



PROCEEDINGS

Tribute to Dodong Nemenzo, TWSC Founder

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GT-TOYOTA ASIAN CENTER AUDITORIUM
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The Third World Studies Center (TWSC) celebrated its fortieth anniversary in 2017. This milestone will not be possible without its founder, Professor Emeritus Francisco “Dodong” Nemenzo. If not for his idea back in 1977, at the height of martial law, to create a subversive space for academics against the Marcos dictatorship, the TWSC will not be here. It was his inspired act of courage, which was sustained in four decades by successive directors, deputies, and research and administrative staff.

What started as a program with a collective of activist-scholars under Dodong’s office as then dean of College of Arts and Sciences is now an established academic institution. Through its researchers and networks of scholars, TWSC now pursues pioneering researches in political economy and globalization, social movements, authoritarianism and democratic governance, peace and human security, culture and identity, and (new) media and technology. The mimeographed manifestos of early years led to the founding of *Kasarinlan*, now a highly regarded academic journal. The TWSC’s numerous books and monographs are now supplemented with works in documentary filmmaking.

At forty, TWSC continues to strive to be a space for critical scholarship, for researches that question received wisdom at the same time that TWSC reflects on its participation in knowledge creation. A

scholarly commitment that we hope is worthy of his own legacy of an audacious intellect that stands up against brute force and dogma.

In recognition of Dodong's role in founding and nurturing the TWSC in the past four decades, we organized a small tribute for him during the international conference to celebrate TWSC's fortieth anniversary. The tribute was on 9 February 2017 (Thursday), from 5:00-6:00 p.m. at the GT-Toyota Asian Center Auditorium, Asian Center, University of the Philippines (UP) Diliman. We invited Dodong and his family, and his colleagues from the U.P., to be there.

RICARDO JOSE (DIRECTOR, TWSC, 2013–PRESENT): This is a special occasion. Not only is it the fortieth anniversary of TWSC. It is also the birthday of Dodong Nemenzo. The concept of TWSC was Dodong's idea. Let us start this by playing a short video showing what TWSC was and is. And after that, I will be asking some of you to give tribute to Dodong.

EMERLINDA ROMAN (PRESIDENT, UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES, 2005–2011; CHANCELLOR, UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES DILIMAN, 1991–1993, 1999–2005): Let me start with a light note. I took over as UP president on February 10, 2005. Alfredo Pascual took over on February 10, 2011. And tomorrow, February 10, Danilo Concepcion takes over as UP president. Have you ever wondered why February 10? This cutoff date happens to be the date after Dodong's birthday. Dodong turned seventy on February 9, 2005. I took over as president the following day. And thereafter, the cutoff date has been set every six years of February 10. This may seem trivial but since that time when I took over I have always associated the changing of the guards of UP with Dodong's birthday.

Even before Dr. Nemenzo took over as president of UP, he was already worried and frustrated with UP's seeming drift to mediocrity. While UP at that time continues to be recognized as the country's top university, it was also becoming increasingly clear that it was no longer able to send a clear example of what is superior for the rest of the country. Instead, UP only reflected the conditions in the rest of the country. This was president Nemenzo's lament. The widespread concern was that indeed UP's standards were deteriorating. Perhaps the alarm bells were not ringing loud enough and that UP has started to adopt an attitude of making do or *pwede na*. This was unacceptable to Dodong. When he took over the helm of UP, he was clear about what he wanted to do: stem the so-called drift to mediocrity. Dodong's

advantage was that he already knew what was wrong. After all, his entire career has been spent in UP except for periods of time when he went for graduate studies abroad and when he accepted stints in the United Kingdom and Australia.

He knew what had to be done, and he set out to address the issues of progress. Academic excellence became the main goal. Among his initiatives as president were the revitalization of the General Education (GE) program and modernization. UP's GE program holds an essential place in the education of a UP student. Many consider it as that which gives a *tatak* UP to our graduates. President Nemenzo has time and again argued that the UP undergraduate education should prepare students for continuing self-education through the GE program, adding that premature specialization at the undergraduate level would only produce half-baked technicians. The revision of the program was last among the first items in his agenda for UP. Revitalizing the GE program met with a lot of complaints, criticisms, even opposition. There was debate throughout the university especially in Diliman, but Dodong had expected that this will happen and was in fact happy that the university was finally back to arguing and debating among the clearly important academic issue. You see, there was a time when Dodong had felt that UP had changed. Gone were the days that the University Council meetings provided the venue for the lively discussion of substantive academic issues. Thus, when debates on Dodong's Revitalized General Education Program ensued, he was very glad that once again debates have returned in UP, and the faculty are talking about intellectual work, not about punctuation marks that were lacking in the minutes of University Council meetings. Attention was not only confined to the GE program. President Nemenzo wanted to create an environment that would support the faculty members' intellectual pursuits, improving the faculty profile like providing generous faculty development grants, rewarding excellence by giving generous awards for excellent teaching and research, reviewing tenure and promotion policies, modernizing infrastructure—the libraries and the laboratories—revisiting the university's admission policies, and many others were among the programs he signed for UP to catch up with other universities in the region and to prepare it for the twenty-first century.

President Nemenzo while obviously were comfortable with academic reforms knew that the job of the president included having to attend to administrative responsibilities like defending the UP budget,

especially, facing the members of Congress who took over during budget hearings, pursuing efficiency measures, fund raising, even making sure all toilets are renovated and have running water. But no responsibility was ever too small or too inconsequential for him. That was how fully committed he was to being at the helm of the university that has been his home throughout his entire career.

When I took over as UP president, I had no difficulty deciding on my plans for UP. I saw myself as continuing Dodong's work, taking it further and stirring the university to the next stage. I was aware that continuing his programs, programs that I believed in, would further cement what he had started. I said to myself, "How can one argue against academic excellence?" or "How can one argue against doing what is best for the faculty who are the university's most important resource?" I knew Dodong from the distance when I first joined the Diliman faculty. Already at that time, I learned about him from how people talk about Dodong. And Dodong may not know about this. My first encounter with him was on an Ikot jeepney. I was a mere instructor, and he and I were seated right next to each other. I knew who he was, and I am sure he did not know me. But he struck a conversation with me, and I was thrilled that he even spoke to me. My next close encounter with him was when I became University Secretary and he was the faculty regent. He was going to attend a conference in United States of America (US) and was having difficulty getting a US Visa. As secretary, I had to contact the US Embassy to help him get one. He had problems alright, and only after repeated attempts did he finally get one. Incidentally, at the US port of entry, he even had difficulty getting in, even with his visa. Anyway, when he came back from the US, he gave me a *pasalubong*, a pack of chocolates. Again, I was thrilled. These are the little things I will always remember about Dodong, and of course there are many big things as well, among which was working closely with him when he appointed me chancellor in 1999, and when he gave full support in my bid for the UP presidency.

President Nemenzo, we celebrate all that you have given us this past several decades. We toast your presence among us, your modesty, and your friendship, your unwillingness to tolerate anything less than excellent, and for never faltering to be fed truths and principles. You have sustained UP and strengthened it by making us realize why UP matters and what matters about UP. Thank you Dodong for all that you have done for UP. We are deeply grateful. Happy birthday.

LESLIE BAUZON (DEAN, COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND PHILOSOPHY, 1983-1989): Over the years, I have come to admire Dr. Nemenzo's outstanding powers of thought and analysis, his firm grasp of his subject matter of political science, his unique ability to relate one event with another, and his capacity to relate his field of political science with public administration, history, economics, and other academic disciplines in the social sciences and philosophy. From the time I first met Dr. Nemenzo as a colleague in UP in Diliman, I have fully been impressed with his commitment to the world of culture and civilization, the world of continuing dialogue with other minds, scientific method, and discovery of ideas, literature, and art.

As teacher, scholar, and administrator, Dr. Nemenzo has committed himself toward helping people around him, make this world as their very own, and to make his colleagues look beyond their particular role, and see how the issues of this world link to the other world around us. He helped his fellow academics to master the new and to balance the new against the old. I am pleased to say that Dr. Nemenzo has played a crucial role in providing his fellow scholars a perspective designed to equip them, including myself, to live their private and social existence in a meaningful way. He has helped develop the powers of everyone around him for expanded appreciation and thoughtfulness, seeing relationships, and having a life of sharing it in ways that go beyond life's most narrow confines. These powers that we all possess are in turn relevant to the faltering objectives of our private and social existence, to the improvement of human society. I believe that Dr. Nemenzo has succeeded in imbuing to the minds of his fellow academics. Dr. Nemenzo, to my mind, has provided his colleagues and fellow human beings with his experience of quality scholarship. This passion for scholarship is what he works so hard to impart to the readers of his major publications. I checked his work, and I found a listing of some of his most widely held publications worldwide, for example, *Land for the Landless Program of the Philippine Government*, which came out in 1959; *Revolution and Counter-Revolution: A Study of British Colonial Policy as a Factor in the Growth and Disintegration of National-Liberation Movements in Burma and Malaya*, which came out in 1964; *The Continuing Relevance of Academic Freedom* that former president Roman mentioned, which came out in 1977 and published by TWSC; *Rectification Process in the Philippine Communist Movement*, which came out in Singapore in 1982; *The Current Philippine Crises and the Immediate Post-Marcos Future*, which came out in 1983; and last but not the least, the publication entitled

The Philippines After Marcos, published in New York by St. Martin's Press in 1985.

He advocated scholarship that is free from the constraints of prejudice and unexamined assumptions. To this day, he fosters the freedom to choose, to define values and purposes, and to follow them freely, the freedom to follow the imperatives of our own major and our own principles. Dr. Nemenzo nurtured that conception of liberation, which has something to do with the sense of connectedness of things. This in turn has to do with going beyond narrow present-mindedness so that we, his fellow scholars, will have the power to build not only the present world but also the world that is unfolding as we face the future.

Allow me to reminisce a little about TWSC during my term as the first dean of the UP College of Social Sciences and Philosophy from 1983 to 1989. At that time, we encouraged shared responsibility and better coordination to best maximize the academic services that we have to offer to our constituents. This was true in the case of TWSC. Under the administrative wing of the College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, TWSC was allowed maximum autonomy. This was to infuse the existing general program that revisit the role of Western colonialism and its contemporary manifestations in the Global South, along with alternative perspectives to development, including the scholarly contributions from the neo-Marxist, the Dependency, and the World Systems theories, other than that offered by the conventional modernization school. The effect of this has been enormously significant particularly in introducing and exposing the students to the concept of committed scholarship, its publications program as well as its periodic seminars and lectures that has been conducted and continues to conduct featuring both visiting international as well as local scholars based on their respective researches and publications. If I may declare with great pride and sense of accomplishment as a supporter, TWSC's accomplishments throughout the years have been intellectually reinvigorating, critical, and provocative. The Center's projects have included and continue to include researchers that critically explore themes related to colonialism and post-colonialism, alternative development theories, and ethical, political, economic issues related to or impacted by corporate-led neoliberal globalization, for example, global warming, environmental degradation, labor rights, human rights, and defense of the global commerce from World Bank-induced corporate assault. Moreover, TWSC has conducted and continues to

conduct training programs as well as workshops on alternative curricula for the social sciences courses with a decidedly progressive or a Third World perspective. TWSC has done these in part through year-round lecture series on the Philippines and on the realities both historically and contemporarily in the Global South. During my term, Prof. Randolph David, who is here with us, and toward the end of my term, Dr. Cynthia Rose Bautista observed ably as director and deputy director of TWSC, respectively. I salute Dr. Nemenzo for his role in the establishment as founder of TWSC and I warmly congratulate TWSC under its current director Dr. Ricardo Jose in upholding the academic excellence of this important center of the national university of the Philippines. Thank you very much for listening and may you all have good health. Good evening.

CONSUELO PAZ (Dean, College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, 1992–1998): You cannot be a UP professor unless you share yourself, meaning you share what you learn, what you experience with your students and the community. Dodong, Thank you very much.

MARIA SERENA I. DIOKNO (Director, TWSC, 1995–2000): I think Dodong represents the breed of intellectuals of UP whom we have sadly lost. I was talking recently with colleagues my age, meaning about to retire in a year or two, and we were reminiscing about the times we grew up in the old College Arts and Sciences. We had the most exciting, the most fascinating faculty meetings, with all the drama and the walk outs. It was wonderful. I was a young instructor, and we would sit on what we call the bleachers portion of the second floor because all of you brave ones would be upfront. We would watch and applaud the debates. We were asking ourselves, “What happened?” Where have we, our generation, failed? Maybe we were not able to reproduce intellectuals like yourself. We missed that very much. When Dodong was dean, he had an eye for spotting young people who were not exactly very conventional, put kindly. He called me once before I left to study abroad. He said, “Maris, when are you leaving?” I said, “soon.” I had my grant to study. He said, “No, I want my son Fidel to take his history classes under you.” I think Fidel was just about to start college at that time when I was a starting instructor. So for a part of the martial law era, I was abroad studying.

Dodong always believed that there could not be a political science without history. He affirmed what we have long known to accept that

history is the queen of social sciences. I got to know Dodong in many capacities. He always made the faculty feel that he was a human being. He did not let us call him “sir.” Everyone else, we had to call them sir or ma’am, but with you it was always “you call me Dodong.” This is how we grew up in UP, with Dodong around, his constant presence in our discussions.

He knew UP inside-out. You knew how the university ran. Sometimes, as president he also felt like he was a dean, which made things a little bit difficult. When we send the appointment papers to the president, normally we would hope that he would just sign. There were occasions when he would read everything, and the papers would come back to me with “Please issue a memo to the faculty. They are not to use ‘PhD candidate.’ A PhD is a Phd period.” And he spelled period, p-e-r-i-o-d. That meant that I had to tell everyone to put it only when you complete it.

I think best of all, Dodong, your sense of humor is what I found attractive. Even when we were in a midst of a fight, there was always something you could find to remark about, which brought out your essential humanity. Of course I will not forget how you challenged Sonny Osmeña over the budget. We took out a full-page ad because he threatened to cut the UP budget. I think at that time when you used to go to the budget hearings, the senators would not go. Maybe Sonny Osmeña and one or two others would, but most people just send their staff. The following year, because of your struggle against Osmeña and he lost the election, we were surprised when we attended the budget hearing because all of the senators were there. I whispered to someone, “What happened? How come everybody is here?” They do not want what happened to Sonny Osmeña to happen to them.

We are so happy that you are still with us, well, and getting better. Not too long ago, I asked him, “Are you finally writing your memoir? Are you finally telling us stories that we have long wanted to hear?” He said at that time, “yes but not for public consumption, only for the family.” I remember asking him, “But why? You know historians want to know the inside story of things.” And you explained to me that as you grow older, you had come to renew friendships with people in various movements whom at one time or another you had very strong differences with. And you do not want to destroy what you have been able to build in your old age by writing a memoir that some of them may find offensive. But, he said, he wanted his family to know,

especially his grandchildren, so that they will understand him and his rightful service to our people. Thank you.

RANDOLF “RANDY” DAVID (FOUNDING DIRECTOR, TWSC, 1977–1992): In 1976, shortly after he was released from Marcos’s prison, Dodong was elected dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. Election may not be the precise word to use to describe his unique passage from prison to deanship. Although there was an election by the faculty of UP’s largest college at that time, Quezon Hall regarded it as a nonbinding consultation. Dodong had to be appointed by the UP president Onofre Corpuz and confirmed by the Board of Regents. But in the context of martial law, there was every reason, until the last minute, to fear that the regime will not allow him to be the academic leader of UP’s most politically volatile unit. That was before the division of the college, before the vulcanization of the arts and sciences into three separate colleges that they are today. I remember those days as I worked closely with Dodong as dean, serving as officer-in-charge to him many times, and having to deal with very idiosyncratic faculty members in the college. I remember those days when I had to mediate the conflict between Teodoro Agoncillo and the people he did not exactly like.

Academic autonomy, collegiality, and participatory democracy became the bywords of Dodong’s five-year deanship. He worked for the university-wide institutionalization and application of these basic values by seeking their incorporation in the revised university code. He were revising the entire operational manual of the university. But apart from his advocacy, his sought to stimulate intellectual activity in the College of Arts and Sciences by introducing three new programs through which the college might be able to project its influence upon the country’s academic world. The natural faculty, I remember, came up with the idea of an extramural studies program as a vehicle for sharing new knowledge and perspectives with other tertiary institutions in the country. Its first director was the biologist Ruben Umali. On the other hand, the arts and letter faculty proposed, from out of nowhere, a folklore studies program. Its first director was the literary scholar Damiana Eugenio. The last of these programs was precisely the Third World Studies Program, to be launched in the social sciences faculty, and I was appointed as its first director. In fact, we were not called directors. We were called coordinators, attesting to the provisional character of these programs. But Dodong nurtured these three programs

as though they were own his three children. He shared with them the bigger resources of his office. He gave us a room and one research assistant each. We had to raise on our own the rest of what we needed to function as programs. The Third World Studies Program was assigned window-less room on the third floor of the Faculty Center between political science and sociology. Believe or not, our first acquisitions included a set of wooden display panels and books donated by Dodong's favorite embassy, the Soviet embassy. The nicely bound volumes from the Soviet embassy were from the collected works of Marx and Lenin, all in Spanish. Both donations were left-overs from a small book fair that have been put together by the Soviet Embassy. Someone obviously thought that Spanish was the lingua franca of the country. In time, we began replacing these books with our own mimeographed publications, original as well as reprints, all printed by Dodong's office. We called them the Third World Studies Occasional Papers, the forerunner of the journal *Kasarinlan*. Dodong wanted the Third World Studies to serve as common venue for convivial conversations, British concept, a secure place for progressive thinkers like a common room that we knew in Manchester for progressive thinkers and activists who were just coming out of hiding and detention. It was not difficult to do these because all we needed to perform this function was a coffee maker and all the recycled furniture we could retrieve from our perspective homes. Today, the Third World library houses the Filipiniana collection and Marxist library of the late Daniel Boone Schimmer, a true friend of the Filipino people. During those years, we asked for nothing from the central administration because they were not exactly friendly. Banting however on the good relations Dodong had with the UP's new president Corpuz, his former mentor, he took care of getting us two additional items for research assistant, in addition to the one already occupied by Jojo Abinales. Two former detainees, Raph Bailoses and Ricky Esegueera, newly released from prison, promptly filled these up. Looking back at those years, I suspect that Quezon Hall somehow felt obliged to support Dodong's modest initiative because the resource required were miniscule compared to what the national government and Marcos have been lavishing on the President's Center for Advanced Studies, or PCAS, the Marcos think-tank that was carved overnight brutally out of the Asian Center during the term of Salvador Lopez. The president of PCAS and its well-paid professors and researchers—they receive four times the salary of the ordinary UP professor—working from a

commandeered building across the campus, gave us a sense of heroic mission amid danger. That was not easy to match. We churned out papers that provided a perspective different from the official narrative of what was happening under the Marcos repressive, developmentalist, technocratic regime. Dodong was the moving spirit behind this exotic attempt to oppose the regime at the level of ideas. At five in the afternoon, after he was done signing endless bureaucratic papers on his desk as dean of the college, he would cross the street to the Faculty Center and join the conversations of the Third World Studies where what remains of the country's unbowed intelligentsia gathered and drew strength from Dodong's inspiring presence. It is with irony that when the regime fell in 1986, the Third World Studies was tasked by the then executive secretary Joker Arroyo of the Cory Administration to take over the administration of PCAS. And we did. We invaded PCAS like revolutionaries on April Fools' Day, April 1, 1986. I remember Adrian Cristobal who was the director at that time said, "What took you so long? The revolution took place in February, and it is now April. You will love this Center, Randy. It is a gravy train." Three months after we were appointed, we recommended its dismantling. That is another story. They raided the library. We were left to retrieve what was stolen from the Asian Center Library. It was all gone. The vehicles were gone. Everything was gone, including the research papers they were supposed to be doing. What remained were the payrolls waiting to be signed by me because they have not been paid since the February uprising. When I looked at the payroll, I nearly collapsed. Half of them were UP intellectuals.

The Center continued to benefit from Dodong's support long after he had finished his term as dean of the College of Arts and Sciences. At the end of his term, he decided to go on an extended sabbatical leave at the Australian National University in Canberra. Abroad, where I had the chance to visit him, he became the Center's most active promoter in the international academic community, encouraging foreign scholars to drop by and do lectures or simply listen to the dissident voices that the Center was nurturing.

The university is a graveyard of countless programs that are conceived and established by visionary intellectual leaders but fail to survive the passing of the administration that created them. We were conscious of this when we put up the program. That is the very reason why we resisted the temptation of offering a degree program in Third World studies. We did not want our students to be stranded in

midstream should an unfriendly dean decide to dismantle the program, which was very easy. Indeed, the extramural study program, our twin sister, and the folklore studies program, another twin sister, did not live more than ten years, perhaps confirming the theory that organizations have at best a fifteen-year life span. We are already twenty-five years past the conventional life span of organizations. In fact, there was a time when TWSC was nearly dismantled by a dean who thought that the concept of a Third World had become *passé*. That the Center has outlived its staunchest critics no doubt testifies to the ability of its directors, staff, and fellows to reinterpret the Center's mandate through various transitions. Still, I believe that no amount of imaginative reinterpretation might have sufficed if the Center did not have the unconditional support of a highly committed advocate like Dodong Nemenzo, who made sure when he became UP president that TWSC would become the heart and soul of the university's general education program. It gives me enormous satisfaction to be able to say all of these while Dodong is still with us.

Where there is little joy in paying tribute to someone who is no longer around, two years ago as he lay comatose and critically ill battling the aftereffects of a deadly strain bacterial Meningitis, I asked Fidel to accompany me to the intensive care unit of the Philippine General Hospital. I saw Dodong there. He was swollen and bruised all over, and a machine was doing the breathing for him. It did not seem right, I thought to myself, that the life of a man who had given so much of himself in support of progressive causes should end that way, a *passé* footnote in the history of the Philippine Left. That is why I am very happy, as I am sure everyone in this room is, that we are able to honor Dodong's achievements, remember his role in the formation of TWSC, and celebrate the fullness of his life in academe, when he can hear us, reminisce with us, laugh with us, and bask in the affection, gratitude, and admiration of those who had had the privilege to know and work with him. Dodong, happy birthday. May you and I be around in 2027 for the Center's golden jubilee. Thank you so much.

RICARDO JOSE: Let me mention some other things that I know about Dodong. I also know his family in different areas. The Dodong I knew first was a professor. He was my professor in social political thought. I do not know if he remembers, but I was one of the not very bright students in that class. I do remember Zeno, Machiavelli, and all those things that we had to read in social political thought. Then I

knew him as dean of the college. Then I knew him as dean of the college. He was then when I entered the college and started teaching. And when he went to higher positions, I also had contact with him, and we would see each other. We would see each other in various official and unofficial programs. My classmates and I in that social political thought class thought very highly of Dodong as a teacher. In fact, that is one reason why we flocked to the class because everyone said that he is just one of the best to teach. That is partly what I know of Dodong.

I also knew his wife Princess Nemenzo. She was my history teacher in Philippine Science High School. I was not a very good student there either. I like to give recognition to their son Fidel Nemenzo. I knew him when he was in Japan. He was in my late wife's university. We also had connections. When he got severely wounded in the Welcome Rotunda incident, I think I was here. We knew what happened, and we are very concerned about that. We felt very strongly about the Nemenzo family at that particular time. The family itself has a close connection with me in different level.

Before I proceed any longer, I would like to recognize Chancellor Michael Tan.

We would like to present Dodong with a birthday gift from TWSC. It is a sketch of Dodong delivering a talk. It is by one of our research assistants, Judith Camille Rosette. Dodong, happy birthday.

FRANCISCO "DODONG" NEMENZO (PRESIDENT, UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES, 1999–2005; DEAN, COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, 1976–1981): I would like to congratulate TWSC in its fortieth anniversary. Thank you for remembering my role in its early years of existence. I do not claim to be the founder of TWSC. That honor should be accorded to Prof. Randy David, its first director. He laid the foundation and set the principles and practices that defined its mission. I merely gave the orders and provided the initial funding.

TWSC was born in the worst stages of martial law. Fear was the dominant mood in the university. Fear drew the boundaries of our academic freedom. Intellectuals censored themselves. When I became dean of the College of Arts and Sciences in 1976, I took it to my unstated mission to restore the courage of our colleagues and students. I wanted to create an institutional refuge for subversive intellectuals, for what TWSC now calls the scholar-activists. I used the discretionary funds of the dean's office to establish and sustain TWSC. We should not pose a threat to the dictatorship at the beginning, otherwise we

won't ever reach first base. I decided to project a low profile. Instead of declaring the true intention of TWSC, I said it was to help implement the four thrusts of Marcos's foreign policy. *Daily Express* made the founding of TWSC a headline story. ❀