

## INTRODUCTION

In the serene academic atmosphere of the Asian Center, University of the Philippines, from the years 1988 to 1992, where I spent some idyllic years in between diplomatic assignments, it was my privilege to write a doctoral dissertation on Filipino Foreign Policy. Apart from earning a Doctor of Philosophy degree from the U.P. it was also my opportunity to write another book.

Ten years ago, I published my first book on Filipino Foreign Policy entitled *The Making of Filipino Foreign Policy* which was published by the Foreign Service Institute. As a first book, it was a source of joy for me to have completed my manuscript based on materials available and diplomatic experience up to the time.

After a decade which included a foreign assignment as first Philippine Ambassador to Negara Brunei Darussalam and Executive Director of the Office of Consular Services, I found more time in my hands when I was appointed as Foreign Affairs Adviser in the Department of Foreign Affairs and fulfilled my academic requirements for a Ph.D. in Philippine External Relations under the Philippine Studies Program of the Asian Center of the University of the Philippines.

With the benefit of hindsight and more time to contemplate the ramifications of the complex factors that influence the Philippines' diplomatic relations, I had prepared enough materials to submit for the academic requirements of a doctoral degree.

As background material for the dissertation, I prepared the first part which constituted an introductory part of my main research work and realized that I had written about Filipino Foreign Policy from an entirely different perspective and time frame as the first book.

It was fitting therefore to name this volume as *The Re-Making of Filipino Foreign Policy* for that is exactly what it is.

Filipino Foreign Policy had undergone a major change from the neocolonial years following the Second World War and ultimately gain a Filipino foreign policy that was "Filipino, free and far-seeing."

It is in revaluation that we make the best gains as we review the past formulation and implementation of Foreign Policy.

Perhaps the best original contribution of the dissertation is the formulation of a theoretical and conceptual framework in the study of Foreign Policy. This I call the Foreign Policy System approach.

Briefly, the Foreign Policy System is a collection of three subsystems or approaches to the study of Foreign Policy.

The first subsystem concerns the Foreign Policy Procedural Aspects and concentrates on how foreign policy is formulated, implemented and reevaluated or reviewed.

The second subsystem relates to the Foreign Policy Substantive Aspects. This is a set of three facets of foreign policy including the Security or Political Aspect, the Economic Aspect and finally the Cultural Aspect of Foreign Policy.

The third subsystem is a study of the Foreign Policy Directional Aspects. Also three in number, it includes bilateral relations, regional relations and multilateral relations.

It is suggested that a study of the three subsystems would make up a complete single or holistic system which may be called the Foreign Policy System in chief.

With this theoretical framework, it makes it more expeditious to review Filipino foreign policy and test it against what is perceived to be the ideal state of affairs.

As in the first book entitled "*The Making of Filipino Foreign Policy*" the present work reviews the foreign policy of the Philippines from all three vantage points and analyses how the present system works in congruence with what is perceived to be the ideal one.

In 1978, General Carlos P. Romulo, then Secretary of Foreign Affairs, enunciated a model foreign policy statement in which he fleshed out the 8-point foreign policy of the Republic of the Philippines at the time.

Apart from enumerating the 8-point Foreign Policy Guidelines, the report which he called *Dynamic Pragmatism* then spelled out how the Department of Foreign Affairs had implemented it in all areas. How the Department of Foreign Affairs as implementor of Foreign Policy had carried out such policy pronouncements from the President of the Philippines could well serve as a prototype of future foreign policy pronouncements of future administrations in the government of the Philippines. This is the rationale of its inclusion in Chapter III.

Two areas which have not been exploited to the full are the Foreign Cultural Policy of the Philippines and the Revaluation phase of foreign-policy making. As these two are vital cogs in the wheel, ample discussion is given these subjects which can well be further improved in the future. This is after all the objective of revaluation of policy.

After all is said and done, the acid test of any foreign policy is how well it had served the national interest. What is the national interest of the Philippines? To what extent had it been protected and promoted through public policy pronouncements, actions and deeds?

Foreign policy well understood is the simplest thing. Foreign policy misunderstood or not understood at all could damn the whole structure of government and the common weal.

Career Foreign Service Officers experience the formulation, implementation and review or reevaluation of Filipino foreign policy from a direct and close exposure to the elements that make up public policy. In the Home Office and in the Foreign Service we are confronted with policy issues on a regular and practical basis such that it becomes the very center around which our diplomatic lives revolve about.

In the academic classrooms of the University and graduate school seminars, we are surrounded with an altogether different atmosphere and challenges, not less rigorous nor demanding as those in the diplomatic outposts. Only, the objectives of a classroom discussion and research papers are also demanding in that we have to formulate hypotheses and arrive at conclusions and recommendations based on research and study.

It was my privilege to belong to both the diplomatic and academic worlds at the most critical stages of the development of Filipino Foreign Policy.

I could only offer to share it here.