of American writers and artists in support of Republican Spain, against Franco's fascist military supported by Hitler and Mussolini. His compatriots Salvador Lopez, Manuel Arguilla, and others in the Philippine Writers League were active in that worldwide solidarity campaign, just as Auden, Spender, Orwell, Malraux, Hemingway, Steinbeck, and others were contributing their share to that united front of democratic, anarchist, and socialist partisan resistance of the proletariat. Arguilla and other Filipino intellectuals, Villa's contemporaries, sacrificed their lives to free the Philippines from brutal Japanese oppression.

One can also submit that the Depression years and the mobilization of Filipinos against Japanese invasion and occupation of the Philippines constitute the time period in which we should judge Villa's major works found in *Have Come Am Here* (1942) and *Volume Two* (1949). It is interesting to speculate how e. e. cummings, with his exploits in World War I and its aftermath, might have influenced Villa by his erasure from Villa's texts; and how the New York critics and their dissident or leftist inclinations might have aroused in Villa either negative or positive reactions. This is a project for future Villa scholars.

Meanwhile, I would underscore a salient contextual parameter for appraising Villa's intellectual genealogy. It was this period of Villa's apprenticeship in New York City (circa 1933-1940) that, across more than 6,000 miles of the continental-Pacific divide, witnessed the most fertile dissemination and cultivation of radical, socialist, Marxist-inspired ideas in the Philippines. This decade culminated in the founding of the Philippine Writers League on February 26, 1939, and the institution of the Commonwealth Literary Award by President Manuel Quezon on March 25, 1939. Unprecedented in the annals of Filipino cultural life, the debates sparked by these two events (recorded in a slim volume entitled *Literature Under the Commonwealth* edited by Manuel E. Arguilla, Esteban Nedruda, and Teodoro A. Agoncillo) need to be juxtaposed with Villa's reflections on art and its place

in society and its humanistic horizon.

Villa's absent presence, as it were, functions as the subtext of those exchanges. It may be inferred from the ideological conflict between the partisans of the "art-for-art's sake" camp and the socialist or left-wing group of A. B. Rotor, Salvador P. Lopez, Federico Mangahas, Jose Lansang, M. De Gracia Concepcion, and others. While Villa's aestheticism was indirectly defended by A. E. Litiatco and J. Lardizabal, the majority of participants in the exchange subscribed to a committed and ethically conscientious stand, even though personalities like Carlos P. Romulo, Leopoldo Yabes, and R. Zulueta da Costa expressed mediating, reformist, or conciliatory views in response to Rotor's call for a populist, worker-oriented literature (invoking the authority of Plekhanov and Gorki).

Lopez's essay on "Proletarian Literature: A Definition" laid out the classic and more dialectical perspective than Rotor's programmatic appeal for partisanship. But Rotor's citation of Thomas Mann, who was an exile in the US (like Brecht and countless European artists), stressed the need for writers removed from their homelands to join in active struggle against anti-humanist terror. The author of such masterpieces as *The Magic Mountain* and "Death in Venice" stated that "it is not enough today to concern himself with Right, Good, and Truth only within the limits of his art. He must seek these qualities in the politico-social sphere as well, and establish a relation between his thought and the political will of his time" (qtd. in Arguilla et al 21).

SACRIFICE WITHOUT REDEMPTION

The beginning of World War II and the entire period of Japanese occupation of the Philippines saw Villa either employed or in close contact with the exiled government of the Philippines Commonwealth, via writers connected with the government (Carlos Romulo, Bienvenido Santos, and others). Villa's contemporaries in the Philipppines either fought with the American colonizers in Bataan and Corregidor, and later in the underground resistance to Japanese occupation; while others in exile, such as Carlos Bulosan, described Filipino anguish at the plight of their families back home and Filipino eagerness to join the US army to help liberate the homeland from the misery and oppression of the Japanese aggressors.

How did Villa interpret this agonizing interregnum between US colonial rule and the second Philippine Republic emerging from the ruins and rubble of Manila, the city of his birth and of his ancestors? His rebellion against god and surrogate authorities, against

literal and symbolic patriarchs, and his refusal to belong to any physical/real country may be an expression of his fear, dreams, and hope of liberation from all family entanglements and sociopolitical constraints. It is not clear whether Villa married Rosemary Lamb during this period, whether he raised his children during these years of the beginning of global *pax Americana* and the Cold War, and what particular ordeals of his personal life configured and contoured his cultural politics. The impact on Villa of the Cold War vicissitudes remains a blank in the critical commentary on his career.

It is also curious to note that Francia and other commentators are silent on Villa's 1955 autobiographical statement found in Stanley Kunitz's edited reference work, *Twentieth Century Authors.* While confirming certain facts about the author's career, no one seems to want to quote Villa's own ventriloquial characterization of his general artistic, philosophical creed embodied in the last paragraph of the entry. While I used this previously in *The Philippine Temptation*, let me quote it again for those not familiar with it:

> Recently someone remarked to Villa that he found Villa's poetry "abstract," contrary to the general feeling for detail and particularity that characterizes most contemporary poetry. Villa comments: "I realize now that this is true; I had not thought of my work in that light before. The reason for it must be that I am not at all interested in description or outward appearance, nor in the contemporary scene, but in essence. A single motive underlies all my work and defines my intention as a serious artist: The search for the metaphysical meaning of man's life in the Universe—the finding of man's selfhood and identity in the mystery of Creation. I use the term metaphysical to denote the ethic-philosophic force behind all essential living. The development and unification of the human personality I consider the highest achievement a man can do. (1035-6)

Actually, if one examines carefully Villa's 1940 essay "Literary Criticism in the Philippines" or the 1953-54 essay "The Condition of Philippine Verse," one will easily find abundant recurrent motifs about essence, unity, synthesis, etc. For example, he contrasts the "essence of prose" as substance, inferior or secondary to poetry's essence, which is "magic and magic of utterance" (*Essays* 291). Antithetical to a dialectical mode (as in Aristotle or St. Thomas Aquinas), Villa's thought exhibits close affinities to an Augustinian dualism (positing binaries such as sacred intellect versus profane body), which manifests a Manichean tendency that leads to a Gnostic conception of life and a Neoplatonic cosmology. If only the soul can transcend or do away with the body without so much

"expenditure of the spirit"—that was Villa's devoutly wished consummation.

Another way to elucidate the Villa problematic, the articulation of possibility and necessity in the poet's life, may be performed by way of a symptomatic reading of "Mir-I-Nisa," adjudged the best short story of 1929 by the *Philippines Free Press*. A reading of the story will reveal the pre-Oedipal ground of Villa's aestheticism and its self-indulgent conservatism premised on the artist's superiority. It is said that the prize money of PhP1,000 from this story enabled Villa to escape his father's tyranny and leave for New Mexico, US. The story exploits Moro/Muslim ethnographic material to dramatize an allegory of judgment. Distant, exotically strange, alien yet somehow familiar, Moro family structure, kinship, courtship ritual and matrimonial arrangments revolve around the political economy of fishing and pearl-diving, which in turn is centered on male supremacy. On the surface, the patriarch determines love-choices and the distribution of sexual power. In the contest to determine who is the more worthwhile husband for his daughter Mir-I-Nisa, the father Ulka plays the trickster and rigs the game: Achmed falls into the trap of conventional expectations, coming up with the pearl that was never thrown into the sea by the father, while Tasmi confesses failure. Achmed who follows the conventional pattern loses, while Tasmi who yields to masculine pride wins the contest and becomes the father's choice for surrendering/exchanging the reproductive power of his daughter. What actually happened was not revealed to the community of Wawa-Ojot, the scene of mystification and Moro enigmatic behavior, nor was it also disclosed to the father, Tasmi.

Villa the poet sympathetically aligns himself with Jakaria, the son of Mir-I-Nisa and Tasmi, who concludes the story with the revelation that the father, Ulka, did not drop the pearl but only an illusory copy: a small ball of salt. This fooled both suitors as well as the whole community. The mother confesses the secret to her son, reinforcing the umbilical tie between mother and child, and re-enacting the scene of seduction. She enjoins her son not to reveal the secret to the father: "She said it very softly, and her face was radiantly sweet and beautiful. And because I have always loved my mother, I promised her never to let my father know" ("Mir-I-Nisa" 381). The father, the Symbolic name-of-the-father (in Lacan's scheme), versus the Imaginary (the mirror-phase tied to the pre-Oedipal mother), is cancelled and negated in favor of the maternal complicity between creator and created. Ironically, the mother's duty is meant to preserve the honor and authority of her father, the patriarch, who judges honesty (obedience to the prevailing hierarchical order) as a preferable virtue compared to masculine prowess/deceit undermining conventional rules. By analogy, the artist (Villa) seeks to preserve that love (fulfillment, jouissance,

artistic integrity) by privileging an arcane linguistic game whose pleasure and benefits are confined exclusively to a select circle of cult-followers and an elite audience with access to education and the cultivation of refined tastes. But the supreme irony is that Villa's revolt against his father, and by extension the dominant norms of conventional art and taste, together with the ostensible privileging of the mother—the mother's body offering pleasure from the polymorphously perverse erotic target of desire objectified into the poetic art-object, the ludic verbal fantasy—results in the affirmation of the patriarchal order: the Philippine neocolonial order, US imperialist hegemony, white male supremacy in the global system.

In a sense, Villa proved himself honest and faithful to his "mother," a neoromantic, anti-commercial conception of an artisanal kind of art/poetry, in the face of deceit, pretense, fraud, hypocrisy, etc. that pervaded the petty-bourgeois world of Filipino mimicries of Bouvard and Pecuchet (in Flaubert's novel). Such honesty, however, only maintained the status quo as usual even though it gave the illusion that a dialectical twist has occurred, with modern art redeeming the fallen world of commodity-fetishism, alienated labor, and colonial subjugation. By extension, Villa's modernity becomes possible by underwriting the aristocratic tributary enclave (in "Mir-I-Nisa, the pre-Christian, Muslim-ordered village economy) of the metropolitan cultural milieu made possible by the labor of millions of Filipino colonial subjects and other subalterns in the US empire.

There is thus no doubt that Villa remained uncannily faithful to his earliest fundamental insights or convictions about art and poetry. His belief in some essential property of language that is inherently "poetic" resembles the belief of romantic poets in some divine or supernatural inspiration. This is an old notion already proved fallacious by modern linguistics. In the early decades of the last century, the famous linguist Roman Jakobson laid to rest both the romanticist and Russian formalist's search for the poetic essence of language as something separate from its communicative and expressive functions. Nonetheless, the continuity of Villa's error is premised on a *habitus* or entrenched mentality of aristocratic individualism sprung from a tributary feudal social formation, a belief that some incommensurable *virtu* or thaumaturgic mana inheres in the poet's soul or spirit that the human body and worldly reality cannot fully realize, hence the singular identity of the poet transcends time and space, biographical particulars, sociohistorical specificity. It floats as a monadic presence, angelic in cast but parasitic on the immanent forms that somehow fail to achieve rising to the level of transcendence. This, together with the concrete facts about Villa's location in Philippine society and his US situation, contributes to explaining the roots of Villa's dogmatic stance in his criticism and peculiar

views about society and ordinary life. Further research into the influences and crucial turning-points of Villa's life is needed to confirm this hypothesis.

NEGATIVE BEATIFICATION?

Finally, we are left with the marked stagnation of Villa's poetics, its fixation in the ludic verbal experimentation modeled after e. e. cummings, whose own career suffers a traumatic paralysis after the experience of the Soviet nightmare in *Eimi* (1933). The other model, Sitwell, exacerbates the claustrophobic, incestuous narcissism of a Cartesian nominalism underlying Villa's world-view. What is more crucial is the historical conjuncture that defines the parameter of closure. Indeed, the framing sequence of the Cold War from 1947 to Villa's death in 1997 is a fifty-year enclosure that spells the exhaustion of Villa's style and idiom of mystical lyricism and theatrical self-dramatization. Note that in the fifties and sixties, New York witnessed the beginning of the Beat generation (Allen Ginsberg, Frank Ohara, etc.), aside from the profound and radical influence of Charles Olson and diverse new American poetics that replaced Eliot and Pound's New Critical formalism.

One may hazard the guess that the influence and support of e. e.cummings and other formalist New Critics may have reinforced Villa's insulation/distance from movements such as objectivism, the narrative and historical epic experiments of William Carlos Williams and Hart Crane, the populist drive of the Beatniks, and the more expressionistic work of Robert Lowell, John Ashberry, and their epigones in the sixties and seventies. Villa seemed detached or removed from the actualities of the New York cultural milieu, not to speak of the whole North American continent and Europe. Note that Octavio Paz, Pablo Neruda, Cesar Vallejo, and others were deep in surrealism and cubism and resourceful cinematic innovations in Europe, Latin America, and Asia.

Villa's 1949 book *Volume Two* and his 1958 *Selected Poems and New* were all produced in the shadow of the Cold War, the Korean War, and the raging civil war between the puppet Republics of Roxas, Quirino, Magsaysay, and Garcia against the Huks and their millions of sympathizers. With the relatively stabilized world of the fifties under Eisenhower, Villa virtually terminates his active career and lapses into the typographical doogles and games of the "Adaptations" and "Xocerisms." It is indeed the distinctive impulse of modernism to "make it new," in Ezra Pound's terms, to break the traditional pattern, disrupt the conventional mold, and strike out on new ground. But

Villa's innovations, whether the comma poems, reversed consonance, or adaptations, are superficial attempts to mimic the novelties of Mallarme, Rilke, e. e. cummings, or Marianne Moore. The Cold War created the vacuum of universalized exchange-value in which Villa's use-value—his dialogue with god and angels—became superfluous or fungible. It became mere paper not acceptable as legal tender because its use-value evaporated.

Villa's value resembles those fungible, expunged "derivatives" of October 2008. What I mean by the "evaporation" of use-value is precisely the drive to purity, to the conquest of the sublime, which underlies Villa's poetic decline. That was already epitomized in the Kunitz testament cited earlier. This obsessive metaphysics of transcendence, the diametrical opposite of secular humanism, may also be discerned in the abstract expressionism that swept the United States in the halcyon days of post-World War II prosperity, the beginning of the Cold War. The key figure here is Jackson Pollock. And the most perceptive historical-materialist analysis of Pollock's art, its logic of metaphysical violence so uncannily replicated by Villa, is that by John Berger. Berger quotes Harold Rosenberg's insight that Pollock's modernism begins with "nothingness," which he copies; the rest he invents. Berger then delineates the sociohistorical context of that "nothingness" in the Cold War politics of McCarthyism, CIA propaganda about the "freedom of the market" (ancestral spirit of neoliberalism), and the will to impose an American vision of democracy born of Hiroshima and executed in Vietnam (earlier, in the Filipino-American War of 1899-1913). Berger perceives in the American ethos that shaped Villa "an inarticulate sense of loss, often expressed with anger and violence." Berger explains Pollock's nihilism: in traditional painting,

> the act of faith consisted of believing that the visible contained hidden secrets,"a presence behind an appearance." Jackson Pollock was driven by a despair which was partly his and partly that of the times which nourished him, to refuse this act of faith: to insist, with all his brilliance as a painter, that there was nothing behind, that there was only that which was done to the canvas on the side facing us. This simple, terrible reversal, born of an individualism which was frenetic, constituted the suicide. (115-6)

With some modification, this judgment can be applied to Villa's art: the drive to avant-garde purity and novelty and the desire to free oneself from all historic determinants, apotheosizing the imagination as the creator/demiurge of one's world, reflect Villa's fatal imbrication in the vicissitudes of US monopoly capitalism from the 1930s Depression to

the brief rebirth of bourgeois liberal democracy in the war against fascism, and the advent of US pax Americana through the Cold War and the imperial aggression in Korea and Vietnam. Villa's fatality may ironically serve to revive him in this transitional period of the US decline as an unchallenged world power.

It is in the era of neoliberal globalization, the unchallenged reign of commodity-fetishism and global finance's "free market" (now undergoing serious meltdown) that Villa finally becomes a "classic" author. One of Villa's Xocerisms may provide a clue to the exhaustion of his linguistic register, poetic lexicon, and mannered style: "To reinvent God is unnecessary; all He needs today is a designer name." Indeed, Villa may have been reduced by his editor and devotees as a "designer name" useful to build prestige, firm up a reputation or aura, and promote status-conscious careers.

It is indeed ironic to find a poet obsessed with uniqueness, singularity, essence, genius, angels, exceptionality, gods, now being swallowed up in the homogenizing universe of cultural commodities and the culture industry. But perhaps this is a fitting and appropriate end: the dissolution of genius, the angelic imagination, in the totality of exchange whose value, while pretending to be absolute, is also absolutely zero. Nihilism may be the authentic vocation of Villa, a nihilism that may abolish art and all poetry, as well as nations, identities, etc. If so, then Villa has finally succeeded and conquered the last bastion of meaning and intelligibility: language that means and signifies nothing. Is our conversation about him also null, nada, devoid of sense or import? If so, then the only logical alternative (to follow Wittgenstein) is silence.

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THE WORLD, THE TEXT, AND S. P. LOPEZ

Rafael A. Acuña
Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines
racuna@ateneo.edu

Abstract
The paper studies Salvador P. Lopez's position as a secular critic by analyzing his milieu during the Commonwealth period, criticism of his collection *Literature and Society*, and the content of essays from the same collection in light of the debate between "art for art's sake" and proletarian literature. The theoretical framework used is Edward Said's secular criticism.

Keywords
Philippine Commonwealth literature, Philippine literary criticism, proletarian literature, secular criticism

About the author
Rafael A. Acuña is an Instructor and Graduate School Coordinator of the MA Literary and Cultural Studies program of the Department of English, Ateneo de Manila University.

According to Filipino critic E. San Juan, Jr., Salvador P. Lopez's *Literature and Society* (which was published in 1941) "serves as an indispensable landmark from which we can measure the distance we have traversed in the depth, scope, and precision of our critical theorizing" ("From Jose Garcia Villa" 196). It is for this reason that we should consider the collection as an important contribution to Philippine literary theory, if not to Philippine postcolonial criticism (given Lopez's support for proletarian literature versus the "art for art's sake" movement which dominated Philippine literature in English). Since this study serves to contribute to the continued commentary on Philippine criticism, and given the varied criticism of Lopez's views, it should be worthwhile for us to study Lopez's arguments and criticism of his texts in depth.

Assessments of Salvador P. Lopez's statements on literature and culture have been as varied and as contradictory as the critics who have studied him. For one, Lopez has been hailed as the "father" of the "proletarian trend," although many other earlier writers had been using literature to express the sufferings of disenfranchised Filipinos, including Andres Bonifacio, Jose Rizal, and Lope K. Santos. Other critics have called Lopez, who was a member of the Philippine Writers' League, a defender of the proletarian cause, and yet some of the literary prizes awarded to the league came from the Commonwealth Literary Awards, then sponsored by the Quezon Administration which was sympathetic to Filipino

fascist supporters (Constantino 387).

On the other hand, there are less flattering portrayals of Lopez. Some critics claim that he was a "liberal imperialist" and an "Americanized bootlicker" (de Guzman 50), but likely only because Lopez, like many Filipino writers in English, was raised in a public educational system administered by US colonizers and sympathizers. Others claim he was a "literary dictator" but several essays in his book *Literature and Society* espouse freedom, liberal humanism, individuality, and creativity, like "Freedom is Dangerous," "Return to the Primitive," "Individualism versus Individuality," and "The Making of a Writer."

These contradictory perceptions suggest that S. P. Lopez is an intellectual whose writings on literature cannot easily be labeled, let alone dismissed in a few sentences. There is, therefore, a need to evaluate Lopez's writings on literature in a more comprehensive light, a task which the majority of Lopez's critics have perhaps failed to achieve. To remedy the "Lopez question" requires a re-evaluation of the idea of an "intellectual" or "secular critic," a role that Lopez played when he wrote the essays that were collected in *Literature and Society*.

The Lopez question may be stated this way: how do we explain the contradictory view—raised by two sets of critics—that Lopez is the "father" of the "proletarian trend" but also a "liberal imperialist" and "Americanized bootlicker"? We can probably answer this question by applying Edward W. Said's theory of secular criticism, which argues that intellectuals have to work within the same dominant discourses that propose a consensus ruling the arts that they seek to challenge. In this case, as an intellectual, Lopez had to work in universities or for newspapers that supported the US-backed and pro-capitalist Commonwealth government while promoting the working man's cause through a support of proletarian literature.

For Said, three points should be considered when one studies secular critics (a designation for critics, intellectuals, and authors): their background, the historical milieu in which they wrote, and the content of their texts (essays, films, novels, etc.). These three components can work in conflict with each other or with themselves, and this conflict reveals a contrapuntal world populated by power relations, contrapuntal individual behavior, and polyvalent texts. Given the character of this world, a secular critic has to work, first, "outside and beyond the consensus ruling the art," and second, "between a dominant culture and totalizing forms of critical systems" (Said, "Secular" 5). In other words, the secular critic is situated in dominant ideologies and institutions that he also has to challenge. At the same time, he is aware that the centers of authority and his own voice are themselves contrapuntal and contradictory because their meanings are, like identities,

constructed by and within the same contrapuntal world.

We may apply Said's three points to an analysis of Lopez as a secular critic by assessing criticism of Lopez's *Literature and Society*, Lopez's Commonwealth milieu, and texts from *Literature and Society*.

AN ASSESSMENT OF CRITICISM OF LOPEZ'S *LITERATURE AND SOCIETY*

One of the earliest critiques of Lopez's theories comes from Jose Garcia Villa, who claims that Lopez's "aesthetic sensibilities are underdeveloped" and show no signs of development ("Four O'Clock" 259). Lopez responds and argues with Villa in several essays, such as "On Villa's Political Credo" (later included in *Literature and Society* as "So No: A Theory of Poetry"), where he claims that the fundamental principle of writing is communication, thus negating any argument that claims that "poetry is its own justification" (148). He later revises his stance in "Villa," where he states that although Villa's theories remain questionable, his poetry has begun to exhibit "ordered beauty" and has acquired "grace as well as power" (116). In an essay written six years later (1938), Villa insists that "although I *am* inclined to the Left politically and economically, still *I do not mix my politics and economics with my art*. It is for not mixing these together that Mr. Lopez assails me and has seen my literary perdition" ("Best Filipino Short Stories" 178).

In 1939, in an essay entitled "Villa Speaks in 'Many Voices'" (later added as "The Poetry of Jose Garcia Villa" in *Literature and Society*), he declares Villa "an important literary figure" in "the field of Filipino literature in English" ("Poetry of Villa" 152). Finally, in 1941, he maintains that Villa is "a redouble enemy of sham," and that his later poems have become "a sharp commentary on the foibles of man and the society that environs and nurtures him" ("Poem Must Hold Fire" 5), a point Deanna Ongpin Recto raises as proof of Lopez's acceptance of Villa's work (60).

However, four months earlier, Lopez writes that Villa "was never intellectually or emotionally equipped to receive and transmit the deep social passion and the expansive democratic visas of Whitman, and it is not to him that we must turn for the full-blooded realization of the Whitman tradition the Philippines," but to Rafael Zulueta da Costa and his poem "Like the Molave" (Lopez, "Gods" 10-1). (Ironically, Lopez contradicts himself when he praises Zulueta da Costa for writing a "patriotic poem, a glowing celebration of the national he cites that two fatal temptations to art are sentimentality and "declamation which becomes more blatantly histrionic still with every accession of the patriotic fire.")

In an interview from the early 1980s, Lopez insists that the enduring theme of Filipino writing has been "the struggle of the poor and the oppressed for a better life," that he "did the right thing" because "things" have never changed, with "the same basic issues" and "the same problems" still taking place ("Lopez" 167). In 1984, he once more suspects that he had been right regarding his call for proletarian literature ("50-Year-Romance" 7), repeats the same argument regarding social problems growing worse in a 1990 interview with Conti (82), and in a 1990 essay asks "whether the body of (Villa's) work has served to illuminate any nook or cranny of the Filipino predicament, the Filipino experience, the Filipino destiny" (*Parangal* 34). Eventually, he states that "to us Filipinos he will always be the eternal exile, completely alienated from his own, and he will have nothing whatever to say to us or those who will come after us" (34).

In 1939, in response to Lopez's "Orienting the Filipino Writer" (the essay is entitled "Literature and Society" in *Literature and Society*), where Lopez insists that "the first article in the credo of the writer" is progress and it is that credo that helps him make "a worthwhile contribution to the upward movement of life" ("Literature and Society" 19), Francisco Arcellana claims that "orientation is a function of discovery in the sense of Consciousness, Awareness, Identification," where an individual must first realize "how he should stand with regard to society" (6). Arcellana's stance is problematic given the possibility that identity is partly modified by one's environment.

In the preface to *Literature and Society,* Edgar Snow writes that Lopez was able to "look upon society more broadly as a free citizen of the world," and to express a mature recognition for independence in s shrinking world (xi). Snow probably refers to Lopez's liberalism, as seen in Lopez's views concerning proletarian literature. And yet the contradictoriness of Lopez, as seen in his support for English and the use of literature to preserve culture despite the country's problems in education and literacy, reveals that he was in some sense not "free."

Carlos P. Romulo believes Lopez's *Literature and Society* ably interpreted "the literary tradition of the Philippines with intelligence and perception" and recalled to Filipino consciousness "the canons that had been evolved and established by the previous literary tradition," those of Francisco Balagtas, Pedro Paterno, Jose Rizal, Graciano Lopez Jaena, Lope K. Santos, and others (160). Romulo's argument is questionable because most of the examples in *Literature and Society* are either Western or Philippine literature in English. Lopez himself believes that Romulo's views are overstated, and that the essays should be rightfully judged for their clarity and force of expression rather than as an interpretation of Philippine literary tradition ("Past Revisited" 7).

Leopoldo Y. Yabes studies the form of Lopez's essays and writes, "Lopez had all the opportunity of developing into another Fernando Maramag or another Ignacio Manlapaz," and believes that Lopez maintains the "basic sanity of both," besides possessing actual academic training to become a cynic. However, even as he sees Lopez as, at best, a "free thinker" whose work was "absorbingly interesting," "profitable," "reflective, philosophical" (38-9), he also sees Lopez as one who belongs "to the school of scientific materialism," who fought with Manuel Colayco on religious readjustment, wrote on Friedrich Nietzsche, and discussed the works of Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera (40-50). Lopez's scientific materialist slant is often overlooked by most critics and will be studied further in this paper.

Vidal L. Tan, Jr. characterizes Lopez's views on literature as both literary and philosophical; based on the view that the poet as specialist expresses "the sublime and deep emotion felt in a more vague way by the peasant" in contrast to poets like Villa who refuse to "understand the common people better than they understand themselves"; and idealistic (54-5). Actually, Lopez's view is that literature is communication. Thus, it can express human experiences creatively, which in turn can entertain readers and encourage them to reflect on social issues.

Lucila V. Hosillos writes that the negative results of American influences may have been reinforced by Lopez's "functional-proletarian view" (143), but her statement remains speculative and unsupported.

Petronilo Bn. Daroy believes Lopez was a critic who "thought of literatures having a direct, if not obvious, relation to the social and political actuality" and who "demanded that literature be committed" because Lopez perceived "that so much of the power of literature (depended) on a sustained romance with the facts of society and the body politic" ("Politics of Literature"102). However, this study later shows that the Philippine Writers' Guild (which Lopez supported) was against any form of "literary dictatorship," thus implying that Lopez likely did not "demand" that literature be committed.

In another essay, Daroy claims that Lopez "is too abstract" because Lopez "does not illustrate his theoretical notions with a concrete analysis of his work." Furthermore, Lopez "does not take into account the complex processes and relationship of culture and society" (Daroy, "Aspects" 262). Unlike Recto, who believes that Lopez goes beyond Matthew Arnold by showing that the purpose of literature is not simply to criticize life "but also to be an instrument of equality and social order" (65), Daroy believes that Lopez fails to achieve the "texture of assumptions" of Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy* (262). Lopez's essays are likely "too abstract" because they were part of magazine and newspaper columns.

Furthermore, the other essays of the book depict different facets of writing and literature, from the vocation of writers to the discursive power of literature to proletarian literature. Finally, the book is a collection of essays on life and literature, not a treatise on literature. Of course, that does not mean that the critic is not obliged to find some underlying theories about literature from the collection, which this study aims to show. Also, Daroy's second essay discusses what might have been the effect of support for the use of English on Filipinos' perception of US culture, a point that will be discussed in a latter portion of this study.

Nick Joaquin notes that as a "revered literary (dictator)" Lopez had little impact on writers, and his "'proletarian movement' was never taken seriously" (160). He adds that when Lopez returned from his diplomatic work, he became "a cosmopolite rather out of tune with the postwar nationalist movement" (157). Joaquin also writes that Lopez's proletarian literature was, like parlor-pinkism, "one more fashion imported from America" (160-1).

Joaquin's comments, however, are problematic. The worn-out fears of "literary dictatorship," originating in the 1930s with Litiatco's essay, had since then been alleviated by the League's assertion that they are against literary dictatorships (Litiatco 60-9). Moreover, Joaquin's essay is dated August 1963, which was a time of relative economic and national security, and several years before the Martial Law crisis and the emergence of protest literature. Furthermore, instances of calls for committed literature take place throughout history (such as social realist movements in the Soviet Union and Mao's Cultural Revolution) and often in response to political or economic crises. Finally, Joaquin implies that he prefers views of literature not imported from America or from any Western country, perhaps rather views imparted by a non-cosmopolite to the Filipino masses.

Deanna Ongpin Recto, on the other hand, believes that Lopez based his criticism of Villa on the principle of effective and clear communication, "which is after all the fundamental principle upon which all art and literature is based" (58). She adds that Lopez's definition of proletarian literature goes beyond Matthew Arnold's "criticism of life" by seeing literature as "an instrument of equality and democratic order" (65). However, Recto also argues that Lopez "tends to be too facile and dogmatic in making distinctions between the "decadents" and the socially conscious/writers, often regardless of the artistic excellence of the first group and the clumsiness and doubtful literary merit of the other" (65-6).

As for Lopez's criticism, Recto writes:

> [His] criticism [is] too abstract, often failing to define concretely those particular aspects of literature which he termed vital and "socially conscious." His main emphasis revolves around general aims and the commitment of the writer, only rarely and then vaguely referring to particular works and writers to illustrate his theories. (66)

But Lopez is not always dogmatic in the way he views "decadents" because in several essays from *Literature and Society* he praises Villa, as well as Romantics like John Keats, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and Percy Bysshe Shelley. Second, as started earlier, the essays were originally published in newspapers and magazines.

Ricaredo Demetillo writes that Lopez was committed "to progress and political change, high seriousness, and revolution" ("Dimensions" 39), and that Lopez's "ontological foundation is that of the proletarian school derived from Karl Marx," which insists that "literature should serve the ends of political change" (40). Demetillo, however, is not certain whether or not Lopez advocates "violent revolution" (40). Still, he finds Lopez's notion of finding something political in everything as narrow, since writers "project the human condition of their time in all its manifold aspects, not merely the political" (40).

In another work, Demetillo writes that "Lopez was asking poetry to support a sociological program" (*Authentic* 295) and that such a program "is a mixture of half-truths, ironically blind to its implications, and confused" because it insists on valorizing only literature that have "the power to create social change" (305). Moreover, Demetillo believes that Lopez's criticism is confused "because it insists that man is primarily a political animal" and excludes the fact that the writer is also "a feeling creature basically, with intelligence and imagination that complicates everyone of his experience" (307).

Lopez's intellectual influence do not lie primarily with Marx, but with several intellectuals, ranging from Marx to Arnold to Nietzsche, and more important, to American leftists who advocated proletarian literature that did not narrowly disallow creativity nor singularly insist on propaganda. Also, Lopez's essays reveal that he does not advocate the need for literature to merely serve the ends of political change. Rather, he insists that literature is, in fact, political (or worldly), and that his hope is to see more writers who are both creative and responsible in dealing with social issues. Finally, Lopez does not advocate violent revolution but advises writers to act as socially concerned critics, ready to expose underlying truths in society and to defend civil liberties.

Herbert Schneider, S. J. writes that Lopez stresses two things: "first, whether he likes it or not the writer is involved in the society in which he lives; secondly, since his writing

influences that society, he must take a part in changing it for the better" (583). He adds that for Lopez "the very heart of literature is communication" (596). Finally, like Demetillo, Schneider sees Lopez's criticism, as belonging to the proletarian school, which focuses more on content and function rather than craft. And, Schneider adds, thanks to Villa's "healthy counter-influence," the country "never got proletarian writers" but "works of lasting literary merit" (587).

In response to Schneider, one can ask, If the basis of literature is communication and if that involves evaluation of texts based on "the degree that it either helps or hinders the reader as a member of society" (586), then is that not the basis for determining whether texts are of "lasting literary merit?" Also, Lopez's essays show that not only does he support proletarian literature, he also promotes creativity, studies the practical needs of writers, and notes the way literature can also entertain readers. This explains why several essays in the same collection discuss the Propaganda movement, journalism, the need to make money from writing, the necessity of capitalism, the impossibility of utopia but the need for some form of social progress, the way in which writers discuss issues other than art, the need for using less advanced literary forms in English so that readers would be able to appreciate texts, truth, power, and beauty. Lopez's framework is based on literature as communication on several levels: as a mode of production (both financial and ideological), as political (or worldly), and as discursive (the ability to influence sociopolitical behavior). The notion of the "proletarian writer," then, rests on several degrees, from the notion that everyone is a proletarian writer by virtue of texts being worldly to the argument that some writers remain "decadent aesthetes" because they do not realize the discursive power of texts that they produce.

Noel V. Teodoro, in a study of the radical tradition in the Philippines, makes the same claims as Recto regarding Lopez's essays lacking development, and adds that "nowhere in *Literature and Society* is US imperialism mentioned. And though S. P. Lopez raised the issue of the class struggle in literature, he, nevertheless, accepted subsidy from the Commonwealth regime (238).

Lopez's milieu provides probable reasons for these claims, as he was raised by an educational system strongly influenced by Americans, like many Filipino writers in English, strongly influenced by an Anglo-American literary tradition, and, like some members of several writers' club in Manila, awarded by the Commonwealth regime for his writings. Lopez also stated in one interview (discussed in a latter part of this study) that he was unaware of the effects of US imperialism and thought that fascist movements in the country posed a greater threat. It should be noted, though, that Teodoro's study of radical

Philippine literature gives several examples of Lopez's contemporaries who spoke against US imperialism.

Leonard Casper, who in *The Wounded Diamond* agrees with Demetillo in claiming that Lopez was merely asking writers to support his sociological program (102), writes in an essay for *Philippine Studies* that "still another 'god-goal,' a less class-divided society, has been promoted by Marxist/Maoists" such as E. San Juan whose group remains "dogmatic, manipulative, and coercive" (Casper "Pluralistic" 39). He notes that the origins of this group are found in the "controlled didacticism" of a patronizing and reductive Philippine Writers' League, whose manifesto of 1940 (the source of the manifesto is probably *Literature Under the Commonwealth,* 101-3) was: "We thus arrive at the paradox that, in order to preserve the individuality which he would defend against the world, the writer must cease being single, isolated, rugged individual" (40).

Casper adds that Lopez, a member of the League, eventually contradicts this manifesto years later. He refers

> not [to] the Lopez whose naïve liberalism of the 1930s, expressed in *Literature and Society* (1940), brought him an inflated reputation of which even he has grown weary; but [to] the Lopez whose mature liberalism required him to say, in his "Literature and Freedom" address of 24 February 1978: "The greatness of a literary work depends to a great extent on the degree of artistic autonomy which is enjoyed by the creator." (40)

Casper, however, misinterprets the manifesto quoted above, since the paradox involves a struggle between "individualism" and "individuality." For Lopez, "individualism" involves selfishness, denying social realities by substituting it with myth, and using writers' craft for its own sake, and "individuality" the assertion of the creative and hopeful self in defense of the freedom of others, a topic Lopez discusses in "Individualism vs. Individuality."

As for the Casper's reference to Lopez's 1978 conference, E. San Juan., writes:

> There is no doubt that underneath the pluralist facade of empathy for "Filipinism" lurks a rigid casuistry that feels no scruples in lifting out of context and so distorting a statement from S. P. Lopez's 1978 lecture against Marcos' press censorship and repression of writers. ("Problems" 72)

E. San Juan, Jr., in his book *The Radical Tradition in Philippine Literature,* also provides a manifesto on the "concrete task of Filipino intellectuals and creative artists" which is "the imagination of the class struggle and its faithful depiction" (106). He sees the Philippine Writers' Guild (or League) as part of a revival of a revolutionary tradition originating with the propagandists, and Lopez's actions as a response against the rise of Fascism and Villa's "decadent narcissism," which San Juan believes reflects the "servitude rationalized by the Filipino elite" (107). In "From Jose Garcia Villa to Amado V. Hernandez: Sketch of a Historical Poetics," he adds that Lopez's *Literature and Society* "serves as an indispensable landmark from which we can measure the distance we have traversed in the depth, scope, and precision of our critical theorizing" (196). Similarly, Hidalgo writes that "Soledad Reyes claims that Lopez's work was the first example of literary theory in Philippine literary scholarship" (7). (Hidalgo's source is Soledad Reyes's "Philippine Literary Studies, 1970-85: Some Preliminary Notes" from *Philippine Studies* 35 (1987), first quarter, 71-92.)

San Juan's first point is similarly problematic for Lopez is against violent revolution or class struggle, and in some essays shows tacit support for capitalism. Although Lopez believes that the material wealth of the rich was built on the labor of the poor (as seen in his essay "The Making of Millions," reminiscent of Emile Zola's *Germinal,* where workers labor beneath and above the earth to provide for "Big Shot's" gold tooth or sugar and coffee) (215), he also believes that capitalism can actually work hand-in-hand with social welfare, given that the problem is basically one involving productive capacity. He implies that fixing a minimum wage is necessary, that competitive activity can actually increase it, and that "panaceas" such as "soaking the rich" or "sharing the wealth" are illusory ("A Little Difference" 191).

In a two-part magazine article on *Literature and Society,* Domingo Castro de Guzman claims that S. P. Lopez is "pre-philosophical," and is therefore an unimportant writer. Lopez's essays are merely orations, and he, like many "older writers," is

> chiefly responsible for this unjust and corrupt society. [He] obscures the real nature of proletarian writing, of progressive committed writing, inevitably diluting it into a form of opportunism and opportunism favors the system of oppression and militates against the national movement for the liberation of the poor and oppressed" (50; pt. 1)

Also, by rejecting surrealism and expressionism, Lopez commits two fundamental errors: "first, the real proletarian writer must address his writings solely to the working class,

and second, that the workers and peasants are necessarily pre-surreal and pre-symbolist" (50-1). De Guzman questions these claims by showing that proletarian writers must also address students and intellectuals, who themselves can help the working class, and that local genres such as the *talinhaga* (allegories), *bugtong* (riddles), *salawikain* (saying), *duplo* (a poetic game), and the *pasyon* (Passion play) are themselves expressionist, symbolist, and surrealist.

However, De Guzman's claims about Lopez being "pre-philosophical" lack scholarly insight, and his claim that older writers like Lopez caused corruption in society is questionable. Moreover, Lopez uses a form of "proletarian literature" that focuses on the political or worldly nature of texts and the need for bourgeois writers to express crucial social issues, and he never supports fascism in his writing. Lopez's proletarian literature may be based on the admission that capitalism and power relations will always be part of society. Finally, Lopez may be referring to Filipinos' understanding of surreal or symbolist literature written in English and not in Filipino.

In Part II of his article, de Guzman claims that Lopez's

> reduction or limitation of progressive literature to formal conservatism has for its hidden premises the following : (1) that the sole locus of the ideological struggle is the psyche of the oppressed and (2) that the oppressed are too simple-minded, ignorant and low for the consumption of advanced, sophisticated, non-conventional literary forms and modes. (37; pt. 2)

De Guzman also fears that young writers might give up their "ideological allegiance," experimentation in literary form, and "the use of the English language" to a "virulently hegemonic" "Lopez tradition" where "progressive writers can only be progressive provided they inhibit themselves from contesting the ideology of oppression within the psychic of the oppressors themselves" (38). De Guzman writes that he takes the term "Lopez tradition" from a 1981 Asian PEN speech given by Isagani Cruz. The speech is probably "The Space-Time Scholar: Literaturwissenshaft in the Philippines," where Cruz says Lopez established "the 'social conscious school of criticism,'" refuted Villa's "'aestheticism'," and "ignored the literary craft in favor of socio-political content" founded on the "'Lopez tradition'" (126-7).

De Guzman insists that since ideology involves beliefs and prejudices, then its sole locus is obviously the psyche. However, Lopez never claims that the oppressed are too simple-minded; rather, he believes that Filipinos who are not proficient in the English

language will have difficulty reading literature using advanced forms of the language. Finally, the "virulently hegemonic" tradition promoted by Lopez is one main characteristic of many intellectuals, which involves negotiating within and between dominant discourses.

Still, de Guzman's points regarding Lopez's support for the use of English as a medium of instruction and capitalism should be noted if one attempts to connect them with aestheticism. This point will be discussed in a latter part of this paper.

Elmer Ordoñez briefly mentions a rebirth of S. P. Lopez with the return of postcolonial discourses and the demise of New Criticism ("Literary Legacy" 140), and provides more details on that statement through a short analysis of the Commonwealth period. In "Literature During the Commonwealth," Ordoñez writes that standard authors of English (in contrast to marginalized voices, such as Central Luzon peasants writing protest literature) who formed the Philippine Writers' League established "a broad antifascist" front to challenge Japan and Falangist supporters in the country (19-23). During the postwar era, increasing isolationism from social issues encouraged critics to employ "New Criticism," where proponents like Demetillo and Edilberto K. Tiempo attacked Lopez, Arguilla, and former members of the League for issuing "pedestrian literature" (26-7). Finally, Ordoñez adds that ironically, what the League had warned about regarding the rise of fascism without the vigilance of writers and other people was unheeded by the League's critics, and thus led to a renewal of protest literature during the Marcos era. Echoing Lopez's comments about the Marcos situation being no different from the fascist attacks of the Commonwealth era, Ordonez writes:

> The Commonwealth writers were to learn what the League president (Mangahas) meant when the war came in December 1941. As Cristino Jamias noted after the war: "It was total intellectual blackout. The enemy was everywhere." Some thirty years later, the Filipino people were to experience more palpably the local variety of fascism. (28-9)

In an undergraduate thesis, Vincent Conti completes a study of "the life and works" of Salvador P. Lopez, where he "situates Lopez, the writer, within a definite socio-historical context" (6) and concludes that Lopez was "steeped in the exclusively American educational system" and in the "great debate between literature as ideology and literature as pure art," and was "instrumental in furthering the development of Philippine writing in English" (62). However, except for a survey of works, no emphasis is given on a study of Lopez's literary theories.

In 1976, Lopez assesses his own collection of essays and concludes that it establishes a link between writers and communities despite criticism from the extreme left who insisted that he remains "a purveyor of bourgeois values" and from formalists who claim "that the sole purpose of literature is to arouse pleasure in the beautiful" ("Past Revisited" 7). His book is "relevant not only to many of the problems that beset our nation but also the dilemmas which confront the Filipino writer." He refers to several essays from the book to prove his point: "Literature and Society," "Proletarian Literature: a Definition," and "The Future of Filipino Literature in English," "Of Love and Besides," "Revolt in American Letters," "So Not: A Theory of Poetry," and "The Poetry of Jose Garcia Villa." He argues that except for "The Future of Filipino Literature in English" (which he believes is too optimistic), the essays affirm all of his arguments and allows him to give the following conclusion: first, the writer is a creator as well as a keeper of values; second, in order to be true to his art, the artist must recognize the necessity of understanding the society that moulds his being and that of his fellowmen; and third, the writer is committed to truth so that he can use art and literature to help bring about progress, change, and development (14-5). Lopez's assessment suggests that he was neither a *falangista* (Fascist sympathizer) nor an ardent supporter of Socialism or Communism. Rather, he was concerned with the need to encourage value formation in society, multiculturalism, and progress for all citizens under a healthy and democratic capitalist system.

In general, the critiques of Lopez's work are based on one or more of the following points: that Lopez's texts on literature are too abstract or dogmatic, that they are sufficient for encouraging the production of committed literature, that they are based primarily on liberal humanism. As for Lopez's intellectual formation and activities, the following points are raised: that he was merely a cosmopolitan who was infatuated with American culture, and that he was an intellectual who initiated a tradition of encouraging socially committed and protest literature.

The critiques seem to operate on a simplistic cause-effect relationship that denies the complexity and contrapuntality of Lopez's world and criticism. For example, since Lopez is against art-for-art's-sake, then he must be against creativity; his awards from the Commonwealth regime makes him a liberal imperialist; since he was influenced by American leftism, then his views are merely faddish; his theoretical framework is based purely on Marxism, despite his assertions supporting the creativity of writers, capitalism, and democracy.

A more fruitful assessment of Lopez as a secular critic should follow Said's theory concerning secular criticism, which consists not only of studying the intellectual formation

of the critic, his world, and his text, but also the contrapuntality that characterize all three facets.

THE WORLD OF S. P. LOPEZ

Lopez's milieu during the Commonwealth period consisted of academic work at the University of the Philippines, writing for newspapers, journals, and magazines, meetings with intellectuals, Filipino writers in English, and labor or peasant movement organizers, and travel to US and European cities. In the much larger milieu, Lopez was caught between two contending forces: a US-backed Commonwealth regime and public education system and the anti-*falangista* struggles taking place not only in the country but in other parts of the world as well. In several ways, various factors from this milieu produced a consensus of "art for art's sake" and Lopez's views on proletarian literature which challenged this consensus.

The first factor that produced the consensus ruling the arts was the emergence and dominance of the English language. The Philippine public education system stressed the use of the English language, a policy strongly encouraged by the American-controlled Bureau of Education during that period (Lopez, "Hon. Lopez" 106). In a paper on Philippine writing in English, Pertronilo Bn. Daroy writes that English, which had been then a medium of instruction for education since 1900, later became the official medium of bureaucracy, a requirement for employment, and the reason for the creation of the middle class ("Aspects" 249).

Lopez's education background clearly stressed this focus on the English language. With access to American textbooks (Lopez, "Lopez" 158), Lopez received a pre-tertiary education and went on to the University of the Philippines, where he was influenced primarily by two teachers: J. Inglis Moore, an Australian literary professor and advisor of *The Literary Apprentice* from 1929-1930, and Dherindra Nath Roy, an Indian philosophy professor ("Literature and Society" 36). Moore encouraged Lopez to take up English Literature (specifically, courses on Elizabethan, Romantic, and Victorian literature) ("Lopez" 158-9), and Roy influenced him to shift to the Philosophy Department for his MA (and the chance to join the faculty). He was formed by his work on the social philosophy of Trinidad Pardo de Tavera ("Hon. Lopez" 101). Thus, it can be said that his educational training was a confluence of an Anglo-American literary tradition and Western-oriented educational background, which were dominant at that time.

This type of education must have fostered an infatuation for the English language, paving the way for a focus on analyzing literary craft and writing skills. The influential factors were certainly in place: exposure to traditional Western literature and a need to master the English language.

Such factors are seen in the UP Writers' Club, which Lopez joined after it was formed by Jose Garcia Villa, Arturo B. Rotor, Loreto Paras, and others. Lopez was admitted into the group as a member of the third batch of applicants consisting of Amador T. Daguio, Conrado V. Pedroche, Amando G. Dayrit, and Arturo M. Tolentino ("50-Year Romance" 6). In another interview ("Lopez" 160), Lopez mentions that he belonged to the "second wave" of applicants to the club, whose original members were Villa, Federico Mangahas, Casiano Calalang, Loreto Paras, and others. The aim of the group was "to elevate to the highest pedestal of possible perfection the ENGLISH language in the Islands" and to introduce the members as "faithful followers of Shakespeare" through publications like the *Philippine Free Press* and later, the *Literary Apprentice*. The Club's shibboleth was "ART shall not be a Means to an End, but AN END IN ITSELF" (Icasiano, "Beginning" 1-2). This view was strongly encouraged by their supporters, including Dr. George Pope Shannon of the English Department (3), if not by other organizations, such as Jose B. Lansang's Philippine Book Guild, which encouraged the use of English through the book series *Contemporary Philippine Literature Series* (which featured Filipino literature in English), and student publications like *The College Folio, The Philippine Collegian, The Green and White, The Varsitarian,* and *The Quill* (Daroy, "Aspects" 249)

Thus, a series of events led to the development of the "art for art's sake" views of writers like Litiatco and Villa: the encouragement of the use of English for business, education, and government; the training students received from foreign professors, writing organizations, periodicals, and publishers; and the focus on literary techniques and writing styles in order to imitate Anglo-American writers.

The second factor that influenced the consensus ruling the arts was the veneer of democratic ideals established by the Commonwealth regime, consisting of policies such as Quezon's Social Justice Program and the Share Tenancy Act which were supposed to placate peasants protesting against feudal systems and to reassure landowners and *falangistas* regarding securing their property (Constantino 380-2).

This influence on Lopez is seen in his essays on the Commonwealth government in *Literature and Society*, where he shows appreciation and respect for Quezon's efforts to establish some form of economic equality in the country. He writes how leaders like Quezon and Osmena mastered American democracy in order to establish possibilities

for self-government (Lopez, "Quezon-Osmena" 89). He justifies Quezon's "dictatorial" tendencies by stating that all leaders are in some ways demagogues. Besides, such a quality is offset by leaders who possess "outstanding personal qualities" (89). These leaders include Quezon and Osmena, who have "born rich fruit" in "political competence, social consciousness and economic intelligence" (91).

In another essay, Lopez writes about the "millions of our people who have never known what prosperity is" and live "a hand-to-mouth existence upon the inadequate charity" of the wealthy ("Little Commonwealth" 107), and argues that the solution is based not merely on economic reform but on proper governance. Lopez enjoins Quezon's call for a dispassionate view of the matter instead of reactionary "defeatism." He concludes by stating that the solutions are stabilization of the national economy and national security (106) but led by "free, democratic institutions" (113).

The connection between efforts made by the Commonwealth regime to encourage democracy and the emergence of the English language can be seen in various policies initiated by the regime that view democracy and economic or social justice in line with "civilization" and the appreciation of art. Lopez himself asserts this connection in one essay by showing how the Commonwealth regime supported events like the Commonwealth Literary Contest (which encouraged Philippine writing in English) and the use of English for commerce despite Quezon's policy which adopted Tagalog as the national language ("Future" 237-40). The effect was, according to Petronilo Bn. Daroy, a use of English based on "middle class consumption," or Filipino infatuation with fashion, movies, pop songs, etc., that defined Philippine writing in English ("Aspects" 250).

This "middle-class consumption" was influenced by capitalism, a final factor that influenced the consensus ruling the arts. During the Commonwealth period, capitalism in the form of export orientation became the primary key for "linkage to world capitalism," and promptly established the need for large haciendas and more control of land and industries by capitalists (Constantino 350). The establishment of large, land-owning corporations with more foreign trade and an Americanized administration for government and business promptly eventually established an ideology of democracy built upon trade and globalization. These, in turn, encouraged the use of English as a medium of instruction, American textbooks, and an educational system that valorized American culture (Constantino 318).

If one can argue that the infatuation with American culture through mass media shares common traits with the "art for art's sake" view of literature in the sense that both may partly value literary texts for their entertainment value, then one can conclude that a

combination of democratic ideals, capitalism, and infatuation with American culture led to dominant discourses that encouraged the use of the English language and an "art for art's sake" view of literature and writing. In which case, by supporting the use of English and capitalism, Lopez ended up strengthening the same consensus ruling the arts that he sought to challenge through proletarian literature.

However, several factors also encouraged writers like S. P. Lopez to challenge the consensus ruling the arts.

First, he believed that his training in both the humanities and the social sciences die not make him a "purely literary artist" like Jose Garcia Villa and Francisco Arcellana, but eventually allowed him to pursue journalism with the help of Carlos P. Romulo, who was by the time Lopez finished his MA in 1933 the publisher of *The Philippines Herald* (Lopez became a daily columnist and magazine editor for the paper) (Lopez, "Lopez" 161). It is possible that this interest in the social sciences and the humanities, a main task Lopez claims to have maintained throughout his life (162), served as the main reason for the evolution of his views on literature. Compared to writers who operated in terms of a Parnassian, extreme Left, or populist-based view of literature, Lopez's multi-disciplinary approach led to essays that allude strongly to political thinkers and western artists, to political crises in the country, and to abstraction concerning literature and society. Lopez adds that the milieu during the Commonwealth period was "special" compared to what took place in other Asian countries because he and his fellow writers were influenced by intellectuals like Plato, Aristotle, John Locke, Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, Thomas Jefferson, and German and French socialist writers like Karl Marx ("50-Year Romance" 7). The fascination for American culture that must have taken place due to US colonial rule may have been tempered by skeptical thinking brought about by an education received from the same source.

Second, Lopez encountered another group of intellectuals while he was writing for the *Herald* (ironically, the same *Herald* that deplored the government's tendency to pamper the masses) (Constantino 384) consisting of left-wing supporters and pro-labor leaders like Pedro Abad Santos and Luis Taruc (both members of Lopez's "Beer Club"), whom Lopez perceived as "extreme left" compared to his moderate "left-of-center" stance ("Lopez" 174). Influenced by American libertarian and leftist writers like Steinbeck, Snow, and Hemingway, and by Philippine anti-fascists, Lopez and his fellow writers formed the Commonwealth Government-supported Philippine Writers' League, whose objectives were to establish a cultural center for Filipino writers in order to address pressing literary problems, to maintain friendly relations with writers from other countries, and to defend

political and social institutions that ensured peace and protected civil liberties (Mangahas, "Beginning" 14). Thus, Lopez negotiated the prevailing consensus in the arts established by the Commonwealth regime and art-for-art's-sakers by supporting the US-backed Commonwealth government and by corresponding with its opponents (see also Recto, "Critical Survey," 63).

Just as interesting as this form of negotiation, however, is the contrapuntality of the world Lopez inhabited. For example, the much-admired Commonwealth regime was actually helpless against the dictates of American industry and local capitalists, as in the case of policies like the 1933 Share Tenancy Act, which landlords refused to follow (Constantino 382). Furthermore, while Lopez and other writers clamored for the use of English and the establishment of a national language and literature, a majority of Filipinos lacked a sufficient education system that would have allowed them to benefit from learning English.

According to Arcilla, when it came to education, "the Philippine Commonwealth government … was either powerless or seemingly did not care to improve the life of the ordinary Filipino." For instance, only 45 percent of children of school age (7-17 years old) attended school by 1939. Furthermore, a "diminishing rate of promotion" existed (112).

In 1938, 77 percent of those who had finished Grade One went on to Grade Two, but only 63 percent went on to Grade Three, and 48 percent went on to Grade Four. Of those who finished the four primary grades, only 14 of 15 percent were enrolled in the Intermediate Grades. Of these, less than 5 percent were in Grade Five. In the United States, 22 percent went beyond Grade Four, while in Japan 99 percent of the children finished the six-year compulsory primary school program. Also, the 10 percent increases between 1935 and 1938 in school budgets were unable to "match the 40 percent growth rate of pupils in the primary schools for the same period" (Arcilla 112).

Even literacy levels were affected. In 1938, Manila had the highest (80.7%), "while 7 provinces had a rate of more than 60%, 10 had less than 40%, and two with less than 20%" (113). Nationwide, the literacy rate in 1938 was 48.8%, even lower than the rate twenty years earlier (49.2%) (Arcilla 113).

Furthermore, the importance of forms and techniques for writing, literature, and language, issues discussed by members of the UP Writers' Club, the Philippine Writers' League, and other organizations, seemed moot given a more pressing problem of the period: the lack of reading materials. For example, the total circulation of dailies and weeklies reached 1,478,108 in 1937, consisting of hundreds of publications using the dominant languages (English, Filipino, Spanish, Chinese, Japanese), which is actually a

small number if one considers the total population of the country (16,000,303 by 1939) (Arcilla 111-3). Moreover, only 43 cities and towns out of more than 1,000 had printing presses and publications, with 2/3 (and 6/7 of the circulation of reading materials in the Philippines) located in Manila. Finally, even public libraries were lacking, numbering less than 70 in the whole country by 1939 (Arcilla 114).

Meanwhile, during a period of intense debate on the merits of socio-political literature between the Manila-based and well-educated members of the "Art for Art's Sake" movement and the Philippine Writers' League, equally intense political and economic upheavals were taking place in the country. During the Commonwealth period, the country was just moving away from the market crash of 1929, which saw "prices of basic export crops drop drastically," which in turn led to mass unemployment or cuts in wages among urban workers, cuts in income of the peasantry, disputes with landowners over increased land rentals, and the dismissal of tenants due to unpaid debts (Constantino 369). Similar events were also taking place in the United States, leading to the rise of American Marxism (Leitch 11). (American leftists included Granville Hicks, who edited *Proletarian Literature in the United States: An Anthology,* James T. Farrell, who was at odds with Hicks, Max Eastman, and Michael Gold.)

The market crash of 1929 revived numerous causes, ranging from tenant discontent to fronts against the American regime itself. The included the rise of peasant groups such as the *Katipunan Magsasaka* (League of Farmers) in Baliwag, Bulacan, the *Union de Arrendatarios* (Union of Tenants) in Nueva Ecija, and the *Pambansang Kaisahan ng mga Magbubukid* (PKM) (National Union of Farm Workers) in 1930. Armed secret societies like Patricio Dionisio's *Tanggulan* (Prisons) were also formed. Protests over the eviction of tenants by officials of the Tunasan Estate in San Pedro, Laguna took place, while strikes were held in Tarlac, Nueva Vizcaya, Bataan, Iloilo, and Negros Occidental. The Commonwealth period also saw the growth of Communist movements like the *Congreso Obrero* or *Kapisanan ng Anak-Pawis* (League of Workers) (later, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines), and the rise of the Socialist Party headed by peasant leader Pedro Abad Santos (Constantino 269-379).

Challenges to the Commonwealth regime and *falangistas* were issued by Benigno Ramos's anti-colonial *Sakdal* (Accusation), and by a popular front composed of leftist groups like the anti-Hitlerism Rally at Plaza Moriones led by the Philippine Young Congress, the Civilian Emergency Administration, and the Civil Liberties Union (which Lopez himself supported) (Constantino 373, 389). (See also Teodoro, "Radical Tradition," 222-6, 230-1.)

Moreover, both Lopez and the *falangistas* noted rising fascist activity in Europe and in Asia. On the eve of the Second World War, whose seeds were already being nurtured through the German Nazi Party and various fascist organizations in Spain, Italy, and Japan, fascist movements abroad gave birth to local fascist organizations which countered the popular front. These included Andres Soriano's *falangista* movement, Francophilia among the Spanish priest in UST and Letran, and radio programs sponsored by the Ateneo de Manila (Constantino 106).

Much later, Lopez admitted that he had been blind to the connections between the "exploitation of the poor" and "the American colonial regime" ("Hon. Lopez" 103-4). Instead of US imperialism, he saw local *falangistas* as the major cause of economic crises, and stressed encouragement through more civil means of the Quezon administration to act on the matter. He believed the Japanese threat and European fascism must have distorted his views of American imperialism, given the type of education he received (where the horrors of the Philippine-American war were not stressed), and led to his "infatuation, not just with the language, but with the American culture, with American civilization" (106). And yet he believed that the same America that worked hand-in-hand with the local gentry in oppressing peasants who challenged the "feudalistic structure" of Philippine society also gifted intellectuals with the love for freedom and the heritage of democracy ("Lopez" 163).

Much of the contrapuntality of Lopez's milieu can be seen in James Allen's memoirs. Allen, an American Communist who once owned the *Journal of American Chamber of Commerce* (Allen 22), claimed that although several anti-government and left-leaning groups like the Toilers League, the Socialist Party of Pampanga, the *Sakdalistas*, and the Aguinaldo's National Socialist Party had existed in 1934, only small number of their peasant followers and laborers understood the complexity of Marxist struggle since their main concerns were the abolition of *cedulas* (certificates), tax relief, and measures against usury. With that, a popular front hardly existed outside cities since peasants were "largely ignorant" of fascism (13-4).

An interesting account in the memoirs refers to the formation of the "Beer Club" by Allen's editor Walter Robb. It consisted primarily of young Filipino writers "who in the columns of the English press carried out a sort of journalistic guerrilla skirmish against the dictatorial tendency of the Commonwealth" (22). They would often grow excited when someone would bring copies of *New Masses* or when some American Communist would appear and speak up, and would claim, in an elitist way, that vernacular writers were closer to the people but lacked the means to express advanced trends of thought (22-5). If this is the same "beer club" mentioned in an earlier part of this paper, can one argue that

Allen was referring to Lopez and other supporters of proletarian literature?

Finally, Allen believes that these writers talked about "proletarian literature," but needed to overcome their own elitism first:

> The Filipino intellectual was somewhat in the position of a man without a country. He was distrusted by the masses because of his elite origin and because he had served the colonial Spanish power over the centuries and then the American, a client of Spanish culture in the past and now of American culture . . . The progressive Filipino intellectual was now trying to find his way back to the heritage, even to the mass-based Bonifacio tradition, and to his own people. And he was struggling also to escape from the spirit of accommodation in which he had been bred. (25)

This probably prompted the older intellectuals to see these young writers and American Communists like Allen as contemptuous and alien, and as "parlor pinks" by short story writers (26).

In Allen's account one finds the tension found within intellectuals of the Commonwealth period, and perhaps even within intellectuals today: how to break away from an incessant elitist pedestal and to translate theory into an action immediately responsive to the needs of a majority of the population. Much of this tension, an integral component of complexity and contrapuntality found among secular critics, will be discussed in the latter part of this paper; for now, it can be established that the secular criticism of Lopez is shown in the way he was shaped by the assumed consensus of the Commonwealth regime and fellow writers, by the way he attempted to challenge these dominant discourses through a call for committed literature, and by the way his actions became contradictory in the light of historical realities that affected the nation.

The contradictoriness of Lopez's milieu can best be seen in an introduction to a chapter on Commonwealth literature by Josephine Bass Serrano and Trinidad Mago Ames. Serrano and Ames write that the following qualities characterized literature during the so-called "Emergence Period" (1935-1945): the purposeful creation of a national literature, full control and use of the English language, experimentation with literary forms, and the emergence of socially conscious writers, writers who focused on craft, and the Veronicans (Serrano and Ames 43). The term "emergence" is also used by Schneider and other literary historians.

There was, perhaps, a flowering of Philippine literature in English, but for whom?

The majority of peasants and laborers who rarely received sufficient education and who suffered immensely in the hands of capitalists and *falangistas*? Or a minority consisting of urban-based, educated writers (Joaquin's "parlor pinks") who talked about the "writer's craft," the need for strengthening the use of the English language, and the need for capitalism "with a human face" amidst a teeming mass of poverty and oppression unaided by a helpless local government and intelligentsia?

AN ANALYSIS OF S.P. LOPEZ'S *LITERATURE AND SOCIETY*

The axiom from which Lopez's arguments stand is "literature is communication." From this axiom the rest of Lopez's ideas are developed: literature and writers as part of the world; literature as discursive; and literature as having political ends.

For the first point, Lopez writes,

> It has long been universally recognized that man is a "political animal," whatever else he may be. The writer, therefore, who works upon the belief that man is a mere fancier of golden words and beautiful phrases, has missed the essential element in man. He works in a vacuum and therefore works in vain. ("Calling" 232)

For Lopez, art allows individuals to use their senses to the fullest and to "savor" the beauty of life by describing things that are "most worthy of our worshipful dedication" ("Letter" 48). These things include nature and virtue. Thus, what is beautiful is what is perceived as good and worthy in life.

However, life may also consist of suffering and ugliness. The producer of art, in this case the writer, is certainly not blind to the harsh realities of this world, and ultimately realizes that literature can no longer be used "as a means of escape into the realm of pure fancy" ("Of Love" 125). Furthermore, beauty is no longer seen as something appealing to the senses but the hidden truth in major crises.

Thus, man becomes a "political animal," which nullifies the argument that the writer "is a mere fancier of beautiful words and golden phrases" ("Calling" 232). Writers, like their texts, are part of the world. Thus, one cannot assume that individuals can separate themselves from society and that texts exist for their own sake.

This first argument (that literature is worldly) is an important component of Lopez's

axiom on literature as communication, which consists of encouraging discussion and, among other things, of exposing power relations in society. This discursive characteristic of literature, which is Lopez's second point, may be noted in the following quote:

> The world has soul as well as body. Writers who consider themselves keepers of the word may not ignore the fact that it has a physical body and possesses qualities of sound and color, fancy and imagination. But the word is more than sound and color. It is a living thing of blood and fire, capable of infinite beauty and power. It is not an inanimate thing of dead consonants and vowels but a living force—the most potent instrument known to man. ("Literature and Society" 175)

Lopez believes that the text empowers writers by allowing them not only to depict the world but to invite readers to respond, resulting in interaction and struggle between individuals and texts, which underlies the discursive quality of literature and is expressed in his response to the consensus ruling the arts. For example, in his critique of "art for art's sake," he starts with the UP Writers' Club's motto, "art shall not be end, but an end in itself," which he sees as problematic because it denies the power of both the writer and his text to empower individuals to speak and act. Writers never write for themselves ("Of Love" 119), and their texts not only "express, imply or suggest" various aspects of life ("So No" 148) but also invite people to express "differences of opinion" ("Dream of Tolerance" 104). Thus, there exists constant interaction and struggle between writers, texts, and readers. Writers engage with the world by expressing aspects of it through their texts. Such expression may be creative and should encourage readers to react in different ways, thus paving the way for diversity in thoughts, actions, and identity.

One application of this invitation towards identity and diversity may be seen in Lopez's beliefs concerning multiculturalism. Using travel as an analogy, he believes that such an experience leaves us "breathless with admiration of other countries" while teaching "us to admire things that pertain to others in order that we may more deeply love our own" ("Homecoming" 235). It is, of course, fine to contemplate more avidly the "'glorious past' of (one's) country" ("Return" 18), but since "every age creates the instruments by which the livelihood and social relationship of the people are promoted and enriched" (22), since it is unreal to assume that one can "talk of a 'native Filipino culture,'" and since there exists growing "internationalization of culture," then "cultural isolation" is not only questionable but "fatal" (24). And one of the tools that can be used to join the

country to a global community is the English language ("Future" 241-2).

Lopez's point in that these two applications lead to empowerment for the reader and the writer. Thus, the writer is a "political animal" not only because he is part of the world but because he interacts with it.

Still, several degrees of worldliness may exist such that the same texts that empower may also work against the marginalized. For example, a literary work may marginalize oppressed communities by focusing only on things of beauty, like birds, flowers, pretty *nipa* (a thatch made of palm leaves) huts, and happy farmers, thus creating "falsifications of life" ("Revolt" 135). What is hoped, then, is that degree of worldliness which gives texts the ability to expose political and economic oppression by describing a "dilapidated hovel infested with vermin," or a "peasant pinched with hunger and crushed by usury" ("Revolt" 135-6).

Since literature "has soul as well as body" and is "capable of infinite beauty and power" ("Literature and Society" 175), then why do writers choose to ignore such qualities? Lopez believes political and economic chaos worldwide revises and reinforces such a choice. Because of fear and insecurity, writers choose to return to the "untroubled Shangri-la of art" (181), that is, the "Art for Art's Sake" movement, which contradicts the fact that the writer is a political animal and that it is through "fruitful contact with others" that his "heart, mind and soul are enriched" (182). The writer's choice is that he "either believes that man is improvable because he has the innate capacity to correct his errors or he is convinced that man is eternally demeaned beyond any possibility of redemption" (188). Thus, his writing has to "result in something that he can lay his hands on as good and useful" (188) and his role as a writer has to be progressive (189).

Lopez reminds his readers that he is not trying to dictate on writers or turning literature into propaganda (189). Rather, he believes that by being aware of the social content of literature, a writer's creativity is not hampered but is in fact enhanced. And this he sees even if writing has to be an occupation, a point that he reminds readers by quoting Dr. Samuel Johnson: "No man but a blockhead … ever wrote except for money" ("Writer and His Reward" 192). Of course, this does not mean that the writer should "prostitute his art by his lust for comfort and luxury." Rather, it is to write for people who, in turn, will be intelligent enough to receive and accept his work (192, 194).

In conclusion, literature is discursive, or is able to produce power and is inscribed in power, by exposing power relations in society and by influencing writers to challenge such relations. These power relations, among others, are hidden truths, ignored by those who support the argument of art for art's sake or who try to escape from such truths through

ignorance; for Lopez, they eventually defeat themselves by denying their own political nature and by implicitly supporting a defeatist view of life. By exposing oppression, encouraging a progressive view of society, and combining sincerity through awareness of the social content of literature with craft, the writer produces texts that are appreciated by many and his creative freedom is not threatened.

How is the discursive power of literature deployed for social change? Lopez answers this question by discussing the potential use of proletarian literature towards initiating political change:

> All writers worth the name are, whether they are conscious of it or not, workers in the building up of culture. Since economic injustice and political oppression are the enemies of culture, it becomes the clear duty of the writer to lend his arm to the struggle against injustice and oppression in every form in order to preserve those cultural values which generations of writers before him have built up with slow and painful effort. ("Calling" 232-3)

He believes that "power is the outcome of recognition, and power in the hands of the artist becomes valuable, according to this view, not of itself alone and for its own sake, but as power used for all just and beneficent purposes" ("Of Love" 119), and one beneficent purpose is an effective revolutionary end. Citing Paine, Rousseau, and Lenin, Lopez claims that journalism, a form of literature, can "forge the revolutionary unity of the masses." He sees it in the Propaganda movement, in Philippine journalism, the libertarian tradition ("Fifty Years" 207-9), but more important, in proletarian literature.

For him, the literary text "is the result of the interaction between the forces working within the writer that impel him to expression and the forces that induce him to communication" ("Proletarian Literature" 216). Lopez combines the thoughts of Ludwig Lewisohn who believes that literature is a "continuous interpretation of experience in a dynamic world" (see Lewisohn's "Literature and Life" for an extended commentary) and John Strachey who believes that literature attempts "to illuminate some particular predicament of a particular man or a particular woman at a given time and place" and sees the writer as influenced physically and mentally by his milieu (216-7). Thus, Lopez solidifies his claim that the text and the writer are worldly because they interact with each other and with the world in which they are immersed.

Next, Lopez describes the world, and taking his ideas concerning "schemes and motives of power" and combining it with his Marxist beliefs, he writes that social classes

exist. And since literature is part of that culture of social classes, then literature is also mired by such distinctions. From that point he arrives at the definition of "proletarian literature."

A proletarian work is "the interpretation of the experience of the working class in a world that has been rendered doubly dynamic by its struggles" (218). Lopez alludes to the assumption that literature is worldly and that the world is mired by class struggle. However, the literary work need not depict the plight of the proletariat by describing, say sweatshops or strikes. Rather, the proletarian writer must be aware of the social forces that encourage this class struggle, and from there depict the complexity of society (222). By expressing the various aspects of that class struggle in a creative manner, the proletarian writer's goal is fulfilled, which is to propose "new human values" in place of the old (226).

In contrast to proletarian writers, bourgeois writers as those who thrive on "nationalistic or aristocratic sentiments," who veil truth behind "religious and mystical consolations," and who glorify "the individual at the expense of the many" (219). In other words, bourgeois writers assert old norms, values, or tradition to justify oppression and prejudice, and discourage intellectual freedom and civil liberties.

Proletarian literature has four characteristics: first, it is based on an attitude of hope and in a belief than man and his world are, in the long term, progressive; second, it is revolutionary (but not in the violent sense); third, it is functional to different degrees (from being political by virtue of being part of the world to initiating changes in society); and fourth, it is realistic because it tries to unearth the "contradictions that underlie human action" (220-1).

Finally, Lopez makes it very clear once more that he is not denying writers their creative freedom. In fact, he believes that the proletarian writer uses different literary techniques "to produce a creative work out of the materials that he has selected in such wise that the object of propagating an idea or espousing a cause must appear incidental and yet at the same time a necessary consequence of the work as a whole" (220-1).

Thus, the proletarian writer's goal is to use creative texts to espouse a cause, hopefully one that fosters and protects the freedom of members of society, especially the freedom of the marginalized. This freedom involves "freedom of thought for all," and "thought in all its form and manifestations, in writing or in speech—the absolute freedom of printing and reading, and the absolute freedom of meeting and talking." Its result is the subversion of an established order, and that subversion is justified only when that order is repressive ("Freedom" 12). Moreover, the proletarian writer believes "in freedom of thought and its corollary liberties of speech, press, and assembly because it is only through

the exercise of freedom and the tolerance it inevitably begets that tendencies to violence can be overcome" (14). Thus, he believes in democracy and in tolerance, but not in repression and in violence (15).

That freedom carries with it the burden of responsibility. The youth cannot be taught "to have no purpose beyond their own selfish little ends" ("Joy in Life" 51). Rather, they must be seen as "democratic, progressive and anti-Fascist in their attitude" ("Young Man's Country" 70). Presumably, the same can be said of proletarian writers.

In addition, the freedom to write anything that one wishes and freedom based on responsibility may clash. For Lopez, "individualism" means looking out for oneself and ignoring others, a "doctrine of dog-eat-dog," thus leading to "the desire for profit and the love of power." In contrast to this, "individuality" denies that notion of profit or power and challenges individual freedom only when it violates "the higher autonomy and freedom of the group" ("Individualism" 173-4). If applied to proletarian literature, one may see the proletarian writer (and the secular critic) as driven by individuality and not individualism.

Lopez believes in asserting one's individuality. In fact, he believes that is what makes the writer an artist in the first place. But this freedom eventually means the freedom to publish, to be read, to profit both materially and ethically form such tasks ("Calling" 230-1), and with that, the writer cannot deny the fact that his welfare is eventually based on the welfare of his readers. And if the general readership consists of marginalized social classes, then he knows what his true goals are.

In conclusion, Lopez's theoretical framework is based on the assumption that literature is communication. As such, texts are worldly, and so are their writers and readers. These individuals are enmeshed within social struggles influenced by texts and their world. The text, then, is also seen as discursive, and can influence human thoughts and actions. In relation to this, Lopez believes that in order for society and even literature to thrive freedom must thrive, and for freedom to thrive, civil liberties of individuals must be protected. Since the writer produces texts that can influence human thoughts and actions, then it is his responsibility to use such texts to ensure the preservation of freedom and other social aspects necessary for the preservation of society, such as culture.

In many ways, Lopez's views concerning proletarian writers are remarkably similar to Said's views concerning secular criticism. And yet like Said's secular criticism, Lopez's proletarian literature may also be problematic. Lopez asserts that progress is the main goal of literature and yet he also believes that literature is discursive. If the same discursive power that exposes power relations may also hide them, then how is progress assured?

Is proletarian literature defined by writers, readers, or both? For example, assuming

that one sees dada poetry as non-proletarian for various reasons, is it possible that others familiar with German history and Marxist theory see the same as challenges against German authoritarianism, if not as expressions of emerging liberalism following the First World War, and thus as proletarian? This point implies that several other factors, from the language in which the text is written to allusions found in it, may lead to differing interpretations from readers, and in turn different conclusions on whether a text is proletarian or not.

Moreover, if one connects Lopez's earlier comments about the power of literature in exposing truths over depicting objects of beauty, then how does one describe, say, a novel that depicts only beauty but is written by a proletarian writer? If, "indeed, a novelist may be proletarian" as long as he "recognizes the nature and intensity… and the potency" of class struggle and believes in "true justice and the logic of history," then can one assume that everything that he writes should be defined as "proletarian literature"?

Third, how does one resolve Lopez's call for proletarian literature and his insistence in other essays in the same collection that writing, scholarship, and academic work remain disinterested (Lopez, "Some Reflections" 11-2; "Academic Freedom" 9)?

Finally, Lopez sterilizes proletarian literature by describing it as "clean, wholesome and vigorous in intent," and that perception may be idealistic. Is it possible that due to the complexities of the production of texts, other factors can also play roles in developing that intent? For example, Lopez already quotes Johnson's assertion in another essay regarding blockheads who write for reasons other than to make money. Does that imply, then, that there exists a chance that proletarian writers may at several points be forced to write in order to support the consensus in return for financial support? Also, what can we conclude about Lopez's assertion that the power of texts lies in their ability to allow readers to express differences in opinion? What happens if a reader's interpretation of the text was not the intent of the writer?

S. P. LOPEZ: THE CRITIC

Much of Lopez's beliefs may have been influenced by his background in philosophy coupled with exposure to American leftism during the late 1930s and early 1940s, prompting Yabes to refer to Lopez's views as belonging to the school of scientific materialism. One illustration of this may be seen in Lopez's critique of Villa's comparison of physics and mathematics to a poetic credo based on some mystical form of energy ("So

No" 142-3) and "the familiar dogma that poetry is its own justification" (148). Lopez's own stance is based on literature as communication, where poems are poems "only if they express, imply or suggest any aspect of life and truth, of knowledge of any object of thought and feeling" (148). As shown in the earlier section consisting of an assessment of criticism of Lopez's essays, subsequent reassessments of Villa's work involve a move beyond literature as communication, to a realization of the power and purpose of such a principle.

In 1938, Lopez proposes a new form of romanticism, based not on scorn for the past, but on "passion for the future" ("Romanticism" 150). He sees this future as renewed cooperation between peoples of different cultures, with writers fostering freedom of expression ("Calling" 230). This is analogous to his view of forces outside writers, social consciousness, written on the basis of "newspaper headlines," that is, worldly events. ("Poetry of Villa" 163).

A year later, Lopez combines his views on literature as communication and discursive in the essay "Revolt in American Letters," where the text becomes a tool to expose not only beauty in the way most people would envision it but beauty as ugly and harsh truths ("Revolt" 135-6). In addition, given increasing economic and political crisis worldwide, he sees greater need to protect freedom and to secure social and economic justice ("Young Man's Country" 72).

Finally, after his exposure to American leftist thought from visits to the United States and his meetings with pro-labor and pro-peasant organizers during the second half of the 1930s and the formation of the Philippine Writers' League in 1939, Lopez combines his thoughts on literature as communication, as a tool of power, and as a means to challenge fascism. The result is "Proletarian Literature."

Note that Lopez's development as a literary theorist is parallel to his own three-level theoretical framework. Starting from the main assertion that literature is communication, he shows how it is also a tool for power. Given the crisis of the Commonwealth period, he establishes that use of power towards aiding anti-fascism, based on his political stance concerning freedom.

Lopez's theoretical framework is complex, as seen in the degrees of worldliness found in his assertions, in the pragmatism he offers to writers, in the libertarian attitude he promotes towards speech and writing, in his analysis of social classes and class struggle, and in the manner by which he views the influence of tradition and culture on individuals. What is equally interesting, though, is the development of his beliefs concerning proletarian literature after the publication of *Literature and Society*.

His views concerning the discursive feature of literature have been discussed earlier: however, even as he elaborates on the beneficial views of discourse, he also talks about its ability to control and dominate. For him, not only is knowledge power, but power is also knowledge:

> that is to say, power commands knowledge: it can buy, hoard and ration knowledge, or it can advance knowledge as well as diffuse it. Knowledge can be manipulated so that it becomes a monopoly of the few who can afford it, or it can be shared so that it becomes the heritage of all. ("Culture and Diplomacy" 64)

Lopez applies this assertion to his claim that Western principles may not always be applicable to the Third World situation ("Paper at Symposium" 1), which in turn questions the nature of proletarian literature itself, being based on Marxist views.

With regards to proletarian literature, Lopez sees his essay "Proletarian Literature: a Definition" as over-emphatic, admits that his word is not final, and implies that it is eventually up to the writer to decide the ends of his work ("Past Revisited" 11-2). Lopez does not belong to what Farrell perceives as reactionary leftists who enforce reductive views of literature based merely on its functions to aid the proletariat or on a base-superstructure relationship. Rather, like the Philippine Writers' League, he professes to the creative ability of artists, just as Farrell and Marx insist on both the functional and aesthetic qualities in art. Instead of seeing artists merely as craftsmen, he argues that artists are also philosophers ("Proletarian Literature" 224).

Of course, Lopez does not forget that of all needs, the economic ones seem to be the most basic. Lopez uses this assertion to state his views of proletarian literature remains valid after nearly five decades because the same economic and political problems that existed during the Commonwealth period still exist today:

> That was the milieu of that time. Now looking back, I sometimes ask myself: Have things really changed? And my answer is: Not really! The same basic issues are still there; the same problems are still around. In some ways, they have assumed even more dangerous dimensions and deeper disguises. For this has been the enduring theme of Filipino writing the struggle of the poor and the oppressed for a better life. That sounds as if I'm saying "I told you so!" a temptation which I occasionally can't resist. (Lopez "Lopez" 167)

He repeats this point in another interview:

> In our society now, that's the assumed struggle between the "haves" and the "have-nots," between the landlords and the peasants. It's still the same. For example, what's the difference between the *Hukbalahap* problem of that time and the current problem of Hacienda Luisita? It's still the same. You see, the basic issues haven't changed. (Conti 82)

But he also implies that that the struggle may no longer be that "serious" and that the idea of "proletarian literature" may have to be modified: "But I maintain that the true burden of literary activity must concern itself with the life of human beings. It need not be proletarian. I was proletarian only because at that time, the struggle between the rich and poor was really serious" (Conti 83-4).

In several essays written during the 1970s and 1980s, Lopez repeats his views concerning freedom, democracy, progress, the expression of free speech, sensitivity to culture and the arts, and liberalism, for him all essential themes in arguments concerning literature. For example, he believes that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, consisting of principles espoused by European philosophers, is one of the greatest "doctrines in the history of liberty" ("Without Freedom" 7). In another essay, he argues that Filipinos must learn to reject historical inevitability, and must find the power to shape the future by dealing with the present ("Social Change" 7). In a third essay, he challenges Yabes's earlier assertions of Lopez's theories as based on scientific materialism by claiming that the salvation of humanity lies not in the sciences but in poetry and philosophy, where one can find human sensitivity and imagination ("Federation" 7). Finally, he writes about liberalism that favors "distribution of power" and is hostile to anything that concentrates it ("Faith of a Liberal" 14), perhaps recalling the days of anti-fascist activities during the Commonwealth Period and becoming aware of the growing crisis taking place after the Aquino assassination.

On multiculturalism, Lopez admits that his expectations regarding the future of Philippine literature in English were "exaggerated, even hyperbolic." He states that he "was writing under the influence of the euphoria that preceded the Commonwealth Literary Contests of 1940" ("Past Revisited" 14) perhaps not yet aware of the long-term problems in the Philippine public education system. In other talks, he also asserts the futility of bilingualism as a means of encouraging reading ("Pleasures of Reading" 9) and the need "to set our sights somewhat lower than we did in the forties" ("Does English" 10).

In any event, his goal appears to be a form of nationalism that is based not on the choice of a national language but on action, based on a mapping of arguments made by John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Thomas Jefferson, and Thomas Paine ("Nationalism" 3, 8).

Finally, with regards to proletarian literature in relation to the "Art for Art's Sake" movement, Lopez continues reasserting his call for committed literature. He envisions the need for artists to be not only craftsmen and philosophers but also teachers. He admits to the dominance of the art-for-art's-sake school as seen in works by artists who deny their responsibility to society, and sees the school not only as a reaction or escape from societal problems, but the result of the failure of "educative forces to inculcate among people the meaning of art and its function in society" ("Artist as Teacher" 4).

In 1990, Lopez writes one of his last essays on literature, an essay remarkable in the sense that it echoes everything he stood for fifty years earlier, and that concludes with a renewed call for committed literature, inspired by Amado V. Hernandez. In "Literature and Freedom," Lopez writes that there exists an organic link between literature and freedom on two levels: writing as an act of freedom, and the social responsibility of the writer.

On the first level, he believes that the writer's autonomy is circumscribed by rules of literary craftsmanship, often stemming from Western tradition, the taste and laws of society, and reactions from readers. However, the writer can also challenge these boundaries, especially when they are dictated by totalitarian or oppressive regimes. Following the Hegelian dictum "freedom is the recognition of necessity," he believes that writers will eventually recognize and challenge such oppression, because "freedom is a seamless web," and any "imposition of constraints" will affect "all human faculties," even "the creative imagination" ("Literature and Freedom" 2-33).

However, on the second level, given the point that a writer needs creative freedom, he "owes a certain loyalty to the very principle of freedom itself." Given that he is part of a "common humanity" and "human heritage of love and compassion" (33-4), then it is his responsibility to protect that freedom, both his and that of his fellowmen.

To illustrate his arguments, he discusses three National Artists: Jose Garcia Villa, Nick Joaquin, and Amado V. Hernandez. He does not "begrudge" Villa's fame, but wonders whether Villa's work has actually contributed to "the Filipino predicament." Villa will always remain the "eternal exile," and "will have nothing to say to us or those who will come after us." Joaquin, though, is the best Filipino writer in English, committed "to the loyalty, decency and love of Filipinos." But it is only Amado V. Hernandez who is "a profoundly committed writer," one who loved the poor, hated oppressors, and "suffered prolonged punishment for his beliefs in the freedom and dignity of man." And for all that

"he was awarded only when he was safely dead" (34).

Essays and interviews published after *Literature and Society* reveal a degree of contradictoriness in Lopez's intellectual development. Lopez's evaluation of proletarian literature range from the illogical (where he implies that he was too over-emphatic because he discouraged creativity, when in fact his original essay expressed otherwise) to the absurd (where he insists that the plight of the poor in the past was not that "serious" but later claims economic conditions have never changed). Finally, he is forced to lower his expectations regarding the emergence of English amidst difficulties in the education system. And yet despite all these contradictions Lopez continues to support committed literature and civil liberties five decades later. He claims that economic and political crises have even become worse, which he argues merely strengthens his resolve to challenge any movement that asserts rugged individualism and authoritarian rule.

In conclusion, Lopez's theoretical framework is based on the belief that literature is aesthetic, based on communication, and political. Also, a proper study and appreciation of texts is based on the realization that they depict power relations in society which threaten civil liberties. Given that, it is the responsibility of writers to protect civil liberties by exposing, through proletarian literature, the manner by which citizens are oppressed.

In addition, the commitment to proletarian literature does not deny the writer his right to practice creativity or to experiment with literary from. Rather, the writer's freedom to do so is dependent on the economic and political freedom of members of his society. Thus, the goal of the writer is not only to entertain his audience but to use his work to promote diversity of opinion and to protect the civil liberties of members of society.

Lopez's framework challenged the "art for art's sake" movement which was the consensus ruling the arts and was driven by the study of American and European literature and by a growing cosmopolitan attitude among Filipino writers (Lopez, Villa and other writers would travel to different parts of the world, meet writers like Edgar Snow and Hemingway). However, the contradictoriness of Lopez's milieu is also shown through his emphasis on the use of English (which proletarian readers might not have mastered), his support for the US-backed Commonwealth government, and his need to work within a US-controlled capitalist economic system.

Given this theoretical framework and the contrapuntal characteristic of his milieu, one can argue that Lopez is a secular critic because he challenged the consensus ruling the arts while working for US-backed ideological apparatuses.

CONCLUSION

In one of his Reith lectures, Said advises listeners not "to accuse all intellectuals of being sellouts just because they earn their living working in a university or for a newspaper," and not "to hold up the individual intellectual as a perfect ideal, a sort of shining knight who is so pure and so noble as to deflect any suspicion of material interest" (*Representations* 69). The reason for the first point is commonsensical: an intellectual does a great deal of thinking, reading, and writing, and these activities usually involve work in places like universities or for media. And if universities and newspapers require surplus wealth to continue operations, then it would be difficult, if not impossible, for an intellectual or his employers not to work without any material interests involved.

In which case, the claim that Lopez is a "liberal imperialist" and an "Americanized bootlicker" is correct, since he did call for various forms of freedom (as seen in his promotion of proletarian literature) while working for apparatuses that supported US colonial (or post-colonial) rule, such as universities and newspapers. On the other hand, it is unlikely that his views supporting proletarian literature would have been heard unless he had received financial support (and even an award) from the same dominant discourses. From these two points, the most logical assessment we can make of Lopez is that he is a secular critic, one who negotiates between dominant discourses (such as the US-backed Commonwealth government) or beyond the consensus ruling the arts ("art for art's sake"). We may also add that following Said's theory in general intellectuals are secular critics.

The ability to negotiate between contending forces (in this case, proletarian literature versus "art for art's sake") can also be seen in Lopez's essays, which support freedom of thought and even "art for art's sake" but not at the expense of the needs of the working class. It can also be seen in Lopez's suggestion that capitalism should, and can, work with social welfare to ensure the protection of rights of the working class (to which proletarian literature is dedicated) while not diminishing the benefits of the former. Finally, it can also be seen in Lopez's renewed call for proletarian literature but not at the expense of the writer's freedom, which should include appreciation of texts from other nations.

Changes in one's milieu may encourage a secular critic to re-assess his previous views. In Lopez's case, it meant renewing the call for proletarian literature but also bearing in mind significant changes that had taken place in the Philippines, including worsening crises in education and in politics.

Given these three points, we offer the following response to the "Lopez question": Lopez is a secular critic, which explains why he is both a "liberal imperialist" and a "father"

of the "proletarian trend." He is not a "sellout" or an "ideal" for Philippine postcolonial criticism; rather, he is an intellectual who has to negotiate with dominant discourses in order to publish views that may be outside the consensus ruling the arts. His social position and the diversity of ideas found in *Literature and Society* express the contradictoriness not only of a secular critic but also of the world in which he operates. Thus, any assessment that promotes an "either-or" view of a critic (e.g., he either works for dominant discourses or against them) becomes flawed because it is not grounded on the phenomenon that the critic and his text are and will remain part of and react to a contrapuntal—and changing—world.

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PARAPHRASING EUROPE: TRANSLATION IN CONTEMPORARY FILIPINO HISTORY

Portia L. Reyes
National University of Singapore
reyes.portia@hotmail.com

Ramon Guillermo
University of the Philippines (Diliman)
bomen.guillermo@gmail.com

Abstract
This paper studies three annotated translations into Filipino that have been inspired by the controversial historiographical movement called *Pantayong Pananaw* (from us-for us perspective), which argued for the use of the national language in academic study: San Agustin's 1720 letter (by Dedina Lapar), Canseco's 1897 account of Cavite during the Philippine Revolution (by Rhommel Hernandez), and Marx and Engel's 1848 *Communist Manifesto* (by Zeus Salazar). In seeking to understand the translational practices that assist in the production and institutionalization of knowledge today, we ask: what transpires in the Filipinization of an account? In which way is translation significant to indigenization of knowledge? How is indigenization illustrated in translation? What uses do notes and annotations have in translation? On the one hand, foreign sources and theory can be appropriated in historiography through translation as it liberates foreign knowledge for use and application in the Filipino setting. Annotations, on the other hand, examine and validate the translated texts within the realities of Philippine culture.

Keywords
explanatory translation, critical edition, *Pantayong Pananaw* (PP)

About the authors
Portia L. Reyes is a faculty member of the Department of History at the National University of Singapore. Her research interests include Philippine history and historiography, German hermeneutics, and Southeast Asian studies.

Ramon Guillermo is an Associate Professor at the Department of Filipino and Philippine Literature, University of the Philippines in Diliman. He received his undergraduate and graduate degrees from the University of the Philippines and the University of Hamburg, Germany. He is the author of two books, *Pook at Paninindigan: Kritika ng Pantayong Pananaw* (U of the Philippines P, 2009) and *Translation and Revolution: A Study of Jose Rizal's Guillermo Tell* (Ateneo de Manila UP, 2009). He was awarded the Asian Public Intellectual Fellowship (2009) by the Nippon Foundation.

Authors' note
This essay is based on a paper read at the Seventh Annual Graduate Student Symposium, "Translation and the Production of Knowledge in Southeast Asia," at Cornell University on April 15-17, 2005. We are grateful to Jamie S. Davidson and Lily Mendoza for reading and commenting on earlier versions of the work. However, we are responsible for the essay's ensuing mistakes.

Selbst bei dem hoffnungslos scheinenden Verlustgeschäft des Übersetzens gibt es nicht nur ein Mehr oder Weniger an Verlust, es gibt auch mitunter so etwas wie Gewinn, mindestens einen Interpretationsgewinn, einen Zuwachs an Deutlichkeit und mitunter auch an Eindeutigkeit, wo dies ein Gewinn ist.

Even in what appears to be a hopelessly unprofitable business of translation, there is not just a more or less loss. With it, there is also some gain, at least a gain of interpretation, entailing a win in intelligibility that also includes clarity, wherein profit lies.

- Hans-Georg Gadamer, 1989

INTRODUCTION

What transpires in translation has hardly been a serious concern among Filipinos. Having been colonized by different foreign speakers for more than three hundred and fifty years, many are resigned to accept translation as a mechanical—and often exasperating—procedure whose aim is to communicate a message to a speaking/writing counterpart. In the Philippines, the dominant mode of translation occurs from Spanish to English. The Filipino vernacular is typically left out of this equation.

Recently, this norm has undergone change, however. Forging an alternative path by privileging Filipino as the target language, these works characteristically devote significant space to the translator's analysis of and annotations to the source text. Seen in this light, this article scrutinizes three examples of this nascent shift to Filipino translation: 1) Dedina Lapar's Fray Gaspar de San Agustin's 1720 letter about Filipinos; 2) Rhommel Hernandez's Telesforo Canseco's 1897 account of Cavite during the Philippine Revolution; and 3) Zeus Salazar's translation of Marx and Engel's 1848 Manifesto of the Communist Party. Produced to shed light on the discourse surrounding materials and critical philosophy in history-writing, these three translations have been inspired by the controversial historiographical movement called *Pantayong Pananaw* (from us-for us perspective, PP).

Starting in the 1980s, PP has steadily gained influence as a significant historiographical practice and movement. Publication of its journal *Bagong Kasaysayan* (new history, BK) and the frequency of its seminars are illustrative. Though the increasing participation of scholars from the various social science and humanities disciplines have

introduced a growing plurality of opinions on the substance and direction of PP, its theoretical foundation which provided the initial impetus and inspiration for PP as an intellectual movement came from the hand of the University of the Philippines historian Zeus Salazar.

Salazar's ideas regarding PP germinated over many decades of teaching and history-writing. Its first preliminary articulations took shape in essays written in the late 1960s upon Salazar's return home after a lengthy period of study in Europe. Aside from developing distinctive and often controversial nationalist reinterpretations of Philippine history, his contributions must also be understood within the context of efforts to propagate the intellectualization and use of the national language in universities, including at the University of the Philippines (UP). In this way, PP has often been compared with the like-minded *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* (SP) movement in psychology which also pioneered the use of Filipino in research and teaching (see also Enriquez 1995; Enriquez 1990; Salazar 1989; and Sta. Maria). To be sure, many of the ideas behind PP were no doubt influenced by the popular wave of nationalist agitation during the 1960s and 1970s which left deep imprints upon the outlook and engagement of many intellectuals both inside and outside the universities. Salazar's original point of view, however, developed not only as a continuation of this nationalist tradition among intellectuals, but also as a reaction against what he perceived as its shortcomings on the issues of culture and the national language. He thus felt that he had to strongly define his position against the dominant colonial/neo-colonial tradition of scholarship, while also distinguishing himself from the tradition of left-wing nationalism as found in student organizations, trade unions, and peasant organizations in the Philippines. The historical interpretations of such influential writers as Teodoro Agoncillo, Amado Guerrero, and Renato Constantino in fact became canonical for the latter tradition during the Marcos dictatorship (1972-86). Salazar's own ill-fated attempt to propagate his historical perspective through the mechanisms of the state led to the most controversial and troubling phase of his intellectual career as principal writer of the multi-volume history project of the dictatorship entitled *Tadhana* (Destiny) which was published under the name of Marcos (1976).

The immediate period following the downfall of Marcos was characterized by a relatively low-key, though sustained publication of newer writings by Salazar which established PP as the name for the type of historical writing he advocated. It was also during this period that a number of younger scholars, most of them from the UP Department of History, began taking up the cause of PP within the academe. A flurry of publications by Salazar and other like-minded scholars in the Filipino-language journal

Bagong Kasaysayan showed that PP was becoming a real alternative to the "normal" practice of historiography and social science in the Philippines. Aside from the novelty of its interpretations, methods and PP's use of a highly intellectualized Filipino, the fact that it was taking on the form of a collective effort also differentiated it from the usual mode of intellectual production in the Philippine academe. The latter is generally characterized by a paucity of intellectual exchange and is almost exclusively focused on the sporadic publication of books by scholars working individually. The development of a loose community of scholars committed to developing social scientific languages in Filipino with increasingly overlapping domains of shared discourse contributed in no small measure towards giving a new vitality to what would otherwise have been a lonely and difficult project. PP has undoubtedly served as an important impetus in contemporary efforts to encourage the development of Philippine social scientific discourses in the national language.

Given the longstanding reluctance of the Philippine state to pursue and implement the constitutional substance of the national language policy in the face of local opposition by some sectors of the political elite and what it views as the economic exigencies of globalization, PP undertakes what in Gramsci's terms would be called a "war of position" or struggle for hegemony in the propagation of the national language. We take a look at examples of how this struggle is being waged as we study the aforementioned annotated translations of San Agustin's 1720 letter by Dedina Lapar; Canseco's 1897 account of the Philippine Revolution by Rhommel Hernandez; and Marx and Engel's 1848 *Communist Manifesto* by Zeus Salazar. We grapple with the translational practices which assist in production and institutionalization of knowledge today. We ask questions like: what transpires in the Filipinization of an account? In which way is translation significant to indigenization of knowledge? How is indigenization illustrated in translation? What uses do notes and annotations have in translation?

Some answers are provided in the two main divisions that comprise the body of this essay. While focusing on the works of Lapar and Hernandez, the first part delves into how translation has been conceptualized in contemporary historiography. Here translation converges with a campaign to promote document discourse and criticism in history-writing; and turns into a tool for clarifying symbols and significations to an intended audience. We will show how the translated texts are interspersed with notes and annotations, which comprise fragments of side narratives and meanings that continually intervene in the translation. It is in these disturbances where the strength of the annotated translations lies. As an enriched context for the translated text, the intervening notes or fragments of

meanings are essentially discontinuities that beg of a reader's completion. Therewith is a reader equally guided and empowered to interpret a translation according to her/his own volition.

The second part analyzes the annotated translation of the *Communist Manifesto* by the PP pioneer Zeus Salazar. The practice of translation is illustrated in this segment. We take a look at how Salazar translates and deals with what he perceives as untranslatable concepts in the text. Annotations convey such untranslatability, relaying the refusal of the translator to smoothly integrate so-called foreign ideas into his language of preference. As such, the untranslatability of concepts is emphasized even as the selfsame untranslatables are accordingly translated. At this juncture readers are informed not only of the intentions of the author of the original text but the goals of the translator as well. It is in what Walter Benjamin terms as the "royal robe with ample folds" (75) of, in this instance, the Filipino language that Salazar envelops the original content of the *Communist Manifesto*. He displaces the original in the target text and articulates therewith the advantage of the target tongue vis-à-vis the source language.

DISCURSIVE DOCUMENT

As PP began ascending as a dominant trend in Filipino historiography in the 1990s, it served as both the method and critical philosophy behind a number of new studies. Two of the most provocative were: Lapar's *Ang Liham ni Fray Gaspar de San Agustin: Isang Mapanuring Pamamatnugot* and Hernandez's *Mapanuring Paglilimbag: Isang Pagsasalin at Pagsusuri ng Historia de la Ensurrecíon Filipina en Cavite (Kasaysayan ng Himagsikang Filipino sa Cavite) ni Don Telesforo Canseco, 1897*. In a move to establish documentary discourse as a legitimate historiographical exercise, Lapar and Hernandez analyzed and translated two important sources of the country's history. Lapar tackled a controversial, eighteenth century letter by a long-time Augustinian priest in the Philippines to a friend in Spain about the nature of the Filipino personality; and Hernandez, an eyewitness account of the outbreak of the 1896 Philippine Revolution by a caretaker of a Dominican-owned plantation in Cavite, a province south of Manila.

Hernandez interrogated a rare, first-hand narrative of the war for independence, adding to the retinue of primary sources on this pivotal event in national history. His translated account diverged from earlier published sources that tended to dwell either on the politics between the warring parties of Filipinos and Spaniards or the feuding

camps of *Magdalo* and *Magdiwang* (represented by leaders Emilio Aguinaldo and Andres Bonifacio respectively) among the members of the independence movement *Kataastaasang Kagalang-galangang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan* (Greatest, Most Venerable Union of the Children of the Land). Having been a non-combatant and an intermittent prisoner of the revolutionaries, the plantation (*hacienda*) caretaker (*inquilino*) Canseco has provided rare data about the atrocities and abuse committed by Filipino freedom fighters on imprisoned friars and collaborators. Further, it has given insights on the views of the inevitably implicated elite class, represented by the narrative's author and his family, during the people's revolution.

Accustomed to distrust the poor, the elite tended to turn to the friars for enlightenment and security in the islands. Canseco has not proven to be different. His account is essentially a report to his Dominican benefactors and employers in Cavite. From 1897, the original booklets (*cuadernos*) have remained under the care of the leader of the Dominican order in Manila. Eleven years later, the booklets were handed over to the friar-archivist Malumbres, who, in turn, arranged the report into a manuscript (Hernandez 21). He added a short introduction about Canseco, and then attached the original contents of the booklets that consisted of a prologue, twenty-two chapters, and a post scriptum. Only three copies of this version of the account exist: one at the Dominican archives in Avila; and two (microfiche) transcribed versions at the Dominican archives of the University of Santo Tomas and at the Rizal Library of the Ateneo University in Manila. Portions of the transcribed versions were later used in a few influential books on both the history of Catholicism in the Philippines and the revolution.

Hernandez had to acquire a photocopy of the Malumbres version of the Canseco account from Spain before he could proceed with its translation and annotation. He produced a book of 295 pages, consisting of 43 pages of document interrogation and 252 pages of transcription, translation, and notes. Hernandez called his historiographical work *mapanuring pamamatnugot* (critical edition). He was following Dedina Lapar's example six years prior.

Lapar also had to request first a copy of San Agustin's controversial sixty-one page letter from the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library in Chicago (Lapar 63) which he attached as an appendix to his study. More than half of Lapar's 245-page volume was devoted to analysis: a 162 pages of interrogation versus 59 pages of transcription and translation, and 16 pages of notes. Long-running debates on the document under scrutiny lent itself to such a lengthy analysis. Before San Agustin's 1720 letter became publicly known, most Spaniards viewed Filipinos positively. Pioneering accounts by Pedro Chirino

(1890), Antonio de Morga (1962), and Francisco Colin (1900-2) featured the archipelago's inhabitants with a modicum of respect of their culture. In contrast, San Agustin's account served to contribute in reversing this trend.

Written to oppose the ordination of Filipinos and the secularization of local parishes, San Agustin's letter illustrated the inhabitants as devoid of meritorious character and of any capacity for development. Through the lens of the medieval philosophy of Galen on the so-called four "humores" that influenced a person's disposition (Lapar 92-3) and the perceived lunar and stellar constellation in Philippine skies, San Agustin depicted the Filipino (or more precisely, "the Tagalog") people as naturally evil, barbaric, slothful, stupid, and the only language they understood were beatings with a cane. Because of San Agustin's forty years of experience on the islands, his account was taken to heart by most of his colleagues and Lapar shows his influence on succeeding scholars. In 1738 Fray Juan Francisco de San Antonio, seconded by Fray Murillo Velarde, quoted San Agustin's letter to demonstrate the simple-mindedness of the Filipino in his *Cronicas de la Apostolica Provincia* (Lapar 65-7). In 1779, eleven years after his travels in the Philippines, the Frenchman Guillaume Le Gentil de la Gelaisiere also cited San Agustin to showcase the Filipino's purported idiocy. Fray Joaquin Martinez de Zuñiga followed this example in 1800. Forty-two years later Sinilbado de Mas used San Agustin's letter to show the evil physical and moral character of Filipinos. Finally, the same document was applied by the Englishman John Bowring in 1859 to support his derogatory claims of Filipinos.

Not all scholars agreed with San Agustin's assertions, however. Lapar also cites scholars who contradicted his observations, these scholars included the Jesuit friar Juan Jose Delgado in his 1754 *Historia General*; the *ilustrado* economist Gregorio Sanciano in his 1881 *El Progreso de Filipinas*; and the national hero Jose Rizal in his 1890 *Sobre la Indolencia de los Filipinos*. Additionally, in the twentieth century, historians like Pedro Paterno, Horacio de la Costa, John Schumacher, and Luciano Santiago discussed San Agustin's letter in their expositions. In all, there is little doubt that the document has been influential throughout the history of Philippine historiography.

Lapar continued this debate, and investigated the controversial text through the historiographical technique of critical edition. By demystifying the Spanish imprint on and undermining the inevitability of the European subject in the Philippines' past, Lapar (seconded by Hernandez) contributed in laying the groundwork for future PP historians to construct what they considered a significant narrative (*kasaysayan* or *salaysay na may saysay*) for Filipinos (Lapar 6; Hernandez 3).

SITUATING CRITICAL EDITION

Lapar and Hernandez divide Philippine *edition* scholarship into four categories. The first refers to editions in Spanish, pioneered by missionaries who reported on happenings in the islands to their religious orders in Spain. Filipinos and non-missionary Spaniards furthered this tradition, whose breadth allows Lapar to sub-divide the category into: a) editions of a document written in Spanish by a Spaniard, b) those written in Spanish by a Filipino, and c) those written in a Filipino-language by a Spaniard. For Lapar, the first and third subdivisions display a distancing *pansilang pananaw* (for-them perspective) that sharpens distinctions between a narrator and putatively foreign subject. Ultimately, the latter is only redeemed if it becomes understandable to the former's I/eye.

The for-them perspective in reverse—Lapar's second sub-category (29-36)—informs such preeminent Filipino propagandists' annotations as Jose Rizal's 1890 work on Antonio de Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*. By defending his countrymen from Morga's critical colonial eye, Rizal deploys a similar distancing perspective Spaniards used. In this context, however, the vantage point is transformed into a *pangkaming pananaw* (for-us perspective). *Pangkaming pananaw* is a reactive stance of one group against another, although both are components of a wider cultural milieu. Quarreling siblings would be an apt analogy.

Lapar's second category of editions, those done in English, like the Spanish accounts before them reported on the islands and inhabitants to home audiences. In this way, these narratives feature a similar *pansilang pananaw*. Foreigners and a few Filipino intellectuals discuss documents on the Philippines in English, thereby excluding ordinary Filipinos from any meaningful dialogue. In contrast to past practice, however, these annotations doubled as translations, for the original Spanish-language texts required repackaging and explanation as they were transformed into English. This practice but reflects the transfer of colonial power in the archipelago from Spaniards to Americans at the turn of the twentieth century. Accordingly, Americans initiated new policies in governance and education, bringing an American way of life to bear on the country. Tellingly, English became the primary medium of exchange.

Embodying this linguistic turn, Lapar's third category features editions done by Filipinos about Filipinos in English. And like Rizal before them, these authors exhibit a reactionary and defensive *pangkaming pananaw* in their texts. Examples of this category include some of the country's preeminent scholars, like Alzona, Zaide, and Agoncillo. To assist (or even surpass) their American mentors in the preservation and publication of historical material, starting in the 1960s, these luminaries copiously translated and

published works by nineteenth-century Filipino propagandists. Such private organizations as the Filipiniana Book Guild and Historical Conservation Society lent great financial and material support to what was essentially a nationalist campaign. Still, these edited translations were all done in English, the language of colonization. By continuing to report and explain the archipelago and its peoples through documentary sources to an English speaking audience, these authors unwittingly prevented the rise of a truly meaningful discourse with the majority of the people in the country, that is, Filipino-speakers.

Comprised of works for and about Filipinos *in* Filipino, Lapar's fourth and final category aims to resolve this impasse. Exemplary are most of Rizal's Spanish-language works. His famous *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo* novels were translated and published in a bid to preserve nationalist writings and exhibit the Philippines as a sovereign nation. This *ilustrado*-centric fascination, however, was slowly undone by a broadening of discussions and themes in national history. In essence, a democratization of history was unfolding.

Inspired by PP, this charge was taken up in the 1990s, most notably by Lapar, then by Rhommel Hernandez. Hernandez drew heavily from Lapar's model, bringing his fourth category up-to-date, and redefined it to encompass editions of (all) foreign and Filipino language-sources in Filipino. Crucially, in relation to his scrutinized document, Hernandez presented a seemingly exhaustive interrogation of other edited eye-witness accounts of the Philippine Revolution. He analyzed their origin, which concerned their period, context, mode of data collection, and author's status. He then classified their contents before finally categorizing their goals as eye-witness narratives (Hernandez 26-30). With this procedure, Hernandez was able to distinguish the uniqueness that the document under his examination has to offer. He concluded that

> *Kung tutuusin, nagbibigay si Canseco ng isang pananaw na tila matagal nang nalimot ng historiyograpiya ng Himagsikan. Ang pananaw na ito ay ang pananaw ng mga taong naka-gitna sa pingkian ng Sistemang Kolonyal at ng Katipunan … Isa lamang taong hindi pormal (hindi Opisyal ng Hukbong Kastila, hindi fraile bagamat maka-fraile at hindi rin Katipunero) na nakakabit sa alinmang politikal na kaayusan noon ang makagagawa nito.*
>
> Upon consideration, Canseco offers a view that seems to be long neglected in the historiography of the Revolution. This perspective embodies that of a person, who lies in the middle of the clash between the Colonial System and

> the *Katipunan* … Only a person, who is formally (not an Official of the Spanish Forces, not a friar although a pro-friar and not a member of the *Katipunan*) unassociated with any political order then can accomplish this.

This does not mean, continued Hernandez, that Canseco did not show any preference between feuding revolutionary leaders Andres Bonifacio and Emilio Aguinaldo. In fact, Canseco tended to favor the latter in his account; not because Aguinaldo was a fellow native of Cavite or because Canseco supported the Aguinaldo faction in the *Katipunan*. According to Hernandez, Canseco preferred Aguinaldo for, like him, this revolutionary leader seemed to revere the friars (35). Canseco's love for the friars, Hernandez surmised, was brought about by his early orphanage and long years of education and service at the Cavite plantation of the Dominican order. Canseco naturally assumed the friars' attitude towards religion and subsequently, their disdain towards Filipinos and the Revolution as well. Hernandez summed up Canseco's personality as:

> *Relihiyoso siya, malapit sa Simbahan lalu na sa mga fraile. Laban siya sa Himagsikan at may kaunting hinanakit sa mga Kastila dahilan sa hindi kaagad pagsugpo ng mga ito sa pag-aalsa. Labas din sa kaniyang Historia na wala siyang tiwala sa kaniyang kapwa Pilipino. Masama rin ang himagsikan sa kaniya dahil ito ay binubuo ng mababababang uri ng tao.* (21)

> He is religious, devoted to the Church especially to the friars. He is against the Revolution and holds a small grudge against the Spaniards due to their lateness in putting down the uprising. It is also evident in his *Historia* that he does not trust his fellow Filipinos. For him, the revolution is also evil because it is being held through the subordinate class of people.

Canseco's contempt for the poor was not entirely surprising. As a caretaker of a Dominican-owned plantation, Canseco internalized his masters' arrogance and their superior place in the colonial system.

This haughtiness resonated friar San Agustin's arrogance in his letter to a friend almost two hundred years earlier. In this mail San Agustin unwaveringly put Spaniards above and beyond the reach of Filipinos, who were, in turn, purported to be naturally subordinate and incapable of self-betterment. For Lapar, this document was

> *isang halimbawa ng makasarili at anti-Pilipinong karakter ng mga Kastilang kolonyalista sa kasaysayan ng Pilipinas. Kagaya ng lahi at kapwa niya Kastila, ipinagpatuloy at pinalawak pa ni San Agustin ang mababa at negatibong pagtingin ng mga banyaga sa Pilipino. Dahil siya ay hindi bihasa sa wika at kulturang Kastila, ang Pilipino ay minaltrato, sinaktan, at siniraan ng puri sa salaysay ng Kastila. Mataas ang tingin ng Kastila sa sarili niya at dahil dito, siya ay dapat pagsilbihan, huwag kontrahin at hindi dapat pantayan ng Pilipinong "tinawag" niyang "Indio."* (139-40)
>
> an example that showcases the selfish and anti-Filipino character of the Spanish colonizers in the history of the Philippines. Like (what) his race and fellow Spaniards (did), San Agustin continued and further incited the low and negative view of foreigners against a Filipino. Because s/he could not master the Spanish language and culture, a Filipino was abused, hurt and slandered in the Spanish narrative. As the Spaniard saw her/himself higher, s/he should be served, not contradicted and not to be equaled by any Filipino, whom s/he "called" (Dummy) "Indio."

While San Agustin's letter sparked some two centuries of controversy, it was only Lapar who connected the letter to the legacy of Spanish *racism* in the Philippines. Lapar repeatedly points out racist comments made by the friar. Illustrative was his assertion that the people's fish diet led to their disinterest in work; that Filipinos never voluntarily returned incurred monetary debts, and that they never respected the decorum of silence in the churches. In other words, the Filipino was absolutely incapable of aspiring to the ideal, that is, a Spaniard. He compared a Filipino to a fairy-tale cat, which was transformed into a beautiful woman but ultimately behaved as a feline nonetheless. No amount of training apparently mattered to a Filipino. S/he still broke crystals, woke up too early, untidily folded a winter cape, and asked too many personal questions. S/he was gossipy, coarse, and insolent (*curiosos, inurbanos e impertinentes*) (Lapar 171), besides being changeable, malicious, suspicious, sleepy, and stupid (*inconstantes, maliciosos, descomfiados, dormilones, perezosos*) (168).

In her notes, Lapar countered by negating San Agustin's discriminatory remarks against Filipinos. She alternately associated their supposed faults to most cultures and so, not unique to Filipinos alone; or used historical analogy to put San Agustin's accusations in their proper place. For example, in reply to San Agustin's attack on a Filipino's believed habit of scratching her/his head while talking to a friar, Lapar said:

> *Ang pagkakamot at pagkabalisa ng Pilipino tuwing kaharap ang Kastila ay maaaring ipaliwanag sa konteksto ng kolonyal na sitwasyon. Hindi alam ng katutubo kung sino ang dapat sundin. Nahihila sila sa magkasalungat na direksyon ng makabago at sinaunang kultura. Ang kolonyal na pagkalito ay hindi ganap na mauunawaan ng mga mananakop na Kastila.* (225)
>
> The scratching and anxiousness of a Filipino in the face of a Spaniard could be explained in the context of the colonial situation. The native does not know whom to follow. S/he is torn between the opposing pulls of the new and early culture. Colonial confusion could never be completely comprehended by Spanish colonizers.

Variedly, Lapar annotated San Agustin's derogatory observations with: *"Hindi ito katangi-tangi sa Pilipino. Maaaring makita sa ibang grupo ng tao."* (This is not unique to the Filipino. [This trait] could be seen in other groups of people) (225). Lapar insisted that the Filipino culture should not be compared with that of the Spaniards, insinuating that the former merited a study on its own. She poked at San Agustin's self-positioning as a knowledgeable religious by either correcting or questioning the sources of his Latin quotations. In all, the strength Lapar's annotations lay in her repeated use of *hindi* (not, no) and *wala* (none, no). She contradicted and destabilized San Agustin, thereby exposing how he "abused, hurt, and slandered" (*minaltrato, sinaktan, at siniraan ng puri*) the personhood of Filipinos in his narrative.

Indeed the Spaniards and their Filipino elite collaborators have frequently injured Filipinos in their histories. In his account of the revolution, Canseco has also displayed this tendency. He intermittently viewed the revolutionaries as either disturbers of the peace or personifications of evil. Canseco was bitterly disappointed with the townspeople (*la gente del pueblo*), who thrived and took advantage of the chaos brought about by the revolution. In Canseco's text they were reprimanded like children for violating the colonial order but also eventually praised for wishing the general restoration of peace. Canseco took the role of the colonizer, even as he personified the epitome of the colonized. In his account he conveyed a code of equation between submission and domination in the colonial system. Essentially, he relayed that his authority over the townspeople was a reward for his compliance to the colonial masters of the archipelago. As such Canseco unwittingly absolved the colonizer of the burden of colonization and revamped the image of colonial Philippines to represent a system of rewards and punishment that the colonized should

constantly heed.

The colonized have taken arms against this imposition, however. Hernandez illuminated on this event in his notes, therewith intervening Canseco's Spanish account with Filipino narratives. Thirteen biographies of Filipino revolutionaries were incorporated as annotations. Moreover, Hernandez introduced what he perceived as Filipino significations to Canseco's pro-Spanish perspective. For example, to counter Canseco's belittling remark on the Filipino revolutionaries' tendency to rely on amulets or charms, he wrote

> *Isang laganap na paniniwala ang paggamit ng anting-anting sa Himagsikan. Si Santiago Alvarez, mismo, sa kaniyang memoirs ay nagpakilala sa isang nagngangalang Eusebio Di-Mabunggo na nagbibigay ng maliliit na piraso ng puting papel sa mga Katipunero upang kainin at ipag-adya sila mula sa mga bala ng kalaban. May ibang paraan din ng pagkuha ng anting-anting … Sa alinmang uri ay kailangan naman ang isang malinis na kalooban ng gumagamit upang matiyak ang bisa nito sa labanan.* (167)
>
> The use of charms was a prevalent practice among the revolutionaries. Santiago Alvarez himself, in his memoirs, talked about somebody called Eusebio Di-Mabunggo, who gave members of the Katipunan small pieces of white paper that should be ingested in order to be invulnerable to the enemy's bullets. There were also other means of securing charms … In whichever way, it was necessary that a user had a pure heart so that her/his charm could work during battles.

Hernandez called attention to Canseco's routine misunderstanding of Filipinos and the revolution. He noted, "*Makikita pa rin dito ang masamang pagtingin ni Canseco sa mga naghihimagsik"* (Here we again witness Canseco's bad image of the revolutionaries) (145), and so, signaled that Canseco's significations were dominant vis-à-vis those of Filipinos in the document under scrutiny. For Hernandez, there were two parallel meanings existing within the text—the prevailing viewpoint of Canseco and the overridden mindset of the Filipino fighters. Hernandez pursued to resolve this imbalance by interceding for the revolutionaries and their world view; and ultimately, by re-presenting Canseco's Spanish account in Filipino. Hernandez therewith liberated a document from its foreignness and offered it to the Filipino-reading public for its own taking.

In sum, with their categorization, Lapar and Hernandez firmly established the history of critical edition in the Philippines. They have shown an attention to detail and

documentation that has characterized PP-inspired works. Importantly, they have elevated the discourse around a document as an essential part of translation in the new Filipino historiography. In their annotations, Lapar and Hernandez have put across fragments of other narratives that intervened with the smooth flow of the text under their scrutiny. What these fragments have accomplished was to introduce discontinuities, which heartened readers to think beyond the Spanish meanings overtly relayed in the documents and contemplate on the other (namely, Filipino) undermined significations therein.

PRIVILEGING A LANGUAGE

That Lapar and Hernandez wrote in the national language indicates a people-centered ideology and allegiance to PP in their work. They translated foreign sources so they can be used by Filipinos, scholars and non-scholars alike. Such a method drains elitism from historiography by making it more accessible to the masses. It promotes dialogue and participation. Lapar thinks that her work will be understandable (*makabuluhan*), just as Hernandez believes that his work will make more sense (*may saysay*) to Filipinos. This is because between English and Filipino, the latter still unmistakably prevails as a language of comprehension and expression among most of the country's population. As such, the use of Filipino in history implies an author's desire to communicate with and sensitivity to her/his domestic audience.

Their translations underscore this intention. In their works, Lapar and Hernandez prioritize communicative translation over its semantic counterpart. The former aims to stimulate similar effects among readers in a target language as it would do in a source language. In contrast, semantic translation, according to Newmark, seeks to follow literally the semantic and syntactic structures a target language allows (38-89). Compared to communicative translation, semantic translation maintains a stricter adherence to the interrelations of signs in a source language. It assists readers in a target language only to the extent that they can understand the text's original message, whereas communicative translation's assiduity lies with readers in a target language.

In the target text Lapar repeatedly uses Filipino concepts that illustrates but not necessarily equates with the Spanish words in the source text. She translates San Agustin's *"ingratitud"* (ingratitude) with *kawalan ng utang na loob* (lack of debt of the internal). For Filipinos, *kawalan ng utang na loob* is a serious accusation that nearly amounts to absence of personhood. A derivative of highly complex word *loob* (roughly translating to either

internal, inside, heart), *utang na loob* means

> *pagkilala sa kagandahang-loob na ipinakita ng kapwa; malalim na pananagutan bunga ng isang pabuya o biyaya ng ipinagkaloob sa isang nangangailangan, lalo na sa panahon ng kagipitan na sa mata ng tumatanggap ay hindi mababayaran; pagtanaw sa pakitang-loob o pagdamay ng isang kapwa at tahimik na paghahandang magpakitang-loob din sa ibang paraan sa tamang panahon; pagkakatali sa taong nagbigay ng pabuya.* (Alejo 156-57)
>
> recognition of the goodness of the heart that a fellowman has shown; deep commitment to a benefactor, whose donation or reward was given during the time of need hence unreturnable to a beneficiary; appreciation of the gratitude and consolation that a fellowman has shown and a silent readiness to return the favor in other ways at an appropriate hour; attachment to a person, who contributed.

When one has no *utang na loob*, then one ceases to be an upstanding party in a social relation. S/he either becomes a lowly, or an other, who is considered as an outsider in the society's system of values and orientation. Hence, with Lapar's use of *kawalan ng utang na loob* in the target text, Filipino readers are offered with interpretations that are particularly meaningful to them as a specific group.

Indeed Lapar shows thoughtful consideration to her audience's reception of her translated text. She equates San Agustin's *"porque luego por solo el contacto Phisico, le desconciertan, quiebran y descomponen"* with *"dahil saglit lamang na madaplisan ang mga ito ng daliri nila ay natataranta sila at nababasag ito"* (175). What is interesting in this equation is that in the Spanish original discomfiture and breakage of glass are caused by any physical contact; in the translation, by a fleeting touch of a finger. The phrase "physical contact" cannot be appropriated easily in the target text because it would translate to *ugnayang pisikal*, which corresponds with "physical intimacy" in Filipino. To avoid relaying this incorrect meaning, hence, Lapar resorts to specification in her translation. She describes what she thought to be the appropriate physical contact (touch of a finger) that could be meaningful in Filipino: a situation of being rattled or breaking fragile items. What this entails is that when Lapar translates, she also draws a new context that makes her text more meaningful to an intended audience. Instead of a replication, hence, she produces a re-presentation (*Darstellung*) of San Agustin's account in Filipino. We argue that such a re-presentation is distinguished with a privileging of the target language in the translation equation and a marked consideration of the translation to reception of a text among an

audience.

Hernandez follows a similar tract in his translation. He also describes; and so, re-presents a holistic version of his source text, Canseco's account of the Philippine Revolution, in Filipino. Hernandez displays therewith a good grasp not only of nineteenth century Spanish, but importantly, of rhetoric, contemporary writing in the national language. A good example of this is his translation of Canseco's "*Era un jugador perdido*" (He is a losing gambler.) with "*Siya ay isang talunang sugarol*" (He is a defeated gambler) (76, 78). The translation brings to mind a number of images. In Filipino a *talunang sugarol* is a person or a personality trait, associated with chronic addiction to gambling, misfortune and irresponsibility. A *talunang sugarol* is defeated in the games and, figuratively, in the battle with the addiction as well.

It should be noted, however, that Hernandez's translation is not entirely rhetorical. He also transliterates, pursuing to semantically match his Filipino target text with the Spanish source text. For example, he corresponds

> *encontramos que todas la calles, todas las casas y la plaza del pueblo estaban llenas de gente de los pueblos cercanos a Imus que, juyendo de la guerra se dirigian hacia Maragondon, hablando cada cual de la guerra en tonos muy tristes.* (222)

with

> *Natagpuan namin na ang lahat ng kalye, lahat ng bahay at ang liwasan ng bayan ay puno ng taong mula sa mga bayan sa paligid ng Imus. Tumakas sila mula sa digmaan at nagtungo sa Maragondon na bawat oras ay nagkukuwento tungkol dito sa mga tonong labis na nakalulungkot.* (223)

Transliteration is evident in the second sentence of the translation. In English, this would have read: "They fled the war and went to Maragondon with every hour narrating about this in a very saddening tone." There are naturally several ways to correct the translation in Filipino. The sentence could be divided into two: *Tumakas sila mula sa digmaan at nagtungo sa Maragondon. Bawat oras nagkukuwento sila hinggil sa giyera sa nakalulungkot na tono* (They fled the war and went to Maragondon. Every hour they spoke of the war in a very saddening tone).

Literal translation could also be observed in Hernandez's habit of using the Filipino auxiliary verb '*ay*' to equate with the Spanish '*ser*' throughout his text. This is a writing

pattern that a number of Filipinos came to internalize due to imposition of some aspects of the language engineering program by the Marcos Regime. In correspondence with the English help verb 'to be,' '*ay*' is designed to assist Filipinos in speaking and writing formally. Just like English language-speakers. Although this imposition has not been successful orally, it has been effective in written speech. What has transpired, hence, has been a divide between oral and literary forms of communication. Writers today are still pursuing a resolution of this impasse by minimizing the use of the said auxiliary verb in their works.

Hernandez's intermittent literal translation does not tarnish what his work accomplished, however. A primary source on the Philippine Revolution has been published, enriching available literature on a pivotal event in the country's history. Hernandez's translation shows a thoughtful consideration to apt use of Filipino concepts, while not necessarily sacrificing consistency with the original Spanish account. His product is a re-presentation of the original, a narrative in Filipino that supports an academic tradition in the national speech and not in (the now traditional) purportedly more intellectual English.

Behind the privileging of Filipino by Lapar and Hernandez lies their acquiescence to what in PP is called *pook* (location, space, standpoint) and *materya* (materials) of knowledge construction and institutionalization. *Pook* connotes a dual reference. It is both the point where a culture or civilization of a particular period stands and one's place in that spatio-temporal continuum. It is from *pook* that one explains and understands oneself through the use of *materya*. *Materya* can run from language and memory to material culture. For a scholar, it pertains to his/her synchronic view of an available reservoir of knowledge and understanding of history and culture across time. *Pook*, used in conjunction with its *materya*, brings about narration. Salazar, in a lecture entitled "Pagsasakatubo ng Teorya: Posible ba o Hindi?" names narration as *pook's* concrete manifestation of itself, its dominant present in the face of its past. A historian at the same time possesses and functions as *pook* in the practice of history; *pook* constitutes her/his being that gives shape to a narrative, through which *pook* takes form through the body of text and its language.

For PP, a historian's *pook* is intimately related to the Filipino people, culture, geography, history, and so on. Their location in this cultural milieu determines her/his motivation and goals; it influences the course and language of her/his work and expression. Because s/he communicates with Filipinos, their language must be prioritized in her/his text. Language is what bonds a historian to the people, communing and facilitating a productive exchange of meanings (*salaysayan nang may saysay*) with her/his Filipino

audience. Matters concerning themselves are discussed using their own concepts and standards in their own language (Salazar "Ang Pantayong Pananaw" 48), encompassed by Filipino in an intelligible yet closed circuit. As conceptual barriers are thereby greatly reduced, understanding among constituents is enhanced. Their own exchange of ideas generates collaborated meanings (*pagpapakahulugan*) of phenomenon that affect (*tumatalab*) their Being.

Privileging Filipino has pitfalls, however. Encouraging ethnocentrism is one (Connor; Horowitz), blinding a people to their misgivings, leading them to sever communication with or even act rashly against opposition. Glorifying a pre-colonial, authentically Filipino past is another. In the end, it can reek of primordialism and risk essentializing Filipinos. Disconcerting for a historian is that it tends to downplay the country's colonial history, which, in fact, requires further engagement, not an ideologically-inspired whitewashing.

While acknowledging these pitfalls, PP proponents have taken measures to prevent their realization. For them, privileging Filipino promotes their wider project of invigorating a collaborative school of Filipino scholars, strengthening a body of academic literature in the national language, and engaging readers in a discourse about themselves. Stimulating a certain amount of nationalist response is viewed positively in the face of constant reminders of incapacity, lack, ineptness, and an innate incapacity to deal with themselves and their surroundings. Rather PP histories strive to represent and shed light on Filipino values, means of coping, variegated ways of living over time. In so doing, readers are informed of the historical basis of their *Dasein* (Being), subliminally encouraging them to again trust themselves to be.

Lapar and Hernandez have given expression to this *Dasein* in their studies. Their translations have appropriated foreign sources, providing fellow historians ready-for-use materials of Filipino history. Moreover, their annotations have proven that outside knowledge can be incorporated into a Filipino discourse. Through a Filipino I/eye in a critical edition, such appropriation and critique emphasized the foreign-ness of an appropriated source while reinforcing Filipino-ness in Filipino culture at the same time. The eye/I recognizes an outside knowledge as a *pansilang pananaw* or *pangkaming pananaw*, and exercised *pantayong pananaw* therewith.

Such tags as *pansilang*, *pangkaming* or *pantayong pananaw* assist in defining the location and reach of Self as the I/eye in a narrative. The Self is the composite that looks back, experiences a present, and imagines (or re-imagines) a future—changing in order to master its environment. Despite these changes, however, a basis continuously characterizes

the Self and shapes the spatiality and temporality of its *Dasein*. The existence of this *Dasein* is attested to in sources of history. Sources account for a people's thoughts, experiences, aspirations, deviations, identity. But sources merely provide details about a nation; sources do not make its history. To constitute a people's history, sources need to be woven into an intelligible narrative. A historian weaves sources into a narrative through her/his preferred philosophy of (change and development in) history. Such a theory organizes facts from historical materials and shape their interpretation and meaning, determining the flow of an exposition. It follows that every theory brings about a different history, for it provides a specific reading of a people's *Dasein* and development. Just as sources, theories of history are tools, which can come from different contexts and cultures. As such, just as the former, the latter needs appropriation and Filipinization in PP.

TRANSLATING MARXISM

This section of the paper will discuss an example of an annotated translation, no longer of a Philippine historical source, but of a work of European thought which is especially significant for the problem of the interpretation and theoretical comprehension of history. This is a particularly interesting case because the work in question, Marx and Engels's *Communist Manifesto*, exerted and continues to exert an influence not only in Philippine historiographical practice but also in the unfolding of history itself in the various peasant and labor movements and organizations.

Initially the most striking aspect of Zeus Salazar's translation of *Manifesto* is its thickness. Though the text of the translation and the original (facsimile of the 1848 edition with captioned pictures added) on facing-pages make up a reasonable one hundred and twelve pages in all, the endnotes added to the translation make up an additional length of 36 pages in smaller type. The total is finally rounded out with a 128-page explanatory essay on the significance of the text in the Filipino historical context. The translation is based on the earliest 1848 edition (Kuczynski) and also does away with Engels's explanatory footnotes to the 1888 English edition which have later been included in succeeding German editions. Curiously, although the UNESCO website devoted to translational statistics lists 222 translations of the *Manifesto* since 1979 up to 2003 in dozens of languages, Salazar's translation does not appear among the entries. It however turns up in the website of the International Institute of Social History (IISH) in Amsterdam as one of the more "exotic" and "rare" among the existing specimens. Indeed, such may well be the general fate of

literary and cultural productions which occur at the boundaries of the Eurocentric vision: either to be ignored or exocitized.

The particular form of this translation by Salazar has here been stressed because of the problem of determining the relationship of the commentary of the translator to what may be considered the translation "itself." Indeed, some theorists of translation object to the inclusion of footnotes or explanatory additions to the text of a translation. Peter Newmark states, for example, that "the text should be self-sufficient" (qtd. in Koller 271). Koller himself, on the contrary, considers the addition of commentary and explanations by the translator as part of the task of translation itself,

> *Geht man von einem alltagssprachlichen und–sachlichen Verständnis der Funktion der Übersetzer aus, nämlich das, was in einer Sprache gesagt ist, Lesern in einer anderen Sprache zu vermitteln, so kann diese Funktion oft nur durch den Einsatz kommentierender Übersetzungsverfahren erfüllt werden, mit denen insbesondere im Fall von 1:0-Entsprechungen (Lücken) oder 1: Teil-Entsprechungen das, was zunächst nicht oder unzulänglich übersetzt werden kann, recht eigentlich übersetzbar gemacht wird.* (267)

> Assuming that one starts out from an everyday and matter of fact understanding of a translator's function, namely that what has been said in one language should be communicated to readers in another language, it often happens that this function can only be fulfilled by employing an *explanatory translation method*. By means of this method, cases where there is a lack of corresponding terms or where there is only a partial correspondence between terms, which at first cannot or can only unsatisfactorily be translated, can be made translatable.

Koller's balanced position seems to be the most reasonable one. So that at least in the particular case here being analyzed, Salazar's footnotes shall be considered as an integral part of the experience of reading the translated text "itself." In other words, the footnotes and extended commentary shall be considered as part of the body of the translated text rather than as some extraneous and dispensable addition. Salazar's comments on particular words/concepts in the *Manifesto* as elaborated in his footnotes and long explanatory essay are particularly indicative of his attitude towards the translation of this particular text, the *Manifesto*, and of translation in general. Salazar's explanatory "re-definition" of the terms "bourgeois" and "proletariat" can serve here as initial examples. He at first reproaches

Marx and Engels for equating "civilization"/"*sibilisasyon*" (*Zivilisation*) with "bourgeois culture" and of then implicitly using both as codes/ciphers for "European culture" in general. According to Salazar,

> *Sa lubos na pagkatuon ng kaisipan sa "Burgis" at sa ekonomiyang pandaigdig na lubusang ipinapalagay na "nilikha" nito, nakaligtaan nina Marx at Engels ang pagkakaiba-iba ng mga sibilisasyon, kabihasnan, kultura, at kalinangan sa daigdig. Bunga nito, ang "sibilisasyon" at "kultura" ay Burgis at hindi Europeo at Ingles o Pranses. Kung gayon, hindi kataka-taka na mga "barbaro" ang Intsik at ang mga "Burgis" (i.e., Europeo) ay "sibilisado."* (119-20)
>
> In their obsession with the idea of the "bourgeois" and the world economy which they think was completely a creation of the former, Marx and Engels overlooked the differences between civilizations, *kabihasanan*, culture and *kalinangan* in the world. Because of this, "civilization" and "culture" became bourgeois and not European, English, or French. Given this, it was not surprising that the Chinese were "barbarians" and the "bourgeois" (i.e. European) was "civilized."

Because of their "obsession" (*lubos na pagkatuon ng isipan*) with the world economy, Marx and Engels simply "overlooked" (*nakaligtaan*) the cultural origins in Europe of the "bourgeoisie." However, the real score, as Salazar sees it, is that the terms "bourgeois," "European," and "civilized" (as serially juxtaposed by Salazar) are actually terms closely related to each other. Salazar then asserts that this series of semi-equivalences give Marx and Engels the opportunity to categorize all non-European cultures as "barbaric" or at best "half-civilized" depending on how "backward" they appear from the European point of view. Though many writers have objected to the Eurocentric and prejudicial use of such words as "civilization" in the *Manifesto* (and also of their appearance in Engels's *Origin of the Family*), the criticism is actually somewhat misplaced. It is well known that *Kultur* and *Zivilisation* are actually very different concepts in the German language, which are sometimes even pitted against one another. There is much evidence to show, especially in their writings on India, that Marx and Engels employed *"Zivilisation"* in its conventional German sense as pertaining only to the level of technical development or "progress." (For instance, the MP3 player can be said to be "more civilized" than the tape recorder. Those still using tape recorders could therefore be dubbed hopeless "barbarians"!) It was

due to this circumstance that the title of Samuel Huntington's well-known book, *Clash of Civilizations* (1996), was translated as *Kampf der Kulturen* (1996) against the author's wishes because *Kampf der Zivilisationen* had a totally different sense. Salazar's charge that the use of this term in the *Manifesto* demonstrates that Marx and Engels were proponents of the usual European sense of cultural superiority does not seem to hold water. They may well have indeed been guilty of such an attitude in their other writings but not because of this particular usage of *"Zivilisation"* in the *Manifesto*. The concept of "technical progress" is certainly not uncontroversial, as Markus has noted, but it has undeniably quite a different sense when compared to the meaning of "civilization" in the English or French languages. A perusal of Marx's studies on pre-capitalist economic formations and Engels's enthusiasm for the anthropological studies of Lewis Henry Morgan would also seem to belie Salazar's speculation in this same endnote that Marx and Engels "especially [*laluna*], knew less than most Europeans of the civilizations and historical processes of different countries and socio-political totalities." Despite having had no direct acquaintance with these matters (unlike their countrymen Georg Forster [1754-1794] or Alexander von Humboldt [1769-1859]), they had at least what may be considered for their time an above average knowledge of "non-European" cultures.

Setting aside the problem of translating *"Zivilisation"* without the connotations of "civilisation" (or of "*sibilisasyon*"), Salazar's main point is that the term "bourgeois" actually refers to/and is a product of "European culture/civilization" except that it is disguised as a purely economic concept. (It may therefore be fitting to write this here as "culture-bourgeoisie" rather than just "bourgeoisie.") This European "culture-bourgeoisie," according to Salazar, provided the conditions necessary within the European context for the subsequent appearance of the what may also be termed the "culture-proletariat" (*Manifesto* 139). "European culture/civilization" therefore produces not only the "culture-bourgeoisie" out of itself but also the antithetical "culture-proletariat" opposing it. These "classes" and the alleged "dialectical contradiction" between them is considered by Salazar to be unique products of the singular development of "European culture/civilization" and therefore can have no meaning/significance outside of it. According to Salazar, "this conflict takes place within European civilization" (*Manifesto* 120). Or to put it in an alternative fashion, these entities could only actually attain universal significance if European culture itself becomes universalized. That is to say, capitalism could only become widespread if the whole world becomes "Protestant"—as Weber argued, or "Jewish" according to Sombart, or whatever the case may be, at least Judaeo-Christian (as Weber and Sombart ironically agree). Given this particular set of assertions, the "replication" of

this "culture-bourgeoisie" and the accompanying "culture-proletariat" in the different parts of the formerly "barbaric" non-Western world can only imply their thoroughgoing "Europeanization" in the sense of finally attaining "civilization." This is only fitting since the "bourgeoisie" and the "proletariat" are conceived of as historically "progressive" classes. Salazar thinks that it is "implicit in the Manifesto that both the bourgeois and the proletariat are rooted/within/originating from the culture, civilization and history of Europe or of the whole 'West' before they are replicated (*mareplika*) in the other parts of the 'barbarian' world" (*Manifesto* 151). This whole conceptual system as formulated by Marx and Engels is therefore revealed by Salazar as being only a particularly rigorous intellectual rationalization of the European "civilizing" mission. By means of this chain of reasoning, Salazar could easily draw the conclusion that the application of these two class labels in the Philippine context would only result in the total theoretical and practical negation of the complex internal cultural dynamic within which actual living, breathing Filipino workers labor. Once Filipino workers are *falsely labeled* as belonging to the "proletarian" classes, they become symbolically caught up in the all-encompassing Eurocentric narrative and, as such, are apprehended as mere passive instruments/victims in the fulfillment of its unrelenting and unstoppable universal project. These universal class concepts of the West only falsely conflate Filipino workers (the *sigarera* and *manlulubid*) with the European "culture-proletariat," when they actually ought to be understood within a cultural frame from which they cannot so easily be extricated. A "pure cash nexus" (*ein reines Geldverhältnis*) abstracted from culture and the whole surrounding social ethos as it is portrayed in the *Manifesto* thus becomes an inconceivable concept or a strange fiction.

> *Bilang "epekto"/bunga ng paglaganap ng Burgesya at ng mga taglay nitong sibilisasyong Europeo, hindi esensyal sa mga "manlulubid" at "sigarera" ang kanilang pagsulong at kaunlaran sa loob ng sariling kalinangan, tanggapin mang mayroon sila nito. Sumusulong lamang sila bilang mga manggagawang ginagamit/pinagsasamantalahan ng, at samakatuwid ay sumasalungat laban sa, dambuhalang paglaganap ng Kaburgisan sa kanilang piling. Hindi sila umiiral at sumusulong ayon sa maaaring naririyan nang dinamiko/dinamismo ng kanilang sariling kalinangan at kabuuan.* ("Ang Pantayong Pananaw" 151)

As a mere "effect"/result of the spread of the bourgeoisie and the accompanying European civilization, the development and progress within their own culture, assuming that they do have such a thing, becomes inessential to the "rope

> makers" and "cigar makers." They move forward only as workers used/exploited by, and therefore also struggling against, the massive dissemination of the bourgeoisness in their midst. They do not exist or progress according to the already present dynamic/dynamism of their own culture and society.

The words "bourgeoisie" and "proletariat" are therefore, in the particular sense which Salazar understands them, *untranslatable* since their inextricably European referents simply *do not exist*, as such, in the Philippine context. These phenomena would thus be much better "explained" in footnotes to a Filipino readership than "translated." It would be useful at this point to contrast Salazar's culturally-bound "thick description" of "bourgeois" and "proletariat" with the "thin descriptions" employed by Engels in one of his notes to the 1888 English edition of the *Manifesto*:

> By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage labor. By proletariat, the class of modern wage laborers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor power in order to live. (98-137)

Crucial to Engels's clarification of the concept of "class" is therefore the related concept of "*Eigenthums-Verhältnisse*" or "property relations." Salazar himself translates the latter concept as "*ugnayan ng pagmamay-ari*" (*Manifesto* 121). Assuming that the concepts "owner," "means of social production," "employer," "wage labor," "labor power" could also be defined "thinly" and with a minimum degree of contentiousness, one could come to the conclusion (at least if one were disposed to do so), that on the one hand, there are such people in the Philippines who "own means of social production" and "employ wage labor" and that on, the other hand, there are actually people who "do not own any means of social production" and must therefore sell their capacity to labor or "labor power" (*Arbeitskraft*, a newer terminological invention not found in the *Manifesto* itself) in order to survive. In the latter category would indeed fall even the *sigareras* (cigar-makers) and *manlulubid* (rope-makers) of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries whom Salazar often mentions. Statistics from various government agencies would also verify the fact that a good number of Filipinos today do not legally own "means of social production" and must therefore sell their labor in the "labor market" on pain of starvation. Such a "de-culturalized" definition of "bourgeois" and "proletariat" does therefore seem to have a material *referent* in the Philippine context. But it must be stressed that the possibility of making

such a categorization of the Philippine population is not actually Salazar's main point of argument. (Indeed, he himself points out that "Proletariat" and "*uring manggagawa*," the usual Filipino translation of "working class" which originates from the beginning of the twentieth century are actually synonyms [*Manifesto* 117].) It is just that, in the first place, he has great reservations on methodological and philosophical grounds whether such "isolating" and "abstracting" concepts can provide the most essential understanding of the complex and dynamic totality which is Philippine Culture. (This of course depends on what is meant by "most essential understanding.") In the second place, it may be presumed that he fears that such a generalizing approach may foreclose a further specification of the historic and cultural determinants which exert their own influences within this totality. In the third place, and most importantly, such universalizing concepts seem to commit the researcher, whether consciously or unconsciously, to the diffusionist and unilinear predilections of the Eurocentric "Western" social sciences. Regarding this third point, Salazar is obviously reluctant to consider "external" economic factors as providing the primary explanations for the rise of sizeable segment of Filipino workers who are employed to produce goods for export to the "world market."

This third point is actually the gist of this issue of "untranslatability." This "resistance to translation" in fact represents a refusal to be integrated into the history of *another*. It is an "anti-translational" practice in the midst of translation itself. The central proposition of Salazar's historical outlook is most striking in Salazar's vigorous rejection of the utility of the concept of "feudalism" in the understanding of Philippine history (or at least up until the sixteenth century). However interesting it is in itself, this "claim to historical difference" would actually have been more intelligible had he directed his criticisms against Eurocentrism at the definitions of Marx and Engels of "feudalism," which are to be found, for instance, in *The German Ideology*, rather than confusingly refuting the application to Philippine economic history of Marc Bloch's definition of "feudal society" (who here remains unacknowledged despite the variety of conflicting definitions of "feudalism" in currency). Salazar defines "feudalism" somewhat apodictically as follows,

> *Ang tawag sa lupain o katungkulan ay feudum, kung kaya't ang ugnayan ng naggawad at ginawaran ay piyudal. Ito ang "piyudalismo" na tumutukoy sa mga relasyon—higit sa lahat, pulitiko-militar—ng mga panginoon sa isa't isa. Ang relasyon naman ng panginoong ginawaran ng lupain (o panginoong may lupa na talaga, tulad ng hari o alin pa mang malaki at nakatataas na pinuno) at ng mga nagbubungkal ng lupa sa kanyang lupain (na maaaring "nakatali" sa lupa o serf, medyo katulad ng ating*

> *"aliping sagigilid") ay tinataguriang "manoryalismo." Mula ito sa katagang "manor," ang tirahan o kuta ng panginoon mismo at ng kanyang buong lupaing gawad na naipamahagi niya sa kanyang mga serf. Mangyari pa, nagkakataon na ang isang panginoon ay magkaroon ng maraming manor. Ang manoryalismo at piyudalismo ang siyang bumubuo ng "sistemang piyudal."* (*Manifesto* 116)

> The land or office is called *feudum*, so that the relationship of the giver to the receiver is feudal. This is the "feudalism" that pertains, above all, to the politico-military relation of the lords to each other. On the other hand, the relationship of the lord who has been awarded land (or a lord who already owns land, like a king or any other leader of high rank) to those who work his land (who may be serfs "tied" to the land similar to our *"aliping sagigilid"*) is called "manorialism." This comes from the word "manor," which refers to the residence or fortress of the lord and the entire land under his supervision that he has parcelled out to his serfs. It may happen that one lord may have many manors. The "*feudal system*" is made up of manorialism and feudalism.

The above Blochian definition can be contrasted with a typical example of a Marxist definition of "feudalism":

> *Sozialökonomische Gesellschaftsformation, deren Grundlage die feudalen Eigentumsverhältnisse bilden. Hauptproduktionsmittel ist der Grund und Boden, der Eigentum der weltlichen und geistlichen Feudalherren ist, während die unmittelbaren Produzenten, die Bauern, den entscheidenden Anteil des Bodens mit eigenen Produktionsinstrumenten selbstständig bewirtschaften und durch außerökonomischen Zwang zur Leistung der Feudalrente veranlaßt werden. Der F. entstand zwischen dem 3. und 7. Jh., zuerst in einzelnen Gebieten Asiens, dann Europas; die meisten Länder der Welt sind durch diese Entwicklungsstufe gegangen.* (qtd. in Wunder 185)

> Socioeconomic social formation, the foundation of which is made up of the feudal property relations. On the one hand, the main means of production is the land and earth which are properties of the worldly and spiritual feudal lord. On the other hand, the direct producers, the farmers, work single-handedly on the better part of the land. They are made to produce feudal rent by means of extra-economic coercion. Feudalism arose, at first in some parts of Asia, between the

> third and seventh century, and then in Europa. Most countries in the world have passed through this level of development.

Indeed, the usual Marxist elaborations on the concept of "feudalism" have much more to do with the conceptual pair of "relations" and "forces" of production than with Bloch's combination of "feudalism" and "manorialism" as outlined by Salazar above. Though Bloch also showed much interest in comparative history, his notion of "feudalism," was, unlike that of Marx and Engels's, not specifically conceived within the framework of a general, universalizing history but was on the contrary, directed towards explaining the important characteristics of a particularly European social organization. According to Bloch, "the social type that is called feudalism was born in Europe of conditions peculiar to the society from which it sprang" (qtd. in Wunder 126). Salazar's appeal against the universalizing abuse of concepts, could naturally only make sense when directed at the allegedly empty and useless abstraction of "general concepts" rather than concepts designed to elaborate on the uniqueness of a particular type of historical phenomena such as Bloch's "feudalism." It is true that Salazar has successfully "proved" that Bloch's "feudalism" had not ever existed in the Philippines. It is therefore also an "untranslatable" concept. But it is doubtful whether he had succeeded in showing the *untranslability* along the same lines of Marx's and Engel's *differing* conceptualization.

> *Sa katunayan, iba ang ating kaayusang panlipunan at pang-ekonomiya noong ika-16 na dantaon, kung kaya't abusado ang alinmang paghahambing nito sa isang di-umano'y baitang na "piyudal" ng pag-unlad patungo sa alinmang "pormasyon" o kaayusang sosyo-pulitikal.* (*Manifesto* 116)
>
> In truth, our social and economic structure was different in the 16th century, it is therefore inappropriate to make any kind of comparison with it to any so-called "feudal" stage of development towards whatever "formation" or socio-political order.

Had Salazar undertaken such a critique of the Marxist concept of "feudalism" in the Philippine context, it could conceivably have taken the following forms, among others: 1) that it is not general enough (too *European*) and thus fails as a concept capable of containing multifarious phenomena; 2) that it is too general and abstract such that it ends up generating platitudes of no or little scientific interest; 3) that such a concept

is intrinsically bound up ideologically with an imperialistic and eurocentric narrative of historical evolution; 4) that the writing of a "universal human history" is *in itself* an impossible, absurd, and meaningless task. (In contrast to the last mentioned, first three criticisms would not necessarily have anything in principle against the legitimacy or future possibility of drafting a "universal human history.") If conceptual "abuse" consisted in using particularizing concepts as generalizing concepts, it would be hard to see Bloch being guilty of it. But despite the confusing detour to Bloch, Salazar's main position is clear, and his view is that Philippine history just cannot be *translated* into the universalizing schemas (so far) produced by Western scholarship.

The positively demystifying *intent* of this "resistant" position must be recognized. Nevertheless, Salazar's translational as well as general historical approach, faces several unresolved issues. The emphasis on what has been here called "thick description" (Geertz) of "economic" phenomena certainly has much to commend it, but it is highly doubtful if the scientific approach to cultural, historical, and societal phenomena could do completely without the "thin descriptions" (themselves derived from thick descriptions) which would allow for a more general and comparative understanding of human societies. His attempt to refute the applicability/translatability of such concepts as "bourgeois," "proletariat," and "feudalism" by re-immersing them in Western culture seems to force an interpretation upon the *Manifesto* that does not recognize its roots in the intellectual tradition of classical political economy which was viewed already in the nineteenth century as being specifically opposed to such a "culturalization" of economic concepts. Indeed, one suspects that Salazar would have done better by translating more like-minded writers like Max Weber or even Proudhon, rather than Marx, into Filipino. But then he would have lost the opportunity to launch polemics against Filipino Marxists.

Salazar's insistence on the inextricable "embeddedness" of the economy in an encompassing societal "ethos" indeed bears comparison with the doctrines of Gustav Schmoller (1838-1917), leader of the so-called German Historical School of Economics (*Historische Schule der Nationalökonomie*) which dominated German universities until the middle of the twentieth century. The *laissez-faire* capitalism depicted in the main works of classical political economy from Adam Smith to Marx had appeared to Schmoller so unsatisfactory when applied to the German conditions of his time that he could confidently pronounce these doctrines dead in the famous 1883 controversy on method (*Methodenstreit*) with Carl Menger (1841-1921), a leading representative of the so-called Austrian School of Economics. According to Schmoller, "After the old, abstract political economy attained greatness, the spring of its life ran dry, because its results evaporated in too abstract

schemas which dispensed with all reality" (1998: 163). Ironically, the intellectual legacy of the Historical School itself would be virtually forgotten and erased from the economic departments by the ensuing hegemony of the neo-classical Anglo-American economic tradition. This occurred despite the overbearing influence it exerted in the universities of Germany for a half century and its international reach, most notably in Japan. Recently however, renewed interest in it has developed because of the burgeoning literature on the so-called New Institutional Economics. The basic position of Schmoller, according to Japanese writer Yuichi Shionoya, is that "the basic condition of human culture, of which economy is a part, is a religious and moral system and that economic life cannot be understood without the knowledge of the historical development of three norms: customs, laws and morals" (60). Heino Heinrich Nau summarizes the general methodological aims of Schmoller's "*Volkswirtschaftslehre*"[2] as follows,

> *Die Entstehungsgeschichte verschiedener ökonomischer Institutionen (Organisationsformen) zu skizzieren, die gesellschaftliche Konstellation dieser Organisationsformen in bestimmten Wirtschaftsordnungen zu typologisieren (Wirtschaftsstile), und schließlich die historische Aufeinenderfolge verschiedener Wirtschaftsordnungen in Wirtschaftsstufen darzulegen. Der Ökonom mußte hierbei die natürlichen – d.h. geographische, anthropologische und biologische – im Zusammenhang mit den kulturellen – d.h. gesellschaftshistorischen, politisch-moralischen und psychologischen – Gegebenheiten verschiedener Epochen sehen.* (29)
>
> To sketch the history of formation of different economic institutions (forms of organization), to typologize the societal constellation of these forms of organization (style of economy) in definite economic systems, and finally, to set forth the historical sequence of different economic systems in economic stages. The economist must be able to see the natural givens (e.g., geographical, anthropological and biological) in relation to the cultural realities (e.g., socio-historical, politico-moral and psychological) of different epochs.

Setting aside some of the more questionable aspects associated with the method of the Historical School such as its essentialist organicism and frequent utilization of racial concepts coupled with now dubious psychological theories, the above research program would still have much to recommend to economists and economic historians. Such a recognition of the economy as culturally embedded could not however imply a simple

return to Schmoller's nineteenth century position against all contemporary theoretical and generalizing efforts in the field of a more narrowly defined "modern economics." This would neither be possible nor desirable. Shionoya neatly lays out the gist of the matter:

> The *Methodenstreit* was a misnomer; the real issue was over the scope of economic science. The difference in method only reflected the difference in the scope of the subject matter. Historical science dealing with concrete individuality of socioeconomic phenomena at large and theoretical science dealing with general concepts for limited, isolated economic phenomena demand completely different methods. It is crucial to find a field where cooperation between history and theory is necessary and feasible. (165)

It must be admitted that a rigorous methological purism intent on abandoning and discrediting investigations into the broader patterns of regularity in economic and other socio-cultural phenomena in the interest of preserving their "concrete individuality" no longer seems a reasonable option in contemporary social scientific practice. "Thin" and "thick" descriptions of socioeconomic and cultural phenomena have their indispensable functions in the process of deepening the knowledge and understanding of society and culture. The absolute refusal of "thin descriptions" on the basis of these being inherently "abstracting," false and one-sided, or because these are considered premature in light of the relative paucity of thick descriptions do not seem to be compelling. Furthermore, a theoretical and practical impasse would certainly be approached were it seriously asserted that all thin descriptions were essentially complicit with universalizing Eurocentric history and rationality and therefore must be given up as a mode of intellectual production. Such an assertion should be differentiated from legitimate efforts to develop non-unilinear, non-diffusionist but generalizing approaches and points of view in the social sciences (see Chakrabarty).

The two types of description mentioned above would, in turn, also have their analogues in "thick translation" (Appiah 417-29) and "thin translation." A thin translation, would not need to foreground the otherness of the originating context, but would have a rather transparent and ideally "unproblematic" character in relation to the receiving context. A thick translation, on the other hand, would have to transmit as much of the original context of the source text to the target reader and would therefore necessarily take on a "foreignizing" or "alienating" character. One important variant of a "thick translation" is the annotated translation. Such a "thickness" may reflect not so much the "resistance" of

the text to translation as it does the willful resistance of the translator/receiver to the text. The translator rubs the originating text against the grain in order to bring about something altogether new. Like Salazar's translation, in which "quarrelsome" footnotes are used deliberately to disrupt the "fluency" of the translation, it may also take the form of a protest against translation, even as translation itself takes place. Whatever the shortcomings and political predilections of Salazar's resistant translation of the *Manifesto*, the method which he employed and its resolute "claim to difference" in the face of homogenizing unilineal and diffusionist histories represents one legitimate and vital strategy in the struggle to escape the formidable grip of Eurocentric thought by means of *translating* it.

CLOSING REMARKS

As we have seen above, the practices of translation and annotation are central to the production of critical editions in PP. On the one hand, as Lapar, Hernandez, and Salazar demonstrate in their studies, foreign sources and theory can be appropriated in historiography through translation. Translation liberates foreign knowledge for use and application in the Filipino setting. Texts are thus re-produced by means of translation to become portions of Filipino scholarship. Annotations, in turn, examine and validate the translated texts within the realities of Philippine culture. The foreign-ness of the documents under scrutiny is inevitably emphasized by these critical editions in the same way that Filipino-ness is celebrated in the scrutinizing culture. For PP, appropriating foreign theory is all about initiating productive discursive exchanges regarding the interpretation and significance of history. The historian comes to know other perspectives and historiographical traditions, as s/he practices and invigorates her/his own mode of historical understanding and investigation. Crucially, hence, the integration of foreign knowledges also pertains to a critical identification with/of oneself within the relevant narrative of selfhood.

On the other hand, PP also significantly contributes to the intellectualization[3] of Filipino by its firm adherence to the use and development of the Filipino language in the Philippine academic setting. The production of more works in the genre of annotated translation involving the translation of historical sources and theories relevant to the Philippine context can contribute in no small measure to this important process of intellectualization. It is indeed true that even a successful Filipinization of the social sciences cannot completely overcome a certain distance between scientific discourses and

everyday speech because of the need to develop and elaborate specialized terminologies in the various domains of scientific research. But such a progressive Filipinization would nonetheless contribute much to making the social sciences more approachable and accessible to a greater section of the Filipino reading public, especially if the goals of democratization and popular participation are themselves integrated into the process of shaping of these social scientific discourses. Such an expanding sphere of discussion involving a broader public will have important implications not only for the furtherance of democratic ideals but also for the propagation and strengthening of the Filipino national language.

ENDNOTES

1 International Institute of Social History website at: <http://www.iisg.nl/index.php> (accessed 21 Mar. 2005).

2 According to Schmoller: "In der Volkswirtschaftslehre oder Nationalökonomie sollte sich ein 'socialtheoretisches Grunddogma' mit einem 'socialpraktischen Postulat' zu einer Wissenschaft verbinden, die Normen zur Gestaltung des Wirtschaftslebens aufstellte, um den Besonderheiten der kulturellen Individualität eines Volkes oder einer Nation gerecht werden zu können." Heino Heinrich Nau, "Politisches Ethos und sozialökonomisches Telos. Gustav Schmollers Konzept einer historisch-ethischen Nationalökonomie als Kulturwissenschaft" (1998: 19).

3 Scholars have yet to seriously consider the unstated assumptions behind this term. We use it here sparingly. For us, "intellectualization" can be narrowly employed to mean the use and promotion of Filipino as a language of intellectual production within academic institutions. However, this should not be understood as implying that such "intellectual production" is exlusively confined to these institutions. On the contrary, a process of "intellectualization" could mitigate the existing divide between the domains of so-called "formalized" (academic) and "non-formalized" knowledges.

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KOLUM KRITIKA

Global Perspectives on Modernity and Modernism: Some Notes on Twentieth-Century Transnational Anticolonial Metaphysics

Leela Gandhi
University of Chicago
lgandhi@uchicago.edu

Abstract
These notes are structured around the contention that the early years of the twentieth century witnessed the emergence of a transnational heterodox metaphysics, or properly speaking, postmetaphysics, whose bearer would be the subject of a distinctly modern form of nonviolence. Did these discourses designate a coherent global ethics that we might draw upon to counter the pernicious epidemic of harmfulness in the present world? Can we identify the historical and philosophical catalysts for early twentieth-century postmetaphysics? What bearing does this "movement," if we may call it that, have upon the question of colonialism? These are some of the questions canvassed in the discussion.

Keywords
Heidegger, modern nonviolence, postmetaphysics

About the author
Leela Gandhi is Professor of English at the University of Chicago. Her publications include *Postcolonial Theory* (1988), *Measures of Home* (2000), the co-authored *England Through Colonial Eyes* (2001), and *Affective Communities* (2006). She is a founding co-editor of the journal *Postcolonial Studies.*

THE FIELD OF ENQUIRY

I am presenting here notes on a work in progress that seeks to clarify the variants of twentieth-century transnational metaphysics. My main contention is as follows: in the first few decades of the twentieth-century (specifically the period surrounding and between the first two world wars) there came into view a cluster of discourses or sciences, western and non-western, concerned with the elaboration of a modern metaphysics, or more properly speaking, a modern postmetaphysics (that is to say, a metaphysics after metaphysics). The non-western amongst these discourses found their conditions of possibility most vividly between the 1904-1914, the years of M. K. Gandhi's *satyagraha* in South Africa. They also flourished in the unique spiritual-intellectual milieu of the great coeval modern *ashrams* of colonial India organized around the figures of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Sri

Aurobindo, and Sri Ramana Maharishi, amongst others. The contiguous sciences of western postmetaphysics emerged in more muted form out of the various curious interchanges and circuits between phenomenology, pragmatism, empiricism (Bergson, James, Husserl, Heidegger), British idealism (Green, Bradley, Haldane), Guild and Christian Socialism (Tawney, Figgis, Cole, Orage), early analytic philosophy (the early Wittgenstein) and early Freudian psychoanalysis (the exchanges between Freud and Firenzi).

Methodologically, it is important to establish the ways in which—indeed, whether—these culturally and disciplinarily dissonant traditions converged and entered into productive dialogue or collaboration. This for reason of my guiding belief that the field of twentieth-century transnational postmetaphysics provided, *a la* Kant, a "groundwork" for a global anticolonial ethics whose bearer would be the subject of a distinctly modern form of nonviolence.

WHAT IS TWENTIETH-CENTURY TRANSNATIONAL POSTMETAPHYSICS?

Very summarily, the inchoate field of twentieth-century transnational postmetaphysics delineates a project concerned with the "updating" and disciplinary substantiation of precursive *fin de siecle* critiques of modernity through rigorous meditation upon two interlocked themes: (i) the crisis of materialism, and (ii) the crisis of spirit. We may describe these themes thus, below:

The Crisis of Materialism

The most apposite and historically symptomatic diagnosis of this crisis occurs in the field of phenomenology, both transcendental and Heideggerian. In this instance modern materialism is compellingly redefined not only as a desire or greed *for* things but rather as a form of violence or a kind of brutish force that transforms life itself *into* things, that is, into stark or radical materiality. We could make note here of Husserl's early lecture, "Philosophy and the Crisis of European Man." Also crucial here are Heidegger's various accounts of modernity as an age of objectification stimulated through the cult of representation or what he calls the *weltbild*, or, otherwise, through the placing on reserve or "stand-by" (*bestand*) of all that is external to the subject. We might also consider, from another source, Gandhi's numerous critiques of the modern cult of speed or locomotion

as a sort of technology of inanimation, a form of pleasure and apparent vivacity that is actually *against* life, in some way. These ideas gain their fullest treatment in his 1909 polemic *Hind Swaraj* where he explicitly condemns modern civilization for its midas-effect, that is, the triumph of a "matter-force" or *sharirbal* that converts unprofitable livingness into lifeless objects. Against this he posits a catalogue of counter-forces such as *prembal* (love-force), *satyabal* (truth-force), *dayabal* (compassion-force), *tapbal* (suffering-force), *nitibal* (justice-force), and so on. The philosopher-mystic Simone Weil, writing somewhat later than the period being considered here, comes to the very heart of this critique of modern materialism in her 1939 essay, "The *Iliad*, or the Poem of Force," wherein, on the eve of war, she discloses violence or force as a kind of perverse materialism: an extinguishment of the soul or "the ability to turn a human being into a thing while he is still alive (5).

The Crisis of Spirit

It is a very important feature of the discourses under review that their critique of modern materialism does not produce a *reactive* or simply *oppositional* spiritualism. In fact, Eastern or Western, each of these discourses holds traditional/orthodox metaphysics culpable for the crisis of materialism. In Heidegger's oeuvre a stringent anti-Cartesianism assists in the exculpation of western philosophy for its flawed thinking of "spirit" within a dualist schema (mind/body; matter/spirit; self/other, etc.) which cannot but enforce the objectification of all that which is not (the) subject or "Self" proper. We might also make note of the way in which twentieth-century Indian philosophy innovatively rejects pure transcendentalism, looking instead for immanent, empirical, and relational forms of nondualism or *advaitavada*. The consensus here (and we might observe in it a kind of inspired belated anti-Hegelianism) is that modernity's problem is not "matter" so much as a pernicious or negative type of "spirit."

What I'm calling the twentieth-century postmetaphysical turn, then, is the emergence of a global philosophical compact which proceeds upon the understanding that the modern crisis of materialism demands a preliminary, almost ascetic, suspension or *epoche* of all existing articulations and experiences of spirit. This is not agnosticism so much as the temporary but nonetheless painful rejection of the temptation of theism (religious belief) in its available mutations. And this is also the juncture at which the discourses under review diverge into two contiguous but competing strains, where one project puts all its energies into the reparative repression of metaphysics/spirit (let's call this antimetaphysics), while the other impatiently embarks upon a philosophically and existentially hazardous

quest for a "new" spirit (let's call this antimetaphysical metaphysics). It is this latter strain which yields, to my mind, those modern forms of nonviolence with which I began these summary comments.

POSTMETAPHYSICS AND THE SUBJECT OF MODERN NONVIOLENCE

In conclusion, and very fleetingly, I wish to propose that pure antimetaphysics resolves itself into a remedial program or program of salvation, recovery, refuge for the subject of modernity understood to be sickened by the toxins of metaphysical egotism. Thinkers of this persuasion use the language or idea of "cure" very liberally. We could refer to, for example, the way Heidegger offers his philosophy of existenz-ontology as a "cura"; to the emergence within early psychoanalysis of the notion of psychic or therapeutic "cure"; and, at certain earlier moments within analytic philosophy, to Wittgenstein's proposition of philosophical silence as a "cure," as it were, for metaphysical nonsense. By contrast to this project, postmetaphysical metaphysics rejects the very scene and idiom of therapeutics, taking shape as an "anti-cura" that draws the sickly subject of modernity into the even greater risks of seeking spirit anew, after being stripped of the protective yet fragile shell of metaphysical egotism. Insofar as the "spirit-to-come" must, as we might recall, recoil from the objectification (the making matter) of any others, its logic demands such denudation of the subject's sovereignty that the ego can henceforth only be known as alter-ego, and must always be overdetermined by that "auto-immunitory" consciousness of which Derrida wrote so eloquently in his later works. "That strange behavior," in his words, "where a living being in *quasi-suicidal* fashion, 'itself' works to destroy its own protection, to immunize itself against its own immunity" (Borradori 94).

Husserl, Gandhi, the late-Wittgenstein, the Guild Socialists, amongst others, each exemplify this coalition of postmetaphysics and self-disregard that comprises the new "spirit" of modern non-violence. The reduction of self to "zero" in Gandhi, the cultivated malady of intentionality and other-directedness in Husserl (and thence in Levinas), give some account of the costs involved in the onerous relocation of a metaphysics after metaphysics in and amongst the realm of former non-subjects.

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FORUM KRITIKA

PANTAYONG PANANAW: VIEWS FROM THE OUTSIDE

Ramon Guillermo
University of the Philippines (Diliman)
bomen.guillermo@gmail.com

Myfel Joseph Paluga
University of the Philippines (Mindanao)
myfeljoseph@yahoo.com

Aaron Rom O. Moralina
Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines
amoralina@ateneo.edu

Jose Rhommel B. Hernandez
De La Salle University, Philippines
jorbhern@hotmail.com

About the forum

Through the past several decades of controversies on *Pantayong Pananaw* (from us-for us perpective, PP) between its defenders and detractors, PP has been variously referred to as a theory and/or method on the study of history, a new kind of historiographic perspective, a civilizational discourse, an approach in the interpretation of nationhood, a school of thought in the study of the history nationalism, and many more.

Four panelists from top Philippine universities discuss their views on PP, evaluating past issues, assessing its contribution to scholarship in the social sciences, rehearsing continuing debates in historiography, and perhaps paving the way to a new direction in this controversial "movement."

The forum was held at the Ateneo de Manila University as part of the *Kritika Kultura Lecture Series* on July 17, 2009 with Mr. David O. Lozada III (Assistant Professor of the Department of History, Ateneo de Manila University) serving as moderator. The essays read at this forum are published in this issue of *Kritika Kultura*.

PANTAYONG PANANAW

Sa mga nakalipas na dekada ng kontrobersiya sa pagitan ng mga tagasulong at kritiko nito, ang Pantayong Pananaw ay tinutukoy bilang teorya at proseso ng pag-aaral ng kasaysayan, isang bagong perspektibo sa historiografiya, isang diskursong panlipunan na tumatalakay sa bansa at sa pagiging makabayan, at marami pang iba.

Ang Pantayong Pananaw ay nagmula sa mga salitang "tayo" at "pananaw." Ang salitang "tayo" sa wikang Filipino ay kolektibo at inklusibong panghalip panao na tumutukoy sa parehong nagsasalita at kinakausap, samantalang ang "pananaw" ay perspektibo o paraan ng pagtingin. Para sa Pantayong Pananaw, ang kasaysayan ay "salaysay ukol sa nakaraan o nakalipas na may saysay para sa isang grupo ng tao at iniuulat sa pamamagitan ng sariling wika."

Para sa Pantayong Pananaw, ang sariling wikang Filipino at iba pang katutubong wika ang dapat gamitin sa pagsulat ng kasaysayan sapagkat ang sariling wika ang siya lamang tutugma sa karanasang Filipino. Nais rin ng Pantayong Pananaw na saliksikin ang mga dokumento, sulatin, at datos na nanggaling maging sa mga hindi kumbensyonal na pamamaraan at kaalaman tulad ng mga awit, laro, at iba pang mga tradisyunal na gawain at pamumuhay.

Apat na tagapagsalita sa panayam na ito mula sa iba't ibang unibersidad sa Pilipinas ang tumalakay sa mga kontribusyon, mga debate at pagbabago, at mga bagong tunguhin ng Pantayong Pananaw.

FORUM KRITIKA

PANTAYONG PANANAW AND THE HISTORY OF PHILIPPINE POLITICAL CONCEPTS

Ramon Guillermo
University of the Philippines (Diliman)
bomen.guillermo@gmail.com

Abstract
Zeus A. Salazar's approach in writing the history of political concepts in the Philippines represents one of the most challenging and insightful directions within his complex body of work. However, despite its positive contribution to this area of study, it seems that further advances towards a more productive and empirical direction is hampered by certain unnecessarily restrictive assumptions. This study is a preliminary critique of a significant flaw in his approach which gives priority to the etymological meaning of rootwords as opposed to a more empirically oriented approach based on the study of the "semantic fields" of concepts and the use of quantitative data.

Keywords
comparative linguistics, etymologism, *himagsikan, rebolusyon*

About the author
Ramon Guillermo is an Associate Professor at the Department of Filipino and Philippine Literature, University of the Philippines in Diliman. He received his undergraduate and graduate degrees from the University of the Philippines and the University of Hamburg, Germany. He is the author of two books, *Pook at Paninindigan: Kritika ng Pantayong Pananaw* (U of the Philippines P, 2009) and *Translation and Revolution: A Study of Jose Rizal's Guillermo Tell* (Ateneo de Manila UP, 2009). He was awarded the Asian Public Intellectual Fellowship (2009) by the Nippon Foundation.

A series of monographs published in the 1990s by Zeus A. Salazar (1997; 1998; 1999), within the framework of *Pantayong Pananaw*, deliver strikingly original perspectives on writing the history of Philippine political discourse. But this initially very promising body of work which focuses on the cultural specificity of Philippine political concepts has unnecessarily been hampered by certain fixed and inflexible assumptions which, despite its undoubtedly positive contributions, could negatively influence further researches in this important area.

The problems in the current approach may be exemplified by reference to his analysis of two important political concepts found in Tagalog or Filipino, *himagsikan* and *rebolusyon*. (It also applies to his distinction between *katwiran* and "reason," among others.) He starts off the analysis of these concepts by pointing to the etymological meaning of their

respective rootwords. According to him, the European word "revolution" derives from the vulgar Latin verb *revolvere*, which means "to roll," "to revolve," "return," among others. He then takes note of the fact that the political concept of "revolution" in its various European forms no longer just means to "rotate" or "to move in a circular path" but also a "profound change" or "reversal." Moving on to *himagsikan,* he begins by dissecting its meaning by breaking it up into its constituent rootword, prefix, and suffix, and analyzing these in turn. He finds that the meaning of the prefix "hiN-" has three components: 1) removal of the thing being referred to by the word it prefixes; 2) to receive the characteristic or trait being referred to by the prefixed word; 3) to make somebody else aware of how one feels ("Wika ng Himagsikan" 25-6). The rootword *bagsik,* on the other hand, means "cruel, brutal, ill tempered, strict, effective" ("Wika ng Himagsikan" 27). The suffix "-an" gives the whole word *himagsikan* the connotation of being a "collective" act of letting out one's ferocity for some reason. In order to thresh out the various meanings of *himagsikan* and *rebolusyon,* Salazar makes use of various dictionaries in bringing out the etymological meanings of their roots and does not substantially refer to any historical instances of their actual usages in textual contexts.

Reflecting upon the gap between the etymological and political meanings of "revolution," Salazar finds that it is impossible to derive *(hindi mahuhugot)* from the Tagalog word for "to go around" *(pag-ikot)* any notion of "fundamental change" which he says is included *(nakapaloob)* in the European concepts of "revolution." He asserts that this additional meaning is "the result of an historical experience specific to the European/Western nations" *(bunga ng ispesipikong karanasang pangkasaysayan ng mga bansang Europeo/Kanluranin)* ("Wika ng Himagsikan" 23). Though Salazar acknowledges that "revolution" has in the meantime been borrowed into Tagalog or Filipino as *rebolusyon,* he makes at least two assertions about this fact:

> 1) "the fundamental meaning of the Tagalog/Filipino *rebolusyon* derives from the *revolución* of the Spaniards ... bearing the 'revolutionary' bourgeois-liberal ideals and hopes" *(ang pundamental na kahulugan ng Tagalog/Pilipinong "rebolusyon" ay hango sa "revolución" ng Kastila ... taglay ang mga "rebolusyonaryong" ideya't mithiing burgis-liberal)* ("Wika ng Himagsikan" 21).
>
> 2) "frequent usage was the reason for the borrowing of *rebolusyon* in order to equate it with *himagsikan.* But the context of usage is different" *(Madalas na paggamit … ang dahilan ng pagkahiram ng "rebolusyon" ... upang itumbas sa*

> *"himagsikan." Ngunit nag-iiba ang konteksto ng paggamit)* ("Wika ng Himagsikan" 30). He explains that this word *"rebolusyon"* was used by one part of the Filipino populace who were acculturated into Western culture even though they spoke Tagalog. Because of this, they continued to attach European connotations to *rebolusyon* such as its association with "progress." Salazar then elevates *himagsikan* as the "authentic" *(taal)* Tagalog or Filipino concept rooted in the *bayan* (people) and in the Austronesian past spanning thousands of years. The political concept of *rebolusyon* on the other hand is simply dismissed as a foreign concept, with a mechanical meaning which cannot be understood by "authentic" *(taal)* Tagalogs or Filipinos. Salazar is thus of the view that the meaning of the borrowed word *rebolusyon* has not departed from the Spanish meaning because those who speak this word are acculturated individuals who only incidentally happen to speak or write Tagalog or Filipino.

These are certainly important points regarding the existence of a possible zone of stratification within Tagalog or Filipino, but Salazar has not yet been able to prove two important things. Firstly, that only "acculturated" individuals speak or understand the word *rebolusyon.* Secondly, he has also not shown how the context of usage of *himagsikan* differs from "revolution" in any actual instances of usage both synchronically and diachronically. This lack of empirical foundations can be traced to the fundamental weakness of Salazar's approach with its overweaning emphasis on etymological explication of the definitions of rootwords. Two testable propositions may be advanced against such an approach:

> 1) The meanings of a political concept clearly cannot be exhausted by merely studying the etymology of its rootword. Meanings continually attach and detach themselves from a word and the study of particular contexts of its usage is capable of shedding more light on its meaning than just fixing one's gaze on the etymological meaning. This is precisely why Reinhart Koselleck, founder of the German tradition of *Begriffsgeschichte* (conceptual history) in German political thought, pointed out that political concepts cannot be reduced to mere word definitions. He asserted that political concepts concentrate within themselves various meanings and that these are located within particular "conceptual fields" *(Begriffsfelder)* or "conceptual nets" *(Begriffsnetze).* According to Koselleck, "every concept is *eo ipso* bound to its context. No concepts can

be analyzed without opposed concepts, covering and covered concepts, accompanying and neighboring concepts"(101). He cites the example *"Staat"* (State) which covers and includes within itself such concepts/words as *"Gebiet"* (area), *"Grenze"* (boundary), *"Bürgerschaft"* (citizenship), *"Justiz"* (justice), *"Militär"* (military), *"Steuer"* (tax), *"Gesetzgebung"* (legislation), etc. In his own discussion of the political concept of "Revolution," borrowed from the French, he distinguishes three clusters of German words/concepts from which it gains its semantic content: 1) *"Tumult"* (riot), *"Aufruhr"* (rebellion), *"Empörung"* (insurrection), *"Verschwörung"* (plot), *"Aufstand"* (uprising); 2) *"Zwietracht"* (conflict), *"Bürgerkrieg"* (civil war), *"Bewegung"* (movement), *"Wechsel"* (change); 3) to fight against *"Tyrannis"* (tyranny), *"Despotie"* (despotism), *"Diktatur"* (dictatorship) (242). With respect to the issue of the etymology of "Revolution," Koselleck observes a trend, "leading from a naturally derived word-usage to a historical conceptuality which increasingly becomes independent. The metaphor is eclipsed and emancipates a concept of revolution which can be considered as genuinely historical"(251). The political content of the concept of "Revolution" is therefore clarified by its distantiation from its original etymological meaning. For Koselleck, the struggle over the meanings of political concepts is a fundamental aspect of this area of study which Salazar completely ignores due to his reliance on the univocal nature of the etymological definition of rootwords.

(2) It can be argued that the etymological meanings of words in their original context matter very little in processes of linguistic borrowing. The attempt to make a distinction within the Tagalog or Filipino languages between a genuinely Tagalog or Filipino political concept and a borrowed foreign concept (though spoken within Tagalog or Filipino) by appealing to the seemingly ineradicable etymological meanings of words seems methodologically unsound. Given a sufficiently wide usage of a borrowed term in the receptor language, it is rather farfetched to assume either that a borrowed term can carry its etymological meaning around like a turtle with its house on its back into other languages, or to assume that it is impossible to understand the meaning of a word without first knowing the etymology of its root. Speakers of any language are usually stumped when asked the etymological meanings even of the words which they use daily, let alone when the word in question is borrowed from another

> language. It is also very often the case that the speakers of a language lose all memory that a significant part of their vocabulary is in fact borrowed from other languages. The line of demarcation between a borrowed and original part of a language is usually not as visible to the speakers as it may be to linguists or philologists. Consistent with their new linguistic environment, new meanings simply attach themselves to borrowed terms without regard to their etymological origins as Koselleck had shown with the German word "Revolution."

It should be more reasonable to treat borrowed concepts as in themselves effective phenomena within a language as much as any other concepts in use in the domain of Philippine politics. Rather than fixing the meanings of political terms upon the original etymological meanings of their rootwords, it is here proposed that a close study of the manifold usages of a significant concept using a variety of textual sources in the flow of time would give a more satisfactory perspective on the history of political concepts. This kind of approach would only be interested in describing and interpreting the various usages of political concepts within a distinct national language community both diachronically and synchronically rather than being tied up with any notion of linguistic or ideological "authenticity" *(kataalan).* It is therefore evident that it cannot endorse the implicit notion in Salazar's texts that each linguistic community possesses an elementary set of basic concepts which form the substance of a unified political ideology for the speakers of that language, and, which furthermore serves as the demarcation criterion for identifying "authentic" *(taal)* and "inauthentic" political concepts. The presupposition of "authentic" speakers of a language who can understand the "authentic" meanings of words as fixed by their ancient etymological roots as opposed to "inauthentic" speakers who speak "inauthentic" (borrowed) words should be abandoned. Certainly, those who wish to pursue this direction are free to do so, but the theoretical and empirical grounds for this kind of project appears tenuous. The methods of comparative linguistics, from which Salazar borrows some of his methods, and which are useful in determining the kinship of languages and developing hypothetical reconstructions of a proto-languages from which related languages are said to have diverged *can and should be* integrated into a study of the history of Philippine political concepts. This is especially the case since written sources are rare or non-existent for the larger part of our history. Robert Blust (1976), for example, notably attempted to hypothetically reconstruct, ancient Austronesian social organization based on a study of proto-Austronesian terms. Much insight can be

gleaned from such interdisciplinary studies. But this should be done without prejudice to other historical sources of borrowing in Philippine political discourse and performed not only in conjunction with, but also in a manner consciously distinct from, what may be termed more properly as the investigation of the historical evolution of political concepts. In our view, the *a priori* determination of concepts derived from the Austronesian past as constituting the sole authentic or genuine basis of Philippine political thought for all time can only cripple a rigorously empirical investigation into actual history of Philippine political concepts and discourses.

The meaning of political concepts should more productively be studied in their contexts of usage and not as something supposedly inherent in the word itself or in its roots. Furthermore, meaning should be viewed as neither being a mere reflection of events nor as being autonomous and self-subsisting in a realm apart from the materiality of history. As an illustration, some data towards a more empirical investigation of the problem of demarcation between *rebolusyon* and *himagsikan* as political concepts can here be presented.

The first example shown below as Table 1 consists of extracted actual word usages of *himagsikan* and *rebolusyon* from the year 1929 from the famous "Balagtasan Hinggil sa Lumang Usapin" (Poetic joust about an old issue) between the two foremost Tagalog poets of their generation, Amado V. Hernandez and Jose Corazon de Jesus (Torres-Yu 175-253). In contrast to Salazar's blanket claim that there was a difference in the "context of usage," it appears here that although variations on the rootword *bagsik* were much more frequently used since, as opposed to *rebolusion* it could easily transform into a verb, both poets use *rebolusion* and *himagsikan* as nouns interchangeably to refer to a single historical event: the Revolution of 1896. It may be true that Salazar may be correct for some other cases, but actual contexts of usage must be brought up to substantiate this and cannot be made dependent on an argument regarding etymology. In this context, it also does not seem relevant or productive at all to inquire whether Hernandez and De Jesus were acculturated or Westernized minds who just happened to write and speak in Tagalog. If they weren't "authentic" Tagalog speakers or writers, then who can possibly be?

Another empirical example is Figure 1 below showing the relative frequencies per decade of occurrences of books mentioning either *rebolusyon, himagsikan,* or both together. The graph of the number of books published per decade from 1900 to 2009 which contain the words *himagsikan, rebolusyon* used singly or in tandem was produced using data extracted from Google books (http://books.google.com/). Google books, due to its access to massive US libraries and extremely advanced scanning and optical character recognition

(OCR) technologies, is now undoubtedly the largest Tagalog/Filipino language text corpus in in the world. The quantitative data it provides is, however, by no means completely accurate. Some works were actually published much earlier but registers in Google books in the year of their republication as new editions. A number of works register in more than one decade since Google books sometimes registered the publication of new editions. Additional observable inconsistencies and blind spots in the data produced by Google books may be a result of certain quirks in its search algorithm. It has been ascertained however that even though some books which were included in the graph are written in English, the occurrences of *rebolusyon* and *himagsikan* are in Tagalog/Filipino linguistic contexts within these books.

The rise of usages of *himagsikan* in the 1920s seems to revolve around the November 7, 1930 founding of the Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas (Crisanto Evangelista). The drastic downturn during the 1950s seems to point to this as the period of defeat of the Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan (HMB) during the time of President Magsaysay and the rise of McCarthyist anti-communist witchhunting. (Agoncillo's seminal book, *The Revolt of the Masses* published in 1956, contains only *himagsikan* and not the Tagalog *rebolusyon*.) The sharp rise in the 60s of the usage of both *himagsikan* and *rebolusyon* and their appearance together in single works apparently broadly corresponds to the November 30, 1964 founding of Kabataang Makabayan, the December 26, 1968 founding of the Maoist Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), the 1970 First Quarter Storm (FQS) and the general youthful nationalist radicalism of that time. The 70s after the September 21, 1972 declaration of Martial Law sees a slower rise in the usage of *rebolusyon* which however catches up with *himagsikan* for the first time. Both terms see a massive rise in usage in the 80s which culminates politically in the February 22-25, 1986 EDSA Revolt. A steady decline occurs afterwards which is temporarily interrupted by the publishing frenzy during the 1998 Philippine Centennial Celebration. Though significant increases in the dual usage of these two terms in a single book occurs in the 60s and around the period of the EDSA revolt, the highest peak was during the Philippine Centennial Celebrations. A hypothesis regarding the phenomenon of increasing dual usage may be proposed by viewing this as an indicator of a rise in the degree of the interchangeability of the two terms. Given the tentativeness of the data and the complexity of the history it seems to recount, a lot of caution must be exercised in interpreting such graphs from an historical point of view. However, a preliminary look at the highs and lows of the graph has shown a certain rough degree of direct or indirect correspondence with concrete historical events pertaining to the history of nationalism and radical movements in the Philippines. Given that the data

only includes published books, it is evident that only a very partial view of the degree of frequency of usage, ubiquity, and dissemination of the relevant terms has been produced.

The words *himagsikan* and *rebolusyon* taken together pertain to the perennial theme of armed struggle and conflict in the Philippine historico-political context. The investigation of the possible transformations in the meanings and discursive contexts of these political concepts through time may reveal certain previously unknown aspects of these lexical phenomena. The general graphic representation gives clues and directions which may serve to guide more detailed investigations into the texts themselves. Only a closer analysis of selected materials among the mass of textual material involved can reinforce or refute the particular hypothesis regarding the upturns of downturns in the frequency of appearance of books mentioning these two terms together or separately. It is simply inadequate to simply refer to the unchanging etymology of the rootwords of *himagsikan* and *revolution* to find explanations for these types of phenomena. Starting from a broad and general perspective, one could embark on a more detailed analysis of the contexts of usage of these words in various phases of Philippine history with minimal presuppositions regarding the meanings of the respective terms. This can be made more exact by to looking into the collocational or intercollocational structures of lexical cohesion both quantitatively and qualitatively. As opposed to the strong etymologism of Salazar's approach, it is here proposed that these empirical approaches promise to allow more, rather than less, insight into the historical and cultural specificity of Philippine political concepts.

Amado V. Hernandez	Jose Corazon de Jesus
1) Isang lahing natuto nang manalasa't **maghimagsik** 2) sa pangakong kalayaan... bigla na bang **maghimagsik**? 3) na ang lider ng Kahapo'y nanandata't **naghimagsik**, 4) yaong lahing **naghimagsik** at humawak ng patalim, 5) ni sandata o tambuling dadalhin sa **rebolusion**? 6) Ibig mo ban muli tayong sama-samang **maghimagsik**, 7) Itong bayan ay gising na mula noong **maghimagsik**, 8) ang utang ding kikilanlin sa naunang **rebolusion**. 9) na bunga ng tatlong yugtong **himagsikang** sinuungan, 10) sa madugong **himagsikan** ay sumugba tayong bigla? 11) Tayo noo'y **naghimagsik** sa praileng mapangamkam, 12) at ako ang tanging buhay sa maraming **naghimagsik**? 13) kaya noo'y walang lunas kungdi tayo'y **maghimagsik**, 14) Nakita mo, di kahapo'y taasnoong **naghimagsik**, 15) Kung sa baya'y may sandata't kagamitan sa **himagsik** 16) ipininta mo ang ayos noong tayo'y **maghimagsik**, 17) nang magsiklab sa magdamag ang apoy ng **rebolusion** 18) ang magkaron na ng kaya ay nagbango't **naghimagsik**;	1) Katulad mo'y ang pangarap ng anak ng **himagsikan**, 2) Sasabihin mong si Rizal ay ayaw nang **himagsikan**, 3) Hindi ko rin masasabing ang Kahapong **Himagsikan**, 4) hindi tayo maaaring **maghimagsik**, walang lakas... 5) sa tuwi nang sasaludo ay tapos sa "**Himagsikan**" 6) sasabihin mong bulkan ka ng nagdaang **himagsikan**, 7) hindi pala mangyayaring **maghimagsik** at mangdigma, 8) sila rin daw ang kahapon ng nagdaang **himagsikan**, 9) Di ka pala maaaring lumaban at **maghimagsik**, 10) kung lumaya ay paglayang kagaya nang sa **himagsik**, 11) samantalang yaong ating mga taong **naghimagsik**, 12) Kung ibig mang **maghimagsik** ay wala ring magagawa. 13) yaong laya na kinuha sa gitna ng **himagsikan**? 14) at ang mga diwa't puso ng dakilang **rebolusion**,

Table 1. Sample Usages of "Rebolusion" and "Himagsikan" by Amado V. Hernandez and Jose Corazon de Jesus.

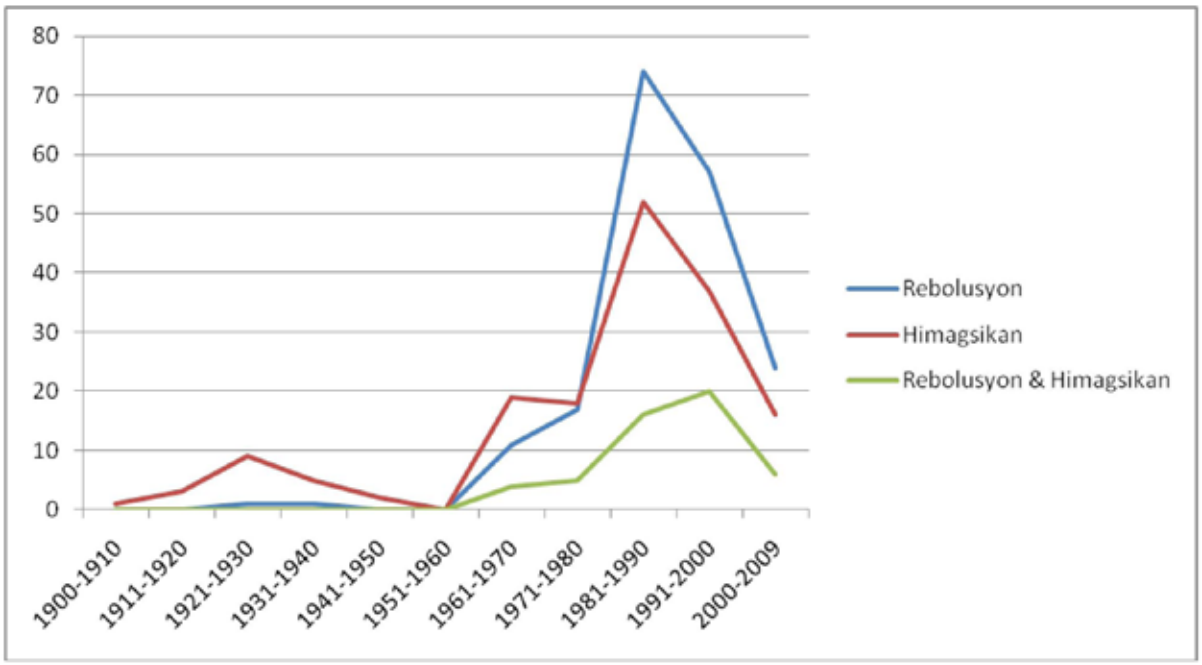

Figure 1. Graph of books published per decade containing the words "Himagsikan" and "Rebolusyon".

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FORUM KRITIKA

PAGBABASA AT PAGBABASANG-MULI SA PP

Myfel Joseph Paluga
University of the Philippines (Mindanao)
myfeljoseph@yahoo.com

Abstrak
Ini-endorso ng papel ang isang exploratoryong paraan ng pagbabasa (at pagbabasang-muli bilang sistematikong pagtatanong) ng isang klasikong teksto ng Pantayong Pananaw (PP) upang, sa minimalistang pagtingin sa isang diskurso, mapalitaw ang ilang susing bokabolaryo at ang batayang balangkas nito. Ang napalitaw na balangkas ay tinataya na isang durableng aspeto ng PP sa istilo, lapit, at mga tema nito. Ang mga susing bokabularyo at mga balangkas ng PP ay maaaring tingnan bilang heuristiks sa pagbubuo ng mga katanungan sa isang nagpapatuloy na pananaliksik.

Susing-frase
exploratoryong pagbabasa, heuristics, sistematikong pagtatanong, minimalistang pagtingin sa diskurso

> Ang mga elementong ito'y pinalilitaw na parang ritwal sa alaala dahil lamang sa kinailangan ng mga ilustrado na maibukod ang kanilang sarili sa mga Kastila.
>
> – Zeus A. Salazar, "Ang Pantayong Pananaw bilang Diskursong Pangkabihasnan" (1991)

Dapat basahin at basahing-muli ang mga klasikong teksto ng Pantayong Pananaw (PP) upang mas makita ang mahalagang disenyo nito, lampas doon sa "mga elementong pinalilitaw na parang ritwal sa alaala dahil lamang kailangang maibukod" palayo ang mga katunggali. Ibig sabihin, pagbabasang lampas sa ritwalistikong mekaniks ng pagbubukod at pagbabakod (ng "tayo" *versus* "di-tayo," ng diskursibong "kapwa" at ng "iba," ng "taga-loob" kontra "taga-labas" ng PP).

Isang paraan tungo rito ang ini-endorso ng kasalukuyang papel: (a) pagbabasa bilang pagpapalitaw ng mga susing-kataga gamit ang pagbibilang/*frequency* (at pagbabasang-muli ng mga nabilang), at (b) pagbabasang-muli bilang sistematikong pagtatanong. Kailangan rin sigurong maipasok dito, kahit lamang bilang indikatibong punto, na ang papel na ito ay pagpapatuloy ng dalawang nauna kong "pagbabasa" ng PP:

"Pragmatiks ng Tanong" (2000) at "Tala at Tanong sa Aghamtao" (2008).

Ang ganitong istilo ng pagbabasa at pagbabasang-muli sa PP ay tinatayang magreresulta sa dalawang bagay: (a) pagpapalitaw ng ilang di-gaanong-nabibigyang-diin na mga susing-kategorya at paradigmatikong lohika ng PP, at (b) pagbubukas ng importanteng katanungan at panandang heuristiks para sa ibayo-pang pananaliksik.

ILANG DURABLENG TEMA AT MGA SUSING BOKABULARYO NG PP

Sa aking pagbibilang/pagbabalangkas-na-pagbabasa sa PP (kahit lang sa isang klasikong teksto nito: Salazar, 1991), ganito ang lumilitaw na mga susing bokabularyo at ang posibleng pagka-balangkas nito (tingnan sa *Apendiks* ang explikasyon ng exploratoryong metodong ginamit sa pagpapalitaw nito):

TABULA *I*. BOKABULARYO

Ilang Bokabolaryo ng PP	
atin	**kultura** *(5)*
bansa	labas
banyaga *(10)*	lipunan
bayan *(6)*	loob
dayuhan	nasyon
elite *(8)*	pag-uusap
etnolingguwistiko	**pagkabuo** *(7)*
iba *(9)*	pananaw
ilustrado	sarili
kaisipan	**sila** *(1)*
kalinangan *(3)*	tayo
kapilipinuhan *(2)*	tunay
katutubo	**wika** *(4)*
konsepto	
Naka-boldface *ang nangungunang mga kataga*	

TABULA *II*. BALANGKAS

Ilang tema at susing mga kataga ng PP			
Tema	***Modality***	**Susing-kataga** (*keywords, binary order: may-diin sa* ***B***) ***A***	***B***
(1) pag-uusap/wika	**(a)** *Pook*	*i* **labas**	*x* **loob**
	(b) *Tauhan*	*ii* **iba**	*xi* **sarili** (*cf.* sarili-kapwa kontinuum)
		iii **sila**/kanila	*xii* **tayo**, **atin**
(2) kalinangan/kultura, lipunan	**(c)** *Kalagayan: pagkakahati (panlabas, panloob)*	*iv* **dayuhan**	*xiii* **kapilipinuhan**
		v **banyaga**	*xiv* **katutubo/etnolingguwistiko**
		vi **elite/ilustrado**	*xv* (di-elite)
		vii **nasyon**	*xvi* **bayan/bansa**
(3) pananaw/kaisipan/konsepto	**(d)** *Tunguhin*	*viii* (watak-watak, di-buo)	*xvii* **pagkabuo**
		ix (seroks, di-tunay)	*xviii* **tunay** (na 'daigdig', 'pagkatao')

Kombinatoryo at Pagsususpende ng Diin at Elemento

Pansinin na maaaring gawin ang sumusunod patungkol sa napalitaw na balangkas: (a) isuspende ang diin, palitan, o gawing blanko (isuspende bilang katanungan) ang lahat ng laman ng mga *cells* ng "susing-kataga" (*i-xviii*); o/at, (b) ikombina ang mga elemento ng "tema" sa mga elemento ng *modality* upang makabuo ng ibang katanungan (magbibigay ng halimbawa nito sa ibaba).

Dalawang Mapapansing Aspeto ng PP

Magbabanggit lang tayo dito ng dalawang dapat sigurong bigyang-diin sa antas ngayon ng pag-uusap sa PP. Una: sa *Tabula 1*, mapapansin ang intrinsikong papel (di-aksidental, may pinaka-mataas na dalas-banggit/*frequency*) ng "sila" (pag-uusap ng taga-loob tungkol sa labas). Hindi ba't mamamalayan dito na kakambal talaga ng pantayo ang pansilang *tenor*? Hindi ito gaanong nabibigyang-diin, ngunit tila may sikolohikal at dayalektikal na lohika ito: sa isang *ego*/sarili-kapwa na pag-uusap (baka isang 'malungkuting' pag-uusap kung *purong* taga-loob lang), laging lilitaw ang presensiya ng "iba" sa anyong "sila."

Pangalawa: kritikal ang papel ng tatlong tema ng balangkas sa itaas dahil substantibong mababago ang PP (o magkaroon ng ala-ebolusyunaryong pagsasanga) kung, halimbawa, ay papalitan ang "kalinangan" bilang ikutang kategorya sa pagtingin sa lipunan: ikontrast ang "produksiyon" (paglikha ng "materyal" na mga bagay) bilang sentral na kategorya ng panlipunang pag-aaral, sa "kalinangan" (o ang mas masaklaw na "pamumuhay").

Matatawag na *hard kernel* ng PP ang: ***(a)*** pagbubukas-usapin (at laging pag-aabala) sa panloob na "pag-uusap" at sa istatus ng ating "wika" o pagwiwika (mangyari pa, hindi simpleng "salita" ang tinutukoy ng "wika"); ***(b)*** preferensyal na lapit sa kategoryang "kalinangan" (at mga kaugnay nitong konsepto sa WP); at, ***(c)*** pagbibigay-diin (sa pananaliksik) sa mga "pang-kaisipang" elemento ng pamumuhay (kung kaya't may pokus sa mga "pakahulugan").

Kung gayon: ang pagbibitiw sa kahit isa sa tatlong elementong ito ay, sa ganitong pagbabasa, lubusang magpapabago sa PP.

Ngunit sa kabilang banda: ang pagdadagdag (o pagpapalit kaya) ng ilang metodolohiya (kasangkapang-pananaliksik o istilo ng pangangatuwiran sa pagbubuo ng kaalaman: *e.g.*, etnograpiya bilang *fine-tuning*/*tweaking* sa mga nabuong heuristiks mula sa

tila-suki nang linggwistikong analisis ng PP), sa aking tingin, ay osmotikong maisasagawa sa namarkahang tema/tanong ng PP na hindi lubusang magpapabago sa paradigmatikong lasa nito.

Digressio 1: "Kaparaanan ng Pamumuhay"

Ano ang posibleng maikombina (sa *Tabula II*) matapos ang pagtukoy sa durableng tema ng PP? Isang halimbawa lang muna ngayon, na nakatuon sa pangalawang haliging tema ng PP, "kalinangan." Kombinasyong **2(d)** at pagpapalit-laman ng ***xvii***: pagbibigay-diin sa "pangkalinangang" aspeto, sa usaping *tunguhin* nito, ngunit pagpapalit/pagsususpende sa susing-kataga ng ***A/B*** ("moda sa produksiyon"← "pagbubuo").

Bibigyang-diing tanong: anong ikutang kategorya (sa istilong akademiko, *nodal concept* o *master signifier* siguro) ang higit na angkop—kapwa sa usaping pananaliksik/pag-unawa at pagbabago/pag-unlad (Paluga, 2008: kapsula 66, 68, 74.4)—sa mga katangian ng kasalukuyang "bayan/bansa": ang "moda sa produksiyon" o ang "kalinangan" narin mismo (o di kaya mga kaugnay na elemento nito: halimbawa, "ginhawa" at "magandang buhay")? Mag-ingat: huwag kaagad ipasok ang tanong na ito sa prismang *economy/politics/political economy versus culture* na debate ("ano ang mas mapagpasya?"): *sozein ta phainomena* (kung hihiramin si Ferriols), maglalaho ang "meron" ng tanong kung pabayaang dumulas ang "produksiyon"/kalinangan sa konstelasyong *economy/culture*. Pansining mahalagang teknik ng PP ang pagtatabi ng labas/loob na kategorya (*revolucion*/himagsikan, *nacion*/bayan, *etc.*): mahalagang simptoma ito ng diskursong PP na ingatang huwag maliitin o lampasan.

Ganito ang nakikita kong disenyong ipinoposisyon ng PP: bilang kognitibo (at pilosopikal) na kategorya, at hindi simpleng mga "salita" lamang, paano mas maipapaloob sa "kalinangan" ang mga mapagpalayang elemento ng (inaangking) konseptong "moda sa produksiyon"? O di kaya: paano ba sistematikong isa-konsepto ang "kalinangan" upang mas makita ang sumisikil-sa-ginhawang mga kaayusan nito (ang "*mode/weise*/kaparaanan" kaya ng "kalinangan/pamumuhay"?): usapin ito ng pagbubuo ng isang malaya at maginhawang kalinangan, na sumasaklaw/lumalampas sa simpleng pagsasaayos ng *Produksionweise* o ng "kasangkapan at ugnayan sa/ng mga (*materyal* na) likha." Ito ang naririnig kong tanong ng PP: may intrínsiko bang limitasyon ang "pang-kalinangang lapit" na hindi mai-*calibrate* (kung mas angkop na tuntungang kategorya) sa mga adhikaing "mapagpalaya" (kahit dito man lamang muna sa usaping pagsasa-konsepto/pagdadalumat)?

Digressio 2: May Diing Panloob

Ang makikitang preokupasyon ng PP ay: napakamahalaga ang pag-aabala sa panloob na konseptwalisasyon ("pagpapangalan") ng mga karanasan/kaayusan ng pang-araw-araw na pagkilos/pagpapakilos at pagbubuo ng tunguhin.

Maaaring basahin sa tatlong ulit ang pangungusap: (1) *May* diing panloob: loob ng (akademikong) talastasang *makabansa* ang unang-unang inaatupag: o di kaya, *paglikha* sa makabansang 'loob' na ito. (2) May *diing* panloob: kaya kung sakaling makikitang di-sukat/pobre ang panloob na mga dalumat kumpara sa lumalawak/sumasalimuot na katotohanang-bayan/daigdig, ang reyalisasyong ito sa kagipitang-konseptwal ay dahil na rin mismo sa pagka-unawa sa *tindi* ng kagipitang-panloob. (3) May diing *panloob*: kaya ang konseptwal na pag-aangkat, kung—o dahil—kinakailangan, ay usapin ng malikhaing "pagsasalin." Kaya tila laging likas na lilitawan ng suplemental na dayalektika ang ganitong pananaw: sa matinding galaw na panloob, mas nauunawaan/napapahalagahan ang di-loob/lampas-loob na mga elemento.

Minimalistang Pagbabasa sa PP

Maaaring sagot sa tanong kung "ano itong PP?" ang: sa minimalistang pagtingin (ibig sabihin: ihiwalay sandali, upang makapagpokus, ang konseptwal na *paradigma* sa empirical—at sa iilan, kontrobersyal—na praktis nito), binubuo ang PP ng set ng mga bokabolaryo at balangkas: isang set ng mga limitado, "namarkahang" kataga/kategorya—na may interes sa pagpapalalim ng mga ito patungo sa pagsusuri ng mga kaugnay na kategorya sa Wikang Filipino (WP)—at ang kaugnay nitong mga programatikong balangkas. (At kaya mapapansin ang halus simptomatikong pagpapahalaga ng PP sa paglikha ng mga "balangkas" at pagkaakit sa mga diksiyunaryo). Bilang ganito lamang (at sadyang di muna papansinin ang iba pang aspeto ng PP), wala akong nakikitang intrinsikong kamalian sa natukoy na bokabolaryo-balangkas bilang estratehiya-ng-pag-alam.

Tila ito ang nakaligtaan ng ilang sobra-sobra ang pagpuna sa pagka-dogmatiko ng PP (o di kaya, ng ilang naakit sa PP ngunit naging pabaya, sa pagturing na parang doktrina ang heuristikong mga balangkas nito): na maaaring gawing di-dogmatiko ang pagsagawa ng pananaliksik sa mga makabuluhang mga elementong nasalungguhitan ng PP.

MULA BOKABULARYO/BALANGKAS TUNGONG HEURISTIKS/TANONG

Isang dimensyon ng katatagan ng isang *paradigma* ay ang pagpapalitaw nito ng mga mahahalagang "bagay" na dapat masaliksik. Ang pagtransporma sa itaas na balangkas upang maging dinamikong gamit-pananaliksik ay ang simpleng pagtransporma sa kanila bilang tanong. Narito ang ilang maaaring pag-umpisahan:

(1) Mahalaga ba ang mga tema at bokabularyo ng mga susing-kataga na natukoy o nabuksan?

(2) Sa gitna ng halus-espontanyo nang pag-iisip tungkol sa *hybrid* at *montage* na kalagayan/pag-iral ng mga bagay, bakit kailangan pa ring bigyang-puwang ang pagkakaiba ng "loob" at "labas" sa isang diskursong makabansa? O, kelan nagiging matino ang walang-kurap na pagbibigay-diin sa radikal na untul ng "labas" at "loob," at kelan ito nagiging pantasya na lamang? Kelan nagiging bagahe na sa matinong pang-unawa ng pag-iral ang ganitong klaseng binaryo?

(3) Maaari sigurong mapangiti sa relatibong dalas na pag-gamit ng PP sa katagang "tunay," ngunit maaari ring magtanong: Paano kung mas nagiging mahalaga ang pag-uusap, ngayon higit kaylanman, tungkol sa "tunay" na pag-iral (o ng "tunay na daigdig") sa sitwasyong laganap ang (totoong) kalagayang *virtual* dala ng bagong mga teknolohiyang dijito-biswal.

(4) Ano itong "bayan" sa pagsasa-anyo nito sa iba't ibang lugar, kalagayang-panlipunan at panahon? Paano ito lumitaw, nanatili, at nagbabago? Ano-anong mga kategorya pa sa loob ng WP ang dapat mapag-aralan na may kaugnayan sa "bayan"? Anong mga metodolohiya pa ang maaaring hiramin/likhain upang magpalalim sa naumpisahang mga mapanghawang pag-aaral (o simple ngunit mahalagang pagsasalungguhit) ng PP (at minsan ng di-PP) sa mga kategoryang "ili," "banua," "inged," "lungsod," at iba pang mga kaugnay na kataga sa iba't ibang pook ng arkipelago.

***Digressio 3: Rekombinasyong* "Banua"**

Maaring matukoy ang dalawang elemento ng nakonstrak na balangkas sa itaas (*Tabula II*), na tumutukoy sa pangkalinangang tauhan at kalagayan ng sinaunang "bayan"

(sa anyong "banua"), ang mga *axis* **2(b)*xi*** at **2(c)*xvi***, at tingnan kung paano ito titigan/saliksikin sa prismang heuristiks/tanong.

Sa tinatahak kong pag-aaral sa banua," naging mabunga ang pagsususpende ko sa diin sa **2(b)*xi***/"sarili" ("tao-tao" na ugnayan bilang tauhan) tungo sa *di-taong* "iba": sa ganitong *mode* rin makikita ang sa aking pagtingin ay mahalagang kaayusan ng sinaunang **2(c)*xvi***/"bayan" sa anyong "banua." Ang pagsuspende/pagputol sa loob-sarili-bayan *nexus* ay magbubukas sa mahahalagang posibilidad ng (1) tao/di-tao, (2) di-taong labas at (kahit pa) loob, at (3) wika/lampas-wika na mga pag-uugnayan ng mga elemento ng isang banwa/daigdig.

Marami pang maaaring mabago sa ilang kaayusang natukoy sa itaas: paglilipat ng diin, pagpapalit ng (ilang) mga kategorya, at pagsususpende ng ilang *cells*. Gayunpaman, isa pa ring nagpapatuloy na heuristiks sa mga kasalukuyan kong istilo ng pananaliksik sa "banua" ang mga bokabularyo at balangkas na mapanghawang napalitaw ng PP (*e.g.*, mga 'haliging personahe ng "bayan": "panday," "babaylan," "datu," "bagani"; ang penomenon ng "ilihan"; iba't ibang pag-aanyo ng "bayan"). (Maliban, mangyari pa, sa iba pang ambag na natutunan mula sa iba't ibang sulok/mundo ng pananaliksik).

ANG PP AT IBA PANG PANLOOB NA DISKURSO

Dala ng pagpapahalaga (ng mga naging bahagi ng tinaguriang *indigenization movement* sa disiplina) sa mga panloob na kategorya ng WP, at kalkuladong di-pagpapatangay sa mga uso-usong tema ng mga dominanteng sentro ng pagti-teorya, nagiging balon pa rin ang mga akdang PP ng mga makabuluhang tema at heuristiks para sa panlipunan/pangkabihasnang pag-aaral.

Kailangan ring gawin ang pagbabasa at pagbabasang-muli sa iba pang mga akda ng PP, Sikolohiyang Pilipino (SP), at Pilipinolohiya (PN) bilang nagpapatuloy na gawain tungo sa mas matatag na pag-unawa ng lipunang Pilipino.

May mga matitinding pormulasyong mapupuna sa mga ito (na totoo rin naman sa mga umaayaw sa PP/SP/PN): kaya't mahalaga, at dapat tapatan ng masusing pag-aaral, ang bihasa at sopistikadong mga *kritik* sa larangang ito ni Ramon Guillermo. Ngunit ligtas pa rin sa bigwas ng "kritika" ang mga elemental na hakbang at mapanghawang pagsisikap ng "indihenisasyon" sa akademikong larangan: pomokus (muna) sa "loob" at huwag (laging) tumugon (hindi sinasabing magsasara ng tenga) sa mapang-akit na mga boses (tawag, sitsit, sipol, kanta, kahol) mula sa "labas."

May mga mintis at mga di-pagsapol: ngunit (o baka, kaya nga) dapat basahin at basahing-muli ang mga binuksang diskurso ng PP.

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APENDIKS

Isang paraan ng leksikal na pagpoproseso at pagpapalitaw ng balangkas
ng mga susing-kategorya ng isang klasikong teksto ng PP

Table 1a. Batayang teksto ang akda ni Zeus Salazar (1991) na, "Ang Pantayong Pananaw bilang Diskursong Pang-kabihasnan." Hinugot sa teksto ang mga natatanging kataga (*unique words*), gamit ang isang gawang program (*Catfreq*) at hiniwalay mula rito ang mga di-*relevant* na mga kataga (nasa: Paluga, Paluga, Navarrete, 2008 ang ilan pang diskusyon sa ganitong istilo ng pagbabasa/pagbibilang). Dahil papasok dito ang ilang aspeto ng maluwag na interpretasyon, ang *rule* na isaisip ay: mas kakaunti ang katagang matanggal, mas mababa ang posibleng subhetibismong metodolohikal. Pinili ang *cut-off* set na kapantay o lampas sa 1/100, upang mabuo ang tentatibong "listahan ng mga susing-kategorya" sa ibaba:

ZA Salazar, 'Pantayong Pananaw, Diskursong Pangkabihasnan (1991)		
Kategorya	**Bilang**	**Fraction**
sila/nila/kanila	211	9/100
pilipino/kapilipinuhan	118	6/100
kalinangan/pang-	105	5/100
wika	95	4/100
kultura	89	4/100
kastila	82	4/100
bayan	81	4/100
buo/na-/pagka-/pagbu-/nabu-/*etc.*	77	3/100
elite/di-elite	72	3/100
iba	68	3/100
banyaga/pagsasa-	54	2/100
pananaw	53	2/100
nasyon/nasyonal/nasyonalidad	48	2/100
atin/natin/taal-sa-/di-	47	2/100
kolonya/kolonyal/-ismo/-lista	39	2/100
sarili/nagsa-	39	2/100
pan**tayo**	38	2/100
lipunan-at-(estado, kultura, *etc.*)/pan-	37	2/100
bansa/pam-/pagka-	36	2/100
amerikano	35	2/100
loob/pan-/taga-/nakapa-	35	2/100
filipino	27	1/100
katutubo/pagsasa-	24	1/100
ingles/-ero/mag-	23	1/100
kasaysayan	22	1/100
tagalog	21	1/100
ilustrado	20	1/100
etnolingguwistiko	19	1/100
pari/pam-	19	1/100
prayle	18	1/100
labas/taga-/pan-	18	1/100
usap/ka-/kina-/nag-/pag-	17	1/100
edukasyon	15	1/100
pilipinas	15	1/100
dayuhan	15	1/100
kaisipan	14	1/100
konsepto	12	1/100
tunay	12	1/100
*Total ng natatanging mga kategorya (*unique words*): 2259*		
Nasa itaas: x ≥ 1/100; Wala sa itaas: x < 1/100		
Mga katagang tinanggal (na nasa x ≥ 1/100): sa, ng, ang, mga, at, na, ay, o, ito, hindi, pa, sabihin, bahagi, ngayon, pamamagitan, dito, pagkatapos, isa, siyang, tulad, dalawa, hinggil, katunayan, talaga, wala, kanya, nasa, samakatuwid, sapagkat, bago, dantaon, lahat, sistema, bago, sekular.		

Table 1b. Sa *Table 1a*, makikita ang naka-*boldface* na mga kataga sa "listahan": pangalawang hakbang ito ng pagsasalang leksikal upang ihiwalay ang ilang kataga na, sa konteksto ng sinusuring teksto, ay maituturing na: (a) subset ng isang mas masaklaw na kataga (*e.g.*, "ingles" o "filipino" bilang subset-kataga ng "wika"; (b) insidental na bahagi ng isang partikular na naratibo ng teksto (*e.g.*, "pari," "prayle," "kolonyalismo" bilang mga insidental na mga *item* ng naratibo ng pagpasok ng "banyaga" o tagpuang "banyaga" at "katutubo"). Dito makikita ang pangangailangan ng *cross-checking* ng ilang kataga na maaari pang ihiwalay at pagbabasa sa kinalalagyang konteksto. Gayunpaman, ang *rule* pa rin dito ay: mas kakaunti ang tinanggal na mga kataga, mas mababa ang di-kinakailangang subhetibismong metodolohikal.

Pansinin na ang nagawang dalawang-serye ng *extraction* ay nasa istilo ng *reduction* ng mga kataga: mula sa 2,259 *unique words* patungong 27 na katagang may matataas na bilang at ipinapalagay na mga susing-kategorya. Batayang *assumption* ng ganitong tipo ng pagpo-prosesong tekstwal ang pagpapalagay na hindi talaga random (= may lohikal na batayan) ang *frequency patterns* ng mga kategorya sa isang teksto o kalipunan ng mga teksto.

Narito ang mga susing-kategorya matapos ang pangalawang pagsasala (nasa *b.2* ang alpabetikal na listahan):

(b.1)

Kategorya	***x/T***	***x***
sila	0.15	211
kapilipinuhan	0.08	118
kalinangan	0.07	105
wika	0.07	95
kultura	0.06	89
bayan	0.06	81
pagkabuo	0.05	77
elite	0.05	72
iba	0.05	68
banyaga	0.04	54
pananaw	0.04	53
nasyon	0.03	48
atin	0.03	47
sarili	0.03	39
tayo	0.03	38
lipunan	0.03	37
bansa	0.02	36
loob	0.02	35
katutubo	0.02	24
ilustrado	0.01	20
etnolingguwistiko	0.01	19
labas	0.01	18
pag-uusap	0.01	17
dayuhan	0.01	15
kaisipan	0.01	14
konsepto	0.01	12
tunay	0.01	12
*Total (**T**)*	1.00	1454

(b.2)

Ilang Bokabolaryo ng PP	
atin	**kultura** *(5)*
bansa	labas
banyaga *(10)*	lipunan
bayan *(6)*	loob
dayuhan	nasyon
elite *(8)*	pag-uusap
etnolingguwistiko	**pagkabuo** *(7)*
iba *(9)*	pananaw
ilustrado	sarili
kaisipan	**sila** *(1)*
kalinangan *(3)*	tayo
kapilipinuhan *(2)*	tunay
katutubo	**wika** *(4)*
konsepto	
*Naka-*boldface *ang nangungunang mga kataga*	

Table 1c. Ang pinal na "listahan" sa *Table 1b* ay ipo-proseso gamit ang tatlong-hakbang na estratehiya: (a) paghihiwalay sa mga katagang maipapares (o mabibigyang-pares) bilang binaryong mga set (*binary keywords*); (b) pagpapares sa naiwang mga kataga ayon sa konseptwal na pagkakaugnay (*theme keywords*); (c) pagtangkang bigyang kaugnayan ang set *(a) at (b)* (pagtukoy sa *modality* ng posibleng kaugnayan ng dalawang set).

Makikita ang isa pang *assumption* dito (dagdag sa nabanggit sa itaas): may lohikal-sinkronikong pagkakaugnay-ugnay ang mga 'susing kataga' ng isang teksto, na maituturing bilang isang durableng *paradigma* ng diskurso.

Nasa ibaba ang nakonstrak na balangkas: ipinapalagay dito na ang naisaayos na mga susing-kategorya ay tumutumbok sa ilang nagpapatuloy na mga tema, istilo, lapit ng PP:

Ilang tema at susing mga kataga ng PP			
Tema	***Modality***	**Susing-kataga** (*keywords, binary order: may-diin sa B*) **A**	**B**
	(a) *Pook*	*i* **labas**	*x* **loob**
(1) pag-uusap/wika	(b) *Tauhan*	*ii* **iba**	*xi* **sarili** (*cf.* sarili-kapwa kontinuum)
		iii **sila**/kanila	*xii* **tayo, atin**
(2) kalinangan/kultura, lipunan	(c) *Kalagayan: pagkakahati (panlabas, panloob)*	*iv* **dayuhan**	*xiii* **kapilipinuhan**
		v **banyaga**	*xiv* **katutubo/etnolingguwistiko**
		vi **elite/ilustrado**	*xv* (di-elite)
		vii **nasyon**	*xvi* **bayan/bansa**
(3) pananaw/kaisipan/konsepto	(d) *Tunguhin*	*viii* (watak-watak, di-buo)	*xvii* **pagkabuo**
		ix (seroks, di-tunay)	*xviii* **tunay** (na 'daigdig', 'pagkatao')

Bilang isang pinapalagay na *paradigma* ng PP, maitataya na dapat durable ang kaayusang ipinapakita dito at ang nakapaloob na mga kategorya kung gagawa ng pagsusuri sa iba pang batayang kasulatang PP. Ipinapalagay na kakikitaan ang mga tekstong PP ng pagbibigay-diin sa sumusunod na set (o kaugnay na mga kategorya):

(a) "**wika**" (ng bayan, nakakarami) at "**pag-uusap**" (*cf.*, diin sa "talastasan") at ang binaryong "taga-loob/taga-labas" na talastasan (ang natawag ko noong "lohika ng bibig" dahil sa ilang matingkad na metaporang polemikal ni ZAS);

(b) diin sa **pagkakahating pangkalinangan** at panlipunan ("**banyaga/elite**" *versus* "**bayan/katutubo/kapilipinuhan**");

(c) diin sa pag-unawa/pananaliksik sa mga panloob nating **konsepto, kaisipan at pananaw**, lalo na iyong patungkol sa ating "**kabuuhan**" at pag-aadhika ng di-seroks o "**tunay**" na pag-iral (*e.g.*, sa mga katagang: "tunay na daigdig," "tunay na pagkatao")

FORUM KRITIKA

SHORT NOTATIONS AND REFLECTIONS ON PANTAYONG PANANAW

Aaron Rom O. Moralina
Ateneo de Manila University, Philippines
amoralina@ateneo.edu

Abstract
This paper answers the question "What is Pantayong Pananaw?" through the subject of its study, its methods, its mode of communicating knowledge, and how it has served as a conscious effort of counteracting Western historiographic discourse. It also discusses the limitations and pitfalls of Pantayong Pananaw as well as its possible directions and trajectories.

Keywords
historiography, Filipinization

About the author
Aaron Rom O. Moralina is a graduate student in the Department of History, Ateneo de Manila University. He teaches 20th century Philippine history in undergraduate courses offered by the History Department. He is finishing his MA thesis on the history of tuberculosis control in the American Philippines from 1898 to 1946.

I was not a student of Zeus Salazar or any of the leading names of *Pantayong Pananaw* (PP). I first heard of Salazar's name from my mother's stories about her UP [University of the Philippines] days, which provided me my earliest idea of Salazar's influence in the field of history. But unlike my mother, I never made it to UP, and my exposure to PP actually began in doing required readings in my junior year as an undergraduate in Ateneo. When I went on to take graduate studies in the same school, my appreciation of PP deepened—a course called Philippine Social History introduced me to three works of historians initially known as luminaries of the PP movement. These were *Katutubo, Muslim, Kristiyano: Palawan, 1621-1901* authored by Nilo S. Ocampo (1985), *Kasaysayan ng Bulakan* by Jaime B. Veneracion (1986), and the basis of PP's methodological prescription, Salazar's *Ang Pantayong Pananaw Bilang Diskursong Pangkabihasnan* (1997).

One major requirement of that course was to write a journal entry containing my reflection on every discussion, a compilation of which was to be submitted at the end of the semester. Some of the early versions of these entries were registered in my weblog, and as an electronic repository that provided access to netizens, it made available my journal entries for access not only to my peers but also to PP's disciples. An entry on PP even found

its way in one conference paper, much to my surprise.

Indeed, my thoughts on PP have changed since then. This essay is partly an attempt to work on my opinions that have developed in my graduate school days. Still, I am compelled to provide a caveat: I have not engaged in a sustained critique of historiography, and what I will mention in this essay will most likely sound stale to those familiar with debates on PP.

What is Pantayong Pananaw (PP)? Filipino historians who subscribe to PP call for an indigenous perspective with which historical and other intellectual enquiries should be conducted. *"Pantayo"* simply means *from-us-to-us*, and connotes that the speaker communicates with an audience that is also part of the speaker's community. PP necessitates a "*talastasang bayan*," which Ramon Guillermo (1) describes as a "subsistent dialogical circle" consisting of subjects within a community with a homogenous socio-politico-cultural code. This "code" becomes the referent of analysis in historiography and other academic fields under the social sciences and the humanities.

In historiography, PP maintains that no indigenous view can be attained unless one utilizes the inherent characteristics (*katangian*), values (*halagahin*), knowledge (*kaalaman*), wisdom (*karunungan*), goals (*hangarin*), customs (*kaugalian*), proclivities (*pag-aasal*), and experiences (*karanasan*) understood genuinely by the members of the community themselves (Salazar "Isang Paliwanang" 55-6). The use of the community's language is crucial in achieving this vista, because it is assumed that only through the use of the local language that the community's meanings, concepts, and values are effectively invoked. Guillermo is again instructive when he describes the community that performs a *talastasan* as a "social collectivity (possessing) a relatively unified and internally articulated linguistic-cultural structure of communication and interaction and/ or a sense of oneness of purpose and existence" (2).

Needless to say, the call for a PP is a conscious effort to counteract the perceived western orientation of Philippine historiography. Since the early efforts to reconstruct Philippine history were attributed to colonial authorities (i.e., friars, colonial bureaucrats), there has been a notion that the moving forces in Philippine history are external influences and that Philippine history is merely a delayed repetition of Western history (e.g., Gabriela Silang is the Philippine's Joan of Arc). Such tendencies are strongly interrogated by intellectual enquiries that subscribe to PP. There is insistence in the use of Filipino language because the most palpable manifestation of the Western orientation is the historian's use of English.

More importantly, PP views that Philippine historiography is replete with

"pangkaming pananaw." "Pangkami" connotes a speaker talking to an audience outside of the speaker's community. PP carries with it a perception that the writing of the Philippine past has been carried out within the parameters of the colonial, and that those who engage in history writing innately converse with the outsiders (i.e., West). PP regards extant studies of Philippine history as inherently flawed due to the ubiquity of *"pangkaming pananaw"* in intellectual enquiries. Hence, the promise of PP is its resounding call to challenge the asymmetric relationship between those outside and those inside the "Philippine community." To subscribe to *"pantayong pananaw"* then is to take the task of making sense of the Philippine experience according to the terms not of the westerners, but of the Filipinos. And if the western oriented Philippine academia has conditioned its members to use the English language, PP insists in using Filipino not only because by doing so could one attain an authentic and indigenous (i.e., *taal*) view, but because it challenges the intellectual milieu created by those who converse with the outside.

This critical gesture is not entirely novel with PP. In Ateneo, there has been a similar fervor which asserted the Filipino language as scholarly and erudite as English. Starting in the 1960s, a "Filipinization" movement has been launched to respond to the need of indigenizing western-oriented courses and of bridging the gap between the American Jesuits and their students. Horacio Dela Costa, S. J. led a committee that introduced Filipino as medium of instruction in selected courses and soon after, Roque Ferriols, S. J. offered the first philosophy class taught in Filipino. Following a positive reception from the students, Filipino was adopted in Theology, Economics, Sociology, Anthropology, and History (Brillantes 8-9). At present, there are a significant number of courses in Loyola Schools taught in Filipino. The Department of Philosophy teaches half of its classes per semester in Filipino. The progressively-themed publication *Matanglawin* is also a product of the Filipinization movement. Even outside the formal institutions within the university, Filipinization has affected the learning atmosphere of the undergraduate student population. During my college days, informal study circles were effortlessly organized, serving as venues for *Atenistas*—although a small number compared to the general *Inglesero* population, but a significant number nonetheless—to discuss the philosophical issues in Filipino: the Marxian analysis of the Tagalog trope "*paghahanapbuhay*" as ironically insufficient to sustain decent life, Gabriel Marcel's formulation of "*tao bilang sumasakatawang diwa*" and its potential in paving the way for a more humane Filipino society, and Jurgen Habermas's "*kilos komunikatibo*" in the attaining peaceful and just coexistence within the context of globalization.

The potential I find in PP is similar to the liberating power of these debates and discussions. The assertion of the indigenous and the use of national language are empowering

tools against the onslaught of corporate-driven globalization, whose effects are very much felt even in the Philippine academe. The surge in the number of nursing schools is a discomforting indication of this and it appears that even research agendas and course offerings are being dominated by the forces of the free market. Multinational capitalists and neoliberal doctrinaires are bent on describing the world as becoming "borderless," that the nation is increasingly turning obsolete with its geo-political boundaries becoming porous, paving the way for the free flow of capital. One way to offset the disconcerting effects of fresh graduates of Filipino schools being turned by global capital into docile transnational bodies is to assert that amid the displacement of Filipino bodies, the national community would not be dissolved. Nationalism and the assertion of Filipino as a language of erudition could create an environment in which the production and dissemination of knowledge would consciously include the members of the whole national community. This aspiration is promising in the field of history—the historical past becomes reconstructed such that the intention is to make the national community learn more about the plurality of the groups which constitute it, and how it should aspire to interrogate (and reverse) its marginal position in the global capitalist system.

But the promise of PP somehow ceases at its affirmation of the Filipino community and its insistence of the use of the national language. Most of PP's tenets are actually sources of discomfort. I doubt that our passionate debates in Filipino about Marx, Marcel, and Habermas during my undergraduate days would have been approved by proponents of PP. Mere mention of these names could have resulted in accusations that we have a "pangkaming pananaw" because we used appropriated concepts, values, and meanings introduced from the outside in order to make sense of our experiences as members of the community.

This leads me to ask: what are the pitfalls of PP?

There is limited space for dialogue with PP. PP sets the stringent parameters that must be first attained in order for a dialogue to be possible. The strict use of "Filipino" is one parameter with which dialogue could be accomplished. In the field of history, the adoption of PP's own brand of periodization in Philippine history is imperative. Failure to comply with PP's own set of parameters would elicit accusations of having a "pangkaming pananaw" which PP immediately dismisses as the wrong way of doing Philippine history.

We may ask, is it acceptable to say that when Filipino academics engage in discourse using a foreign language, they dialogue with a foreign audience and they utilize a "wrong" view? There is also a notion that no indigenous view can be had among foreign scholars and foreign-trained Filipino scholars. Then it seems that the entitlement of history writing

the "right" way is only exclusive to those who subscribe to PP. Only in a few instances, a consolation "proto-pantayo" is used to refer to a few works, such as Reynaldo Ileto's exemplary subaltern study *Pasyon and Revolution* (1979).

Caroline Hau has argued how Salazar's critical assessment of the politics of the use of English does not extend to the politics of the use of Philippine language (56-7). Writing in the language called "Filipino" may not guarantee that more people will read the works of PP historians, thus the inclusion of the multitudes may not become part of the *talastasan bayan* that PP wants to achieve. Even modes of communication within the national polity are embedded in contexts of politics, history and economics, and cannot be considered as a "free-floating abstraction." Hau argues, "linguistic analysis cannot be thorough without a socio-historical analysis of the contexts not just of linguistic performance, but of the production and reception of texts" (57). Distinction between "foreign" and "national"/"indigenous" are categories too simplistic to become basis of what could or could not be suitable for discourse.

The politics attendant to the use of Filipino language is most palpable in charges that this language is merely a guise for Tagalog. This has been the basis of members of non-Tagalog ethno-linguistic groups to refuse "Filipino" as the national language. Without any kind of closure in the Filipino/Tagalog debate, PP cannot be able to find a high ground from which it could insist that only by using "Filipino" could one do Philippine history the "right way." At most, the use of "Filipino" language could serve as a statement of aspiration, with an attendant acknowledgment that it is a by-product of a Tagalocentric nationalism. It could help if we appreciate Filipino as an on-going national project still being shaped by the contribution of all Philippine languages spoken by Filipinos. It may be an impossible project to achieve, but as it is now, the use of Filipino still proves to be instrumental in facilitating a venue which challenges the academic milieu created by English.

What is important is that those who take this critical stance must not hesitate to communicate and enter into dialogue with those who remain complacent with the English-speaking milieu of the university. Rather than regarding English academic journals as artifacts for the propagation of a "wrong" view, should we not pay homage to their potentiality in facilitating transmission and production of knowledge within the confines of the university instead? The questions that Diokno posed are very instructive: "Is expanding the arena of discourse through the use of the Filipino language the sole consideration in the construction of an indigenous history? Does not *content* figure at all?" (12).

Many schools of thought have asserted their stake in truth-claiming, but only those

able to attain theoretical hegemony were able to do so by allowing other contending schools-of-thought to pit and polish its arguments. Obviously, PP aspires to become the theoretical guidepost with which all thoughts in social sciences and humanities must be crafted; yet, what passes off as the "wrong" view of doing history and what passes off as "right" view of doing history are not attained by PP's being able to exceed the theoretical challenges posed to it by other schools-of-thought. An *a priori* statement is firstly made by those who subscribe to PP, and that is, PP **is** the right view of doing history. Other *"pananaws"* are dismissed and simplistically delegitimized as the wrong way to do history. The venture of reifying PP as the "right" way to do history, as well as that of delegitimizing other pananaws, is not conducted within extant venues for academic dialogue and debate (i.e., English academic journals), but within its own exclusive venues for discussion (indoctrination?): a journal, a website, and a flagship historical association which holds conferences regularly. This clearly indicates how spaces for dialogue and debate are consciously made to be limited by PP.

It is distressing how hasty it is for PP's proponents and followers to deploy the blanket term *"pangkaming pananaw"* even to historical works critical of latent structures of power (i.e., colonialism). The failure to use Filipino language is one criterion, but it is more than an issue of language. As long as a historical work is non-compliant to PP's prescriptions, it is instantly dismissed as a wrong way to do history. For instance, PP would immediately accuse as utilizing a *"pangkaming pananaw"* an account that reads Philippine history through the lens of state-society relations (e.g., Abinales and Amoroso). Such appreciation of Philippine history may not be totally different from the manner by which twenty-first century Philippine history has been studied before, but the idea is to put emphasis on the formation of the Philippine state and the changes that had occurred with it, the changes in the reaction of groups within the Philippine society vis-à-vis the policies and actions of the state, and the result of these dynamics. Through PP's analytical lens, there is an inherent flaw in such an intellectual endeavor due to its utilization of colonial constructs such as "state," "civil society," and even the western concept of the "nation." Still, as much as a history of the bayan/banua/ili would elucidate a latent basis for social cohesion of an impoverished Filipino community, how else can one make sense of Philippine socio-politico-economic realities? It is only by grappling with these "foreign constructs" can one be able to understand the community—the shortcomings of the post-colonial state (some even say it is less post- than neo-) resulted in the marginalization of the majority of Filipino population due to the state's failure to uphold the interest of the community it purports to represent. If looking at Philippine history through the lens of

state-society relations is that of having a *"pangkaming pananaw,"* perhaps adopting such a *pananaw* is even more enlightening than adopting a PP because it enables us to deeply understand who we really are, the juncture in history we could locate ourselves in, and the trajectories that we want to take as a people.

This is not to say that PP's aspirations should be rejected altogether. The philosophical underpinnings of PP may be needed to be threshed out more. Indeed, PP possesses its own potentialities, but the conduct with which PP attempts to hegemonize in the academe renders PP a source of discomfort to its audience. It may help if we are all reminded that the use of *"tayo"* is also a rhetorical tool in politics. If *"tayo"* has been invoked in order to assert that only a certain pananaw is correct while others are not, do we not mimic what our colonial masters and this predatory regime tell the Filipino people that only they know what is right for everyone, while arrogantly discrediting other points of view in spite of their actions and policies inimical to the welfare of the people? Without displaying any gesture to dialogue and debate, is it not remote to equate PP to a dogma? Would not subscription to PP become detrimental to knowledge production since once people think in one and the same way, no debate and dialogue could then be had? Would everyone not be afraid, then, of being accused of having a wrong *pananaw?*

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FORUM KRITIKA

ANG PANDAIGDIGANG PANANAW NG PANTAYONG PANANAW

Jose Rhommel B. Hernandez
De La Salle University, Philippines
jorbhern@hotmail.com

Abstrak
Magsisimula ang panayam sa pagpapaliwanag ng Pantayong Pananaw, sa mga ugat nito sa historiyograpiyang Pilipino at mga kilusang indihenisasyon sa ikalawang hati ng ika-20 siglo. Isusunod ang implikasyon nito sa kasaysayan pati na rin sa iba pang agham panlipunan. Sa huli, magtatangkang tanawin ang PP bilang kasangkapan sa pag-unawa hindi lamang ng sangkapilipinuhan kundi ng iba ring bansang kaugnay sa mga interes ng Pilipinas.

Tungkol sa may-akda
Si Jose Rhommel B. Hernandez ay kasalukuyang Associate Professor at Graduate Studies Coordinator sa Departamento ng Kasaysayan ng De La Salle University, Manila. Siya ay nagtapos ng kanyang MA at PhD Kasaysayan sa Unibersidad ng Pilipinas, Diliman. Siya ang nagsalin sa Filipino ng mga akda nina Telesforo Canseco *(Historia de la Insurreccion Filipina en Cavite)* at Ulpiano Herrero y Sampedro *(Nuestra Prision en Poder de los Revolucionarios Filipinos)*.

> *Ang buod ng pantayong pananaw ay nasa panloob na pagkakaugnay-ugnay at paguugnay-ugnay ng mga katangian, halagahin, kaalaman, karunungan, hangarin, kaugalian, pag-aasal at karanasan ng isang kabuuang pangkalinangan—kabuuang nababalot sa, at ipinapahayag sa pamamagitan ng isang wika; ibig sabihin, sa loob ng isang nagsasariling talastasan/diskursong pangkalinangan o pangkabihasnan.*
>
> - Zeus A. Salazar (2000)

Ganito ang pahayag ni Zeus A. Salazar bilang pagpapaliwanag sa kanyang ipinanukalang Pantayong Pananaw (PP). Sa panayam na ito, ibig kong bigyan ito ng paliwanag at pagpapakabuluhan sa gayo'y makita ang mga implikasyon nito, hindi lamang sa historiyograpiyang Pilipino kundi pati na rin sa iba pang agham panlipunan at sa ating pagiging isang bansa.

Pinamagatan ko ang panayam na ito na "Ang Pandaigdigang Pananaw ng Pantayong Pananaw." Marahil bunga ito ng minsang sinabi sa akin ng isang kakilala na makitid daw ang PP yamang nakatuon lamang ang pansin nito sa loob ng Pilipinas at

hindi sa isang mas malawak na pangkat ng mga mambabasa. Ang tinutukoy niyang mas malawak na pangkat ng mga mambabasa ay walang iba kundi ang mga nagbabasa at nakakaunawa ng Ingles, yamang milyon-milyong tao ang nagsasalita at nakakaunawa nito. Sa panahon ng tinatawag na globalisasyon, ano pa nga ba ang halaga ng isang wikang kakaunti lang ang nakakausap tulad ng Filipino? Subalit sa kabila nito, tinangka ko pa ring sisirin ang Pantayong Pananaw at hindi ang kakitirang nakikita ng aking kaibigan ang natagpuan ko kundi isang mas malawak na pangitain na nagbubukas sa napakaraming paraan ng pag-unawa sa aking sarili at bansa. Bukod pa dito, nasa likod din ng aking isip ang pagbubukas ng aking iniisip at nakikita sa aking mga kababayan. Nakakaunawa man ako ng Ingles, Espanyol, at Latin, nasa isip kong lagi na ang pangunahing kahalagahan ng pagkaka-alam ko dito'y maibukas ang kanilang sinasabi sa pag-unawa ng Pilipino na siya naman talagang magpapakabuluhan dito. Hindi man nila ito basahin, malaking hakbang na sa akin kung bukas ito sa kanilang pagbasa.

Hahatiin ko sa tatlong bahagi ang panayam na ito. Magsisimula ang panayam sa pagpapaliwanag ng Pantayong Pananaw at sa kaugnay nitong konsepto ng Bagong Kasaysayan. Sa bahaging ito, sisikapin Kong bigyang paliwanag ang mga sinasabing ugat nito sa kasaysayan ng historiyograpiyang Pilipino. Isusunod ko dito ang implikasyon nito sa pagsasakasaysayang Pilipino pati na rin sa iba pang agham panlipunan. Sa huli, magtatangkang tanawin ang PP bilang kasangkapan sa pag-unawa hindi lamang ng sangkapilipinuhan kundi ng iba ring bansang kaugnay sa Pilipinas.

ANG BAGONG KASAYSAYAN AT PANTAYONG PANANAW

Bawat isang pangkat ng tao/kultura ay may kanya-kanyang pagkilala sa nakaraan. Mababakas ito sa ginagamit na salitang tumutukoy sa kani-kanilang nakaraan. Sa Pilipinas, partikular sa Katagalugan, tinatawag ang salaysay ng nakaraan bilang kasaysayan. Nakahayag dito, bukod sa nakaraang salaysay ng mga bayani, ang mga pagpapahalaga, kakanyahan, at mga tunguhin ng isang lahi. Matatagpuan ito sa ating mga sinaunang epiko, awit, at korido. May mga matatagpuan nito sa mga etnolinggwistikong grupo sa Pilipinas. Mahalaga ring tingnan na ang bawat isa nito'y nahahati sa tatlong bahagi: ang panahon ng liwanag, ang panahon ng karimlan, at ang panahon ng bagong liwanag.

Pumasok sa ating kamalayan ang konsepto ng *"Historia"* nang ipataw ng mga Espanyol ang kanilang kaayusang kolonyal sa Pilipinas. Sa konsepto ng *"historia"* makikita ang kahalagahan ng paggamit sa kronika at kronolohiya bilang mga pantulong

na pamamaraan sa pagsasalaysay. Naka-ugnay ito sa konseptong Griyego na ***ίστορια***, salaysay ng mga pangyayaring nakaraan. Sa pag-uulat nito, mahalaga ang paggamit ng mga batis na naka-sulat. Sa panahon ng Kilusang Propaganda, kakasangkapanin ng tulad nina Rizal, M. H. del Pilar, at Lopez-Jaena ang konsepto ng *Historia* sa paglaban sa kaayusang Espanyol. Nagsaliksik ang mga ito tungkol sa mga Pilipino bago dumating ang mga Espanyol upang patunayang mali ang sapantahang Espanyol na walang kabihasnan ang mga Pilipino. Espanyol din ang wika nito yamang kinakausap nila ang mga ito. Sa pagdating ng kaayusang Amerikano, magpapatuloy ang tradisyong propaganda sa kasaysayan. Magiging pagbibigay katuwiran sa kanilang pananakop ang pagsasakasaysayan at pagtugon naman sa mga sinasabi nito ang magmumula sa bahagi ng mga Pilipino. Magpapatuloy ang tradisyong Propaganda hanggang sa kasalukuyan at yamang karaniwang Amerikano na ang kausap, nasa Ingles ang mga akdang sumusunod sa tradisyong ito sa kasalukuyan.

Bilang bahagi ng kilusang *"indigenization"* noong dekada '70, lumabas naman ang tendensiyang magpakahulugan sa kasaysayan sa pamamagitan ng pagtingin sa loob. Ibig sabihin, ang pagkawala sa diskursong itinatakda ng mga suliraning nagmula sa mga akusasyon ng mga dayuhan tungkol sa Pilipino. Naipunla dito ang mga binhi ng Bagong Kasaysayan. Sa larangang ito, ipinag-ugnay ang Sinaunang Kasaysayan ng ating mga ninuno at ang tradisyong *historia/history* ng mga dayuhan. Ibig sabihin, ang Bagong Kasaysayan ay hindi pagtalikod sa mga pamamaraan at kasangkapan sa pagsasakaysayan ng *historia/history,* bagkus, pagbabago ng pananaw nito at pag-uugat ng pagpapakahulugan sa sariling kamalayan at diskurso ng mga Pilipino. Dalawa samakatuwid ang mahahalagang salik ng Bagong Kasaysayan, ang pagpapakahulugan ng Sinaunang Kasaysayan at ang rigorosong metodolohiya ng *Historia/History*.

Sa puntong ito nagiging mahalaga ang Pantayong Pananaw. Magiging napakahalagang katanungan ang mga sumusunod pagdating sa pagsasakasaysayan. Bakit magsasakasaysayan? Para kanino magsasakasaysayan? At, paano magsasakasaysayan? Nasagot na natin sa itaas ang unang katanungan. Sinasagot naman ng Pantayong Pananaw na ang pagsasakasaysayan ay para sa mga Pilipino. Ang ikatlo nama'y sinabi na rin nating napakahalaga ng pamanang pamamaraan ng tradisyong *historia/history.* Kaugnay ng ikalawang katanungan ang laging lumalabas na isyu pagdating sa pagtalakay ng Pantayong Pananaw, ang isyu ng paggamit ng Filipino bilang pangunahing wika nito sa talastasan.

Pinupuna ng ibang iskolar ito bilang pagiging purista, ekslusibo, at papaloob na naglilimita para makasali ang iba sa talastasan. Subalit dapat maintindihan na ang misyon

ng PP ay gamitin ang wika at kalinangan sa pag-aaral ng kasaysayan. May pagpapasiyang ginagawa ang lahat ng sumasali sa alinmang talastasan. Sa kaso ng PP, hindi ito nag-aalala kung mauunawaan ba siya sa labas ng bansa, ng mga dayuhan, o lokal na iskolar. Higit nitong inaalala ay kung mauunawaan ba siya ng bayan upang makaisa ito at sa gayo'y maging bahagi sa pag-ugit ng sarili niyang kasaysayan at kinabukasan. Maging sa mga pag-aaral na pangwika, sinasabing higit na sa 85% ng mga Pilipino ay nakakaunawa ng Filipino kung kaya napakahalagang panatiliin ang talastasan sa sariling wika upang mayakap ang higit na malawak na bilang ng mga Pilipino. Masugid na kaalyado ang PP ng mga Kilusang Pangwika sa Pilipinas na nagtataguyod sa paggamit at intelektwalisasyon ng pambansang wika yamang nilalayon nila kapwa ang pagbubuong pangkalinangan. Hindi makitid at ekslusibo ang pantayo samantalang milyon-milyon ngang Pilipino ang hinahangad nitong maintindihan at maisali sa usapan. Nagiging makitid at ekslusibo lamang ito sa mga taong tumatangging makipag-usap sa Filipino. Bunga marahil ito ng 1) limitasyon sa kasanayan sa wikang Filipino dahil higit na nasanay sa Ingles (tulad ng problema ng ilang Bisaya at Ilokano); 2) sa pagkilalang panloob na kolonisasyon ito ng mga Tagalog at taga-Maynila; 3) kaisipang labis ang paghanga sa Ingles at itinuturing ang mga sariling matalino at may sinasabi kapag nagsasalita ng Ingles; 4) pagnanais na makilala sa Amerika at sa mundong nagsasalita at nakakaunawa ng Ingles; 5) paniniwalang napalaya na nila ang Ingles mula sa pagiging wika nito ng mananakop tungo sa pagiging wika ng pagtanggi; 5) sa interes na pang-ekonomiya; 6) nanindigan nang maglingkod bilang tagapag-alay ng datos sa mga Amerikano at, marahil; 7) lahat ng nabanggit. Subalit kakaunti lamang ito kung ihahambing sa bayan na hindi naman talaga nag-iingles sa pang-araw-araw na buhay. Sa larangan ng media, mapapansin ang patuloy na paglakas sa paggamit ng wikang Filipino, hindi na lamang sa balita at pampublikong usapin kundi pati sa mga telenobela at mga pelikulang isinalin sa Filipino, mga serye sa telebisyon, at maging mga pang araw-araw na palabas.

> Ayon nga kay Dr. Salazar, "Simple lang ang layunin ng PP. Sa larangan ng akademya (dahil nga nag-umpisa sa historiograpiya at mga agham panlipunan), makabuo ng talastasang sa wika ng bayan at bansa; isang sariling talastasan kung saan sentral ang wika, tulad ng normal na sa ibang mga kabuuang sosyo-kultural-pulitikal, cf. Hapon, Pranses, Aleman, Ruso, etc. Kaakibat nito: mapalaya sa wikang Ingles at sa pagkadagan nito sa kaisipan at pag-iisip na Pinoy (laluna ang Inglesero na, dahil tiwalag sa bayan at sa kalinangan nito, ang mga balangkas pangkaisipan ay nasa alapaap at di talaga magagamit sa atin. Sa

> pangkalahatan, pagpopook ng lahat sa bayan." (Panayam ni Kimuell-Gabriel kay Salazar, Aug. 19, 2007)

Hindi tungkulin ng kasaysayan na magturo o magsulat sa Ingles. Maging ang mga mismong historyador na nag-iingles katulad nina Teodoro Agoncillo at Renato Constantino ay nagpapahayag din ng pangangailangan ng pananaw na Pilipino at kasangkapan ng kolonisasyon at paglupig ng kamalayan ang Ingles. Bahala na ang Departamento ng Ingles sa gawaing ito yamang ito ang kanilang tungkulin bilang mga guro. Ang tungkulin ng kasaysayan ay maipaunawa sa sambayanan kung sino sila, ang kanilang pinagmulan, ang kanilang mga pinagdaanan bilang isang bayan at kung bakit naganap ang mga pangyayari upang sila'y makapagpasiya sa kanilang patutunguhan, sa wika at paraang higit nilang mauunawaan. Ang wika ding ito ang magiging kasangkapan ng paghuhugas ng kamalayang kolonyal.

ANG PANTAYONG PANANAW AT MGA AGHAM PANLIPUNAN

Nagsimula sa larangan ng historiyograpiya at agham panlipunan ang Pantayong Pananaw. Mula sa kalat-kalat na kilusang indihenisasyon noong dekada '70, nagsimula ang kilusang naglalayong rebisahin ang mga pagteteorya sa mga ipinakilalang disiplina ng kanluran. Partikular ito sa mga disiplina ng kasaysayan, sikolohiya, at antropolohiya. Tulad sa kasaysayan, masasabing magkakaugnay ang mga ito sa paggamit nito ng mga kategoryang Pilipino gayundin sa paglalayon nitong makabuo ng tradisyon at diskursong akademiko na nasa wikang Filipino. Sa larangan ng sikolohiya, narito na ang Sikolohiyang Pilipino na dumadalumat at nagsisikap na umunawa sa kaisipang Pilipino sa pamamagitan ng kanyang mga sariling kategorya. Sa larangan naman ng antropolohiya, narito ang Pilipinolohiya na nagsisikap umunawa sa kalinangang Pilipino sa pamamagitan ng direktang pag-aanalisa ng mga datos mula dito at hindi dumadaan sa mga nakakahong teorya mula sa kanluran. Para sa Pilipinolohiya, ang pag-uugnay ng datos sa mga teoryang kanluranin ay isa talagang kontribusyon sa diskurso ng teoryang ito at hindi, samakatuwid, bahagi ng isang diskursong nasa loob.

Nag-uugnay ang lahat ng ito sa kahalagahan ng paggamit ng wika bilang daluyan ng kaisipan para sa bayan. Ito ang magiging daan upang umagos ang kaisipan para sa bayan. Subalit maitatanong kung sapat na bang nasa Filipino ang talastasan? Katanggap-tanggap ba ang isang tao o pangkat na gumagamit ng Filipino kahit panira naman sa

bayan ang mga sinasabi? Tinatalikuran ba ng PP ang gumagamit ng Ingles kahit para sa bayan ang kanyang sinasabi at paninindigan?

Sa unang tanong, kaakibat dapat ng paggamit ng Filipino ang nilalaman. Naninindigan sa tabi ng bayan ang dapat na nilalaman ng talastasan. Walang kaisipang yumayakap interes ng kabuuan dahil magkakaiba ang interes ng mga ng mga tao sa bawat bahagdan ng lipunan. Bunga ito ng karanasang pangkasaysayan. Kaya ang pagsisikapan ay ang mga nilalamang maglilingkod sa paglaya ng nakararami mula sa mapang-aliping kaisipan. Hindi rin tinatalikuran ng PP ang gumagamit ng Ingles subalit naninindigan para sa bayan. Ang ninanais sana ng PP ay mabuksan ito sa pagbasa't pagpapakabuluhan ng nakararaming Pilipino. Pumasok man ang mga dayuhang ideya, kung nasa Pilipino ito, maaaring makiisa ang Bayan sa usapan at magkaroon ng kakayahang magsuri kung ano ba ang dapat o hindi.

Lahat ba ng gumagamit ng Filipino ay Pantayo? May mga gumagamit nito dahil ito ang kanilang pinaunlad na kasanayan. Mayroon ding gumagamit nito bunga ng mga simulaing pulitikal na iba sa layuning pangkalinangan ng PP. May mga hindi matanggap ang itinuturo ng PP; at mayroon ding dahil hindi kasundo/may galit/sama ng loob sa mga kilalang tagapag-sulong ng PP subalit naniniwala pa rin sa kahalagahan ng pakikipag-usap sa bayan.

Hindi na mahalaga pa ito. Unang-una, nagiging bahagi ng Pantayo ang mga gumagamit ng Filipino yamang pasok ito sa kanyang layuning palawigin at palawakin ang paggamit ng wika. Pangalawa, hindi sapilitang maging Pantayo, subalit naniniwala akong napakahalaga ng wika para maging daluyan ng kaalaman para sa bayan.

ANG PANTAYONG PANANAW AT ANG "IBA"

May kinakampihan anumang uri ng pagteteorya't pagdadalumat. Lahat ng kaisipan at kilos ng tao ay may pinaglilingkuran, malay man o hindi. Maaaring ito ay para maunawaan nang lubos ang ating mga sarili at pagkatao, maaaring para baguhin ang lipunan o panatiliin ang kasalukuyang kaayusan, tungo sa lalo pang pagkabulok o paglaya at pag-unlad. Bunga nito, maitatanong kung para ba sa bayan ang gawain o hindi? Para sa nakararami ba o sa iilan? Mapagpalaya ba ito o hindi? Kinikilala ng PP na ang gawain ng pagpapaunlad ng isang diskursong pangkabihasnan ay para sa bayan. Ang bayan ay

> ang Kapilipinuhan; ang bayan ay nagsasaad kapwa ng "wika" at ng "kalinangan" na pinag-ugatan at sinasaklaw nito sa pamamagitan ng mga

> kategoryang nakapaloob at may saysay dito. Ang ibig sabihin din ng "pook" ay ang "kabuuan" bilang layunin ng anumang kilusan. Sa puntong ito ang "pook" niya ay kapwa ang Kapilipinuhan at ang bansang maaaring buuin nito. Sa ngayon, Tagalog o Pilipino ang sumasaklaw kapwa sa kabuuan at sa bansang maaaring buuin o nabubuo nito. (Salazar, Agosto 18, 2007)

Ayon pa kay Salazar, "tanggap ng PP ang lahat ng direksyon; ang importante lamang ay nakapook ito sa bayan, at ang bayan ang natatangi tagapagpasiya (may karapatang magpasiya) sa anumang tunguhin."

Walang reseta para sa bayan ang PP. Ang bayan mismo ang magpapasiya hinggil dito, sa tulong o hindi ng kanyang mamarapating hingan ng tulong o isama sa kanyang pagpapasiya. Susundin niya ang anumang mapapagpasyahan ng bayan. At dito pumapasok ang naging pagpapahalaga kay ERAP bilang hinirang ng bayan mula sa lahat ng humarap at nagprisinta dito. Bayan ang makikinabang o magdurusa sa anumang kapasiyahan at walang bayan marahil ang napaka-tanga at pipiliin ang isang taong magpapahirap sa kanya ng matagalan.

Higit na mahalaga sa PP ang pagkakaisa ng bansa kaysa sa pagkakaisa ng mga uri. Gayunman, sa tagisan ng mga uri, may pagkiling ito sa bayan at hindi sa nasyong tatag ng elit. Bunga nito'y hindi dapat makita ang PP bilang kalaban ng Kaliwa o maging ng anumang samahang naninindigan para sa bayan. Ngunit hindi kasangkapan ng PP ang bayan. Kasangkapan nito ang pag-aaral ng wika at kalinangan upang lalung maunawaan ang kasaysayan nito.

Yamang talastasang bukas sa lahat ang PP, nagsisilbi itong isang malaking bagsakan ng iba't ibang kaisipan at ideolohiya. Maaaring pumasok at magpatalastas ng ideya at makipagdebate ang sinuman, hinihiling lamang na gumamit ng wikang sarili. Pinagkakatiwalaan ng PP ang katalinuhan ng bayan. Di tulad ng mga kolonyalistang tinitingnan ang mga ito bilang kalahating hayop at kalahating bata. Kailangang alam ng bayan ang mga pagpipilian. Alinman ang mapili ng bayan, ang bayan din ang mananagot, mapapakinabangan man o hindi. Sa agos ng mahabang kasaysayan, pasasaan pa ba't matututo ang bayan yamang higit na matalino ang kabuuan kaysa indibidwal.

Dapat talaga ay nauunawaan ng bayan ang kanilang mga pinipili – Marxismo man ito, rebolusyon, sistemang parlyamentaryo, con-ass, yes or no, "demokrasya" – o kahit na "post-istrukturalismo" o "post modernismo," kung maiintindihan man natin ito. Ang pagsisikap ng PP na makapasok sa diskurso ang bayan para maintindihan niya ang kanyang pinipili at ikikilos ang isa sa mga pangunahing lakas ng PP. Subalit dapat

din itong tingnan at gabayan. Bilang mga nakapag-aral na nagpasyang bumalik sa bayan at itaguyod ang kapakanan ng bayan, may paraan tayo ng pag-alam sa kalagayan at pagsusuri ng lipunan, ng makabubuti at makasasama at tungkulin ninuman na ipaalam sa bayan ang mga pagsusuri at paninindigan na sa tingin natin ay makakapinsala at makakapagbilanggo sa kanila o makakapagpapalaya at makapagpapaginhawa ng kanilang kalagayan. Maliban sa pagpapakita sa kanila ng iba't ibang pananaw at opsyon, kasama din tayo dapat ng bayan sa pagsasagawa ng mga opsyon na kanilang pipiliin. Maaaring magpanggap ang iba na interesado sa pagtataguyod ng kalinangang bayan subalit para lamang talaga sa layuning magpabango sa bayan sa gayo'y maging matatag ang kanilang kapangyarihan.

PAGLALAGOM

Higit na nakatuon ang PP sa analisis at sa talastasan tungkol sa bayan kaysa sa pagmomobilisa nito. Nais nitong unawain ang kalinangan sa kabila ng mga implikasyong pulitikal ng mga pananaliksik. Insidental lamang ito sa pangunahing layuning maunawaan ang bayan at mabuo ang talastasang Pilipino sa larangang pang-akademya at ng kabuuang kalinangan.

Hindi naghahangad ng kapangyarihan ang PP. Hangarin lamang nitong maging makapangyarihan ang kalinangang Pilipino na sana nga'y maging kabihasnan. Hindi nito ninanais na magtayo ng isang estado kundi pinag-aaralan lamang nito ang mga uri ng estadong sumilang at lumaganap sa sangkapilipinuhan. Hindi nito kinikilala ang sarili bilang tagapagligtas at tagapaglutas ng mga suliranin ng Pilipinas. Subalit naniniwala itong susi ang pagkakaroon ng isang wikang pantalastasan sa pagkakaisa at pagbubuo ng bansa. Malaki ang paggalang at tiwala ng PP sa bayan, ito ang maliwanag na pagbibigay sa kanya ng kapangyarihan.

Sa dami ngayon ng mga organisasyong pulitikal, wala sa mga ito ang nakatuon talaga ang pansin sa kalinangang bayan. Ang pagsisikap ng PP na bigyang pansin ito, ang makilala ng malaliman ang bayan, may sakit man o wala at isama ang bayan sa lahat ng talastasan ang siyang pinakamahalagang kontribusyon ng PP. Tingnan muna ang sakit kung may sakit nga at saka na ang reseta. Hindi lang mapapalakas ng PP ang bayan, mapapalakas din nito ang mga naninidigang organisasyon para sa bayan. Iyong may mga agenda, kailangan ipakilala nila ang kani-kanilang agenda sa bayan. At upang maisagawa ito, kailangan muna nilang matutunan ang wika at kalinangan nito. Kung baga, iayon sa

mga kategorya ng bayan ang kanilang ipinapahayag sa gayo'y mabigyang kapangyarihan talaga ang bayang makapamili o makabuo ng kanyang sariling kaisipan ayon sa kanyang kaisipan at kalinangan bilang Pilipino.

NEW SCHOLARS FORUM

THE COLONIAL DOUBLING, OR THE CHALLENGE FOR COLONIAL AUTHORITY

Yohanes Hartadi
Atma Jaya Catholic University, Indonesia
yohanes.hartadi@atmajaya.ac.id

Abstract
This essay discusses R.M. Minke's (partial) presence in Pramoedya Ananta Toer's *The Buru Quartet*. The quartet starts with signs exhibiting the triumph of Western colonialism in the Dutch East Indies. The Western-educated Minke acknowledges the superiority of Western science and technology. He writes in Dutch, the signifier of the colonial authority. This essay examines Minke's adoption of Western culture and the colonial representation where his (partial) presence challenges the authority of colonial discourse. Framed within Bhabha's theory of hybridity, this essay will find out how the colonial discourse is always in the state of splitting which menaces the colonial authority.

Keywords
hybridity, Indonesian literature, nationalism, postcolonial novel

About the author
Yohanes Hartadi obtained his Honours in English Literature from Sanata Dharma University in Indonesia, his Postgraduate Diploma in English and MA in English from University of Melbourne in Australia. He was a recipient of The Australian Development Scholarship. He is presently part of the staff of the English Department of Atma Jaya Catholic University in Jakarta, Indonesia.

INTRODUCTION

Pramoedya composed *The Buru Quartet* when he was imprisoned in the Buru Island, denied of paper and pen. The quartet, comprising *This Earth of Mankind, Child of All Nations, Footsteps,* and *House of Glass*, has captured international acclaims. The quartet, as well as Pramoedya's other novels alike, have been subjects of academic reading in universities around the world. Minke the protagonist in the quartet is a young, Dutch-educated author who turns to journalism in which he voices the calls for Indonesian nationalism. The academic discussions on the quartet mainly concern the awakening of nationalism at the turn of the twentieth century. The issue of colonialism in Pramoedya's novels cannot be separated from his personal experience and commitment in the revolution. As revealed in a conversation with Matthew Rothschild, he writes the quartet in the spirit of anti-colonial since he was socialized from childhood to be anti-colonial. He highlights the importance

of his father's upbringing as a non-cooperator. Writing the novel using the Indonesian language, Pramoedya claims to take efforts in nation-building. Language is a bond that unites Indonesians who come from numerous ethnic and sub-ethnic groups (Rothschild 3). This statement supports Jameson's thesis on third-world literature: he argues that all third-world texts are necessarily allegorical. They are to be read as "national allegories" although their forms develop out of predominantly western machineries of representation such as the novel (545). In Minke's case, it is his writings in the newspapers and magazines.

Critics have received the quartet as postcolonial literature. Like what Pramoedya says to Rothschild, Rajeev Patke asserts that Minke is the focal point for the growth of nationalist opposition to colonial rule. He first learns to modernize his approach to his own society and its outmoded conventions of thought, belief, and practice. He then learns to politicize resistance to colonialism. Patke approaches the quartet in a modernist fashion through which he finds that Minke faces a double irony repeated throughout the colonial world—the modern hero learns to ask for self-rule from the European nation who denies him access to the freedom it cherishes for itself (Patke 8). Keith Foulcher who studies Pramoedya's early works also finds that these works are laden with themes of postcolonial transitions. Signals of turning point are articulated in the discussion of locality, such as how to create Indonesian persons and give color and structure to their life (Foulcher 17).

Still viewing the quartet in the postcolonial gesture, this essay will discuss Minke's identity as a colonial doubling that is the result of Western colonial education whose effort is to produce beneficial indigenous people loyal to the colonial ruler. This process turns out to be problematic because it creates a double, rather than a loyal colonial subject as expected. Minke himself undergoes hardship and strong criticisms from his own people. This essay will approach the quartet within Homi K. Bhabha's theory of hybridity which will be discussed in the following section.

BHABHA'S THEORY OF HYBRIDITY

In his essay "Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority Under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817," Bhabha quotes writings of Robert Southey and Anund Messeh, the latter being one of the earliest Indian catechists. From their writings, Bhabha proposes the idea of authority upon the indigenous people's reception of a new European text—an English book and English Bible—which they mistranslate, misread, and misinterpret. Bhabha says that these texts are written with authority and they are

meant to carry a civilizing mission. They suggest the triumph of the colonialist moment in early English Evangelism and modern English literature. However, the discovery of the book in the wild is a repetition and a distortion. As a signifier of authority, the English texts acquire its meaning after the traumatic scenario of colonial difference, cultural or racial, returns the eye of power to some prior, archaic image or identity. Paradoxically, however, such an image can neither be "original"—by virtue of the act of repetition that constructs it—nor "identical"—by virtue of the difference that defines it. Therefore, Bhabha asserts, the colonial presence is always ambivalent, split between its appearance as original and authoritative and its articulation as repetition and difference (9). It is a disjunction produced within the act of enunciation as a specifically colonial articulation of those two disproportionate sites of colonial discourse and power: the colonial scene as the invention of historicity, mastery, or as the "other scene" of displacement and "open textuality." Its discriminatory effects are visible in the split subjects of the racist stereotype such as the simian Negro which ambivalently fix identity as the fantasy of difference (9).

Bhabha further points out that the exercise of colonialist authority requires the production of differentiations, individuations, identity effects through which discriminatory practices can map out subject populations that are tarred with the visible and transparent mark of power. Colonial authority requires modes of discrimination (cultural, racial, administrative…) that disallow a stable unitary assumption of collectivity. The "part" (which must be the colonialist foreign body) must be representative of the "whole" (conquered country), but the right of representation is based on its radical difference (13-4).

To this point, Bhabha suggests a necessity for a theory of "hybridization" of discourse and power. In this theory, he argues that the discriminatory effects of the discourse of cultural colonialism, for instance, do not simply or singly refer to a "person," or a dialectical power struggle between self and other, or to discrimination between mother culture and alien cultures. Produced through the strategy of disavowal, the reference of discrimination is always to a process of splitting as the condition of subjection: a discrimination between the mother culture and its bastards, the self and its doubles, where the trace of what is disavowed is not repressed but repeated as something different—a mutation, a hybrid (14). It is such a partial and double force that is more than the mimetic but less than the symbolic, that disturbs the visibility of the colonial presence and makes the recognition of its authority problematic. Hybridity is the sign of the productivity of colonial power, its shifting forces and fixities; it is the name for the strategic reversal of the process of domination through disavowal (that is, the production of discriminatory

identities that secure the "pure" and original identity of authority). Hybridity is the revaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of discriminatory identity effects. It unsettles the mimetic or narcissistic demands of colonial power but reimplicates its identifications in strategies of subversion that turn the gaze of the discriminated back upon the eye of power (15).

Bhabha argues that the crucial moments in English texts mark the disturbance of its authoritative representations by the uncanny forces of race, sexuality, violence, cultural, and even climatic differences which emerge in the colonial discourse as the mixed and split texts of hybridity (17). Bhabha thereby wants us to see cultural identity as not in a bipolarity but as something that emerges in a contradictory and ambivalent space, which for Bhabha makes the claim to a hierarchical "purity" of cultures untenable (Ashcroft et al. 118). Hybridity is not a third term that resolves the tension between two cultures in a dialectical play of "recognition." The displacement from symbol to sign creates a crisis for any concept of authority based on a system of recognition: colonial specularity, double inscribed, does not produce a mirror where the self apprehends itself; it is always the split screen of the self and its doubling, the hybrid. Hybridity is a problematic of colonial representation and individuation that reverses the effects of the colonialist disavowal, so that other "denied" knowledges enter upon the dominant discourse and estrange the basis of its authority—its rules of recognition (Bhabha 18). In this light, we will see in the following section how Minke struggles in the third space which somehow alienates him from the colonial identity and his own cultural root.

MINKE AND THE DUTCH COLONIAL EDUCATION

The first installment of the quartet *Bumi Manusia* (*This Earth of Mankind*) opens with various symbols of European modernity. As a young man, Minke admires the advances of technology signified by printing, particularly zincography which enables one to multiply a photograph. He admires the invention of train alike. He also identifies a sign of globalization with the invention of telegraph which connects people in different parts of the world. He takes pride in being a student of Dutch school and starts to feel that he has changed into a modern man amid the traditional Javanese society. Being an HBS student, Minke thinks about a bright future in the Dutch government office in the East Indies. He entirely believes in Europe's superior knowledge:

> Your teachers have given you a very broad general knowledge, much broader than that received by students of the same level in many of the European countries. Naturally this breast of mine swelled. I'd never been to Europe so I did not know if the director was telling the truth or not. But because it pleased me, I decided to believe it. And, further, all my teachers had been born and educated in Europe. It didn't feel right to distrust my teachers. (Toer, *This Earth of Mankind* 11)

Minke is a highly privileged person in his age: son of a *bupati* or a regent and he is the only indigenous student who is admitted in HBS (Hoogere Burger School, a high school for Dutch young people, a five-year course of study). This could possibly be the reason that has irritated his Dutch teacher that he called him Minke (probably a euphemism for "monkey").

The history of Dutch school in the Indies dates back to 1842 when the *Dellfthsche Academie* was founded in Delft, the Netherlands, as the center for Indology and the place for the education of candidates for service in the Dutch East Indies government. It was also hoped that afterwards these would initiate improvements for education in the Indies. After 1848, the Indies government itself became more serious about offering educational opportunities to Indonesians, instead of handing schooling over to others, including missionaries. This endeavor was parallel to the *Gouvernements-cultures* program or, as it was more familiarly known, *cultuurstelsel*, which needed services of educated indigenous people. So after 1848, there were various new decisions to expand school opportunities for Indonesians, including organizing of teacher-training facilities. However, by and large, the decisions were based more upon the needs of the indigenous society (Aritonang 6).

The new policy taken in 1863 by Fransen van de Putte, the Minister for Colonies, encouraged the mobilization of government funds for education without requiring the financial support of the indigenous community, and was a reflection of the politics of liberal education. Here it is evident that the government-sponsored education was no longer directed towards the production of governmental employees, but was directed towards the aim of developing indigenous communities. As a result, the total number of schools increased rapidly, especially in Java (Aritonang 7).

During the years of transition to the twentieth century, a new political concept was born, usually known as "Ethical Policy," which was paired with the concept of a "policy of association" under the slogan of "education, irrigation, and emigration." Leaders involved were from the Liberal Party and included C. Th. van Deventer, C. Snouck Hurgronje,

and from the field of education, J. H. Abendanon in particular. In the main, this concept's reasoning was that since for years the Dutch increased their wealth through exploitation of the indigenous peoples of the Indies causing the latter to become increasingly poor, now the Dutch had a moral obligation to them. The time had come for endeavoring to repay this debt in as large an amount as possible in the form of improving the general welfare of the indigenous people of the Indies. The "Ethical Policy" essentially not only involved social and economic responsibilities, but ethical and moral ones as well. One key step of embodying the ideals of the ethical policy was providing the most extensive opportunities to Indonesian pupils to profit from modern western education so they could develop as competent persons who can cultivate the natural and indigenous human resources. Furthermore, if possible, a large number would be sent to study in the Netherlands. This meant that western education and science would be related as much as possible to the life and culture of the Indonesians. Therefore this was called the policy of association, especially by Snouck Hurgronje. But what was really intended was westernization, more of a kind of spiritual annexation of Indonesian society (Aritonang 12). This is quite similar to what Bhabha theorizes as "mimicry"—that is, a desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as *a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite* (2).

In Indian context, this is parallel to Macaulay's conception of the need for English-instructing Indians in the British India. In his essay "Minutes on Indian Education," Macaulay emphasizes the urgent need to produce an indigenous class who can assist the British colonial government in running the administration in India:

> We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. (Macaulay 10)

For the elite of that period, the children of the Javanese aristocracy (*priyayi*), this policy was much welcome because they could preserve their social status. Minke knows this well. He trusts his teacher Magda Peters, ostensibly a liberal person, who says that having a Dutch education he will rise onto the same status as the white Dutch people. And yet this is another form of imperialism, a hidden one, and Minke is not aware of it. In the first novel, Sarah de la Croix, the daughter of Herbert de la Croix, the Assistant Resident of B., tells Minke about Hurgronje's association theory:

> Association theory means direct cooperation, based on European ways, between European officials and educated natives. Those of you who have advanced would be invited to join together with us in governing the Indies. So the responsibility would no longer be the burden of the white race alone. The *bupatis* could cooperate directly with the white government. (Toer, *This Earth of Mankind* 216)

In essence, Hurgronje's association theory is a covert politics of co-optation. Minke is not convinced by Sarah's explanation of the theory. He does not have a slight suspicion about this theory. Sarah, as well as her sister Miriam de la Croix, seems to believe in the truth of the theory:

> The important thing is that he has undertaken a valuable experiment with three native youths. The purpose: to find out if natives are able truly to understand and bring to life within themselves European learning and science. The three students are going to a European school. He interviews them every week to try to find out if there is any change in their inner character and whether their scientific knowledge and learning from school is only a thin, dry, easily shattered coating on the surface, or something that has really taken root. (Toer, *This Earth of Mankind* 215)

Hurgronje was the architect behind the success of General van Heutz in overcoming the rebellions of the Aceh people. Miriam describes Hurgronje as a brilliant scholar, one who has courage to think, to act, and jeopardize himself for the advancement of knowledge; this includes his crucial role in placing the Dutch in the upper hand in the Aceh War (Toer, *This Earth of Mankind* 215).

MINKE AS THE COLONIAL DOUBLING

Minke is a brilliant HBS student. However, he is already indoctrinated by his teacher Magda Peters about the superiority of Europe. The first novel of the quartet describes the success of Hurgronje's project of "civilizing" the indigenous Javanese. Minke feels optimistic about his future career as a Dutch colonial bureaucrat. On the other hand, Sarah and Miriam find it extraordinary to find an indigenous young man in HBS. Minke looks

like a part of Hurgronje's project. Indeed, the first novel demonstrates the positive result of it. When he is summoned by the Regent of B. and must do *sembah* in front of him, he feels awkward to do the proper ceremonial etiquette. He has changed into a very different person, no more like a native Javanese:

> What's the benefit of learning European knowledge, socialize with Europeans, if finally I have to crawl slowly like a snail and worship a little king, who is probably illiterate?... I worship like what the officials do to my grandfather and grandmother and my parents, at *lebaran* day…When I am worshipping it feels like all knowledge I have learned in the past few years disappears. Gone is the beautiful world as promised by the progress of knowledge. Gone is the enthusiasm of my teachers in welcoming the bright future for mankind. And I don't know how many more worships I should do in the future. Worship—a glorification of the ancestors and the elite through self-humility! Flat on the ground if possible! (Toer, *This Earth of Mankind* 179-82)

Minke's hybridity is confirmed by his mother's judgment of him. She said, "You are no longer a Javanese. Dutch-educated and becoming Dutch, a dark-skinned Dutch like this. You probably have converted to Christianity too" (Toer, *This Earth of Mankind* 193). She finds that her son has lost his Javanese manner as well when Minke speaks his disagreement with his mother's judgment: "That is a sign that you are no longer a Javanese, disrespecting the older person, and think you deserve honor and power" (Toer, *This Earth of Mankind* 193).

Responding to his mother's judgment that he has forgotten Javanese poetry, Minke says that he still reads Javanese epics. However, he strongly argues that these poets are wrong in teaching people to be defeated and trampled on. Minke has moved far from his origin, the Javanese people and the Javanese culture. His parents repudiate his modern attitudes and manners.

The influence of Dutch education is also shown in his writing activity. Minke has developed a talent in writing. He writes short stories and publishes articles in newspapers. He writes in Dutch. Dutch is his instruction language. This separates him further from his root. Minke has already been shaped by Dutch language. His best friend Jean Marais, a Frenchman who takes the side of the indigenous people in the Indies, feels sorry for him because he writes in Dutch and only the Dutch understand his writings. He demands that Minke write in Malay as the *lingua franca* in the Indies so that more people learn insights

from his writings. Minke is offended. He realizes that his character is inseparable from his writing, and his writing is inseparable from Dutch. He thinks that "My individuality could not be separated from the Dutch language. To separate these would only make this person named Minke nothing better than roadside rubbish" (Toer, *This Earth of Mankind* 72).

The Dutch language has shaped Minke's character and this is the purpose of colonial education of the indigenous elite. The hegemonic colonial education successfully co-opted Minke's mindset. African postcolonial critic Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o argues that the real aim of colonialism is to control the people's wealth. Economic and political control can never be complete or effective without mental control. To control people's culture is to control their tools of self-definition in relationship to others. The domination of a people's language by the languages of the colonizing nations is crucial to the domination of the mental universe of the colonized. The domination of the colonial language can never break the native languages as spoken. Therefore, Thiong'o argues, the most effective area of domination is the written (Thiong'o 525). Minke has crystallized the Dutch manners and the taste. Not even his parents can bring him back to his cultural root. The experience of colonial domination, Amilcar Cabral asserts, shows that the colonizer not only creates a whole system of repression of cultural life of the colonized people, but also provokes and develops the cultural alienation of a part of the population, either by supposed assimilation of indigenous persons, or by the creation of a social gulf between the aboriginal [indigenous] elites and the mass of the people (Cabral 477). As a consequence, some indigenous people regard themselves as culturally superior to the people to which they belong and whose cultural values they ignore or despise.

In the second novel, *Child of All Nations,* Minke belongs to the elite class who are alienated from the rest of the colonized. What makes it intriguing is that Minke turns out to keep all his privileges as a descendant of *bupati*. He keeps enjoying his privileges as a *priyayi,* the Javanese aristocrat. Recognizing himself as a man inspired by the spirit of enlightenment and the French Revolution, it turns out that he fails to liberate himself from his aristocratic rights when Trunodongso, a poor peasant in Tulangan, speaks to him in *Jawa ngoko* (low Javanese). He confesses that the spirit and the ideas of the French Revolution have not inspired his attitudes in his daily life. They are only decorations in his mind. His conscience says that he demands Trunodongso to speak in *Jawa kromo* (high Javanese) to him due to his social standing as a *Raden Mas*. Minke's conscience cannot escape the fact that he is cheating. He ignores the slogan of Liberté, Egalité and Fraternité in favor of his own royal rights (Toer, *Child of All Nations* 186-7).

MINKE'S RECONVERSION: A MENACE TO THE COLONIZER

Minke begins to be aware of his problematic identity after his defeat in the colonial court. Minke is married to Annelies, the daughter of Herman Mellema and his mistress Nyai Ontosoroh. Under the consent of Nyai Ontosoroh, Minke is married to the *indo* girl (an Indisch creole) in the Islamic law. The ordeal in the family starts when Maurits Mellema comes from the Netherlands and demands his father's property. Maurits is Herman's son from his legitimate wife in the Netherlands, Amelia Mellema-Hammers, so he possesses rights to Herman's property including the right to be Annelies's trustee.

As the legal dispute between Nyai Ontosoroh and Minke against Maurits is progressing, the trial turns into a theater of racial contest: the white against the indigenous. The prosecutor humiliates Minke and Nyai Ontosoroh in front of the public by disclosing his private visits to Annelies. The prosecutor and the judge raise the racial issue regarding the relationship of Annelies being an *indo* and Minke a native Javanese. According to Dutch law, an *indo* occupies higher status than any native. Therefore, any relationship between an *indo* and a native is a crime. The Amsterdam Court finally decides to give most of Herman's property to Maurits. The Court also appoints Maurits the trustee of Annelies considering her immature age. The marital bond between Annelies and Minke is annulled since the colonial court does not acknowledge Islamic marriage. Minke is now aware of the politics of identity in the colonial law. The theater of the court has demonstrated the shallowness of the occupying power. Even the *forum privilegiatum,* rights of the *priyayi* cannot save him in the colonial court. Worse still, the court annuls the privilege. In *Child of All Nations,* Minke listens to Nyai Ontosoroh who concludes that the colonizer has stolen their possession and taking someone's possession without permission is a form of theft. It is not right and it must be opposed. In their case, she says, they have stolen their freedom. Minke thinks that these are the lessons that he had never learned in the Dutch school or in books (Toer, *Child of All Nations* 15).

At this point, it will be beneficial to look at the theory of Martinian postcolonial critic Frantz Fanon concerning the works of indigenous writers. Fanon argues that the progress of the evolution of the indigenous writers can be divided into three phases. The first phase is when the indigenous intellectual gives proof that he has assimilated the culture of the colonial power. In the second phase, the indigenous is disturbed, he decides to remember what he is. Since the native is not a part of his people, since he only has exterior relations with his people, he is content to recall their life only. In the third phase, which Fanon calls the fighting phase, the indigenous, after having tried to lose himself in the people and with

the people, will on the contrary shake the people. He turns himself into an awakener of the people (Fanon 453).

Seeing Minke through Fanon's theory, he is now stepping into the third phase. At the beginning of *Child of All Nations*, Minke has declared discontinuity from his confusing identity. By this time, Minke continues his informal education. Under the auspices of his French friend Jean Marais, Minke meets Kommer. Kommer is editor-in-chief of a newspaper in Surabaya. From him, Minke learns the role an indigenous intellectual is supposed to play. Kommer suggests that Minke write in Malay because the language is understood and read in every town, big and small, throughout the Indies while Dutch is not. Kommer strongly points out to him that Malay is the language of his own people and writing in the language is as sign of his love for his country and his people (Toer, *Child of All Nations* 111). Kommer's suggestion stirs his consciousness. He wants to know his own people from whom he has been separated. His encounter with Trunodongso in Tulangan is his first experience of dealing with the real circumstances of the colonized. So far he knows his own people from a pamphlet written by a Dutch scholar. The encounter has opened Minke's eyes to the suffering of his own people. Minke feels as if he has made an important discovery (Toer, *Child of All Nations* 168). In contrast to his pride as an HBS student taught by Dutch teachers, he is now aware that there is so much knowledge he does not get from the Dutch school. He begins to doubt the Dutch education he has received when he knows that he also needs to learn from many other nations on earth (Toer, *Child of All Nations* 169).

Minke learns an important lesson from his second wife Mei who is a member of a clandestine nationalist organization in China. In the third novel, *Footsteps*, Mei tells him that there have been so many Europeans who have caused so much suffering in the world—for instance, Sir John Hawkins, the Englishman who pioneered the slave trade between Africa and America—and Minke acknowledges that he has never come across such stories before. He has never heard it from anyone or read it anywhere, in school or elsewhere (Toer, *Footsteps* 110). It has become evident that Minke doubts his education in Dutch school. He develops suspicion that he has become part of Hurgronje's project of educating the indigenous people for a colonial cause. Minke questions the authority of the Dutch colonial discourse in which he had been educated.

After Mei's death, Minke has an audience with *bupati* Serang who is well known in educated circles as a student of Hurgronje. He wishes to invite him to an organization meeting. This *bupati* is the student Miriam de la Croix told him about a long time ago, the boy Hurgronje had used as a guinea pig in his experiment. Minke anticipates this person to be a modern man since he is also western-educated. Minke hopes to have an open and

frank discussion. Unfortunately, the person he comes to see is a good product of colonial education. The *bupati* is very proud and feudalistic (Toer, *Footsteps* 183). Minke finds out that Hurgronje has been successful in producing an elite that bridges the interest of the Dutch government and the indigenous people. *Bupati* Serang thinks only of his own status and the interest of the colonial government. He has completely dismissed the idea of nationalism from his mind. He serves only the colonial government.

Minke's real act to realize his nationalist idea is by founding *Sarekat Priyayi* with his fellow indigenous intellectuals and elites. The second one is by founding a weekly, *Medan* (meaning "arena"). It is owned and operated by the Natives—not by the Dutch, not by the Chinese or any other newcomers (Toer, *Footsteps* 193-6). About two years later, Minke is involved in founding *Boedi Oetomo*, a nationalist organization whose members are exclusively Javanese. However, Minke denounces his own status as *priyayi* who normally would work for the colonial government as employees, wage addicts, slaves (Toer, *Footsteps* 255). He has fully awakened his nationalist consciousness. His experience in nationalist movement is later enriched by joining the *Sarekat Dagang Islamijah* (SDI, Islamic Traders' Union) which turns out to grow more widely than the other nationalist organizations. From these real experiences, Minke comes in the front as one of the most important pioneers of the nationalist movement in the Indies.

Medan has reached more readers in the Indies. The mission of the weekly is to educate the indigenous people. Its circulation keeps on increasing. Since the weekly enlightens its readers, they become very loyal, clever, and critical, rich in experience and full of interesting suggestions. The magazine is also warmly welcomed among teachers and schools. It publishes diverse experiences and theories of educationists from around the world which give teachers an idea of how the advanced peoples had been molded and how they had molded themselves, how the younger generation are being made aware of the nation's concerns and the problems and challenges of the future, and many other issues regarding the implementation of science in and out of school (Toer, *Footsteps* 357).

Being the editor-in-chief of *Medan* with his fierce writings on nationalism and a leader of the fast-growing SDI, Minke invites oppositions and suspicion from groups attached to the colonial regime. One is *De Knijpers* (The Pincers), a gang of *indos.* They threaten Minke and other active members of SDI, demanding that all activities in the organization be stopped. The motive for their violent activities is not only a racial issue—the *indos* regard themselves as higher in social status than the indigenous people due to their European blood—but also an economic issue. They are hired by the Europeans who run plantations in Java to ensure that no one but Europeans will have success in major

businesses. Fightings occur frequently and in every fighting only the indigenous people get arrested. *De Knijpers* are active throughout West Java and Batavia (Toer, *Footsteps* 369). The colonial government colludes with this gang to xcrush the nationalists in order to protect their resources and capital.

In the last novel, *Rumah Kaca* (*House of Glass*), members of *De Knijpers* assist Pangemanann in watching Minke's political activities. Jacques Pangemanann, a high-rank officer in the Dutch Indies police department, is Sorbonne-educated. He proposes a constant mechanism of surveillance over Minke. Pangemanann operates the colonial panopticon through an administration of archives. He collects and organizes newspapers and magazines published in the Indies, conducts interviews, studies documents, and writes a working paper to recommend a solution to the turbulent years (Toer, *House of Glass* 9). The outcry of nationalism from China and the Phillipines cannot be resisted. It makes the new Governor General Idenburg feel worried. Pangemanann, as the think tank of the colonial police, has to bear the burden of inventing a good way of silencing the nationalist movement. The educated indigenous activists write widely in newspapers and magazines in their vernacular languages. As a result, the problems of colonization are disclosed to the public. Newspapers and magazines have fostered the spirit of democracy, which the colonial government abhors (Toer, *House of Glass* 8). For this reason, Minke occupies the top of the surveillance list. Knowledge drawn from a comprehensive archive finally leads to Minke's arrest.

Upon Minke's exile to Ternate Maluku, Pangemanann who is responsible for the corrective measure reads a report which explains Minke's cultural identity. It reads that the Dutch teach the indigenous people reading and writing not to stand up against Europe. They pose a threat to the government because they spread chaos in the Indies. High education only leads indigenous people to exile like Minke (Toer, *House of Glass* 186).

Pangemanann's contemplation reveals the ambivalence of the colonial discourse. He thinks that colonial Europe argues that everything they do to the colonized is always better than what the indigenous leaders do. Whatever colonial Europe does is always motivated by the holy call for "civilizing" the indigenous people who live in the darkness. However, this motive often justifies the means (Toer, *House of Glass* 98). His conclusion is similar to Minke's earlier "discovery" after his defeat in the colonial court.

CONCLUSION

Minke's long odyssey to the nationalist consciousness is through several paths.

The first one is the colonial education that he had in HBS and STOVIA. He used to be proud of his Dutch education because it is a privilege for indigenous people during his time. Nevertheless, he is sundered further from his own people. He has left his traditional culture which makes him alienated among the colonized Javanese. He has become a colonial doubling that is neither fully accepted by the colonized nor accepted by his indigenous fellows because he does not know the real condition of his people. The defeat in the court is the beginning of Minke's doubt of the spirit of enlightenment that colonial education teaches. He has been denied his royal privileges. He understands that he is only a colonial doubling who will never be "present" in the colonial discourse. Minke starts to question the authority of the Dutch colonial discourse that for years has shaped his identity.

After he shifts from writing short stories to journalism, he becomes conscious of his duty to enlighten his fellow indigenous communities and know their situation well. Minke learns from Kommer and Jean Marais about the urgency of writing in Malay in order to reach wider readership and educate his people. His nationalism is sharpened when he gets connected with other indigenous intellectuals with whom he founds several nationalist organizations such as *Sarekat Priyayi*, *Boedi Oetomo*, and *SDI*. The hard-knocks have turned Minke from a proud Dutch educated young man into a reconverted colonial subject who interrogates the authority of the colonial discourse. Minke as a colonial doubling poses a threat to the colonizer through similar strategies he learns from them: writing and modern organization. However, these strategies have been "(mis)translated" into a different form.

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LITERARY SECTION

THREE POEMS

Paolo Manalo
University of the Philippines, Diliman
paolomanalo@gmail.com

About the author
Paolo Manalo teaches English and Creative Writing at the University of the Philippines in Diliman. He is currently reading for a PhD in Creative Writing at the University of St. Andrews.

INSIDE OUT

"If you're lost outdoors in the forest or the woods
Take off your shirt and wear it inside out.
This breaks the spell the spirits placed on you…"
Lola's words on my thirteenth birthday.

One time my brother tried this on a girl.
He wore his shirt reversed and pounced on her.
"Please help me find the path to happiness.
The short cut's in your heart." She broke his nose.

But now they live together in the Village
Of Lost Things: where inside out is in.
Sometimes I visit when I cannot find my keys.
They'll marry once my brother finds the ring.

FAMILY REUNION

Inside his coffin my Lolo's smiling
While Mother glares at Auntie sneaking out of frame
And Uncle laughs at his own jokes again.

Once more the flash has made my father blind.
You'll know my Lola by the way she looks
With eyes that follow you around the room.

My cousins hog the front row. All dressed in black
They think the color makes them slim. They pose
Like supermodels. But cameras don't lie.

From the back row, my sisters crown them all
With signs of peace: V-signs that, on those heads,
Become the Devil's horns as we say "Cheese!"

MY SEX LIFE ON YOUTUBE

I clicked on the link: it's a video of me
Having sex in some seedy apartment. It isn't clear
Who the other person is, or if it even is a person
But there are chicken feathers everywhere.

Ridiculous, the forms these pleasures take:
I've zoomed the video and down to the scar
It's me. When last I checked I wasn't sexy.
The feathers help, the mask, the candle wax.

I'm a kite flying from my lover's back—
Something I've never tried because I thought
It wouldn't work. But I'm happy they're happy
Weighed down by so many things, and yet so free.

How is it possible to look so depraved
And laugh naturally like innocent children?
I raise the volume, I want my wife to hear
And I want to hear them with eyes closed.

That's how she catches the man she married:
Half-clothed and kissing the screen.
I'm there, wherever it is that lovers go
When they kiss so close they don't see each other.

after Tate