

THE PHILIPPINES:  
A STORY OF A NATION

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## CHAPTER 1

### THE PHILIPPINES: "PEARL OF THE ORIENT SEA"

The Philippines was named in honor of Philip II, the King of Spain, in the second half of the sixteenth century. *Felipinas*, the Spanish word for the Philippines, was first used in 1543 by the Spanish explorer, Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, to refer to the islands of Samar and Leyte, but later on it was applied to the entire archipelago. Since then the islands have dazzled and inspired colonizers and visitors, who have coined various titles and passages to capture its mysticism and beauty. A Spanish missionary called the Philippines the "Pearl of the Orient Sea", a title which was in turn popularized by Apolinario Mabini and Dr. Jose P. Rizal, the country's national hero, in their revolutionary writings in the late nineteenth century.

#### **Geography of the Islands**

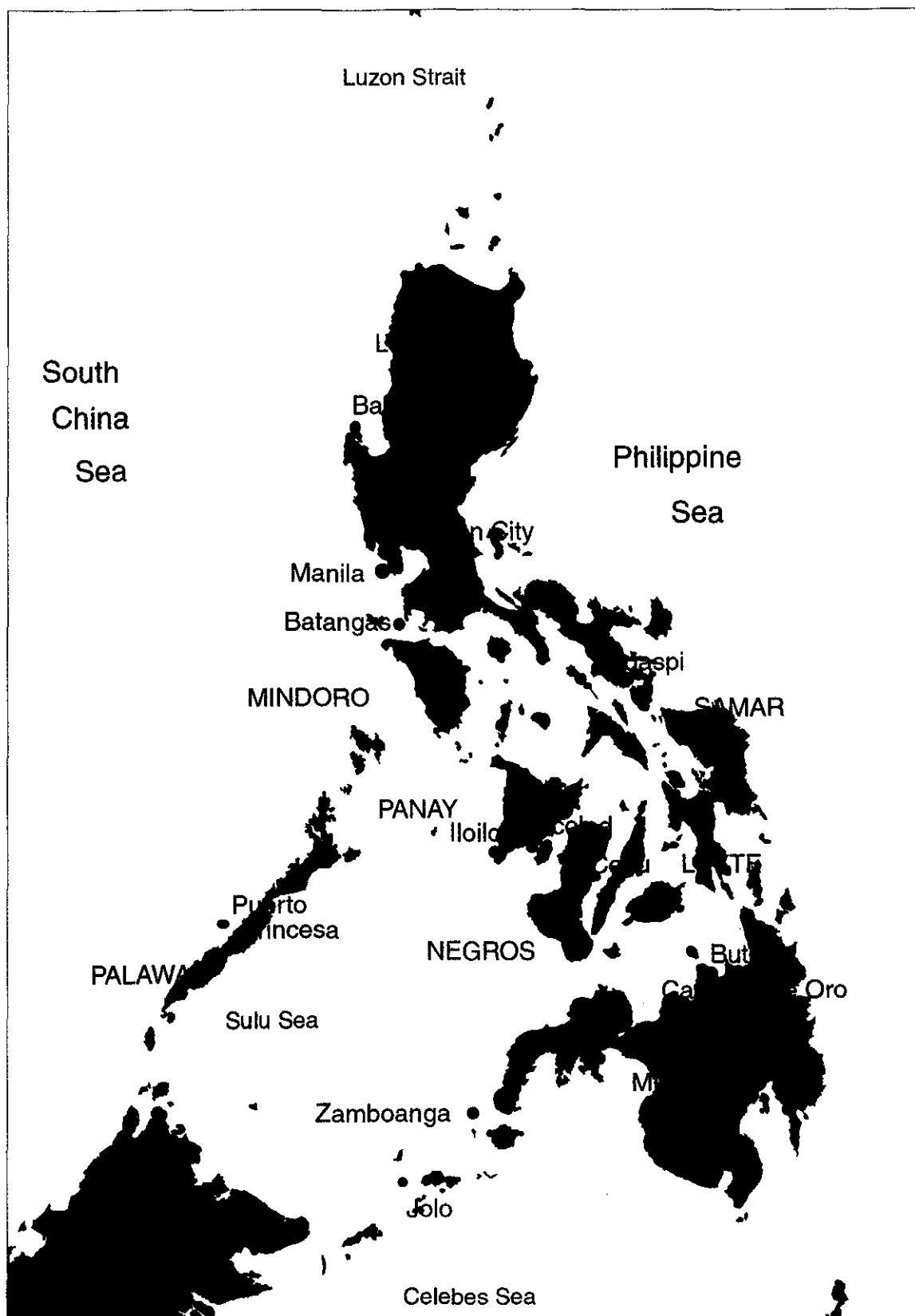
Located in island Southeast Asia, the Philippines is made up of 7,107 islands stretching over 1,100 miles from north to south. The largest of these islands are Luzon, Mindanao, Palawan, Samar, Negros, Panay, and Mindoro. Only about 1,000 islands are inhabited, with the largest population concentrated in Luzon, Mindanao, Cebu, Leyte, Negros, and Mindoro. The country is divided into three major island groupings--Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao--which are represented by the three stars in the Philippine flag. There are altogether 79 provinces. Due to the islands' geographical fragmentation, the country was decentralized to facilitate efficient administration and decision-making. It was administratively divided into a National Capital Region, or NCR, and twelve regions,

season from June to October, which coincides with the Southwest Monsoon. The Northeast Monsoon marks the onset of the dry season with cool temperatures from December to February, while the hot temperatures are registered in the summer months of March to May. In recent years, however, *El Niño* has affected global weather patterns, whereas in the Philippines, the wet season has been unusually dry, thus triggering agricultural droughts and water shortages.

### **Agriculture**

Agriculture is the foremost preoccupation of Filipinos. Rice is the most widely grown staple crop, and Central Luzon is considered the rice granary of the country. Various crops are also grown throughout the country depending on regional variations in temperature and soil. Abaca, also known as Manila Hemp, is grown in the volcanic enriched soil of Davao and Bicol. Due to a cooler climate, citrus fruits such as pineapple, grapefruit, durian, rambutan, and cavendish banana are grown in the Davao provinces and in northern Mindanao. One of the largest pineapple plantations in the world is the multinational Del Monte in Mindanao. Similarly, in Baguio, Benguet, and other Cordillera provinces, the cool climate all year round favors the cultivation of strawberries and vegetables like lettuce, cabbage, beans, mushrooms, and cauliflower. To the south, coffee and coconuts are grown in the Tagalog provinces of Laguna, Cavite, Batangas, and Quezon. The provinces of Iloilo, Capiz, Antique, Negros Oriental, and Negros Occidental grow sugarcane. Meanwhile, the narrow plains of Ilocos and the Cagayan Valley are responsible for growing tobacco, garlic, and peanuts.

# THE PHILIPPINES



## Natural Resources

The Philippines is rich in mineral resources. It is the sixth-largest producer of gold in the world. Gold is mined in Benguet, Paracale in Camarines, and Davao. The country also has the world's largest deposits of chromite in Zambales. Nickel deposits in Nonoc Island and Surigao del Norte are also some of the largest in the world. Recently, oil exploration in Palawan has been quite successful. Cagayan Valley, Cebu, Leyte, Cotabato, and Sulu Sea are also being explored for possible oil deposits.

The Philippines, like most of Southeast Asia, has good timber resources in mahogany, *molave*, *narra*, and ironwood. The excessive and unregulated cutting and milling have destroyed much of the country's beautiful landscape and, worse, have triggered floods and mudslides. Illegal logging if unabated will result in major environmental destruction in the next generations. Twenty five years ago, the Philippines had about 15 million square miles of rain forest but this is expected to dwindle to a mere 1.2 million square miles by the year 2000 if illegal logging continues. The billion dollar a year timber export industry is plagued by widespread corruption and crimes. So far, the government's reforestation and selective logging programs have largely been ignored.

The Philippines is also rich in water resources. Laguna Lake, Lanao Lake, and Lake Naujan are the prime sources of fish. In Bulacan, Pampanga, Pangasinan, Iloilo, and Capiz, fishponds breed the biggest *bangus* (milkfish) and shrimp. The Philippines has different kinds of fish and the more popular ones are *bangus*, *tilapia*, *dalag* (mudfish), mackerel, and tuna. Moreover, the islands have the most beautiful pearls, corals, and shells.

Tagalog words with English, thereby creating an informal spoken language called “Taglish”.

Like most of island Southeast Asia, Filipinos are predominantly Malays. But the coming of the Chinese, Spaniards, and Americans further enriched the ethnic, linguistic, and cultural mix of the people. Although a relatively small group, the Chinese dominate the economic life of the country. The Filipino Chinese, however, are assimilated in Philippine society.

### **Regionalism**

The linguistic diversity of the country is reflected in the prevalence of regionalism. For many Filipinos their ethnicity and identity is located, first and foremost, in their region of origin. This feeling of regionalism accounts for competition among the different ethnic groups. Although regionalism was undoubtedly fostered by four hundred years of the colonial policy of divide-and-rule, and of favoring one ethnic group over another, it was strengthened by actual regional differences. From the most trivial factors such as food, to more serious ones such as values, ethnic groups are constantly trying to outdo each other. For instance, the Pampangans and the Bicolanos claim to be the culinary experts and declare their food exceptional compared with food in the rest of the country. The Ilocanos, on the other hand, think themselves the most adventurous, as illustrated by the fact that many of them emigrated not only to Central Luzon and Northern Luzon in the nineteenth century but also to Hawaii and California in the twentieth century. The scarce economic opportunities provided by the Ilocos region, the home of the Ilocanos, encouraged outmigration and are a probable explanation for the



*Independiente* or Philippine Independent Church; and some Protestant denominations.

Aside from seeking the endorsement of the Catholic Church, politicians also court the *Iglesia ni Kristo* since its adherents tend to vote as a bloc during elections.

Despite geographical fragmentation and ethnolinguistic differences, Filipinos are bound by their religion and culture. The nation's diversity is reflected in its ethnic mix, yet the theme of unity amidst diversity pervades Filipino culture. It is this culture which has shaped the country's history, and in turn has been most responsible for binding together a nation that continues to undergo change.

3. Due to the islands' geographical fragmentation, the country was decentralized to efficiently facilitate:
- a. the educational system
  - b. the administration and decision-making
  - c. tax collection
  - d. building of roads and bridges
4. What three major island groupings are represented in the Philippine flag?
- a. Visayas, Mindanao, and Palawan
  - b. Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao
  - c. Luzon, Visayas, and the Autonomous Region of Mindanao
  - d. Visayas, Mindanao, and Caraga
5. The worst volcanic eruption in the history of the Philippines was caused by:
- a. Mt. Mayon
  - b. Mt. Kanlaon
  - c. Mt. Pinatubo
  - d. Mt. Taal
6. El Nino, a global weather disturbance, affected the Philippines by triggering:
- a. floods and typhoons
  - b. agricultural droughts
  - c. water shortage
  - d. b and c
7. The Philippines is the sixth world producer of:
- a. silver
  - b. gold
  - c. iron
  - d. chromite
8. Which of these languages is spoken by 25% of the population?
- a. Ilocano
  - c. Waray

2. Since 85% of the Filipinos are Roman Catholics, the Church plays a very influential role in the politics and daily life of the people. Their influence is seen, for instance, in the failure of the government to develop a strong family planning policy which is needed to curtail the high birth rate. Should the Philippine government formulate an effective family planning policy? What should be done to counter the influence of the Church in this issue?

### III Essay Writing

1. What do you think are the similarities and differences of the Philippines and the United States when it comes to the issue of ethnic diversity?
2. What is the "Pacific Ring of Fire"? How has it affected the geography of the Philippines? What consequences does it have for the Filipino people?

### IV Creative Writing

1. Write a travelogue on the Philippines introducing the country to would-be tourists.
2. Gather facts and figures about the natural resources of the Philippines. Write an essay about the country's natural wealth and the effect of the excessive and unregulated destruction of the country's natural resources to present and future generations.

### V Map Knowledge

On the map below, identify and label the following:

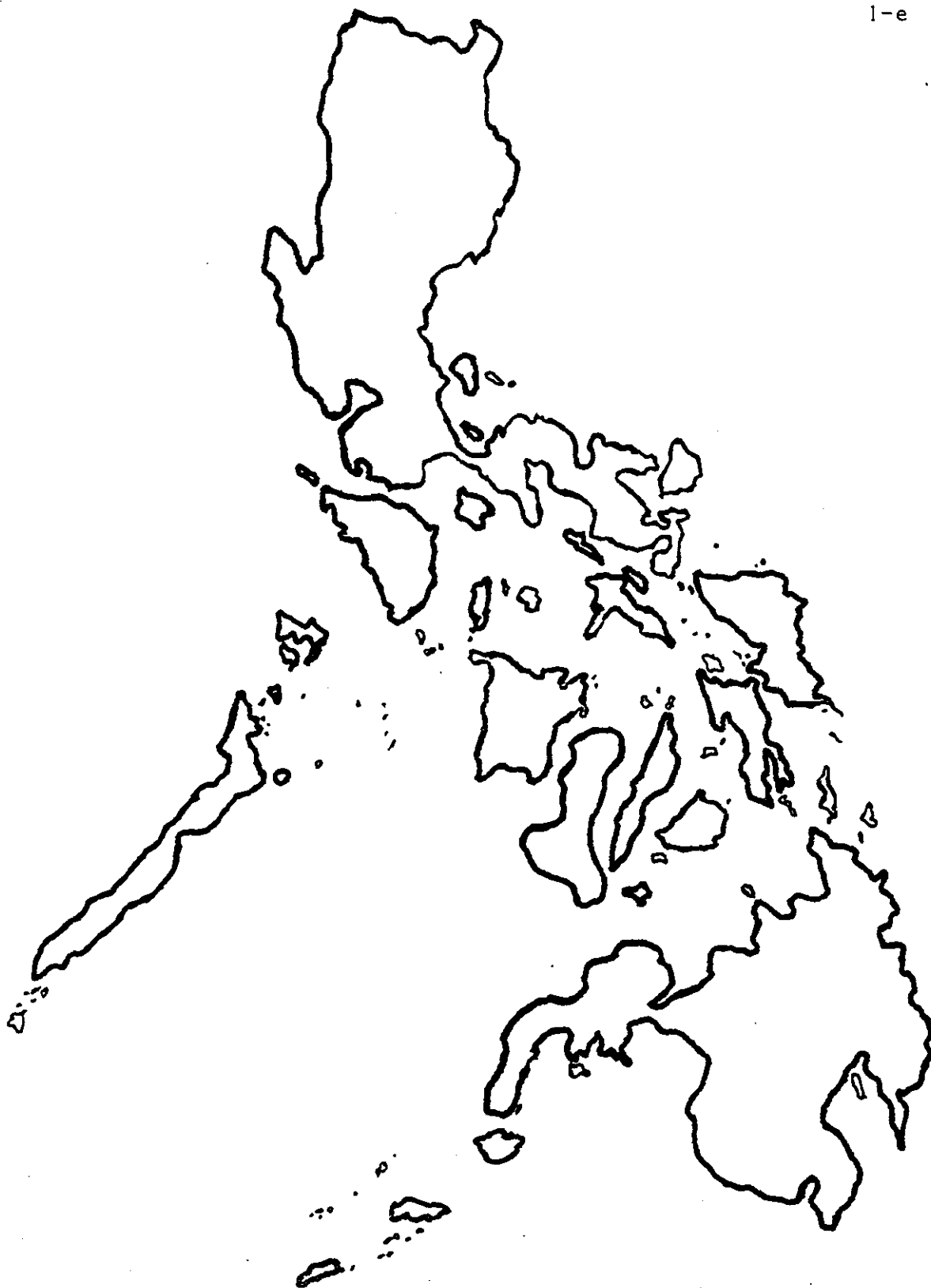
1-3 Major island groupings

4-10 Other big islands

11 Manila - the capital city

12 National Capital Region (encircle the radius)

13 Mt. Pinatubo



## CHAPTER 2

### Cultural Unity Amidst Diversity

Filipino culture must be examined on its own terms. To compare and, worse, to judge it by Western, mainly American, cultural standards is “but another expression of cultural imperialism.”<sup>1</sup> When American and Western-trained scholars examine Filipino culture by juxtaposing it against the American paradigm, they expose their cultural bias, which views non-Western culture as the antithesis of their own modern Western culture.

#### Hospitality

Filipino hospitality often overwhelms foreign visitors. Regardless of whether a home is palatial or a modest hut, Filipinos extend the comfort of their abodes to the visitor by offering him or her the best food, chair, bed, and other amenities of the house. The Filipino profusely apologizes for the lack of comfort of his house but nonetheless encourages you to feel at home and treat his house as your own. The visitor can come unannounced any time of the day, even at night, and still be warmly received and fed.

#### Family

Family is the foundation of Philippine society, not only the immediate members or nuclear family but also the extended family, which includes the grandparents, in-laws, and grandchildren. Respect for elders is a common trait. The various Philippine languages are rich with terms or names of respect which are usually used to refer to elders. For instance, among the Tagalogs, *ate* is for an older sister while *kuya* is an older brother. But *ate* and *kuya* are not exclusive to blood relations. Any woman older in age

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<sup>1</sup> David Joel Steinberg, *The Philippines: A Singular and a Plural Place*, Third Edition (Boulder and Oxford: Westview Press, 1994), p. 8.

social propriety,” which regulates social behavior.<sup>2</sup> But Enriquez disagrees because of the complexity of the Filipino language. He says that the meaning of *hiya* changes since there is an external and internal dimension to the language based on a system of affixations. *Nakakahiya* is external and different from *nahiya* which is internal. *Nakakahiya* has a social connotation of behavior while *nahiya* has a moral injunction.

Mary Hollensteiner, of the IPC school, explains that every Filipino is expected to have *utang na loob* from those who have bestowed favors, whether in kind, or otherwise, solicited or not; and for which he or she hopes to be able to repay with equal, if not greater, favor or kindness. Enriquez decries this mercantilistic interpretation of *utang na loob*. *Utang na loob* does not necessarily mean a contractual relationship or that the obligation to repay such kindness or favor becomes a burden to the recipient of the favor. In many cases, friends do favors willingly and are not at all conscious of the interplay of debt repayments.

### **Political Culture**

The Filipino cultural and value system is often applied in political life. Relations in Philippine society are perceived to be hierarchical, where one is superior and serves as a patron, while the other is subordinate and is a client. The ultimate example of this is the politicians and their followers or the landlords and their tenants. The politician and the landlord are the ultimate patrons who bestow assistance and favors to their followers and tenants, respectively, who act as the clients. A client is expected to have *utang na loob* to the patron and repayment can be done by supporting (i.e., voting for) the politician during

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<sup>2</sup> Mary Racelis Hollensteiner, “Reciprocity As a Social Value,” Mary Racelis Hollensteiner (editor), *Society, Culture and the Filipino* (Quezon City: The Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila

in the West. Its culture is akin to its Southeast Asian neighbors and not to the Western culture. Thus, Filipino culture, like the rest of Southeast Asia, must be viewed solely within its own parameters. In the eyes of Filipinos, *pakikisama*, *hiya*, and *utang na loob* should be viewed and explained within the larger Filipino culture and value system. It can also be argued that patron-client linkages assure that everyone is included and taken cared of in a redistributive kind of society.

Patrons are not the only determinants of the relations, nor are the clients mere victims. As Resil Mojares argues in his essay on the Osmenas, a political family in Cebu, patrons are not in total, absolute control. They adjust to “altered conditions” and they act and react based on “pressures from below.”<sup>5</sup> The patron does not exist in a void. He takes into consideration the inputs and sentiments of the community. In a sense, even if power originates from him, the top, it nonetheless circulates and he continuously derives his power by responding to the needs of the community who in turn bestow on him their undying *utang na loob*.

### **Catholicism**

Another powerful gluelink that connects most Filipinos throughout the archipelago regardless of their location and status in life is Catholicism. The Catholic religion is a unifying factor in Philippine society. It governs the Filipinos' relations with a superior being, God, and at the same time their dealings with their fellow human beings. Catholicism forges a feeling of community solidarity expressed in going through the same Church rituals like Sunday services, observance of the Holy Week, and

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<sup>5</sup> Resil B. Mojares, “The Dream Goes On an On,” Alfred W. McCoy (editor), *The Anarchy of Families: State and Family in the Philippines* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1994), p. 343.

**Suggested Readings:**

Enriquez, Virgilio. "The Filipinization of Personality Theory." In *From Colonial to Liberation Psychology: the Philippine Experience*. Diliman, Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1992.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Filipino Psychology in the Third World*. Quezon City: Philippine Psychology Research House, 1977.

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Hollensteiner, Mary R. "Reciprocity as a Filipino Value." In *Society, Culture and the Filipino*, ed. Mary Hollensteiner, 38-43. Quezon City: The Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University, 1979.

Steinberg, David Joel. *The Philippines: A Singular and a Plural Place*, 3d ed. San Francisco and Oxford: Westview Press, 1994, Chapter 1, pp. 1-10.

**Suggested Activities:****I Multiple Choice**

1. The foundation of the Philippine society is:
 

a. <i>barangay</i>	c. family
b. school	d. clan
2. Kinship among Filipinos is reckoned:
 

a. bilaterally	c. maternally
b. paternally	d. none of the above
3. Kinship is forged by blood and marriage as well as by:
 

a. <i>utang na loob</i>	c. <i>hiya</i>
b. <i>compadrazgo</i>	d. <i>pakikisama</i>



### III Questions for Debate

1. Family is the foundation of Philippine society. It is customarily extended and includes the grandparents, in-laws, cousins and other relatives. Discuss the pros and cons of having an extended family.
2. Filipinos are prone to the *bahala na* syndrome. This *bahala na* attitude is blamed for why many Filipinos are said to be fatalistic. But *bahala na* is not necessarily negative and does not automatically mean passivity to whatever will happen. Argue on the correct or more appropriate interpretation of *bahala na*.

### IV Essay Writing

1. What are the contrasting explanations provided by the Institute of Philippine Culture and the Sikolohiyang Pilipino on *utang na loob*, *pakikisama* and *hiya*?
2. Based on the Filipino traits discussed, explain the political culture of the Filipinos.

### V. Creative Writing

1. As an outsider looking into the Filipino value system, write on the Filipino value/trait which you admire most or which strikes you as uniquely Filipino.
2. Interview Filipinos in the United States and asked them to explain what *utang na loob*, *hiya*, and *pakikisama* mean to them.
3. Research on how regionalism is manifested in the culinary skills of Filipinos. Compare and contrast Tagalog, Ilocano, Bisayan, Pampangan, Bicolano, and Ilonggo cooking.

## CHAPTER 3

### PHILIPPINE PREHISTORY

Archaeological research is too inadequate to reconstruct a reliable Philippine prehistory. Evidence unearthed so far is scanty, even shaky. The burial caves which have been excavated were found to have already been disturbed or plundered by grave robbers. Archaeological digs are not widespread, having been mainly confined to Palawan and the Cagayan Valley. Other places have received token or sampling excavations while the rest of the archipelago has been largely ignored. However, the Philippines does benefit from a more extensive and reliable regional reconstruction, such as Peter Bellwood's studies of Indo-Malaysian prehistory and of the Austronesian migration.

#### **Periodization of Philippine Prehistory**

Four scholars, in different times, formulated separate theories about the prehistory of the Philippines.

Robert Heine-Geldern, in the 1930s, hypothesized that Austronesians migrated to Southeast Asia, but his account of the flow of migration and the routes taken has largely been proven false.

Henry Otley Beyer, in the late 1940s, wrote that the Philippines was peopled by six waves of migration: each migrant group brought its own cultural baggage, improving upon the cultural legacy of the previous migrants. His wave-migration theory also has been convincingly debunked.

Physical anthropologists, according to noted historian and linguist William Henry Scott, believed that the Tabon Man was pre-Mongoloid. In his most definitive study of prehistoric island Southeast Asia, archaeologist Peter Bellwood claims that there is some evidence, although debatable, that the Tabon Man was pre-Mongoloid and was probably part of the Australo-Melanesian family. Bellwood contends that the Australo-Melanesian may be considered indigenous to the Indo-Malaysian Archipelago.

The Negritos of Northern Philippines are considered part of the Australo-Melanesian stock. They were hunters and gatherers who lived as nomads. Bellwood explains that the pre-Austronesian inhabitants occasionally used edge-ground stone axes and shell adzes. They exploited but did not domesticate many tubers and fruit trees. Although the present day Negritos have adopted Austronesian languages and some have partly acculturated to shifting cultivation, it is believed that the Negritos have local ancestries that predate the Austronesian speaking Southern Mongoloid, which is the racial stock of the Filipinos, Indonesians, and Malays. Bellwood warns, though, against extrapolating the pre-Austronesian culture by looking at present-day Negritos.<sup>7</sup> The Negritos have been in contact with the outsiders (i.e., the Austronesians) for several millennia and have made some cultural adaptation in becoming, in part, agriculturists.

### **Austronesian Migration**

Three thousand years before Christ, the Indo-Malaysian archipelago absorbed the migrating Austronesian-speaking populations belonging to the Mongoloid (or Southern Mongoloid) race. Archaeological and linguistic evidence point out that the Austronesians

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<sup>7</sup> See Peter Bellwood, *Prehistory of the Indo-Malaysian Archipelago*, revised edition (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997).

was excavated in Sunget site, Batan Island. The red-slipped pottery was present in many other excavation sites in the Cagayan River Valley in Northern Luzon and in the Batungan Mountain, Masbate, in Central Philippines. Plain pottery, on the other hand, was found in the Bagumbayan site in Masbate and in the Edjek site in Negros. A combination of plain and red-slipped pottery was unearthed in Balobok, Sulu Archipelago. Aside from the extensive use of pottery, Bellwood claims that the excavated neolithic sites yielded evidence of pig and deer hunting as well as the use of flake tools.

### **Metal Phase and Burial Jars**

Bellwood contends that during the millennium, 500 B.C. to A.D. 500, major developments occurred in island Southeast Asia such as the introduction of metallurgy, domesticated cattle and water buffalo, and even terraced and irrigated cultivation such as in Northern Luzon. Contact with China and India began in some regions during this period, but seems to have occurred later in the Philippines.

The Metal phase corresponds to the introduction of copper-bronze and iron artifacts and their manufacturing technologies. Bellwood believes the starting point was roughly 500 B.C., although it may prove to be closer to 200 B.C. The excavation site in Kalanay Cave, Masbate, yielded the best known ceramic and metal artifacts. According to Scott, the Kalanay caves had some sixteen distinctive forms of jars, pots, bowls, plates, lids, pots and cups.

was replaced by burying the remains in a container. A “primary burial” means the simple interment of the dead, while a “secondary burial” pertains to the reinterment of the bones after the remains of an earlier burial have sufficiently decomposed. The reinterment process involves a “bone-washing” ceremony of cleaning, painting and treating the bones. Many of these jar burials have been unearthed throughout the archipelago such as in the Batanes and Babuyan Islands, Pangasinan, Pampanga, Mindoro, Marinduque, Camarines Sur, Sorsogon, Masbate, Samar, Palawan, Cebu, and Basilan.

### **Regional Ties**

Solheim theorizes that by A.D. 1000, the population must have been spread out in the archipelago with a large concentration of people living near the mouths of major rivers. Solheim believes that there was a close interaction between the trading villages along the coast or downstream of major rivers, and the villages in the hinterlands, upstream, or the interior. Population concentration and settlement arrangement along the coasts were dictated by the exigencies of external trade. Foreign traders, particularly the Chinese, sought interior or forest products like rattan, different kinds of wood, beeswax, medicinal plants, resin, and honey. It was the upstream or hinterland communities which provided these products in exchange for the provisions and manufactured goods of the downstream or coastal communities. Karl Hutterer in his study of pre-colonial trade patterns theorized that the coast developed manufacturing industries for a variety of products such as native pottery and metal implements, thereby indicating that the coastal

fifteenth century, Philippine communities were also developing an elaborate political and social organization.

- a. Formative                      c. Archaic
  - b. Emergent                      d. Incipient
3. The earliest human remains found in the Philippines are collectively called:
- a. Java Man                      c. Peking Man
  - b. Tabon Man                      d. Ramapithecus
4. A primary burial means
- a. interring the body wrapped in bark cloth
  - b. reinterment of the bones
  - c. burning the remains
  - d. waiting for the body to be adequately decomposed
5. Population in the archipelago was believed to have been spread out by A.D. 1000 with a large concentration of people living in:
- a. coastal plains                      c. near the mouth of major rivers
  - b. hinterland villages                      c. mountain slopes
6. An archaeological find bearing a trace of the Indian culture is the:
- a. pottery                      c. ceramic figures
  - b. porcelain dishes                      d. Golden Garuda pendant
7. Most notable excavation sites of Chinese ceramics were found in:
- a. Sta. Ana, Manila, and Calatagan, Batangas
  - b. Brooke's Point, Palawan
  - c. Agusan, Mindanao
  - d. Batanes and Babuyan Islands

## II Fill in the Blanks

## CHAPTER 4

### PRECOLONIAL FILIPINO SOCIETIES

People of the Philippines were scattered among many islands. By sailing among the islands they came into contact with one another, for inter-island trade was the primary incentive which linked these diffuse settlements. Although there were many Filipino societies rather than one, in early times they nonetheless showed themes and commonalities which may be considered identifying marks of who and what constituted the early Filipinos. Some of these commonalities include similar settlement patterns, an elaborate societal structure, a fondness for tattooing, belief in spirit worship, and many more practices.

The geographical fragmentation of the Philippines had dispersed the population among the islands. Bodies of water separated Filipinos. But in a sense these bodies of water also unified the people since they were able to bridge the islands with ships. Sailing was the only avenue of transportation and communication. Inter-island trade was the primary incentive which linked these diffused communities.

Yet, at the onset of the Spanish rule in the sixteenth century, the Filipinos in another context remained disunited and lacked political consolidation.

Information on early Filipinos comes from the accounts of the Spanish chroniclers who came to the Philippines in the sixteenth century. Since the early Spaniards usually settled in the centers of population such as Cebu and Manila, our knowledge of sixteenth century Filipinos is highly uneven. There is an extensive description of the Tagalogs and the Visayans from early written accounts. In contrast, scanty treatment was accorded to



system of government. Early Spanish chroniclers wrote extensively of the *barangays* in Tagalog and Visayan societies.

A *barangay* consisted of 30 to 100 families and was normally a part of a settlement, or *pueblo*, which included other *barangays*. Some *barangays* even had as many as four hundred households. A settlement with one *barangay* is called *pook* (place), but settlements with multiple *barangays* constitute a *bayan* (town).

*Barangays* usually formed alliances for mutual protection and need. But in some cases, an entire *barangay* went to war or conducted raids, either to avenge grievances, engage in vendettas, seize captives, or claim lives as part of mourning rituals for a chief's death. Visayan *barangays* went to war when attacked by another community, provoked by a betrayal of alliance, murder or theft, and abuse and insults. Similarly, communities launched unprovoked raids to seize slaves. During this time, population was small, economic production was low, and access to natural resources was unlimited. Consequently, raids were waged to control manpower rather than territory.

### **Tagalog Society**

Precolonial society was stratified into classes: rulers, commoners, and slaves. Among the Tagalog societies, the ruling class was called *maginoo* (aristocracy) and they were the most privileged. The head of the *barangay* was a *datu*, and he belonged to the *maginoo*. A *datu* was considered the wisest and bravest, someone who typified the Southeast Asia concept of a leader being a "man of prowess." He ruled his people, led them in war, protected them from enemies, intervened and settled disputes among them, dispensed justice, and in times of hardship, he succored them. In governing the

## Visayan Society

Like the Tagalog societies, the Visayans were stratified into three classes. The ruling and most privileged class was called the *datu*. *Datu* for the Visayan was both a social class and a political position. A person became a *datu* through his lineage but his power and influence came from his wealth, the number of his slaves and subjects, and his physical prowess. In many ways he was considered a man of substance. Like the *datus* of the Tagalogs, the Visayan *datu* governed his people, settled disputes, protected his subjects from perceived enemies, and led them in wars. In return, he received his subjects' respect and their labor and tribute. They provided him a share of the harvest, worked his fields, built his houses, rowed his boats, and joined him in his trips.

The second class was the *timawa*, or freemen, who originally were the offspring or descendants of a *datu*'s commoner wives or slave concubines. The *timawa* was expected to pay tributes. But those who were attached to specific masters as personal vassals did not pay tribute nor render personal service. The *timawas* fought side by side with their masters, earned their tattoos with him in battles, received the master's favors, and shared in his honors. Thus, in their own right the *timawas* were men of consequence in the community.

The third and lowest class was the *oripun*, or slave. An *oripun* derived his status as a result of birthright, inheritance, acquired debt, commuted penal sentence, and capture. There were three kinds of *oripun*: *ayuey*, *mamahay* and *tumaranpok*. The *ayuey* was the lowest kind. He lived in his master's house, received the master's food and clothing, and only worked one out of four days for himself. The *mamahay* had his own

and they had the right and means to engage in trade. The *pandita*, on the other hand, were the wise men who were well versed in Islamic law and customs.

Unfortunately, there is no information of what Sulu was like in the sixteenth century. What is known, though, is that like Maguindanao, the Sulu sultanate provided a centralized political system to Sulu society. Abu Bakr's ascendancy in 1450 marked the beginning of the Sulu sultanate. Sulu's prosperity depended on the overseas trading of goods, which included forest and sea products and human slaves.

- a. *datu*                                      c. *maginoo*
- b. *timawa*                                      d. *alipin*

5. In the Visayan societies, the third and lowest class was the:

- a. *oripun*                                      c. *timawa*
- b. *datu*                                      d. *maharlika*

6. In the sixteenth century, Southern Mindanao was Islamic in culture and was ruled by a:

- a. *datu*                                      c. *Bichara Atas*
- b. *sultan*                                      d. *orangkaya*

## II Fill in the Blanks

1. The \_\_\_\_\_ was the Council of Elders in Islamic Mindanao which embodied the traditional customs and sources of power.
2. In the sixteenth century, Northern and Eastern Mindanao was \_\_\_\_\_ in culture while Southern Mindanao was \_\_\_\_\_ in culture.
3. Maguindanao was ruled by a \_\_\_\_\_ who was a direct descendant of the royal bloodline.
4. Information on early Filipinos comes from the accounts of the early \_\_\_\_\_ who came to the Philippines in the sixteenth century.

## III Essay Writing

1. Write an essay comparing and contrasting the precolonial Tagalog, Visayan, and Muslim Mindanao societies. How were they similar and different from each other?
2. Research on slavery in other societies in the sixteenth century. How was slavery in these societies similar or different from slavery in precolonial Philippines?

## IV Creative Writing

## CHAPTER 5

### PRECOLONIAL CULTURE

A culture is the window to the collective thoughts and consciousness of a group of people. Prior to colonial contact, Filipinos had developed an extensive material culture and an impressive body of literature. Their religious beliefs allowed them to explain natural phenomena, to rationalize their existence, and to cope up with their often harsh and unsafe environment.

#### Religious Beliefs

Religion was central to the daily life of the early Filipinos. Their religious beliefs consisted of worshipping nature spirits, gods in control of particular activities or areas, and their own ancestors. Their pantheon of deities was headed by a supreme god called *Bathala* among the Tagalogs, and *Laon* among the Visayans. *Bathala* or *Laon* was considered as the creator of everything. Below *Bathala* or *Laon* was a series of gods called by the Tagalogs and Bicolanos as *anitos*, and by the Visayans as *diwatas*. These gods discharged specific duties usually with reference to birth, death, longevity, fertility, and afterlife. Some of their names described their functions. For instance, among the Tagalogs, *Lakan Bakod* (fences) was lord of the fences and his name was invoked to keep animals out of rice fields; and among the Visayans, the *Dalikmata* (eyes), a god with many eyes, was beseeched to cure eye ailments.

Spirits believed to inhabit nature were worshipped. The sun and the moon, especially the new moon, were revered, for they were associated with prosperity and fertility. *Tala* (star) and constellations were called upon to pray for material wealth like

In some cases, the *babaylan* or *katalonan* were male transvestites called *asog*.

Transvestites could play an important role since they symbolically combine the regenerative powers of both sexes (bisexuality). *Asogs* had the ability to deal with both male and female sacral items and to serve as a medium for spirit pronouncements.

Because the world was viewed as unpredictable and unsafe, signs of portents and premonitions were taken seriously. These omens manifested themselves in many ways including the behavior of birds and reptiles, the act of sneezing, or even when a snake, lizard, or black cat crossed one's path. Sometimes the *babaylan* or *katalonan* questioned the gods or spirits; their responses were interpreted based on the movement or inaction of certain objects.

## **Material Culture**

### **Tattoos**

Early Filipinos, particularly the Visayans, usually indulged in tattooing. The lack of tattoos, however, was one of the distinguishing features of the Tagalogs. In contrast, the Spaniards called the Visayans "*Pintados*" because they were "painted." Tattoos were indicative of a man's bravery in capturing or killing enemies. The more tattoos a man had, the more success in battle. In a sense tattoos were like a modern military decoration or medal.

The art of tattooing was intricate and took more than one sitting. A skillful artist usually traced the designs on the body with ink. Using a small tool set with several short needles he pricked the skin and then rubbed the ink on the wounds. It was considerably painful and thus in itself was a test of manhood. The first tattoos were applied on the legs

In general, women engaged in weaving clothes as regular housework. In Ilocos, cotton was cultivated extensively and women wove it to make G-strings, cloth and blankets for household use, and to exchange for the gold of the upland Igorots. Raw and woven cotton cloth and abaca constituted one of the many trading items of Filipinos which they usually exchanged for the silk, porcelain, ironware, and other goods of the Chinese.

### **Literature**

Sixteenth-century Filipinos were generally literate. The early Spanish accounts attest to the existence of an alphabet called *baybayin* by the Tagalogs. Literacy perhaps spread from the Tagalogs to the Visayans since they were believed to have been literate much later than their Tagalog counterparts. The *baybayin* is considered one of about a dozen indigenous alphabets from Southeast Asian islands such as Java and Sumatra. The *baybayin* was believed to have been a local development, although its basis may have been derived from the neighboring islands of Southeast Asia having been brought back by Tagalog merchants on their trading voyages. The *baybayin* consisted of seventeen letters, three of which were the vowels *a*, *e-i* and *o-u*. The fourteen other signs represented the consonants. A mark called *kudlit* designated variations in pronunciations and meanings.

The early Spanish accounts claim that the Filipinos did not write for record keeping or literary compositions; instead, the purpose of writing was perhaps for letters and messages. Literature of early Filipinos was mainly spoken. Principal themes depicted the heroism of ancestors and warriors and the beauty of the women. The most

**Suggested Readings:**

Lumbera, Bienvenido and Cynthia Nograles Lumbera. *Philippine Literature: A History and Anthology*. Metro Manila: National Book Store, Inc., 1982, Chapter 1, pp. 1 - 5.

Scott, William Henry. *Barangay: Sixteenth-Century Philippine Culture and Society*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1994.

**Suggested Videos:**

*Arkitektura: A Video Documentary on Philippine Ethnic Architecture*. Manila: Cultural Center of the Philippines, 1992. VHS, 23 mins., UHM Videotape 7780.

*Panitikan: A Documentary on Philippine Ethnic Literature*. Manila: Cultural Center of the Philippines, 1992. VHS, 30 mins., UHM Videotape 7810.

**Suggested Activities:****I Multiple Choice**

1. It is the window to the collective thoughts and consciousness of a group of people
 

a. government	c. religion
b. culture	d. society
2. The supreme god of the Tagalogs was:
 

a. <i>Laon</i>	c. <i>Anito</i>
b. <i>Diwata</i>	d. <i>Bathala</i>
3. The veneration of the spirits of the departed is:
 

a. spirit worship	c. <i>Katalonan</i>
b. <i>Babaylan</i>	d. ancestral worship
4. Who were called *pintados* by the Spaniards because of their colorful tattoos?
 

a. Tagalogs	c. Visayans
b. Ilocanos	d. Maranaos



- b. precolonial Philippine society
- c. precolonial baranganic government
- d. role of women in precolonial Philippines

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **FIRST CONTACT: THE FILIPINOS AND THE SPANIARDS**

The conquest of the Philippines by Spain in the sixteenth century was part of the first stage of European expansion to Asia. In this phase, Spain and Portugal were the two European powers bitterly contesting control of much of the unknown, non-European world. Their squabble resulted in the papal division of the world between the two of them. They launched voyages of exploration and discovery, which were dictated by their desire to search for spices and to spread their Catholic religion.

#### **The Coming of the Spaniards**

The sixteenth century is referred to as an Age of Discovery and Exploration. Spain and Portugal pioneered the European expansion to Asia. Both countries were in search of the trinity of spices - clove, nutmeg, and mace. Spices were the most valuable trading commodity at this time because of their many uses, the most important of which was to preserve meat and add flavor to otherwise bland food. The cost of spices, however, had become exorbitant since the Muslims controlled the Middle East -- Mediterranean trading route from Asia to Europe. The Spanish and Portuguese Crowns financed expeditions to find a new trade route to the East. Spain, in particular, wanted to secure a share of the lucrative spice trade which was monopolized by the Portuguese at this time. Equally important for the Spaniards was their desire to propagate Christianity and halt the spread of Islam.

In 1519, Ferdinand Magellan with a fleet of five ships and 237 men sailed for the East. On March 17, 1521, Magellan reached the Philippine shores. In Limasawa, Leyte,

entrenched in Southern Mindanao. The Filipino Muslims thus were able to repulse for three hundred and fifty years all attempts of the Spaniards to subjugate the region.

### **Conquest of the Archipelago**

The conquest of the Philippines was not without bloodshed. Magellan's and Legazpi's forces had to overcome intense resistance from the local inhabitants, especially since it was customary for the Spaniards to enter villages in order to extract much of the wealth of the land and the people. In 1570, despite the *sandugo* between the Spanish master-of-camp Martin de Goiti and Rajah Sulayman, the Spaniards still sacked Manila, resulting in the seizure of Sulaiman's fleet and cannons, the burning of 1,500 houses, and the death of 500 Muslims. Likewise, in the exploration of northern Luzon by Juan de Salcedo, his Spanish forces burned about 4,000 houses and killed more than 500 Ilocanos who resisted the forcible extraction of food provisions and tributes in gold and cotton. Although outnumbered, the Spaniards relied on the superiority of their weapons — guns and cannons — which were unmatched by the spears and daggers of the villagers.

Although bloody, the conquest of the Philippines was considered mild compared to the bloodshed that accompanied the carving out of a Spanish empire in the Americas. The condemnation in Spain which followed the massacres, perpetuated by the conquistadors in the Americas, had relatively tempered the use of violence and force on the Filipinos. Moreover, unlike the American Indians who were isolated prior to the coming of the Spaniards, the Filipinos had extensive contact with the Chinese and their island Southeast Asia neighbors. As such, the demographic tragedy which occurred in Spanish America as a result of the smallpox epidemic was not replicated in the

and vice versa. It was then the practice that the conquistadors were accompanied by the friars.

The friars unwittingly became fiscalizers of the Crown. The early Augustinians criticized the abuses of the Crown and its conquistadors in collecting tributes and extracting free services from the people. But the Church through the friars was also a party to colonial abuses. Because there was a fast turnover of colonial officials, the friars, who tended to stay for years in a parish, became the symbol of the Spanish government. Their preeminent control of the people was due to their spiritual function and their mastery of the local language. In due time, the Crown relied on the Spanish friar who exercised multifarious political, economic, and religious powers. He controlled the educational system and public works in his parish, supervised the collection of taxes and the conscription of his parishioners into the colonial army, overlooked the taking of the census, and dictated the standard of morality and conduct to which people had to conform. How religion and the friars were able to dominate the lives of the Filipinos is the subject of the next chapter.

b. *sandiwa*d. *sambahan*

6. The most influential Spanish official in the Philippines was:

a. parish priest

c. *alopez*b. *guardia civil*d. *gobernadorcillo*

## II Fill in the Blanks

1. \_\_\_\_\_ was the most valuable trading commodity in the sixteenth century because of its many uses such as to preserve meat and \_\_\_\_\_ to food.
2. In 1519, Ferdinand Magellan with a fleet of five ships and 237 men sailed for the \_\_\_\_\_. On \_\_\_\_\_, he reached the Philippine shores. In \_\_\_\_\_, Leyte, the first Catholic mass was celebrated followed by the baptism of Humabon, a local chieftain, and about 800 local inhabitants. Spain's foothold on the Philippines was cut short when Magellan was killed by \_\_\_\_\_ in the Battle of Mactan.

## III Essay Writing

1. Describe the Spanish conquest of the Philippines. What was its immediate repercussion on the lives of the Filipinos? Why was the Spanish conquest in the Philippines considered mild in terms of the bloodshed which accompanied the Spanish conquest of the Americas?
2. Discuss why the Spanish friars were considered the most influential and powerful during the Spanish period. How did they affect the lives of the Filipinos?

## IV Creative Writing

1. Reconstruct the celebration of the first mass in the Philippines by means of a skit. Prepare a script based on the actual event.
2. Role play the Spanish friars who exercised political, economic, social and religious functions in every community in colonial Philippines. Show the extent of the power and influence of the friars in the everyday life of the Filipinos.
3. Research and write a script on the first colonial contact between the Filipinos and the Spaniards. Re-enact the following scenes:

## CHAPTER 7

### CHRISTIANIZATION AND CONVERSION

From the beginning the Christianization of the Filipinos was a complicated and difficult process. The early Spanish missionaries labored under several handicaps, including the geographical fragmentation of the Islands and the scattered population, the existence of so many diverse languages, and the dearth of ecclesiastical personnel. To overcome these difficulties, Filipinos had to be resettled in order to maximize the effects of a sparse and confined religious presence.

#### *Reduccion*

In response to geographical segmentation and scattered population, the Spaniards instituted *reduccion*, which means resettlement. *Reduccion* was the process of resettling or consolidating the people into a community. The center of population became a *pueblo*, or town center; and at the same time it was also the *cabecera*, or capital of the parish where the Spanish friar resided and proselytized. The *cabeceras* were along the coasts and rivers. The center of the *cabecera* was the plaza, the focal center of which was the church and the convent. Since many lived in the outlying villages outside the *pueblo* or *cabecera*, there were series of *visita* chapels, which were occasionally visited by the friar. The *cabecera-visita* complex, which was first utilized by the Spaniards in Mexico, eventually became the basis of the settlement pattern in rural areas.

Many Filipinos, however, resisted resettlement. John Leddy Phelan claims that the resistance was rooted, first, on the desire of the Filipinos to live in places where they and their ancestors had lived all their lifetime; and, second, because their economy was

the Augustinians received the provinces of Pampanga, one of the most fertile regions, and Ilocos. The Franciscans acquired the Bicol-speaking provinces such as Camarines. The Dominicans, on the other hand, were given the provinces of Pangasinan and Cagayan. The Visayan region was split between the Augustinians and the Jesuits. Later on, a fifth religious order, the Augustinian Recollects, arrived in the islands and, being the last, their holdings were scattered all over the islands.

The Spanish aimed to speed up conversion by having each religious order learn and master only a few local languages. From the start, it was agreed that the Filipinos would respond to conversion faster if indoctrinated in their native tongues. The first task of a friar was to learn the local language. In the seventeenth century, printing presses which were owned by the religious orders published bilingual catechisms, dictionaries, grammars, and confessionals. However, these were meant for the Spanish clergy since instruction to the new faith was oral and done in the local tongue. These catechism classes were usually held on Sundays in the *cabecera* and *visitas*. Chieftains or *datus* and their sons were the first to be instructed. The Filipinos for the most part memorized in parrot-like fashion the catechism and the prayers.

The majority of the Spanish friars learned to speak the local languages with enough fluency to discharge such religious duties as sermons during mass and hearing confessions. Phelan points out that obviously some friars more than others were better able to penetrate the linguistic barrier and communicate better with their parishioners. Vicente Rafael, however, asserts that based on his study of conversion among seventeenth century Tagalogs the process of translation and conversion resulted in

habitual things like childbirth, planting and harvesting crops. For instance, offerings to propitiate spirits before the planting season persisted. Christian and traditional practices blended. For example, guilt or innocence involved fastening scissors shaped like the cross of St. Andrew from which a rosary was hung in a *bilao* or sieve. Then one name after another was then mentioned. If the *bilao* shook, then the person whose name was spoken was adjudged a thief.<sup>13</sup> The conversion and Christianization process blended with indigenous rituals and beliefs that eventually produced a popular or folk Catholicism.

Today, Filipinos practice folk Catholicism. The practice of flagellation and the reenactment of the crucifixion and death of Jesus Christ by penitents who nail themselves on the Cross during Holy Week is an example of folk Catholicism. Fr. Frank Lynch, who wrote on folk Catholicism in the Philippines, argued that this form of religion makes the Filipinos not only better Filipinos but also better Christians.

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<sup>13</sup> Phelan, *Hispanization of the Philippines*, pp. 79-80.



- c. among the Visayans, they feared Muslims raids in coastal and riverine villages
  - d. a, b, and c
4. What was the first Spanish religious order in the Philippines?
- a. Augustinians                      c. Dominicans
  - b. Jesuits                              d. Franciscans
5. To speed up the conversion of the Filipinos, the religious orders learned and mastered the use of:
- a. colorful rituals                      c. local rites
  - b. *reduccion*                              d. native languages

## II Fill in the Blanks

1. The Filipinos practice \_\_\_\_\_ Catholicism which make them better Christians and Filipinos.
2. The Spanish missionaries exerted all efforts to eradicate the indigenous religion of the Filipinos burning all the \_\_\_\_\_ or idols which symbolized the \_\_\_\_\_.
3. The practice of \_\_\_\_\_ or ritual co-parenthood in baptism, confirmation, and marriage required sponsors--godparents--which resonated with the indigenous \_\_\_\_\_ system.

## III Creative Writing

1. Sketch the layout of a *pueblo* or town center in Spanish Philippines. Show where the *cabeceras* (capital) were in relation to the *visitas* (outlying villages) and *missiones vivas* (religious missions).
2. Interview Filipinos in the United States regarding their practice of *compadrazgo*. Ask them why they commonly seek godparents for their children and what is the basis of their choice of prospective *compadres* and *comadres*.

## CHAPTER 8

### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COLONIAL ORDER

The Spaniards ruled the Philippines with the assistance of the *principalia*, the pre-hispanic *datus*. Throughout the colonial period, there was a paucity of Spanish bureaucrats. Those who came resided or spent much of their time in Manila, which was the seat of the colonial government. As such, the provinces were, in most cases, run by the *principalia* and the friars. Because the friars spoke the local languages and had stayed for many years in their parishes, they were respected, and their opinions mattered on religious as well as secular issues.

#### **Political Co-optation and the *Principalia***

The King of Spain was represented in the Philippines by the governor-general. From Manila he governed the islands through appointed local executive officials. There were twelve provinces, each one ruled by a Spanish *alcalde mayor*, who was the supreme executive, judicial, and military officer in the province and was directly responsible to the governor-general and the Royal Audiencia, the highest tribunal. In many cases, the Spanish bureaucrats lacked the qualification and commitment for the jobs. There were cases wherein government offices were auctioned off to the highest bidder. The chosen one was then expected to recoup his investment as well as earn a handsome profit which would enable him to return to Spain and live comfortably. As expected, inefficiency and corruption plagued the colonial bureaucracy.

Below the *alcalde mayor* was a whole retinue of chosen Filipino local officials. From the start, the Spaniards did not destroy the indigenous ruling class. Instead they

and their eldest sons were exempted from *tribute* (tax) and *polo* (forced labor) enjoyed social prestige, and were accorded the title Don.

### **Colonial Impositions**

The Spaniards turned the Philippines into a fiscal nightmare. Increasingly, they relied on exploiting the natives to run the archipelago. In the sixteenth century, the islands were parceled into *encomiendas*. An *encomienda* was basically a right granted by the King to the Crown or to a private individual to collect *tributes* or taxes on a specified area or locality. Private *encomiendas* were usually awarded to conquistadors and crown officials who had rendered distinguished service towards the conquest of the islands. The *encomienda* became a source of revenue for the crown or the *encomendero* or holder of an *encomienda*. An *encomienda* was originally inherited by two successive heirs before it reverted back to the crown. Tribute in the amount of eight, later ten, *reales*, which is equivalent to a peso, was collected by the *cabezas* from all adult males age 18 to 60. The tribute was supposed to be paid as recognition of the King and for the temporal and spiritual services the people received from the crown and the church. In reality, though, with or without spiritual and temporal services, tributes were extracted. Worse, *encomenderos* had the option of collecting the tributes in specie or kind. In most cases, the *encomenderos* demanded the tribute in a scarce commodity which the *encomenderos* then resold for a handsome profit.

*Polo* or forced labor was another colonial imposition which was initially a response to the exigencies created by the Spanish-Dutch War. In the first half of the seventeenth century, as a result of the Spanish-Dutch war, the Dutch periodically invaded

They were the rice regions, had excellent timber, and because of their proximity to Manila, their men could easily be conscripted.

Although the Church censured the government for colonial abuses, its own clergy heaped impositions and abuses on the people. Many friars used the pulpit and God as justification for extracting alms and exorbitant payments from the people, both in kind and species, in exchange for sacraments. Similarly, they coaxed parishioners to sell their goods at a fraction of their cost. Although the Crown was duty-bound to pay for the maintenance of the clergy, increasingly this burden fell on the people. They had to furnish their parish priest with livestock and a rice stipend. Similarly they provided free labor for the construction of the Church as well as serving as the parish priest's rowers and porters.

### **Filipino Resistance**

Resistance among Filipinos to colonial impositions was endemic. Some resistance took the form of rebellion. In 1660-1661, Francisco Maniago led the Pampangans in a revolt over the abusive *polo* and *vandala*. They were forcibly taken to work in the Cavite shipyard during the agricultural season. Similarly, at about the same time, Andres Malong and Pedro Almazan led the uprising of the Pangasinenses and Ilocanos. Both proclaimed themselves king, denouncing the colonial impositions as well as the religious abuses. In fact some friars were killed, and churches were looted and desecrated. In the Visayas, Juan Sumoroy led the Samarenos in rebellion over the insistence of authorities to haul them to Cavite in Luzon as *polistas* in the shipyards. The

**Suggested Readings:**

Phelan, John Leddy. *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1959, Chapter 7, pp. 93-104 and Chapter 9, pp. 124-135.

Cushner, Nicholas. *Spain in the Philippines: From Conquest to Revolution*. Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1971.

**Suggested Activities:****I. Multiple Choice**

1. The representative of the King of Spain in the Philippines was the:
  - a. friar
  - b. governor-general
  - c. Royal Audiencia
  - d. *alcalde mayor*
2. The Spanish official who exercised executive, judicial and military duties in the province was the:
  - a. *alcalde mayor*
  - b. *gobernadorcillo*
  - c. *cabeza de barangay*
  - d. governor-general
3. The Spaniards did not destroy the indigenous ruling class and instead transformed them into a:
  - a. military group
  - b. religious officials
  - c. local nobility
  - d. economic force
4. The smallest unit of local government was the:
  - a. *pueblo*
  - b. *barangay*
  - c. *visita*
  - d. *encomienda*
5. A colonial imposition which was initially a response to the crisis brought by the Spanish-Dutch War was the:
  - a. *tributo*
  - c. *polo*

## CHAPTER 9

### THE CREATION OF A COLONIAL SOCIETY

One of the lasting impacts of Spanish colonial rule is the creation of a plural colonial society. This was due to the entry of two new groups to the Philippines: the Spaniards and Chinese. Each ethnic group was involved in a particular aspect of the economy. Race, ethnicity, and economic specialization determined the social hierarchy which emerged during the Spanish period. Inter-marriage among these ethnic groups created the *mestizo*, or mixed class, which further compounded the social hierarchy.

#### Plural Economy

Edgar Wickberg claims that before the nineteenth century the colonial economy was characterized by three economic systems: a Spanish-controlled “Western economy,” a “native economy,” and a “Chinese economy.”<sup>14</sup> The Spaniards despised manual labor and thus relied on *encomienda* tributes and on revenue from the Manila galleon trade, the only international trading sanctioned by the Spaniards until the nineteenth century. The Spaniards earned handsome profits transporting Chinese luxury goods like silk, porcelain, and carnelian beads to Mexico aboard the Manila galleon. On its return trip, the galleon carried Mexican silver and European goods for sale in Manila. It was the Chinese junks which carried Chinese goods to Manila for Spanish consumption and export to Mexico. These same Chinese junks brought back Mexican silver to China. In effect, the Manila galleon trade was a Chinese-Acapulco trade.

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<sup>14</sup> Edgar Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 6.

those born in Mexico or the Philippines. *Peninsulares* were viewed as more socially superior and they often looked down on the *insulares*. The term Filipino was originally used to refer to the Spaniards born in the Philippines. The offspring of the intermarriage between the Spaniards and the Chinese or the *indios*, the derogatory term used to refer to the natives of the Philippines, produced the Spanish *mestizo* class. The Spanish *mestizos* were perceived as lower in social status compared to the *peninsulares* and *insulares*.

Among the native Filipinos or *indios*, the *principalia* enjoyed a form of status. Some of the *principalia* sons in the nineteenth century were able to acquire an education. Priesthood was the usual profession to which *principalias* could aspire. The bulk of the *indios*, however, remained landless, poor, and oppressed by the colonial order.

Although economically significant, the Spaniards viewed the Chinese as politically dangerous and without morals. Wickberg claims that colonial authorities viewed the Chinese as necessary evils. Though the Spaniards despised the Chinese they needed their services for which the *indios* were perceived as unsuited. Yet, the Chinese were persecuted by colonial authorities since they were viewed as infidels and preoccupied with vices, both of which might be harmful to the Christianized *indios*. Similarly, the loyalty of the Chinese in the eyes of the colonial authorities was suspect since they came from China. Thus, the Spaniards confined the Chinese in a ghetto called Parian, which was located outside the walled city of Manila. To further control the Chinese, the Spaniards constricted their movements to Manila, requiring special permission for travel to the provinces. They were levied the highest taxes in the land. From 1594-1766, periodic expulsions of the Chinese were conducted to regulate their

6. The \_\_\_\_\_ was the Spanish magistrate who was in charge of the province. Towns were administered by a member of the *principalia* called \_\_\_\_\_ or petty governor.

### III Match Words and Meanings

- |                                 |  |
|---------------------------------|--|
| _____ 1. <i>polo</i>            | a. the indigenous ruling class                               |
| _____ 2. <i>encomienda</i>      | b. right to collect tribute in a specific territory          |
| _____ 3. <i>principalia</i>     | c. resettlement policy                                       |
| _____ 4. tribute                | d. forced labor  |
| _____ 5. Royal Audiencia        | e. compulsory sale of products                               |
| _____ 6. <i>barangay</i>        | f. the most influential and powerful colonial official       |
| _____ 7. friars                 | g. the petty governor  |
| _____ 8. <i>gobernadorcillo</i> | h. the highest tribunal                                      |
| _____ 9. <i>vandala</i>         | i. tax collected to signify recognition of the Spanish crown |
| _____ 10. <i>reduccion</i>      | j. the smallest unit of local government                     |

### IV Essay Writing

1. List down as many Filipino revolts and uprisings during the Spanish period as you can find. Categorize them into causes, leaders and results. What was the nature of the Spanish colonial rule based on these rebellions?
2. Discuss the *encomienda* system during the Spanish period. Highlight the abuses committed by the *encomenderos* to prove the maxim: "To the victor goes the spoils."

### V. Creative Writing

1. Pretend to be a Filipino during the Spanish period. Write an entry in your diary of a typical day in your life.



4. In the eyes of the colonial authorities the loyalty of the Chinese was suspect, thus, the Spaniards confined them in a ghetto called:
  - a. Intramuros
  - b. Binondo
  - c. Tondo
  - d. Parian
5. Which of the following was not a distinguishing mark of an *ilustrado* in the nineteenth century
  - a. affluence
  - b. high education
  - c. high position in the national government
  - d ostentatious display of wealth

## II Fill in the Blanks

1. In the second half of the nineteenth century, a middle class called \_\_\_\_\_ emerged in Philippine society. As a class, their distinguishing marks were their \_\_\_\_\_, high education, and ostentatious display of wealth.
2. The \_\_\_\_\_ were viewed as desirable compared to their Chinese fathers since they were reared by their \_\_\_\_\_ mothers and their allegiance was to the Philippines since it was their \_\_\_\_\_. Their exposure to western education and \_\_\_\_\_ prompted them to demand reforms in the colonial government.
3. The Spaniards called the Filipinos \_\_\_\_\_. Among them were the *principalia* who enjoyed some status and were able to acquire education in the nineteenth century. The usual profession which *principalias* could aspire to was \_\_\_\_\_.

## III Match Words and Meanings

A

B

## CHAPTER 10

### THE UNHISPANIZED PHILIPPINES:

#### THE FILIPINO MUSLIMS AND THE IGOROTS

The Filipino Muslims in Southern Mindanao and the upland Igorots of Northern Luzon were outside the Spanish colonial order. The failure to incorporate them was not due to lack of effort on the part of the Spaniards; rather, it was due to the successful resistance put up by these two groups. The Muslims, unlike the *barangays* in Luzon and the Visayas, were successful in resisting the Spaniards because they were united under a centralized political institution called the sultanate. In the case of the Igorots, the geographical terrain of the Cordillera hampered colonial efforts to incorporate the region.

The Muslims in Mindanao consist of diverse ethnic groups in Maguindanao and Sulu, such as the Maranao, Tausug, Samal, Ilanun, etc. On the other hand, the term Igorot, which means “from the mountains” (*golot*), was a collective and generic term used to refer to the various ethnic groups living in the Cordillera mountain in northern Luzon. These upland groups are the Itneg, Isneg, Kalinga, Bontoc, Ifugao, Kankanay, and Ibaloy. The Spaniards also called them *tribus independientes*, or independent tribes.

#### Colonial Motives

The Spaniards’ desire to subjugate the Muslims and the Igorots was a continuation of their religious crusade to spread Christianity to the heathen, and at the same time to complete the conquest of the Philippines. They called the Muslims “Moros,” a term which, according to historian Samuel Tan, was weighted with colonial

to the south as far as the Moluccas to wrest control of the spice region from the Muslims. In the same manner, the Spaniards launched expeditions to the Cordillera to search for the Igorot gold mines.

### **The Spanish-Muslim Wars**

For three hundred years, except for a brief period of relative peace from 1663 to 1719, the Spaniards put all their energy and efforts into extending their colonial rule over the Muslims. In the sixteenth century, Spain's thrust against the Muslims was fueled by its rivalry with Portugal, which had ties with Ternate, a staunch ally of Maguindanao. The first encounter between the Spaniards and the Muslims occurred in 1569, when a Muslim fleet of twenty vessels from Sulu was waylaid by a Spanish fleet under Martin de Goiti. The Spaniards divested the Muslims of their merchandise, seized the vessels, and enslaved the crew. The Spanish fleet was determined to destroy the Muslim control of commerce in the archipelago by destroying the Muslim navy. In 1576, Governor-General Francisco Sande led a Spanish fleet of forty ships, with 400 Spaniards, 1,500 Filipinos and 300 Borneans, in a military expedition to the south as far as Borneo and the Moluccas. In 1578, Captain Esteban Rodriguez led a punitive expedition to Jolo. The following year, Captain Gabriel de Rivera and Juan de Arce Sardonil headed another punitive expedition against Mindanao, Sulu, and Brunei.

In all these expeditions the Muslims stood firm. The Muslim fleet was initially able to contend with the Spanish warship. Their *caracoa*, or *prahu*, was suited to the open sea as it was "light, swift, practical and very easy to maneuver." The Muslims were able to engage in retaliatory attacks and even intensify their raiding of Christian

then keep up with the Spanish ships and weaponry. However, although Sulu bartered slaves for the guns, artillery, and other weapons of the English traders, the Muslim's lack of training on how to use the Western hardware failed to reverse its decline, which was exacerbated by internal disunity among their leaders.

By the second half of the nineteenth century Sulu's fate was sealed when steamboats and gunboats were introduced. Sulu's fleet was reduced from dominating the seas to merely defending their shrinking homeland. The Spanish attacks in Jolo in 1846 and Balangigi in 1852 were devastating for Sulu. In 1876, the Sultan of Sulu was forced to sign a treaty with Spain in which the Muslims recognized Spanish sovereignty in exchange for a pension for the Sultan and his heirs. A weakened Sulu fleet contributed to the demise of its trading and slave raiding. Fortunately for the Muslims, the Spaniards were not able to complete the conquest of Muslim Mindanao partly because their attention was once more drawn to Luzon, where popular resistance and the *ilustrado* movement were disconcerting to the colonial order.

### **The Igorot Resistance**

Attempts to Christianize the Igorots were led by the Spanish friars--the Augustinians from the Ilocos, and the Dominicans from Cagayan--and a few secular priests from Abra. While Christianization was the major concern of the religious orders, the *conquistadores* and crown officials mainly concentrated on occupying the Igorot gold mines. During the first fifty years of Spanish rule the crown sent numerous and costly expeditions to the Cordillera but all were failures. While the Cordillera terrain worked

lasted for ten years. For instance, in the Trinidad Valley north of Baguio, the Spaniards successfully deflected every Igorot defense including rocks thrown from above, bamboo “ground-spears,” and sharpened stakes hidden in the grass and camouflage pits. When the Spaniards finally reached the valley, they burned 180 Igorot houses. In fact, Spanish raids left a pattern of destruction and desertion.

Starting in the mid-nineteenth century, the Cordillera was constituted into a series of *comandancias politico-militares* or political-military districts. Spanish military expeditions crisscrossed the Cordillera to establish Spanish authority, curtail the tobacco smuggling, and collect tribute. The Spanish military control of the Cordillera allowed Spanish missionaries and even foreign travelers to roam the region. New agricultural crops were introduced like coffee, cacao, and citrus fruits as well as new technologies such as wheelbarrows, the potter’s wheel, and coffee-husking machines. Hundreds of Igorots became literate and about 8,000 became Christians. Yet, the occupation also resulted in untold devastation: houses were burned down, crops destroyed, and livestock seized or slaughtered. The military raids also left a trail of dead Igorots while many other Igorots succumbed to smallpox, which the Spaniards had introduced. The Igorots who survived for the first time lived under a colonial order symbolized by tributes and forced labor. The Spanish domination of the Cordillera was short-lived because the Philippine Revolution of 1896 ended its colonial rule.

- a. miners
  - b. farmers
  - c. slaves
  - d. military fighters
4. In 1663, the Spaniards withdrew from Mindanao because of the:
- a. Dutch invasion                      c. Chinese invasion
  - b. English invasion                  d. Muslim invasion
5. The Sulu sultanate emerged as a strong state in the:
- a. late 15th and 16th century      c. late 18th and 19th century
  - b. late 17th and 18th century      d. late 19th and 20th century
6. In 1876, the Sultan of Sulu was forced to sign a treaty with Spain in exchange for:
- a. recognition of Spanish sovereignty
  - b. a pension for the Sultan of Sulu and his heirs
  - c. an end to attacks on trading ports
  - d. religious tolerance in the Mindanao areas
7. The Spanish attempts to subjugate the Igorots was initially and primarily due to the desire to:
- a. spread Christianity
  - b. protect the lowland communities
  - c. civilize the Igorots
  - d. occupy the Igorot gold mines

## II Fill in the Blanks

## CHAPTER 11

### POPULAR MOVEMENT: THE COFRADIA DE SAN JOSE

The conventional interpretation of Philippine history focuses on mainstream developments such as the emergence of the *ilustrado*, or middle class, or the formation of the Propaganda Movement. In the process, one tends to overlook that there is an underside [or downstream] in Philippine history which is marked by the persistence of popular movements. Such popular movements have been dismissed as fanatical, millenarian, or an aberration. But Reynaldo Ileto has provided an alternative, in his indigenous interpretation of popular movements among the Tagalogs in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. He explains popular movements and resistance within the context of religious tradition and beliefs. The result is an underside history, which is as legitimate as mainstream history and therefore deserving of attention.

#### **“Banditry” and “Illicit Associations”**

Beyond the *pueblos* and *visitas* were uncontrolled areas which were inhabited by what the Spaniards termed “bandits” and “illicit associations.” According to Ileto:

the bandit often lacked a proper Christian name and lineage, or was known by an alias signifying a certain character or physical trait. He was illiterate, yet held in awe by the common folk for his bravery and invulnerability.<sup>16</sup>

Viewed in the same manner were “illicit associations,” which usually revolved around kings, gods, goddesses, messiahs, and healers who promised peasants release and redemption from diseases and a life of poverty and oppression. They inhabited mountains believed to be sacred, like Mt. Banahaw in Quezon, or they revolved around

common during the Spanish period since they had a religious function which was the practice of piety and the performance of charitable works.

Ileto claims that for reasons unknown the *Cofradia de San Jose* grew in membership between 1839-1840. It repeatedly sought recognition but failed. By late 1840, the Church issued an order of excommunication against the *Cofradia*. Despite the order, the *Cofradia* continued to attract support and persisted in collecting monthly dues from thousands of members. In 1841, the Spanish authorities discovered a provision in the association which barred Spaniards and *mestizos* from membership unless approved by Apolinario. This was the last straw, and the Spanish authorities decided to crack down on the *cofradia*. Apolinario and his followers were accused of heretical practices.

The Spanish accusation of heretical practices was due to the rituals and prayers of the *Cofradia*. In his *Pasyon and Revolution*, Ileto examined the reasons why the *Cofradia* appealed to the peasants. The *Cofradia* recited the Holy Rosary in full detail and elevated St. Joseph as its patron and special intermediary. St. Joseph was revered, for he underwent suffering for Mary and Jesus and was amply rewarded in heaven. He was seen as the source of *liwanag* (light), which means a condition of perfect unity. The *Cofradia* members were the recipients of such *liwanag*. Ileto claims that *liwanag* radiated through brotherhood, or the union of men, through heavenly beings, and by extraordinary persons who possessed powerful *anting-anting*, or amulet, and a *mabuting isip* or good mind. An *anting-anting* is a lucky charm which many believed could ward off evils and protect its bearers.



meaning Purgatory. On October 19, 1841, Purgatorio and several followers were arrested and jailed in Bay, Laguna. But through the intercession of the wife of the alcalde mayor of Tayabas who was a *Cofradia* member, Purgatorio and the men were released. They fled to Igsabang, Lucban, where they met up with Apolinario. Thousands of *Cofradia* members bearing *bolos* (machetes) converged at Igsabang. On October 23, 1841, the colonial troops numbering 300 men forcibly dispersed the congregation. About 3,000 *Cofradia* members fought back and won the skirmish. At dawn, they marched to Aritao, Tayabas, and consolidated their ranks, now numbering 4,000, as they prepared for another Spanish assault. Increasingly, Apolinario became secluded in a small house, surrounded by his trusted men, and he came out only at certain times amidst pomp and ceremony. His followers rejoiced and called him the “King of the Tagalogs”. They believed that when cornered by Spanish authorities, they would be invincible to Spanish bullets, that there would be invisible soldiers and angels who would sway the battle in their favor, and that a big lake would open up and swallow the enemy.

The end of the *Cofradia* finally came on October 31, 1841. Government soldiers, peasant volunteers, and the Spanish cavalry attacked the *Cofradia*. About three to five hundred members were killed and another five hundred, including three hundred women, were imprisoned. The remaining members fled to Mt. Banahaw. Days later, Apolinario de la Cruz was shot. His body was then mutilated; his head was put in a cage and displayed in a pole stick along the roadside. Later on, two hundred of the prisoners were executed as well. Such was the bloody ending of the *Cofradia de San Jose*. Popular

**Suggested Readings:**

Ileto, Reynaldo. *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1979, Chapter 3, pp. 93-139.

Sturtevant, David. *Popular Uprisings in the Philippines, 1840-1910*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1976, Chapter 4, pp. 77-95.

**Suggested Activities:****I. Multiple Choice**

1. Hermano Pule organized the Cofradia de San Jose whose functions included:
  - a. reciting the Holy Rosary and elevating St. Joseph as its patron and special intermediary
  - b. practice of piety
  - c. performance of charitable works
  - d. all of the above
2. The Cofradia de San Jose was persecuted by colonial authorities who believed that the organization:
  - a. did not perform charitable works
  - b. did not practice piety
  - c. had heretical practices
  - d. all of the above
3. An *anting-anting* or amulet is a lucky charm which many believed could:
  - a. ward off evil and protect its bearer
  - b. radiate *liwanag* or light to its bearer
  - c. evoked the notion of *damay* or sympathy

structured entity such as an *iglesia* (church), a \_\_\_\_\_ (confraternity), or a *samahan* (association).

### III Match Words and Meanings

A	B
_____ 1. <i>donado</i>	a. founder of Cofradia de San Jose
_____ 2. Manuel Sancho	b. story of the life, suffering and death of Jesus Christ
_____ 3. <i>liwanag</i>	c. vicar of Tayabas who persecuted the Cofradia de San Jose
_____ 4. Pasyon	d. revered by the Cofradia de San Jose for his suffering
_____ 5. St. Joseph	e. sacred site inhabited by "illicit associations"
_____ 6. Hermano Pule	f. lay brother
_____ 7. Mt. Banahaw	h. lucky charm
_____ 8. <i>anting-anting</i>	h. condition of perfect unity

### IV Creative Activity

1. Listen to a tape on the *Pabasa* or the religious rite of reading the *Pasyon*. Learn to sing stanzas of the *Pasyon*. Analyze the text and explain significant passages which show how it could elicit *damay* or sympathy among some very religious people.
2. Research on the religious significance of Mt. Banahaw in Quezon Province in the history of the Filipinos.

able to compare the progressiveness of Europe against the decadence of Spain and the backwardness and moral turpitude of the colonial order in the Philippines.

Meanwhile, a breath of liberalism also swept through the Philippines. Depending on political conditions in Spain, there were a few liberal governor-generals who were assigned to the Philippines. One example was Carlos Maria de la Torre, who came to the Philippines in 1869. He was a liberal governor-general who abolished censorship of the press and instituted administrative reforms. His term, however, was short-lived. In 1871, the liberal government in Spain collapsed. De la Torre was replaced by Rafael de Izquierdo, a conservative, who revoked his predecessor's liberal decrees.

### **Gomburza and the Issue of Secularization**

It was during the term of Izquierdo that the three Filipino priests--Jose Burgos, Jacinto Zamora, and Mariano Gomez, or better known collectively as Gomburza--were executed in the aftermath of the Cavite Mutiny of 1872. On January 20, 1872, disgruntled Filipino soldiers in the Cavite arsenal staged a mutiny. The Spanish authorities decided to crack down on Filipino liberals for alleged complicity in the rebellion. Nine Filipino priests and thirteen lawyers and businessmen were deported to the Marianas Islands. The three priests, Gomburza, were guillotined. Gomburza had championed the cause of secularization of parishes, or the transfer of parishes into the hands of secular instead of regular priests. Regulars were those who belonged to one of the five religious orders while seculars were those whose function was to tend the parishes. Unfortunately, the scarcity and unpreparedness of the seculars in the early years of the Spanish rule resulted in the regulars becoming parish priests. So when the

annexation of the Philippines; 2) Philippine representation in the Cortes, the Spanish legislature; 3) freedom of the press and freedom of association; and 4) Spanish and Filipino equality before the law.

The objectives of the Propaganda Movement were very limited and exclusive to their class. Assimilation, equality, civil and political rights, and parliamentary representation were not the concerns of the predominantly peasant, *indio* class in Philippine society. The *indios*' demands would have been more basic and reflective of their immediate need, which was independence and alleviation from poverty and oppression. John N. Schumacher, S.J., who extensively studied the Propaganda Movement contends that during the later stages of the movement assimilation became only a front or a strategy. The real goal of such Propagandistas as Rizal, del Pilar, and Antonio Luna was eventually independence after a period of assimilation accompanied by nationalist development.<sup>18</sup> But, then, the *ilustrado*'s concept of independence was vastly different from what it meant to the masses.

The Propagandistas waged a peaceful campaign for reforms through writing, believing that the pen is mightier than the sword. They wrote books and newspaper articles, held informal discussions, and made speeches where they identified the defects in the colonial administration of the Philippines and the kind of reforms needed by the colony. The Propagandistas founded *La Solidaridad*, a newspaper which became the prime vehicle in their call for reforms. *La Solidaridad* tackled political issues such as

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<sup>18</sup> See John N. Schumacher, S.J., *The Propaganda Movement, 1880-1895: The Creation of a Filipino Consciousness, The Making of the Revolution*, revised edition (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University, 1997).

Spanish. In Europe, he became the editor of *La Solidaridad* and continued renouncing the friars in his anti-colonial writings.

The Propaganda Movement can be considered a failure because it did not accomplish the assimilationist reforms it sought. But the movement was not a total failure. Rather, it was successful in “damaging the prestige of the friars in particular and of Spaniards in general with the Filipinos” and “in a positive way, it succeeded more extensively in awakening in Filipinos a sense of unity and of national consciousness.”<sup>19</sup> This anti-friar and anti-colonial sentiment together with the growing Filipino awareness of being one people was largely felt in Luzon. It was the ideas of Rizal, del Pilar, and other Propagandistas which partly stirred Andres Bonifacio and Emilio Jacinto who were the stalwarts of the *Katipunan*, the secret, mass-based organization which launched the Philippine Revolution of 1896.

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 301.

b. La Solidaridad

d. El Ilustrado

6. The aims of the Reform Movement were to reform. Which one of the following was not its objective:
- a. freedom of the press and freedom of association
  - b. alleviation from poverty and oppression
  - c. Philippine representation in the Spanish Cortes
  - d. Spanish annexation of the Philippines

## II Fill in the Blanks

1. The Propagandists waged a \_\_\_\_\_ campaign for reforms through their \_\_\_\_\_. They believe that the \_\_\_\_\_ is mightier than the sword.
2. The goal of the Propaganda Movement was \_\_\_\_\_. Two of its prominent leaders were \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_.
3. The issue of secularization acquired a racial component since the regulars were Spaniards while the seculars were mostly Filipinos and \_\_\_\_\_.
4. The *ilustrado* nationalism initially found expression in the Filipino \_\_\_\_\_ movement in \_\_\_\_\_ starting in the 1880s.
5. Jose Rizal's most famous novels were \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_.

## III Match Words and Meanings

A

B

- |                               |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| _____ 1. Propaganda Movement  | a. wrote A La Juventud Filipina                          |
| _____ 2. Marcelo H. del Pilar | b. transfer of parishes in the hands of Filipino priests |
| _____ 3. Jose Rizal           | c. editor of La Solidaridad                              |

## CHAPTER 13

### THE KATIPUNAN AND THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION OF 1896

The Philippine Revolution of 1896 is significant for many reasons. First, the Revolution resulted in ending more than three hundred years of Spanish colonial rule. Second, it was the first of its kind in Asia as the Philippine declaration of independence in Kawit, Cavite, certainly precedes all other independence movements in Asia. Third, the early stages of the Philippine Revolution of 1896 is one of the very few periods in Philippine history where the nationalist movements of the masses and the *ilustrados*, or elites, converge. Unfortunately, the Revolution was compromised by the ambitions and self-serving interests of the elites which came to be fully exploited by the United States, the imperialist power who replaced Spain in the Philippines.

#### The Katipunan

The Katipunan, which means “Association,” was a secret, revolutionary, mass-based organization founded by Andres Bonifacio and a few other members of the working class in Tondo, Manila, on July 7, 1892. Its full Tagalog name is *Kataastaasan Kagalang-galang na Katipunan nang manga Anak ng Bayan* (Highest and Most Venerated Association of the Sons and Daughters of the Land). The founders performed the traditional blood compact by signing their names with their own blood. Politically, the Katipunan advocated separation of the Philippines from Spain. Its civic goal revolved around self-help and the defense of the poor and the oppressed.

Andres Bonifacio was called the *Supremo* (Supreme) of the Katipunan while Emilio Jacinto was regarded as the “Brains of the Katipunan.” Philippine history books



popular stories was imprisoned in the caves of San Mateo only awaiting the day to break loose and free the people.

From the start the Katipunan drew inspiration from Jose Rizal, who in 1892 was arrested and deported by Spanish authorities to the island of Dapitan in Mindanao. In August 1896, the Katipunan was discovered by the Spanish authorities, prompting Bonifacio and the Katipuneros to tear their *cedula*, an identification card which was the symbol of Spanish oppression, and in Pugad-Lawin, to declare the beginning of the Philippine Revolution. The Spanish execution of Rizal on December 30, 1896, further emboldened the Katipuneros who saw Rizal's martyrdom as similar to the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. In a country steeped with religious tradition Filipinos saw Rizal as the brown Jesus Christ who died to redeem his people. His death elicited feelings of *awa* (pity) and *damay* (sympathy and compassion).

### **Struggle Between the Masses and the Elites**

Once the revolution started many *ilustrados* or elites condemned it. Some like Rizal believed that it was not yet the proper time, since the people lacked education and political maturity necessary for an independent nation. Many, however, did so out of allegiance to mother Spain. But in due time, when the Katipunan appeared to be winning battles, even the elites embraced the revolution. Unfortunately, their interest and agenda differed from the objectives of the Katipuneros. The elites fought to preserve their social status and economic wealth.

The falling out between the masses and the elites during the Revolution began in Cavite, the home province of General Emilio Aguinaldo, who eventually took on

expulsion of the hated Spanish friars and return of lands they had appropriated from the Filipinos; Filipino representation in the Spanish Cortes; freedom of the press and religious tolerance; equal treatment and payment for both peninsular and insular civil servants; and equality for all before the law. This proclamation by Aguinaldo proved that he and the elites were willing to return to the Spanish fold provided that the elites' self-serving interests were met.

The standoff in the battlefield prompted both sides to call for the Truce of Biak-na-Bato, the terms of which stipulated that Spain would pay financial remuneration to the Filipino revolutionaries in exchange for the latter's surrender of arms and the voluntary exile abroad of Aguinaldo and the other leaders. Distrust on both sides resulted in the failure of the truce. It appeared that both sides were only biding time until they could launch another offensive. Nevertheless, towards the end of December 1898, Aguinaldo and other leaders went into exile in Hongkong. When given the initial sum of remuneration they promptly used the money to buy more firearms.

### **The Coming of the Americans**

The coming of the Americans marked the second phase of the Philippine Revolution. In Singapore Aguinaldo met U.S. Consul Spencer Pratt, who persuaded him to cooperate with the Americans. In February 1898, the American warship *Maine* was mysteriously sunk in the waters off of Havana, Cuba. This incident was the immediate cause of the Spanish-American War. Commodore George Dewey, who was stationed in Hongkong, received a cable on April 25 announcing that war had commenced between the two countries. He was ordered to retake the Philippines and on May 1 his fleet

**Suggested Readings:**

Agoncillo, Teodoro. *The Revolt of the Masses: The Story of Bonifacio and the Katipunan*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1955.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Malolos: The Crisis of the Republic*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1960.

Ileto, Reynaldo. *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1979, Chapter 3, pp. 93-139.

May, Glenn. *Inventing a Hero: The Posthumous Re-creation of Andres Bonifacio*. Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1997.

**Suggested Activities:****Multiple Choice**

1. The Katipunan was founded on July 7, 1892 in:
 

a. Binondo	c. Tondo
b. San Mateo	d. Parian
2. Who was regarded as the “Brains of the Katipunan”?
 

a. Andres Bonifacio	c. Ladislao Diwa
b. Emilio Jacinto	d. Procopio Bonifacio
3. The death of Jose Rizal was compared to Jesus Christ who died to redeem his people. Historian Reynaldo Ileto claimed that his death elicited feelings of:
 

a. <i>awa at damay</i> (pity and sympathy)
b. <i>tuwa at kaligtasan</i> (gladness and salvation)
c. <i>lungkot at pagkahabag</i> (sadness and compassion)
d. <i>lungkot at pagdaralita</i> (sadness and misery)
4. The falling out between the masses and the elite during the Revolution began in:

## III Match Words and Meanings

A	B
_____ 1. Biak-na-Bato	a. Andres Bonifacio
_____ 2. Philippine Revolution of 1896	b. battleship sunk in Havana
_____ 3. Katipunan	c. site of the truce between the Filipinos and the Spaniards
_____ 4. Great Plebeian	d. convergence of the nationalist movements of the elites and the masses
_____ 5. Bernardo Carpio	e. Apolinario Mabini
_____ 6. <i>cedula</i>	f. symbol of subservience to Spanish rule
_____ 7. Magdiwang	g. headed by Emilio Aguinaldo
_____ 8. US Maine	h. legendary Tagalog folk hero
_____ 9. Filipino-American War	i. second phase of the revolution
_____ 10. "Brains of the Revolution"	j. mass-based, secret organization

## IV Creative Writing

1. Research on the life of Andres Bonifacio or Emilio Aguinaldo. Write his biography.
2. Write a reaction paper on "The Significance of 1898 in Philippine History."
3. Pretend you had an opportunity to meet any of the heroes of the Philippine Revolution. Who would you rather meet? Write an account of what your meeting would be like.

## CHAPTER 14

### THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION IN PERSPECTIVE: ISSUES OF CLASS, GENDER AND ETHNICITY

Historians have noted the complexity of studying the Philippine Revolution because it involves issues of class, ethnicity, and gender. The elite class is acknowledged as the main victor since the elite were able to preserve and even perpetuate their status during and after the Revolution. But aside from class, the issue of ethnicity is significant. Since the Revolution gave birth to the First Philippine Republic, ethnicity became central in the imagining and forging of a new nation-state. The issue of gender is likewise deserving of attention since women played significant roles during the Revolution. Further research is necessary, however, to determine whether the conditions of women improved because of the Revolution.

#### Class Issue

At the outbreak of the Revolution, the *ilustrado*, or elite class reacted only in two ways: *ilustrados* either denounced the Katipunan and pledged their allegiance to Spain or they were content to sit on the fence. In a study of the municipal and provincial elites of Luzon during the Revolution, Milagros C. Guerrero concluded that well-to-do Filipinos along with municipal and provincial officials refused to join the Revolution during 1897 and early 1898. There was hesitancy even after they did. Aguinaldo's military advisers persuaded him to issue a pronouncement during the Biak-na-Bato Republic that his government was willing to return to the fold of law as soon as Spain granted political reforms. When rumors of an impending Spanish-American War were circulating in April

October; and in Isabela, Catanduanes, Albay, and Sorsogon in December. The provincial and town officials who were elected for the most part had been the same local officials during the Spanish period. It was because the requirements for voting and nomination to public office were restricted to candidates who were “citizens of 20 years of age or above who were ‘friendly’ to Philippine independence and were distinguished for their ‘high character, social position and honorable conduct, both in the center of the community and the suburb.”<sup>20</sup> This meant that the elites maintained the same status as they had held prior to the Revolution. Even worse, many of those elected had been Spanish supporters if not sympathizers during the early phase of the Revolution. Since the elite had exclusive control of the electoral process, the provincial and municipal reorganization merely resulted in perpetuating the elite dominance of society and government. Guerrero claims that records of the period show that the composition of the municipal elite was unaltered, for most of the local offices simply rotated within their ranks.

But not all areas of Luzon came under the control of the elites during the Revolution. In some towns, “uneducated” and “poor” candidates were elected by an electorate who most probably did not meet the qualifications stipulated in Aguinaldo’s decree. Guerrero claims that the *ilustrados* of Solano in Nueva Vizcaya and Urdaneta in Pangasinan complained of the election of the “uneducated and ignorant,” who they claimed were “totally incapable” of governing.

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<sup>20</sup> Milagros C. Guerrero, “The Provincial and Municipal Elites of Luzon During the Revolution, 1898-1902,” Alfred McCoy and Ed de Jesus (editors), *Philippine Social History: Global Trade and Local Transformations* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1982), p. 165.

In its early phase the Revolution raged mainly among the Tagalog provinces. Outside the *Katagalugan* responses were varied. The Albayanos of Bicol were apprehensive of rumors of a “Tagalog rebellion” aimed at ousting the Spaniards and exercising Tagalog hegemony over the non-Tagalogs. Pampanga, which was close to Manila, was uninvolved in the Revolution from September 1896 to the end of 1897, thus suggesting that perhaps Pampangans initially viewed the Revolution as an exclusively Tagalog affair. But what brought the Revolution to non-Tagalog areas was Aguinaldo’s policy of encouraging his military officials to return to their home provinces and mobilize local support. For instance, the Revolution came late in Antique. It was due to General Leandro Fullon, an Antiqueno *principalia* general of Aguinaldo, who went to his home province to spread the Revolution. But even after the Revolution extended to the rest of Luzon and the Visayas, there were still suspicions as to what the Tagalogs had in mind. For example, the Iloilo elites in Visayas changed the name of their provisional revolutionary government to the *Federal State of the Visayas* because they did not want to recognize the supremacy of the Tagalogs and Aguinaldo. What they wanted instead was a federal system composed of the three main island groups - Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao.

These suspicions by non-Tagalogs were undoubtedly based on the writings and proclamations of key Tagalog personalities of the Revolution. Bonifacio, for instance, wrote a piece entitled “*Ang Dapat Mabatid ng mga Tagalog*,” or “What the Tagalogs Should Know.” In his memoirs, Aguinaldo had chapters entitled “The Beginning of the Tagalog Government” and “Long Live the Tagalogs.” In the absence of a general

neighbors by curing their wounds and blurred vision.”<sup>23</sup> Her home was used by the Katipunan for their clandestine meetings; it was later burned by the Spanish authorities. Tandang Sora served the Revolution by rendering her “medical” expertise to wounded Filipino rebels.

Several Filipino women distinguished themselves in the battlefield. In 1896, upon the death of her Katipunero husband, Gregoria Montoya y Patricio led the charge of a thirty-man unit while holding a Katipunan flag on one hand and a sharp-bladed *bolo* on another hand. She used a white piece of cloth commonly used during mass to ward off bullets. Another Filipino revolutionary was Agueda Kahabagan who fought the Spaniards armed with a rifle, brandishing a *bolo* and dressed in white. Teresa Magbanua, on the other hand, earned the sobriquet “Joan of Arc” of the Visayas for the valor she displayed in many battles.

But Filipino women’s participation during the Revolution was not confined to brandishing *bolos* or firing weapons during the Revolution. Rosario Lopez, a scion of the wealthy *hacendero* Lopez clan of Negros, donated firearms to Filipinos fighting the Americans. Similarly, women of Cavite utilized their business connections to form a network of contacts for the Revolution.

The Filipino Red Cross which was established in 1863 became another venue for women participating in the Revolution. In 1899, the Red Cross under the leadership of the wife of Emilio Aguinaldo had thirteen chapters extending from Ilocos Norte to

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<sup>23</sup> Isagani R. Medina, “Melchora Aquino,” Rafaelita Hilario Soriano (editor), *Women in the Philippine Revolution* (Quezon City: Printon Press, 1995), pp. 11-16.



**Suggested Readings:**

Andaya, Barbara Watson. "Thinking about the Philippine Revolution in a Gendered Southeast Asian Environment." Unpublished manuscript, 1997.

Andaya, Leonard Y. "Ethnicity in the Philippine Revolution." Unpublished manuscript, 1997.

Guerrero, Milagros C. "The Provincial and Municipal Elites of Luzon During the Revolution, 1898-1902," Alfred McCoy and Ed de Jesus (ed), *Philippine Social History: Global Trade and Local Transformations*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1982, pp. 155-190.

Soriano, Rafaelita Hilario Soriano (ed.) *Women in the Philippine Revolution*. Quezon City: Printon Press, 1995.

**Suggested Activities:****I. Multiple Choice**

1. At the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution, all of the following were actions of the majority of the *ilustrados* or elites except:
  - a. fence-sitting
  - b. pledging allegiance to Spain
  - c. joining the Revolution
  - d. denouncing the Katipunan
2. Despite the constant vacillation of the elites, their services were tapped in organizing the Philippine Republic of:
 

a. Andres Bonifacio	c. Pedro Paterno
b. Emilio Aguinaldo	d. Emilio Jacinto
3. The elected local officials of the Philippine Republic were mostly the same local officials during the Spanish period because they:
  - a. possessed the requirements for voting and nomination to public office

b. class struggle

c. birth of a Filipino nation-state

#### IV Essay Writing

1. Write an essay on who among the Filipino revolutionaries (male or female) would you want to meet and interview? Why? What kind of questions would you ask?
2. Discuss the early reactions of the non-Tagalogs concerning the Philippine Revolution.

## CHAPTER 15

### THE PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN WAR

On February 4, 1899, Private Robert Grayson shot a Filipino soldier at San Juan bridge. This shot signaled the start of the Philippine-American War that raged even after the surrender of General Emilio Aguinaldo and the establishment of the civilian government of first American Governor-General William Howard Taft.

#### **Tension Between Filipinos and Americans**

As early as August 1898 the Filipinos started doubting the proclaimed altruistic motive of the United States to liberate the Filipinos from Spanish colonial rule. At this time the combined American and Filipino forces were poised to occupy Manila. Previously, the Filipino revolutionary army had successfully driven the Spanish colonialists from the countryside. Going behind Aguinaldo and the Filipinos, Commodore Dewey, whose squadron was sent to the Philippines to destroy the Spanish fleet in Manila, entered into an agreement with the Spaniards whereby they would stage a mock battle in Manila Bay, after which the Spanish forces would surrender to the Americans. The Spaniards insisted that Filipino forces be excluded from the battle and the surrender. The American forces eventually occupied Manila and restricted Aguinaldo's forces to specific areas of the city.

Another factor which made Aguinaldo and the Filipino leaders realize that the United States had designs on the Philippines was the events surrounding the signing of the Treaty of Paris of 1898. On December 10, 1898, the United States and Spain signed the Treaty of Paris which ended the Spanish-American War. Conspicuously left out from

The outbreak of the Philippine-American War on February 4, 1899 coincided with the confirmation hearings at the U.S. Congress over the Treaty of Paris of 1898. On February 6, 1899, the U.S. Congress was scheduled to ratify the Treaty by a two-thirds vote. But the lawmakers were divided on whether the U.S. should acquire the Philippines. When war broke out two days before the scheduled congressional vote on the Treaty, the U.S. Congress was able to muster sufficient votes to ratify the Treaty and formally annexed the Philippines. Some historians allege that the war may have been engineered to convince the American public to colonize the Philippines.

Even before the February 4 incident though, U.S. forces started moving outside of Manila and were preparing to retake the rest of the country. The Philippine-American War was a war of attrition. The Filipinos called it a war since the Philippines had already declared its independence from Spain on June 12, 1898. On the other hand, the Americans referred to the war as merely a Philippine insurgency, thereby denying that the Philippines had become a nation-state by virtue of Aguinaldo's independence proclamation in 1898.

### **American Campaign of Brutality**

According to Luzviminda Francisco, the Philippine-American War was a forgotten war in the annals of the United States.<sup>24</sup> American history textbooks contain several pages on the Spanish-American War but only a paragraph or two on the Philippine-American War despite the fact that the latter was more pronounced in terms of its duration, scale, and number of casualties.

information from suspected guerrillas or their sympathizers. One form of torture was the “water cure”: after the victim was forced to drink excessive amounts of water he was stamped on the stomach. These atrocities were suppressed by a blanket press censorship, but were revealed in letters which American soldiers wrote home to their families. When some of these letters were published in local newspapers, they became eyewitness evidence of what really had happened in the “pacification” campaigns. The U.S. War Department, of course, consistently denied this kind of inhumane campaign.

### **Reconcentration Campaigns**

Towards the end of 1900 the Americans declared martial law. American troops were waging wars in southern Luzon, Leyte, Samar, Panay, Negros and Cebu. The Americans introduced the policy of *reconcentration*, wherein entire populations were herded into concentration camps to flush out guerrillas and to cut off their supply line. However, in the process, whole towns suffered from hunger and disease. Villages were burned and razed to the ground as crops were destroyed. Filipinos were taken away from their sources of livelihood and lacked adequate food. People were confined in overcrowded camps where living conditions were substandard. Camps became a breeding ground for deadly diseases such as cholera.

In Batangas, for instance, the American troops under Major General Franklin Bell wanted to break the resistance movement of Filipino General Miguel Malvar. The Batanguenos were forcibly brought into reconcentration camps. Everything outside the camp was confiscated or destroyed. Anyone outside the camp was automatically deemed a guerrilla. U.S. government sources claim that the Batangas affair resulted in a casualty

Batangas incident which occurred under his command happened after Bell's interview.

The enormity of the war, though, was expressed by an American Congressman who said that "they never rebel in Luzon anymore because there isn't anybody left to rebel."

2. The Treaty of Paris of 1898 ended the Spanish-American War. It was signed on:
  - a. November 10, 1898
  - b. November 30, 1898
  - c. December 10, 1898
  - d. December 20, 1898
3. The Philippine-American War started when an American soldier shot a Filipino soldier on February 4, 1899 at:
  - a. San Juanico Bridge
  - b. San Juan Bridge
  - c. Ayala Bridge
  - d. Quiapo Bridge
4. The Filipinos started doubting U.S. altruism in liberating the Philippines from Spanish colonial rule when the Americans restricted Aguinaldo's forces from entering:
  - a. Manila
  - b. Malolos
  - c. Cavite
  - d. Bulacan
5. Which of these reasons was cited by President William McKinley as the motive behind the American decision to annex the Philippines:
  - a. to establish a military base from which the U.S. could launch efforts to penetrate China
  - b. to spread Protestantism
  - c. to discharge American duty and obligation as a white race to civilize and uplift the conditions of the Filipinos
  - d. to expand American business interests and secure sources of raw materials for the American industries

## II Fill in the Blanks

1. General Macario Sakay was referred to as a \_\_\_\_\_ because the Americans refused to recognize the legitimacy of the Filipino struggle.
2. During the Philippine-American War, the Filipinos waged a \_\_\_\_\_ despite the lack of firearms and ammunitions.

1. Write a reaction paper comparing the U.S. participation in the Philippine-American War and the Vietnam War.



## CHAPTER 16

### PACIFICATION AND SCIENTIFIC MEDICINE

The American pacification of the Philippines followed the Philippine-American War. Concurrent in this post-war period were first, a cholera epidemic; and then the introduction of scientific medicine.

#### **Tropical Diseases and the Americans**

The Americans perceived that part of transforming Filipinos into mature and civilized colonial subjects involved educating them in the practice of good health and hygiene. The Filipinos' lack of sanitation and unhygienic practices were regarded as rooted in superstition and ignorance, which were at the heart of epidemic tropical diseases such as cholera, smallpox, dysentery, malaria, and tuberculosis. This goal of educating the Filipinos on good health and hygiene was dictated by the Americans' noble mission to enlighten and bring their subjects to a civilized and healthful state.

But the American mission was not solely due to noble motives. The Americans themselves were scared of tropical diseases in the Philippines, knowing that their health and well-being depended on how swiftly and effectively they could bring medical technology to their subjects. The Americans had a genuine unspecified fear of the tropical climate with its accompanying diseases. An American in 1899 testified that the tropical "climate seems to affect Americans especially with regard to their assimilation. People who have lived here for a long time grow gradually pale...Women, especially,

Spaniards, and Chinese. But the lower classes were the hardest hit, especially in certain districts of Manila because of the “overcrowding, poor sanitation, and poor diet.”<sup>28</sup> By the time the epidemic ended about 109,460 had died, 4,386 in Manila alone.

The cholera epidemic gave way to what Iletto calls “germ warfare”, another stage of the Philippine-American War, which saw military surgeons as the next wave of “pacifiers” after the cavalymen and troops of the earlier years. Searches and surveillance were conducted among Filipino homes to ferret out the sick for quarantine. But the Filipinos refused to isolate the cholera victim from his network of social support, particularly his family. Their universal response was evasion. As a compromise, tents were set up near cholera hospitals so relatives and friends could visit the patients twice a day.

Within the cholera combat zone colonial officials likewise broke up gatherings of people in places considered conducive to cholera contagion, like cockpits, marketplaces, and churches. They even resorted to burning the houses of cholera victims or casualties and even ordered the cremation of the deceased. These methods naturally evoked resistance on the part of the Filipinos who resorted more and more to evasion and concealment.

Another way of dealing with cholera was the introduction of prohibitions which were aimed at containing the epidemic such as the display of a red flag in houses of cholera victims in order to warn people. Filipinos refused to conform. Iletto claims that

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid, p. 100.

<sup>28</sup> Reynaldo Iletto, “Cholera and the Origins of the American Sanitary Order in the Philippines,” Rafael, *Discrepant Histories*, p. 55.

**Suggested Readings:**

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Gates, John, *Schoolbooks and Krags: the United States Army in the Philippines, 1898-1902*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1973.

Ileto, Reynaldo, "Cholera and the Origins of the American Sanitary Order in the Philippines," Rafael, *Discrepant Histories*, pp. 51-82.

**Suggested Activities:****I Multiple Choice**

1. Who were the new wave of "pacifiers" during the cholera epidemic?
  - a. cavalymen
  - b. military surgeons
  - c. Thomasites
  - d. colonial officials
2. The Americans utilized all of the following strategies to combat the cholera epidemic except for:
  - a. display of red flag in houses of cholera victims
  - b. burning of houses of cholera epidemics
  - c. pilgrimage to Mt. Banahaw in fulfillment of a *panata*
  - d. strict quarantine and cremation of the dead
3. What was the greatest effect of the cholera epidemic?
  - a. introduction of modern medicine and sanitation
  - b. strengthening the belief of the Filipinos in supernatural beings
  - c. aid in the pacification campaign of the Americans
  - d. introduction of the "germ warfare" phase in the Filipino-American War

2. List some of the tropical diseases which scared the Westerners at the turn of the century. Enumerate ways in which the West battled these diseases.
3. What were the concomitant effects of the cholera epidemic and the “scientific medicine” method of pacification between the Filipinos and the Americans?

## CHAPTER 17

### POLITICAL TUTELAGE AND THE “MIS”EDUCATION

In acquiring the Philippines the United States formally became an imperialist power. But the Americans justified their rule over the Philippines by claiming that it was their mission. They believed it was their duty to enlighten a “half-savage” race and guide them toward a progress equal to that of the civilized nations. William McKinley, in justifying American annexation of the Philippines, claimed that after God appeared to him in his sleep he had no choice but “to educate the Filipinos, uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God’s grace do the very best we could by them...” This rationalization was called by different terms of like meaning: McKinley named it Benevolent Assimilation, Rudyard Kipling said it was the White Man’s Burden, and contemporary historian Vicente Rafael terms it “white fathering.”

#### Self-Rule

From the start the Americans had made it clear that their goal was one of political tutelage, i.e., to teach the Filipinos lessons on self-rule in preparation for eventual independence. In many ways, teaching lessons in self-rule to Filipinos was tantamount to rewarding the most loyal of them for their acceptance and cooperation in the enforcement of American rule. In 1901, the *ilustrados*, or middle class, were allowed to organize a political party called the Federal Party. This party was acceptable to the Americans because it clamored not for independence but for annexation to the United States. No other party was allowed to organize until 1906, and even then parties with platforms which called for immediate total independence were not sanctioned. In 1903, the

Literature during this period documents the Filipino elites' efforts not only to learn lessons in self-rule but to work towards true Philippine independence. Manuel P. Quezon and Sergio Osmena Sr. epitomized these efforts with their numerous Independence Missions to the United States for the purpose of securing a bill which would set the date of independence. Colonial historians like Norman Owen and David Steinberg argue, though, that these elites were not really genuine champions of freedom; rather they were allies or *compadres* (co-parent) of Americans in the process of colonial rule. The Americans relied on *ilustrado* or elite support to implement their rule. In return, the Americans imposed policies which had to have the tacit approval if not endorsement of the elites. In a sense, the Americans had to compromise with the elites' interests, thus sacrificing the implementation of certain aspects of colonial policies in "education, civil service reform, public health, economic development and, above all, genuine democratization." Hence, according to Owen, this period is characterized as one of *compadre* colonialism, with *compadre*, or *compadrazgo*, connoting ritual co-parenthood over the Filipino masses.<sup>29</sup>

### **Colonial Education**

The Americans viewed education as necessary as political tutelage to transform the Filipinos from "half-savages" to "civilized" people. In the eyes of the Americans, the Filipinos needed to conform to their Western linear perception of progress from the primitive stage to the modern enlightened era. Education was the tool which was to facilitate the Filipinos' maturity and "enlightenment."

and American books were used. The educational system was patterned after the United States' system. Thus, Filipinos learned about American heroes, presidents, history, and the American way of life rather than Philippine nationalists, history, and culture. What Constantino contends is that the Americans used education as a subtle colonial tool to weaken Filipino nationalism and institute American ways in the minds of a generation of Filipinos; that education was a more powerful colonial tool than the actual use of force. This also explains why the Department of Public Instruction was never Filipinized until the Commonwealth government was established in 1936. But by then, education had brainwashed a new generation of "little brown Americans", who thought and acted like Americans, who dreamed of snow, and who saw the United States as the land of honey and gold. Education ushered in the problem of colonial mentality which has plagued the Filipinos to this day.

3. By virtue of the Philippine Bill of 1902, an elected legislative lower house was established in 1907. It was called:
  - a. Philippine Commission
  - b. Philippine Assembly
  - c. Philippine Congress
  - d. Philippine Senate
4. Who was the American governor general who implemented the Filipinization policy?
  - a. Francis Burton Harrison
  - b. William Howard Taft
  - c. Leonard Wood
  - d. Frank Murphy
5. Which of the following was used by the Americans as an instrument to facilitate the Filipinos' maturity and enlightenment?
  - a. civil service
  - b. public health
  - c. economic development
  - d. education

## II Fill in the Blanks

1. The Americans ruled the Philippines with the collaboration of the \_\_\_\_\_. In return, the American policies had the tacit approval if not endorsement of this group.
2. Norman Owen claims that American colonial rule was one of \_\_\_\_\_ colonialism between the Americans and the \_\_\_\_\_ over the Filipino masses.
3. Reynaldo Ileto claims that the Americans saw their mission as transforming the Filipinos from \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_ people. The Filipinos had to conform to the Western linear perception of \_\_\_\_\_.
4. The \_\_\_\_\_ stipulated that Philippine independence would be granted as soon as a stable government was established.
5. Throughout the American period the only government office which was not Filipinized was the \_\_\_\_\_.



## CHAPTER 18

### PERPETUATION OF ECONOMIC DEPENDENCY

The willingness of the Filipino elites to cooperate with the new colonial dispensation was amply rewarded when they were co-opted to run the national and local government. Their reward was amplified by colonial economic policies which were to be entirely beneficial only to them and their colonial compadre.

#### Orientation of Philippine Economy in the Nineteenth Century

The nineteenth century was a period of economic growth for the Philippines. The opening of Philippines to international trade changed the orientation of the economy. When the time the Americans came in 1898 the Philippine economy was entirely agricultural, with four crops--sugar, abaca, tobacco and coconut--accounting for almost 90% of the country's total exports. These crops, together with rice and corn, made up 90% of cultivated crops. The demand in the world market for cash crops stimulated agricultural production.

Before 1898, landholding was the foremost gauge of wealth. Many *ilustrados* or middle class owned lands, but many also derived their wealth by merely serving as *inquilinos*, or lessees of lands, who had their lands tilled by tenants. These *ilustrados* were *inquilinos* to the various religious corporations who owned the bulk of the prime agricultural lands. For instance, the Augustinians and Dominicans owned vast tracts of agricultural lands in Southern and Central Luzon.

#### American Land Policies

The Americans introduced land titling to protect landowners, particularly the independent small land holders, a new concept to Filipino peasants. But the Filipino elites who were knowledgeable of the law used land titling as a way to annex controversial lands disputed by the peasants.

The Americans also encouraged frontier migration which would have provided landless peasants in Luzon the opportunities to own public lands in Mindanao. But again only a small number of Filipino families were informed enough to avail themselves of this choice. Most Filipinos preferred to remain with their family on the land they had cultivated for years.

### **Free Trade**

The elite monopoly of land was perpetuated by American trade and tariff policies which were to their own and to the elites' economic advantage. Free trade was formally established with the passage of the Payne-Aldrich Act of 1909, by which an unlimited amount of American goods could enter the Philippines free of tariff. Philippine exports, on the other hand, entered the American market without tariff although quotas were imposed on sugar and tobacco. The quotas were meant to protect American growers in the U.S. When in 1913 the Underwood-Simmons Act lifted quotas on Philippine exports there was a tremendous increase in sugar and tobacco exports to the U.S. Unlimited or total free trade was in effect until the passage of the Tydings-McDuffie law in 1935, which once again imposed quotas on Philippine sugar and tobacco and also on processed goods such as cordage and coconut oil.

The benefits of free trade were confined to the Filipino landowners, many of whom were political elites in the colonial government. Free trade oriented the economy exclusively on agricultural production, mainly for the U.S. market. But by the 1930s, U.S. was suffering from the Great Depression. Philippine agricultural goods were a convenient alibi for problems of the U.S. market. Similarly, Filipino migration to Hawaii and California was also being identified as a cause of American labor problems. U.S. labor and agricultural interests thus lobbied for the granting of Philippine independence.

Meanwhile, tenancy conditions in the Philippines worsened due to free trade. Landowners became far more strict, businesslike, and greedy in their dealings with their tenants. With wealth and land concentrated among a few elites, agrarian unrest especially in Central Luzon intensified in the 1930s. This agrarian unrest was part of the larger popular movements which persisted throughout the American period.

b. Visayas

d. Batanes

## II Fill in the Blanks

1. Free trade was harmful to the Philippines since it encouraged the economy to concentrate on a few \_\_\_\_\_ products.
2. By the 1930s, the Philippines had a \_\_\_\_\_ economy which was solely dependent on the production of sugar.
3. Philippine economy only had one market ,which was the \_\_\_\_\_.
4. Free trade was not an equal relationship since Philippine goods could enter the U.S. but with \_\_\_\_\_.
5. With the onset of the \_\_\_\_\_ in the 1930s, Philippine goods were conveniently blamed by the Americans for the problems besetting the U.S. economy.

## III Debate Topic

1. Resolve: Was the free trade policy more beneficial or harmful for the Philippines?

## IV Essay Writing

1. Critique the role of the elites, or *ilustrados*, in Philippine economy in the nineteenth century and throughout the American colonial period.
2. Write a reaction paper on the American economic policies in the Philippines. What do you think were the successes and failures? If you could rectify these failures, how would you go about doing it?

## CHAPTER 19

### POPULAR MOVEMENTS, 1900-1942

While political tutelage, medical progress, economic dependency and education characterized mainstream Philippine history, the social movements of peasants persisted. The peasant perception and understanding of independence was vastly different from its interpretation by the elites. The government and society in general adjudged these grass-roots movements as nothing but fanaticism of ignorant peasants who had succumbed to the rhetoric of a few local demagogues. Many view these protests as aberrations. The Americans saw them as yet another proof of the ignorance, delinquency and immaturity of the Filipinos. In perspective, however, these movements must be viewed as an expression of the significant legitimate sentiment of peasants to be understood on their own terms. And as historian Reynaldo Ileto proved in his book, *Pasyon and Revolution*, they are part of a long tradition of peasant reactions which date back to Apolinario de la Cruz in 1840 and the Katipunan of 1896. The history of popular movements must be told to serve as a good counterpoint to mainstream conventional history.

#### **Macario Sakay**

The tradition of popular movements espousing *kalayaan* (independence) during the Spanish period persisted throughout the American colonial rule. In the early years, resistance was carried out by General Macario Sakay, who refused to surrender to the Americans even after the arrest of President Emilio Aguinaldo. In 1902, Sakay declared the Supreme Government of the Tagalog Republic, with himself as commander-in-chief. Although he called it a Tagalog Republic, he announced that it included the Visayas and

the Santa Iglesia, which became a popular movement in Central Luzon in the first decade of the American rule. The Santa Iglesia, which had its center at Mt. Arayat in Pampanga, became popular and gained the support of the peasants of the provinces of Bulacan, Pampanga, Tarlac, and Nueva Ecija with its espousal of *kalayaan* (independence), *damay* (sympathy), and *kasaganaan* (prosperity) — the latter realizable as soon as lands would be redistributed among peasants. Salvador was seen by his followers as the resurrected Jesus Christ. His image was undoubtedly enhanced when he was captured in 1902, but he later on escaped from the Bilibid prisons. Like Ricarte, Salvador considered assistance from Japan, which was at this time a rising Asian power, necessary to oust the Americans.

Ileto in his *Pasyon and Revolution* notes that significant events came about in 1910 which made that year seem auspicious for an uprising of the followers of Santa Iglesia. The Philippine Assembly was set to convene, with its newly elected members promising a new era. Meanwhile, the U.S. Congress had just rejected a proposal of a huge American corporation to purchase the friar lands and transform them into sugar plantations. The decision seemed like an indication that perhaps independence could soon be attained. The year 1910 was also buzzing with news of Halley's comet. It was believed that Halley's comet would start a war, interpreted by the peasants as a prelude to independence. Thus, in 1910 rumors were ripe of an impending uprising by the Santa Iglesia. Salvador, however, was captured in Pampanga and was later hanged for alleged banditry, charges which were similarly used to silence Sakay.

believed protected them from bullets while the women held prayer books, stones and medals. Captured rebels claimed they wanted *kalayaan* (independence), which would result in a redistribution of land and the elimination of abuses of the local policemen and the Constabulary.

The leader of the uprising was Pedro Calosa, an Ilocano, whose parents had migrated to Pangasinan. He worked in the sugar plantations of Hawaii but was deported from the islands for organizing the *sakadas*. Upon his return to his native Pangasinan, Calosa founded a colorum movement. The Colorums of Calosa talked incessantly of *libertad* (freedom), *kalayaan* (independence) and an equitable distribution of land. The movement culminated with the Tayug uprising. The short-lived uprising was quelled, and Calosa was imprisoned.

### **Sakdalistas**

By far the most popular movement in the 1930s was the Sakdalistas. Two events triggered the birth of the Sakdal Movement in 1930. The first was the racial conflict between the Filipinos and the Caucasian Americans in Watsonville, California. Its root was the perception that the Filipinos were taking over American jobs and American women (see the lecture on Filipinos in California). In the first incident, a Filipino lettuce picker was killed by a mob of 200 Americans. The second incident was over the walkout and protest by students of Manila North High School as a result of insulting remarks made by an American teacher. One of the leaders in the rallies and strikes that ensued after this incident was Benigno Ramos, the founder of the Sakdal.

independence. Independence was interpreted as a state where no one would be poor.

In 1934, Ramos left ostensibly to go to the U.S. to secure a bill which would grant complete, total and final independence for the country. But he disembarked in Japan and stayed there until 1938. Like Ricarte, he saw the independence of the Filipinos as possible with Japanese assistance.

Meanwhile the Sakdalistas launched a bold uprising against the colonial government in May 1, 1935. About 68,000 of its members joined the rebellion which was centered in Laguna. They believed that their amulets would protect them from government troops. They also believed that Ramos and Ricarte were arriving with weapons together with the Japanese navy. The Constabulary easily quelled the uprising of what it called the “fanatics”. When one of the survivors of the uprising, Salud Alagabre, was interviewed years after the event and was asked about the failure of the uprising, she claimed that “no uprising fails, each one is a step in the right direction!”

Despite the uprising’s lack of success, the Sakdal movement continued. Ramos came back in 1938 after he had met President Quezon who was visiting Japan. Upon his return, Ramos was arrested on charges of insurrection and sedition. He was freed on bail, but by 1939, he was imprisoned again due to charges of *estafa* and illegal solicitation of money. When the Japanese came in December 1941, they freed Ramos, who immediately became one of their supporters.

### **Precursor of the Hukbalahap in Central Luzon**

The 1930s was a period of peasant unrest. Aside from the Sakdalistas, the peasants in Central Luzon banded into organizations to protect themselves from their



**Suggested Readings:**

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Ileto, Reynaldo Ileto, *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1979, Chapter 5: "The Path to Kalayaan," pp. 197-244; and Chapter 6: "The Pasyon of Felipe Salvador," pp. 259-309.

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\_\_\_\_\_, "Ang Kilusang Sakdal, 1920-1945," [The Sakdal Movement] Ph.D. Thesis, Department of the Philippines, University of the Philippines, 1992; [dissertation is in English]

\_\_\_\_\_, "Benigno Ramos and the Sakdal Movement," *Philippine Studies* 36 (1988) 427-442.

**Suggested Activities:****I. Multiple Choice**

1. Who among these leaders founded the Tagalog Republic and declared his resistance movement as the new Katipunan?
 

a. Artemio Ricarte	c. Pedro Calosa
b. Felipe Salvador	d. Macario Sakay
2. Which of these peasant movements became popular in Central Luzon in the first decade of the American colonial rule?
 

a. Sakdalista	c. Ricarista
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3. In the 1930s, Central Luzon peasants banded together to seek redress for their grievances against powerful landlords. Among these peasant organizations were the \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, and \_\_\_\_\_.

III Match the peasant organization with its leader

A	B
_____ 1. Felipe Salvador	a. Tagalog Republic
_____ 2. Macario Sakay	b. Tayug uprising
_____ 3. Pedro Abad Santos	c. Santa Iglesia
_____ 4. Pedro Calosa	d. Aguman Ding Malding Talapagobra
_____ 5. Benigno Ramos	e. Sakdal

IV. Essay Writing

1. How would you explain the persistence of messianic social movements in Philippine history?
2. Research on one of the many messianic movements during the American period. Explain its ascendancy, popularity, and decline.
3. Discuss the living conditions and social relations in Central Luzon in the 1930s.

## CHAPTER 20

### FILIPINO DIASPORA TO HAWAII

An important event during the American colonial period was the exodus of Filipino laborers to the United States. The economies of Hawaii and California which needed a steady supply of cheap labor encouraged the influx of Filipino migrant workers. Even though these workers maintained close links with the Philippines they began to forge equally strong and lasting ties with their new homeland. Their collective experience occupies a significant niche in Philippine history as Filipino-Americans as well as the diaspora.

#### **Historical Background of Immigration to Hawaii**

During the first half of the twentieth century, Hawaii as well as California had an agricultural economy which required a constant supply of imported cheap immigrant labor. The economy of Hawaii was dependent on sugar and pineapple which could only be sustained by plantation labor. Consequently, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association (HSPA) conducted a systematic organized recruitment of Filipino laborers. They sent labor recruiters who established recruitment centers in Vigan, Ilocos Sur, and Cebu. Filipino migration started in 1906 with fifteen Tagalog contract workers. The Filipinos were at first reluctant to go to Hawaii because of the distance and the rumors about wild animals roaming the islands and devouring people. These unfounded rumors clouded the Filipinos' initial perception of the islands, discouraging any interest in migrating to Hawaii. But recruitment campaigns persisted despite the initial lack of success in attracting Filipino laborers. There was a pressing need to import Filipino workers to

Most of the Filipino migrant workers were Ilocanos. Since the nineteenth century the Ilocanos had been migrating to different parts of the Philippines. The harsh living conditions and the limited economic opportunities in Ilocos had forced the Ilocanos to migrate out and seek better fortunes. In the twentieth century, Hawaii and California offered the most appealing economic opportunities for ambitious Ilocanos.

### **Preference for Filipino Workers**

The Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association (HSPA) preferred to hire Filipino workers for the following reasons:

- 1.) it was cheaper to hire Filipino workers;
- 2.) it was practical to simply hire Filipinos since the Philippines was a U.S. colony and the Filipinos were technically U.S. nationals due to their colonial status; moreover, there were exclusion laws against importing other “Orientals” (Chinese and Japanese); besides, Filipinos were viewed as a leverage, an alternative labor to use against the strike-prone Japanese workers; and
- 3.) the Philippines was an agrarian nation with exposure to sugar plantation experience. Unfortunately, the recruiters hired Ilocanos and Bisayans who had not been exposed to conditions in a sugar or pineapple plantation.

The Filipinos who migrated to Hawaii were rural folk. They faced numerous problems from the time they left the Philippines. While most of them were Ilocanos, there were also a few Bisayans or Tagalogs. Upon reaching Hawaii they found that they had to deal with more ethnic diversity. Linguistic differences hampered the workers’

issue an executive order which prohibited the exodus of the Japanese from Hawaii to the mainland. In the islands the HPSA was in complete control. They armed a *luna* with a black snake whip to force the workers to toil without release. They could use the Islands' police force to break down workers' resistance. But the power of the HPSA went beyond threats, coercion, and lobbying to more subtle forms of control. They exercised paternalistic management, introducing their own brand of welfare programs, sometimes out of concern but oftentimes designed to suit their economic ends. Medical care, for example, was provided to workers to monitor their health and well-being and to maximize their productivity. But "plantation paternalism was designed not only to extract a good day's work from the laborers but also to weaken the power of workers to organize and strike".<sup>30</sup>

The sugar planters instituted a "divide-and -rule" policy by pitting workers of different nationalities against each other for the purpose of keeping wages down. One ethnic group was used as scabs to break the strike of another. Work assignments were based on nationality and race. Racism was applied by discriminating color and nationality. Living arrangements were ethnically segregated, job assignments were ethnically determined, and differential wages based on ethnicity and further by gender, were imposed. The Caucasians, considered skilled workers, were higher paid and assigned supervisory positions. The Japanese and the Filipinos, on the other hand, were assigned to backbreaking work in the fields.

### **Response of Workers**

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<sup>30</sup> Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835-1920* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), p. 65.

to be replaced by a larger class-based organization and resistance. The inter-ethnic alliance of Japanese and Filipino laborers in 1920 demonstrated its viability.

In general, the Filipinos found ways to cope with the hard plantation life. These were their measures:

- 1.) They turned to townmates for mutual support and formed mutual aid organizations like the Filipino Federation of America, *Caballeros de Dimas Alang*, and *Legionarios de Trabajos*.
- 2.) They made a support network of the plantation since it was a self-contained community with basic necessities and recreations. Filipinos danced and socialized, held December 30-Rizal day celebrations, engaged in gambling (specifically cockfighting), and held beauty contests.
- 3.) They organized into labor unions and waged strikes for improved living and working conditions.

### **Filipino Labor Leaders**

The Filipinos were organized as a result of the efforts of two Filipino labor leaders: Pablo Manlapit and Carl Damaso.

Pablo Manlapit was born on January 17, 1891 in Lipa, Batangas, to a working-class family. Melinda Kerkvliet in her study of Manlapit claims that his sojourn in Hawaii covered roughly two periods. In the first period (1910-1919), Manlapit experienced employment problems, started a family, and continued his education through self-study. He became the first Filipino lawyer to practice law in Hawaii, an impressive achievement considering that when he left the Philippines nine years before he had just

Philippines where he started a new life working in different capacities for the government. He did not get his pardon until 1952.

Born in Zambales, Philippines, Carl Damaso came to Hawaii during the height of the depression in the 1930s. He was 17 when recruited by the HPSA. In 1934, he joined a strike of his fellow Filipino workers at Ola'a Sugar Plantation--also known as Puna Sugar Company--on the island of Hawaii. The Filipinos, who made up 70% of the plantation workforce, protested the company's decision to further lower wages and its employment discrimination policy. The strike was defeated; Damaso was branded as a labor agitator and placed on the list of "do not hire". He moved to Maui and found work at the Wailuku Sugar Company but was soon fired for attempting to start a union. He then moved to Molokai where he survived by fishing and playing pool. He became a prominent labor leader after the war when he became an organizer of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and was at the forefront of the labor strikes.

### **Plantation Culture**

Plantation life formed a distinct plantation culture. Language became the foremost vehicle for the Filipinos' cultural survival. The Filipinos continued to communicate with each other using their own language, which in most cases was Ilocano. The huge number of Ilocano workers and the policy of segregation within the plantation encouraged their continued use of Ilocano. But the plantation management also insisted on either English or Hawaiian as the medium of communication. Consequently, pidgin English evolved and became the language of communication among plantation workers.

**Suggested Readings:**

- Alegado, Dean T. "Carl Damaso: A Champion of Hawaii's Working People," In John Okamura (guest editor), *Filipino American History: Identity and Community in Hawaii* (Honolulu: Social Process in Hawaii, vol. 37, University of Hawaii at Manoa, 1996) pp. 26-35.
- Andaya, Leonard Y. "From American-Filipino to Filipino-American," In *Filipino American History: Identity and Community in Hawaii*, vol. 37, pp. 99-111.
- San Buenaventura, Steffi. "Hawaii's '1946 Sakada'," In *Filipino American History: Identity and Community in Hawaii*, pp. 74-90.
- Kerkvliet, Melinda. "Interpreting Pablo Manlapit," In *Filipino American History: Identity and Community in Hawaii*, pp. 1-25.
- Takaki, Ronald. *In the Heart of America: Immigrants from the Pacific Isles*. Adapted by Rebecca Stefoff with Carol Takaki. New York and Philadelphia: Chelsea Book Publishers, 1995.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835-1920*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983.

**Suggested Videos:**

- Filipino Americans: Discovering their Past for the Future*. [S.l.]: Filipino American National Historical Society; Seattle: Distributed by Wehman Video Distribution, 1994. VHS, 54 min. UHM Videotape 9877.
- Filipinos in Hawaii*. Honolulu: KHET TV, 1991, color with black and white sequences. VHS, 30 min. UHM Videotape 1858
- Istorya ni Bonipasyo: Kasla Gloria Ti Hawaii* [Bonifacio's Story: Hawaii is Like Paradise] Honolulu: Center for Philippine Studies, 1991;
- Manong*. Los Angeles, CA: Visual Communications, 1978, color with black and white sequences. VHS, 30 min. UHM Videotape 4097.
- Pete Tagalog Talks of Early Days in Waipahu*. Pearl City: Leeward Community College, 1977. VHS, UHM Videotape 3612
- To A New Land*. Lincoln, NE: GPN, 1977, color with black and white sequences. VHS, 28 min. UHM Videotape 7920



- b. to replenish the laborers who had gone back to the Philippines or had gone to the U.S. mainland
- c. to use as leverage against striking Japanese workers
- d. all of the above

## II Enumeration

1-3 Why did the HSPA prefer to hire Filipino workers?

4-6 What reasons encouraged the Ilocanos to migrate to Hawaii?

7-10 What were the problems faced by Filipino migrant workers in Hawaii?

## III Match Words and Meanings

A	B
_____ 1. luna	a. organizer of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union
_____ 2. "Big Five"	b. union organizing based on ethnicity
_____ 3. sakadas	c. stereotyped image of the Filipinos
_____ 4. "blood unionism"	d. the sugar planters
_____ 5. Pablo Manlapit	e. Filipino labor organizer and first Filipino lawyer to practice in Hawaii
_____ 6. Carl Damaso	f. big holiday for Filipino laborers in Hawaii
_____ 7. "poke-knife"	g. tactic employed by sugar planters on workers
_____ 8. glorya	h. plantation foreman
_____ 9. divide-and-rule	i. early perception of Hawaii by Filipino migrant workers
_____ 10. Rizal Day	j. sugar workers

## IV. Research Work

## CHAPTER 21

### FILIPINO DIASPORA TO CALIFORNIA

Many Filipinos also ended up migrating to California. California's economy was different from Hawaii's but working conditions were equally harsh. In a sense, the experience of the Filipinos sakadas in Hawaii paralleled the plight of Filipino laborers in California.

#### **Differences between Filipino employment in Hawaii and California**

1. In Hawaii, Filipinos were tied to the land since jobs were confined to plantation work. The plantation was a self-contained community. In contrast, Filipino workers in California moved from farm to farm in response to seasons, crops, and other demands. California was characterized by a fluid labor force since, unlike in Hawaii, Filipinos were employed not merely as agricultural workers.
2. Management in Hawaii plantations was paternalistic, keeping laborers inside, and outsiders outside.

#### **Migration to California**

Filipinos arrived in California in huge numbers starting in the 1920s. Previously, Filipinos in California were mostly students sent by the Philippine government to study under the *pensionado* system. In the 1920s, there was a new demand for laborers on the West Coast, particularly in California. Many Filipinos who came to California were sakadas who had broken or served their three-year contract with the Hawaii Sugar Planters Association. They became part of a large labor pool. The Filipinos came after the "Yellow Peril", i.e., the influx of Chinese and Japanese coolies, and their arrival was

in rice harvesting; beet hoeing and topping; tomato and lettuce harvesting; and other jobs classifiable as ranch labor. In California, the centers of Filipino population were in Stockton, Salinas, and Watsonville. Likewise, a huge number of Filipinos worked as agricultural farm hands in the counties of Alameda, Contra Costa, Glenn, Kern, Monterey, Sacramento, San Joaquin, Santa Barbara, Sonoma, etc. Growers preferred Filipinos as agricultural laborers because they were perceived as good and fast workers, quick learners, and willing to work for low wages.

2. Domestic and personal service workers. Filipinos worked in service industries like hotels and restaurants as bell boys, elevator boys, waiters, janitors, etc. Filipinos earned the reputation of being clean, nice mannered, possessing good appearance, conscientious, and efficient.
3. Fishery workers. Some Filipinos found their way up the West Coast as far as Alaska to work in the fishing and fish canning industries. In 1927, about 2,869 Filipinos worked in this sector and this increased to 4,210 in 1930.

Filipinos lived in pitiful conditions. They stayed in camps with run-down bunkhouses and shacks which looked like chicken coops. They worked long hours, from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., for six days a week. Work was very hard, and by the end of the day they were itchy and sweaty.

### **Racial Discrimination**

Not only were Filipinos discriminated against, but in an unusual position. For one, they had no sovereign government to speak for them since the Philippines was a

## **Organizing and Unionizing**

Filipinos in California organized to protect themselves. In 1933, the Filipino Labor Union was formed at Salinas to protect Filipinos from unfair employment practices. Soon Filipino labor unions sprang up in every Filipino community in California, the most notable of which were the Filipino Labor Association of Stockton and the Philippine Labor Chamber of Salinas. In 1939, the most effective Filipino labor union was established in the Filipino Agricultural Labor Association, which later succeeded in raising wages and improving working and living conditions.

Filipinos used strikes as a leverage. The earliest strike occurred in February, 1930, in the Imperial Valley with Filipino and Mexican laborers walking out. Police arrested 100 strikers. In 1933, the Filipino Labor Union in Stockton and Salinas went on strike. About 4,000 fought low wages and racial discrimination. In the Salinas Valley lettuce growing area, a Filipino strike occurred towards the end of August, 1934, as a result of the burning of a \$15,000 labor camp and the Filipino demand for decent wages. They wanted 40 — 45 cents an hour wage and better working conditions. About 6,000 strikers walked out joined by white workers, but the latter decided to deal with the growers separately.

## **Racial Riots**

Social and economic censure by white Americans precipitated racial violence. The first race riot occurred in Exeter on the night of October 24, 1929, when white Americans were supplanted by Filipinos in harvesting Kadota figs and Emperor grapes. A mob of 300 whites stormed a Filipino camp, stoning and clubbing about 50 Filipinos,

repatriation of the Filipinos. In 1935, the U.S Congress passed the Repatriation Act calling for Filipino repatriation. However, only 2,190 returned to the Philippines.

By the 1940s and 1950s, a new generation of about 500 Filipino and part-Filipino children in Stockton had emerged, more than half of whom were mixed-race. This pattern eventually became the reality in many Filipino communities in the United States. American acceptance of the Filipinos was slow. The active participation of Filipinos as soldiers and as civilians involved in the mobilization efforts during World War II favorably changed the American perception of Filipinos in the United States.

**I. Multiple Choice**

1. Which of the following best describes the nature of work in California in the first half of the twentieth century?
  - a. laborers lived in plantations
  - b. work was exclusively agricultural
  - c. workers moved around in response to seasons and crops
  - d. all of the above
2. Filipinos came to California in huge numbers starting in the 1920s. Their arrival was referred to as the:
  - a. Yellow Peril
  - b. Third Oriental Invasion
  - c. Brown Peril
  - d. Second Oriental Invasion
3. Most of the Filipinos who came to California during this period planned to:
  - a. save money and return home to the Philippines
  - b. permanently migrate in the United States
  - c. lobby for Philippine independence
  - d. lobby for U.S. statehood for the Philippines
4. Filipinos who came to the West Coast were eventually employed:
  - a. as agricultural workers
  - b. in domestic and service work
  - c. in fishing and fish canning industries
  - d. all of the above

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| _____ 4. <i>pensionado</i> system                | d. organized in Salinas to protect the interests of Filipino laborers  |
| _____ 5. divide and rule policy                  | e. bent down kind of work such as planting cauliflower or cutting asparagus  |
| _____ 6. Filipino Labor Union                    | f. the most effective Filipino labor group responsible for raising wages and improving living and working conditions |
| _____ 7. Filipino Agricultural Labor Association | g. paved way for the return of some Filipinos back to the Philippines  |
| _____ 8. Third Oriental Invasion                 | h. provided for the U.S. education of a few privileged Filipinos   |

#### IV Essay Writing

1. Compare and contrast the experiences of Filipinos in Hawaii and California in the 1920s and 1930s in terms of the following:
  - a) nature of work
  - b) living conditions
  - c) problems they encountered and their responses
  - d) their collective experiences
  - e) impact of the Great Depression

#### V. Creative Writing

1. Watch a video on the early Filipinos in California or read any of the works of Carlos Bulosan, a Filipino laborer in California in the 1930s who captured the experiences of the Filipinos in the United States. Imagine yourself as a Filipino agricultural worker in California during this period. Write your memoir.

## CHAPTER 22

### POPULAR MOVEMENT AMONG MIGRANT FILIPINOS

The millenarian popular peasant tradition in the Philippines as exemplified by the Cofradia de San Jose in 1840, Katipunan during the Philippine Revolution, Colorum in the 1920s, and the Sakdal in the 1930s, was transported by Filipino migrant workers to the United States. Pedro Calosa, an Ilocano sakada for ten years in Hawaii during the 1920s, was remembered by fellow Filipino sakadas as someone who brought from the Philippines an *anting-anting*, or amulet, which allegedly imbued him with supernatural powers. Calosa eventually went home to the Philippines and became the leader of the Tayug uprising in 1929. There were many other Filipino migrant laborers who came to the U.S. imbued with their peasant consciousness and experience in millenarian movements. One example is Hilario Camino Moncada, who founded the Moncadistas. Their history shows the persistence of Filipino millenarian tradition and how it transcended geographical borders to take a significant place in the experience of Filipino-Americans.

#### **The Moncadistas**

The Moncadistas, according to Steffi San Buenaventura, were members of the Filipino Federation of America (FFA), a mutual aid society which was formed to assist Filipinos in adjusting to American life.<sup>32</sup> Mutual aid societies which proliferated in Hawaii and California usually originated from hometown associations which later evolved into Filipino communities. Among these mutual aid societies were the



to the mountains especially during the Holy Week was viewed as a way of activating and energizing spiritual powers.

As part of its mystical symbolism, the Moncadistas adopted 12 as a symbolic, significant number. The Federation started with 12 members, had 12 objectives, and 12 divisions, each division with 12 lodges, and each lodge with 12 members. This fascination with 12 was called “*doce-doce*”. Jesus Christ had 12 apostles, and Rizal was viewed by his worshippers as having 12 disciples who were all *ilustrados*. Similarly, Moncado as a second Christ was photographed with 12 disciples. His followers believed that Moncado was the “new Rizal” and the “Filipino messiah.” Rizal was revered by many Filipino peasants following his execution by the Spaniards. They viewed his death as spiritual martyrdom, a redemptive death to liberate the Filipinos from the colonial oppressors. Moncado for his part promised his followers that he would secure Philippine independence. He likewise appeared convincing as the new Christ because his six-foot height made him different from most Filipinos. He had such charisma that people took notice of him wherever he went. He claimed that he had been trained in mysticism in India and had received a Ph.D. in Numerology and Human Nature.

The Moncadistas’ beliefs are an extension of a long history of messianic popular movements in the Philippines rooted in a Christian tradition. Charismatic leaders molded themselves as Christ-like figures. They successfully garnered popular support by juxtaposing their life and experiences with those of Jesus Christ and locating their movement within the *Pasyon* tradition. The *Pasyon* is a religious text which narrates the life, suffering and death of Jesus Christ. Ileto claims that the *Pasyon*, which is popularly

that the FFA was nothing but fakery. Various Filipino labor organizations branded the Federation as made up of cowards since it tolerated the abuses in plantation life. But the Federation did gain acceptance among the Filipino sakadas. In the 1930s, it had about 800 members in Hawaii, although records of the Federation claimed as many as 11,000 members. In 1938, it was estimated that about 144 members of the Federation were actively engaged in the *sacripisyo* and were even sporting long hair, perhaps believing that long hair gave them spiritual potency. The Moncadistas attracted many sakadas, and its huge membership was displayed in full force during the Rizal Day celebration in Hawaii every December 30.

In 1932, de los Reyes went back to the Philippines to establish Federation colonies in Mindanao, which at this time was being promoted by the Philippine government as a pioneering area for resettlement. De los Reyes was successful in establishing new settlements in Mindanao. Upon the death of de los Reyes in 1937, his protégé, Geraldo Alvaro succeeded him.

Moncado went back to the Philippines and participated in electoral politics, running as senator in 1934 and 1938, and as a presidential candidate in the 1941 and 1946 elections, all of which he lost. In his electoral campaigns, the Moncadistas in Hawaii and California supported him. But Moncado's setbacks convinced him that he did not belong in the Philippines, so he returned to Hawaii in 1948. When he was deported from the U.S. he settled in Baja California, and in Mexico, where he died in 1958.

Upon his death, the Federation was so wracked with infighting that the conflict between the material and spiritual wings of the organization worsened. One spiritual

**Suggested Readings:**

San Buenaventura, Steffi. "The Master and the Federation: A Filipino-American Social Movement in California and Hawaii," Jonathan Okamura et. al (editors), *The Filipino American Experience in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: Social Process in Hawaii vol. 33, Department of Sociology, University of Hawaii at Manoa, 1991, pp. 169-193.

\_\_\_\_\_. Nativism and Ethnicity in a Filipino-American Experience. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Hawaii, 1990.

**Suggested Activities:****I Multiple Choice**

1. The Filipino Federation of America (FFA) was formed on December 27, 1925 in Los Angeles by:
  - a. Pedro Calosa
  - b. Hilario Camino Moncada
  - c. Apolinario dela Cruz
  - d. Geraldo Alvaro
2. What was the primary aim of the Filipino Federation of America?
  - a. to transport migrant workers
  - b. to imbue workers with peasant consciousness
  - c. to assist workers in adjusting to American life
  - d. to repatriate Filipino workers back to the Philippines
3. Which of these practices indicate that the Moncadistas display features of Filipino messianic, popular movements?
  - a. its leader, Camino Moncada, was seen as a second Christ and a new Rizal
  - b. trekking to the mountains
  - c. internal purification through sacrifices such as fasting and abstinence

This fascination with \_\_\_\_ was also associated with Jesus Christ having \_\_\_\_ apostles. This practice of employing this number was called \_\_\_\_.

### III Match Words and Meanings

#### A

#### B

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| ____ 1. <i>Pasyon</i>                    | a. an Ilocano sakada in Hawaii who later led the Tayug uprising in the Philippines |
| ____ 2. Pedro Calosa                     | b. founded FFA colonies in Mindanao  |
| ____ 3. Hilario Camilo Moncada           | c. practice of using this symbolic number  |
| ____ 4. Lorenzo de los Reyes             | d. a mutual aid society whose name was derived from Rizal's pen name               |
| ____ 5. <i>doce-doce</i>                 | e. pilgrimage to the mountains   |
| ____ 6. <i>Caballeros de Dimas Alang</i> | f. self-purification practices such as fasting and abstinence                      |
| ____ 7. Moncadistas                      | g. FFA's second Jesus Christ and new Rizal   |
| ____ 8. <i>suroy-suroy</i>               | h. a religious text on the life and death of Jesus Christ                          |
| ____ 9. <i>sacripisyo</i>                | i. members of the FFA  |

### IV Research Work

1. For those who are in Hawaii, visit the Moncadista church in Kalihi and interview some of its members to get a firsthand account of what the movement meant for them. What role did it play in the collective experiences of Filipino-Americans in the U.S.?

### V Essay Writing

1. Compare the Moncadista movement as it developed in Hawaii with the popular movements in the Philippines like, the Cofradia de San Jose Movement or the Rizalista cults in Mount Banahaw. How are they similar and different? Can you detect any Hawaiian or American influence in the Moncadista movement?

## CHAPTER 23

### THE JAPANESE INVASION AND THE FILIPINO RESISTANCE

The Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, ushered in the Pacific stage of World War II. Simultaneously with the bombing of the Pearl Harbor, the Japanese also bombed American installations in the Philippines, notably Clark Field in Pampanga, and Sangley Point in Cavite. Their aim was to cripple the American forces in the Pacific in order to pave the way for an easy Japanese conquest of Southeast Asia.

#### **Reasons for Japanese Aggression**

Historians have cited economic factors as the main motivation of Japan for going to war. With Japan's population soaring, the inadequacy of resources had become critical. The country lacked natural resources, particularly oil. Moreover, its land area could not adequately supply its own agricultural needs, such as rice, sugar and rubber. Likewise, at that time, its industries wanted new markets for its manufactured goods.

Japan realized that expansion must be justified and rationalized to the extent that Asians would accept Japanese rule. Japan chose to claim that it was driving out the imperialist whites from Asia under the slogan "Asia for the Asiatics." By the same rationale Japan argued that since its economy was linked to those of East Asia and Southeast Asia and it could promote a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," or a common prosperity for all economies of Asia. In the Philippines, part of the Japanese propaganda was also meant to show how the Filipinos had lost their Asianess through corruption by American ways. The Japanese presented themselves as restorers of Philippine lost culture.

26, 1941, to spare the city and its inhabitants from further death and destruction.

Nonetheless, the Japanese still bombed Manila.

The battle raged in Bataan and Corregidor, the last stand of the combined Filipino and American forces. Disease and lack of ammunition, food and water forced the combined Filipino and American forces under the United States Armed Forces in the Far East (USAFPE) to surrender after several months of battle. Bataan fell on April 9, 1942, and Corregidor on May 6, 1942. Meanwhile, MacArthur together with Quezon and Osmena left for Australia, upon MacArthur's prophetic pledge: "I Shall Return!" The Commonwealth Government continued in exile in Washington D.C.

The captives from Bataan, totaling 30,000 Filipinos and 10,000 Americans, were made to march 150 kilometers from Mariveles, Bataan, to San Fernando, Pampanga, and then loaded onto trains for Capas, Tarlac, where they were imprisoned. The infamous march has been called the "Death March," because it was literally a march toward death, with many dying of hunger and disease. The wounded were simply bayoneted by the Japanese troops.

### **Japanese-sponsored Puppet Government**

Capitalizing on their awareness that the peoples of Asia desired independence from white colonial rule, the Japanese promised independence to Asians in return for their recognition of Japanese hegemony. The Filipinos were not deceived. They knew that the coming of the Japanese did not mean independence, but simply a new colonial order. Moreover, the Tydings-McDuffie Law which had created the Philippine

rubber-stamp, puppet government since it was the Japanese who ran the affairs and decided on matters. The Japanese wanted Laurel to declare war against the United States but he refused. As a compromise, Laurel signed a military agreement allowing the Japanese military free and unhampered use of the islands. Moreover, the Japanese were allowed to utilize and exploit the economic resources of the country. In response to the Japanese declaration of Philippine independence and the sponsored-puppet government, the United States maintained that the Quezon government in exile was the legitimate one. For allowing themselves to be part of the Japanese rule, Laurel and company were tagged as collaborators, followed by tremendous repercussions at the end of the war.

- c. December 10, 1941
  - d. December 5, 1941
3. What was the aim of the Japanese in bombing major U.S. installations?
- a. to end the war right there and then
  - b. to cripple the American forces in the Pacific
  - c. to formally declare war by its action
  - d. all of the above
4. Which of these slogans was used by the Japanese to rationalize their expansion in Asia?
- a. "Japan for Asia!"
  - b. "Out with the White Imperialists!"
  - c. "We, the Asian Empire!"
  - d. "Asia for the Asiatics!"
5. Who was named Field Marshal by President Manuel Quezon and asked to defend the islands?
- a. General Edward King
  - b. General Jonathan Wainwright
  - c. General Douglas MacArthur
  - d. General Dwight Eisenhower

## II Fill in the Blanks

1. Manila was declared an \_\_\_\_\_ on \_\_\_\_\_ to spare it and its inhabitants from further death and destruction.
2. With the fall of \_\_\_\_\_, the captured Filipino and American soldiers were forced to march from Mariveles, Bataan to San Fernando Pampanga. This infamous incident is called the \_\_\_\_\_.



1. Role-play the heroism of Jose Abad Santos in refusing to serve the Japanese government.
2. Do further research on the Death March. Imagine yourself as one of the thousands of soldiers who surrendered with the fall of Bataan. Form a group and re-enact the surrender of Bataan or the subsequent Death March.

## CHAPTER 24

### FILIPINO SOCIETY UNDER JAPANESE OCCUPATION

One of the controversial debates in Philippine historiography is the impact of the Japanese occupation. David Steinberg claims that it was a critical period since the loyalty of the Filipinos towards the Americans was tested, with a significant portion of the elites transferring their loyalty to Japan. The bulk of the people though did not transfer loyalty, due to their *utang na loob* (debt of gratitude) to the Americans. Alfred McCoy challenges Steinberg's interpretation. He claims that the Japanese occupation was not a significant break in history. The Filipino elites remained loyal to the U.S. out of a desire to protect their economic interests; after all they were landowners and traders who profited with free trade. McCoy claims that Filipino society was made up of prominent families and political leaders competing as factions. Thus, those who sided with the Japanese did so in response to their opposing faction, who sided with the Americans.

In general, though, the Japanese occupation was a significant period in Philippine history. It was a time of death and destruction, which millions of Filipinos view with sadness if not bitterness. The economy was in shambles and living conditions were deplorable. People felt fear and uncertainty. The Japanese occupation split Filipino society. Those who saw the Japanese as the liberators of the Asian race enthusiastically supported them. The majority of Filipinos, however, saw through the Japanese propaganda and realized that it was another imperialist rule, but this time by an Asian state.

In most places in Luzon, the backbone of the Filipino guerrilla resistance against Japanese rule was made up of the soldiers of the United States Armed Forces in the Far East, or USAFFE, who fled to the mountains when Bataan and Corregidor fell. In the Visayas and Mindanao, the USAFFE forces who refused to surrender started the guerrilla resistance movement. In Central Luzon, however, the backbone of Japanese resistance was the peasant organizations of the 1930s which banded and formed the HUKBALAHAP, or *Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon* (Peoples' Resistance Against the Japanese). The guerrillas provided the Americans with invaluable assistance in intelligence and surveillance activities which plotted the movement of Japanese troops. The guerrillas, in turn, were supported by the rural people who gave them medicine, food, and in some cases harbored them when the Japanese were in pursuit.

The Hukbalahap, led by Luis Taruc, was successful in resisting the Japanese in the provinces of Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac, and Pampanga. Many of the Hukbalahaps were peasants by day, and guerrillas by night. Aside from engaging the Japanese in random battles, the Hukbalahaps policed the rural areas and enforced their own brand of justice. During the war there were Filipino opportunists, some of which were called *gerilyang kanin* or rice guerrillas, who capitalized on the peoples' suffering and stole from them. The Hukbalahaps executed these enemies of the people. Central Luzon under the Hukbalahap was different from what it had been in the 1930s. During the war the landlords, fearing for their safety, fled the towns to stay in Manila. And since the Hukbalahaps became the power to reckon with in the rural areas, the peasants for the first time could enjoy the harvest of the land.

more comfort houses throughout the Philippines were identified. Rosa Henson, a grandmother from Bulacan, became the first Filipina to speak out in 1992 and admit that she had been a comfort woman. She narrated her plight as a young teenage guerrilla in Pampanga from her capture to her nine months' imprisonment to provide sexual services to hundreds of Japanese soldiers. There is no precise figure as to how many Filipinas became comfort women. So far about 42 Filipinas have come out in the open. It is believed, though, that there were perhaps 2,000 Filipina comfort women in Cebu alone, since the city had one of the largest concentration of Japanese troops in the Philippines.

The issue of comfort women in the Philippines is linked to the subjugation of other Asian women. There is international pressure for the Japanese government to publicly apologize, indemnify these women, rewrite their history textbooks to include this atrocity, and to make accessible to the public important war documents held by the government on this issue. In reply, the Japanese government has insisted that whatever indemnification demanded has long been taken care of by the postwar compensation agreements they had with various Asian countries. Meanwhile, a Japanese private organization called the Asian Women's Fund has offered monetary settlements to the former comfort women.

### **Economy and Society**

Economic dislocation marked the occupation years. Many agricultural lands were left idle or were not maximized due to the general disorder and death of many farm animals. Since the Japanese insisted on converting many rice lands into cotton lands, rice production suffered. But, in a sense, the peasants were better off during this period since

**Suggested Readings:**

Agoncillo, Teodoro. *The Fateful Years: The Japanese Occupation of the Philippines*. Quezon City, 1965.

Karnow, Stanley. "Chapter 11: War and Redemption," *In Our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines*. New York: Random House, 1989.

McCoy, Alfred W. *Southeast Asia Under Japanese Occupation*. New Haven: Monograph no. 22, Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, 1980.

Steinberg, David Joel. *Philippine Collaboration in World War II*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967.

**Suggested Activities:****I Multiple Choice**

1. Which of the following marked the Japanese occupation in the Philippines?
  - a. death and destruction everywhere
  - b. economy was in shambles
  - c. living conditions were at their worst
  - d. all of the above
2. What was the association formed by the Filipino collaborators?
 

a. Kalibapi	c. Makapili
b. Sakdal	d. Kakampi
3. In Central Luzon, the backbone of the Japanese resistance was the peasant organizations of the 1930s which banded and formed the:
 

a. Hukbalahap	c. NPA
b. Gerilyang Kanin	d. USAFFE
4. The Asian women who were forced to provide sexual services to Japanese soldiers were recently offered monetary settlements by the:
 

a. Japanese Women's Fund	c. Asian Women's Fund
--------------------------	-----------------------

d. Makapili

e. USAFFE

#### IV Debate Topic

1. Resolve in a debate the issue: were the Filipinos who joined the Japanese sponsored government guilty of collaboration? Why?

#### V Essay Writing

1. Compare the experiences of comfort women in the Philippines with comfort women from South Korea, China, and other Asian countries. What do you think should be done to give them justice and restore their dignity?

## CHAPTER 25

### LIBERATION AND "INDEPENDENCE"

In 1945, the Americans returned to the Philippines to liberate the Filipinos from Japanese occupation. While the arrival of the Americans in the archipelago fifty years ago--ostensibly to liberate the Filipinos from the Spaniards--had met with intense resistance and even a war, in 1945, the Americans were welcomed now as liberators. Their shared war experiences forged stronger ties between the Philippines and the United States.

#### Liberation

After three dark years the country was "liberated" from the Japanese by the Americans. The irony is that it was not a "liberation," but a replacement of former colonial rulers. On October 20, 1944, after defeating the Japanese in the Battle of Leyte, General Douglas MacArthur together with 200,000 troops landed in Palo, Leyte. With MacArthur's return he fulfilled his now famous words "I Shall Return". MacArthur returned not simply as a liberator but as a redeemer. The combined American and Filipino forces under General MacArthur won battles in Surigao Strait, Samar and Cape Engano. In January 9, 1945, the American forces successfully landed in Lingayen Gulf, Pangasinan, thus signaling the gradual liberation of the island of Luzon. From Lingayen, the American forces marched towards Manila by liberating the provinces of Tarlac, Nueva Ecija, Pampanga and Bulacan. On February 3, 1945, Manila too was liberated.

As Quezon had died of tuberculosis on August 1, 1944, at Saranac Lake Sanitarium in New York, his Vice-President, Sergio Osmena, Sr., took over as

ordered the arrest of all Filipino leaders who had served in Laurel's puppet government. Manuel Roxas was the only high ranking government official of the Laurel government who escaped persecution for collaboration. Scholars say it is because he was a good friend of MacArthur and served as his aide-de-camp prior to the war. His non-arrest was justified on the grounds that he had secretly headed the Manila Intelligence Group which allegedly passed documents to the Americans.

Osmena, like most Filipinos, was torn on the issue of collaboration. Laurel, Vargas, and other Filipino leaders defended themselves from the collaboration charges by citing Quezon's instructions for them to do everything to protect the people from the Japanese. They argued that protecting the people meant having to serve in the puppet government. Laurel cited the good things that he had been able to extend to the people by virtue of his actions. For instance, during the height of the rice shortage, he established an agency which assured the people of a continuous supply of rice. On the part of Osmena, he knew that if he and Quezon had been left behind, the Japanese would have forced them to join a puppet government, and they probably would have done the same thing. Moreover, his own son, Sergio Osmena, Jr., was tagged a collaborator as well for having amassed great wealth during the occupation years by engaging in the buy-and-sell business with the Japanese. The issue of collaboration dragged on until Roxas, with the patronage of MacArthur, the ultimate patron and redeemer, won the presidency of the newly independent Philippine Republic. Left with no option since he himself was a "collaborator", Roxas declared amnesty for all the leaders of the Japanese-sponsored republic. The nationalist Claro M. Recto, however, insisted on a collaboration trial since



granted the Americans parity rights. This meant that the Americans were offered the same rights as the Filipinos to develop public utilities and to utilize, exploit, and dispose of the country's natural resources, an authority which should have been exclusively for Filipinos. A final concession was the Military Bases Agreement, which allowed the United States to retain vast tracts of land for military bases in the Philippines, the biggest of which were the Clark Air Base in San Fernando, Pampanga, and the Subic Naval Base in Olongapo. Viewed at the time, the Military Bases Agreement appeared to be a logical move in the light of the Cold War era and the genuine threat posed by the Huk Rebellion in Central Luzon immediately after the war.

b. Sergio Osmena, Jr.

d. Elpidio Quirino

## II Match Words and Meanings

## A

## B

- |                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| _____ 1. Claro M. Recto               | a. General Douglas MacArthur  |
| _____ 2. Peoples' Court               | b. General Tomoyuki Yamashita   |
| _____ 3. Philippine Trade Act of 1946 | c. allowed the U.S. to retain vast tracts of land to establish military installations   |
| _____ 4. Parity rights                | d. gave the Americans preferential treatment in trade   |
| _____ 5. Tiger of Malaya              | e. Filipino nationalist who was acquitted of collaboration  |
| _____ 6. Liberator of the Philippines | f. tried Filipino collaborators   |
| _____ 7. Manuel Roxas                 | h. gave the Americans equal rights with the Filipinos to develop public utilities and exploit the country's natural resources |
| _____ 8. Military Bases Agreement     | i. protégé of MacArthur who escaped the collaboration issue   |

## III Creative Writing

1. Imagine yourself as the Philippine president immediately after the war. Write a program of action on how you will rehabilitate the country from the ravages of the war.
2. Pretend that you are a biographer. Research on the life of one of the following: Douglas MacArthur, Jose Laurel, Manuel Quezon, and Sergio Osmena, Sr. Write your chosen leader's biography.

## IV Debate Topic

1. Argue on whether the Philippine acceptance of the terms and conditions of the Philippine Trade Act was the right thing to do, considering that at that time the country was rising from the ashes of World War II.

## CHAPTER 26

### THE HUK REBELLION

The newly proclaimed Philippine Republic was immediately besieged by the Huk rebellion which magnified the country's communist paranoia. This communist paranoia was largely a result of the Cold War climate. But the rebellion was a peasant movement rather than a communist movement. Its indigenous origin dated back to the centuries-old problem of landlessness and injustice.

#### Roots of the Rebellion

The problem of land control can be traced to the Spanish colonial period when lands became a monopoly of a few elites and the church. The advent of the cash crop economy in the nineteenth century and the implementation of free trade during the American period sealed the fate of the peasants. Tenancy conditions worsened and the landlord-tenant relations deteriorated. The 1930s was a period of agrarian unrest, particularly in Southern and Central Luzon. In the provinces of Central Luzon--Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Pampanga, and Tarlac--peasants banded together and formed organizations to better their living conditions. These peasant groups eventually formed the *Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon* (People Resistance Against the Japanese), or Hukbalahap, which became the backbone of guerrilla resistance in Central Luzon during the Japanese period.

The Hukbalahap was largely responsible for the failure of the Japanese to consolidate their control of the region. The Hukbalahaps hounded the Japanese and provided valuable information to the USAFFE (United States Armed Forces in the Far East) on the movement of Japanese troops. In a sense, Central Luzon became a Huk

congressmen on the alleged grounds of massive poll frauds in Pampanga and Nueva Ecija, where they had won. Taruc and company were unseated.

The refusal to seat Taruc and other DA congressman was due to their opposition to the Parity Rights amendment to the constitution which Roxas was pushing for in return for American rehabilitation aid. But the wide scale and systematic persecution of the Huks immediately after the war was due to the belief that the Huks were communists. This accusation was due to the fact that the highest leadership of the Huks was made up of men affiliated with the Communist Party of the Philippines.

In his study of the Huk Rebellion, Benedict Kerkvliet debunks this perception.<sup>33</sup> He claims that the Huk Rebellion was a peasant movement whose membership was made up of landless and exploited non-communist peasants. They were motivated by years of economic oppression and landlord abuses, and definitely not by the communist ideology. In particular, Kerkvliet, following the moral economy theory of peasant unrest, contends that the Huks protested the end of the traditional landlord-tenant ties which were characterized by patronage on the part of the landlord, and loyalty on the side of the tenant. With the boom in cash crop economy and the subsequent implementation of free trade, landlords became impersonal and businesslike in their dealings with their tenants. Gone was the traditional patronage system, and with it was lost the security of a subsistence existence for the tenants. Thus, according to Kerkvliet, the Huks' demands were moderate. Contrary to popular belief, the peasants did not want to appropriate the

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<sup>33</sup> See Benedict J. Kerkvliet, *The Huk Rebellion: A Study of Peasant Revolt in the Philippines* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1977).

failed because the government refused to address the basic agrarian problem and human rights' violations by the landlords and the military persisted.

The 1949 presidential election, which was marred by fraud and violence, was the last straw. The Huks believed that the legal parliamentary struggle was no longer an option. Its communist intellectual leadership now called for the overthrow of the government. Due to massive peasant discontent, the ranks of the Huks swelled. At its height, it had a strength of 12,000-15,000 armed supporters, with a mass base ranging from one and a half to two million people.

### **The Entry of the U.S.**

Since the Huk Rebellion was already full blown, the United States decided to step in, warning Quirino to accept its military advice or lose the American military aid it received each year. The Joint U.S. Military Advisory Group, or JUSMAG, urged that the war be fought not just by the constabulary police but by the Armed Forces of the Philippines. U.S. military aid in the form of weapons and ammunitions poured in. Agents of the U.S. Counter Intelligence Agency, or CIA, became the advisers of Quirino and the Philippine military. They recommended the appointment of Ramon Magsaysay as the Secretary of National Defense, and he was asked to lick the rebellion. Working behind Magsaysay, however, was the CIA under Edward Lansdale. Magsaysay cleaned up and reformed the armed forces of corrupt elements; gave cash incentives in exchange for Huk bodies and for information leading to their arrest; undertook a massive propaganda campaign against the Huks by spreading false information on the Huks and fostering further Red scare among the people; and introduced psychological warfare,

**Suggested Readings:**

Kerkvliet, Benedict J. *The Huk Rebellion: A Study of Peasant Movement in the Philippines*. Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1977.

Taruc, Luis. *Born of the People*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1973, c. 1953.

\_\_\_\_\_. *He Who Rides the Tiger: The Story of Asian Guerrilla Leader*. New York: F.A. Praeger, 1967.

**Suggested Activities:****I Multiple Choice**

1. The Huk Rebellion had an indigenous origin which dated back to the old problem of:
  - a. a communist movement
  - b. landlessness and injustice
  - c. advent of the cash crop economy
  - d. implementation of free trade during the American period
2. Which became the backbone of the guerrilla resistance in Central Luzon during the Japanese period?
  - a. Hukbalahap
  - b. Pambansang Kapisanan ng mga Magbubukid
  - c. Sakdal
  - d. Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas
3. When the Huk Rebellion became full blown, the United States warned President Elpidio Quirino to accept its military advice or:
  - a. be overthrown by a U.S. backed coup d' etat
  - b. lose U.S. military aid
  - c. succumb to the invasion of the Philippines by the People Republic of China

### III Map Work

1. Draw a map of Luzon and locate Central Luzon, the heartland of the Huk Rebellion. Label the provinces which played significant roles in the Huk rebellion.

### IV Essay Writing

1. Research the economy and geographical features of Central Luzon. Cite its relevance to the factors which gave rise to the Huk rebellion.
2. Write a reaction paper on the role of the United States in the anti-communist insurgency campaign in the Philippines. Contextualize it within the broader role and commitment of the United States in preserving democracy amidst the cold war during this time.

## CHAPTER 27

### ELITIST POLITICS AND FILIPINO NATIONALISM IN THE 1950S AND 1960S

Americans proclaim that the greatest legacy of the American colonial rule is constitutional and representative democracy. The Philippines, they say, is the only country in Southeast Asia with a democratic tradition. While democracy is indeed alive in the Philippines, in reality it is a different kind of democracy from the American model from which it was supposedly patterned. Filipino political culture has shaped a unique breed of democracy. This democracy is elitist, with political and economic power held by a small number of families whose wealth, power, and influence are derived from their ownership of huge tracts of land and monopoly of major industries.

#### **Anarchy of Families**

Anthropologist Robert Fox wrote in the 1950s that the Philippines is an “anarchy of families.” Following this line, in the early 1990s, a group of Philippine specialists wrote a book entitled *An Anarchy of Families: State and Family in the Philippines*, which is an analysis of some of the key families in Philippine politics who for years have controlled specific aspects of Philippine economy and dominated regional and national politics.<sup>34</sup> Among these families were the Lopezes of Negros, the Osmenas of Cebu, the Duranos of Danao City, and the Dimaporos of Lanao, Mindanao. These families, together with the Laurels of Batangas, Cojuangcos and Aquinos of Tarlac and many more, are traditional elites whose ascendancy can be traced to their economic wealth and positions in government during the Spanish and American colonial periods. Since the Philippines



In *Anarchy of Families*, *family* does not simply refer to the household or kinship; rather, it also includes all relations established and strengthened by blood, marriage, and ritual and those which are mobilized by political alliances. The result is strong family and a weak state. The state thus becomes a hostage to these powerful families. These political families, according to McCoy, exhibit despotism, warlordism, and the routine use of violence, particularly during elections. The net result is “anarchy,” or lack of order.

This critique, however, tends to obfuscate differences and see all prominent political and economic families as homogenous, thus rendering the Filipino people as mere victims and reactors. In *Anarchy of Families*, Resil Mojares’ piercing analysis of the Osmenas of Cebu offers an alternative view of political families. He claims that the Osmenas “do not conform to certain stereotypes about political kingpins, or ‘warlords.’ They do not exercise monopolistic economic control in their bailiwick [Cebu]; they do not maintain ‘private armies’ or engage in a rule of systematic direct repression; and they are not glad-handing traditional patrons.”<sup>35</sup> Moreover, their politics in Cebu are constantly changing in scope and meaning. Mojares claims that the Osmenas, like many political families, do not exist in a vacuum; they are constantly shaped and influenced by the needs and demands of the community where they function. In a sense, their politics “skillfully combine public benefit with private gain.”

### **Patronage, Factionalism, and Philippine Politics**

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>36</sup> Resil Mojares, “The Dream Goes On and On: Three Generations of the Osmenas, 1906-1990,” McCoy (editor), *Anarchy of Families*, p. 312.

This is how Lande, McCoy, and other Philippine specialists subscribing to the theory of patronage, clientism, and factionalism make sense of traditional Philippine politics during the presidency of Manuel Roxas (1946-1948), Elpidio Quirino (1948-1953), Ramon Magsaysay (1953-1956), Carlos Garcia (1956-1961), Diosdado Macapagal (1961-1965), and Ferdinand Marcos (1965-1972 when he declared martial law). One must note, though, that during this period the ultimate patron was the United States whose endorsement and support was sought after by every national politician and whose blessings and anointment were necessary to capture the presidency. Roxas and Magsaysay were the ultimate American boys, and Marcos was the American friend and partner who shared America's paranoia of communism.

### **Filipino Nationalism**

The ills of Philippine society are conveniently blamed on traditional elitist politics that perpetuate the rich and powerful families while consigning the majority of Filipinos to a life of poverty. In short, inequality in society is rooted in culture. While this certainly has a grain of truth, it nonetheless cannot take all the blame for every misfortune. Hundreds of years of colonialism can render a nation almost lifeless. Moreover, colonial rule fosters elitism and segmentation of society, since in many cases it thrives on a divide and rule policy and on co-opting a specific group or class in society. In a sense, by attributing the ills of Philippine society to the country's unusual aberrant brand of democracy, American apologists can exculpate themselves from the faults and failures of America's enlightened benevolent colonialism.

the military, with America's consent and perhaps even encouragement, increasingly took the stand that a strongman was needed to restore order in society. Incumbent President Ferdinand Marcos seemed to fit the bill. Marcos himself started entertaining these thoughts, especially since he was on his second and last term as President of the Philippines. The end result came in 1972, when Marcos declared martial law and thereby changed the course of history.

d. all of the above

5. Power is dispersed among local leaders and local factions based on:

- |                      |                        |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| a. party loyalty     | c. personal ties       |
| b. professional ties | d. adherence to issues |

## II Fill in the Blanks

- Filipino nationalists denounced the United States whom they view as the Philippines' ultimate patron. They called for the \_\_\_\_\_ of the economy and an end to years of \_\_\_\_\_ trade relations; abrogation of the \_\_\_\_\_ which extend the same rights to Americans in the exploitation and utilization of Philippine resources; and the removal of the American \_\_\_\_\_, which contradicts the country's sovereignty.
- President Carlos P. Garcia called for a \_\_\_\_\_ policy to challenge the alien control of the economy. For his part, President Diosdado Macapagal transferred the date of the celebration of Philippine independence from \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_. The school curricula at the tertiary level was likewise "nationalized", and it became mandatory to teach courses such as \_\_\_\_\_.
- According to Carl Lande, Philippine politics evolves around \_\_\_\_\_ personal ties such as between a \_\_\_\_\_ and a \_\_\_\_\_.

## III Match Words and Meanings

A

B

- |                         |                                      |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| _____ 1. Osmenas        | a. political clan of Negros          |
| _____ 2. "rent-seeking" | b. political clan of Tarlac          |
| _____ 3. Filipino First | c. policy to nationalize the economy |

## CHAPTER 28

### THE DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW AND THE “NEW” SOCIETY

The mass demonstrations and student activism in the 1960s served as a convenient excuse for President Ferdinand E. Marcos to pursue his ambition of remaining in power beyond his second term. The communist paranoia which characterized the national and international scene became an added justification for him to declare martial rule. His pretext was a promise of peace and order and an end to the politics of elitism as symbolized by traditional politicians.

#### **Road to Martial Law**

In 1972, the Philippines was beset with a crisis. This crisis provided a rationale for Marcos to declare martial law. But Marcos was partly responsible for creating the image of a crisis by fomenting discord and violence. He capitalized on real and perceived threats to generate an “emergency” condition to warrant the declaration of martial law.

A genuine concern during this period was the communist insurgency, which was led by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and the New Peoples Army (NPA). The CPP was founded on December 26, 1967, by Jose Ma. Sison, a University of the Philippines lecturer, together with a group of ideologues. On March 29, 1969, the CPP’s military arm, the NPA, was founded by Sison together with Bernabe Buscayno, a former Huk guerrilla leader known as Kumander Dante. The CPP-NPA, following the Maoist line in China, saw the struggle in the Philippines as a protracted guerrilla war, which would commence in the countryside but would eventually engulf the cities and topple the

subservience to the United States. It was undoubtedly spurred by wide-scale opposition to the sending of Filipino troops to Vietnam, and by the unhampered use by the Americans of their base facilities in the Philippines which were supplying American needs in the Vietnam War. Students, many of whom mouthed communist ideologies and anti-US slogans, staged a series of demonstrations and strikes. Numerous transport strikes by workers further wracked the metropolis.

Marcos capitalized on this mass unrest by purposely planting military agents among the demonstrators to foment violence and to create the image of a crisis. Bombs exploded in the capital an act which Marcos blamed on the communists. Since some of the captured perpetrators turned out to be military men, it was widely believed that Marcos was behind this spate of bombings to hasten destabilization. Marcos' henchmen were blamed for the bomb that wracked the 1971 Liberal Party senatorial campaign in Plaza Miranda, Manila, which killed nine spectators and injured 100 others including senatorial candidates.

Marcos needed to incite violence to provide a pretext for declaring emergency rule. His second term as President was ending in 1973 and, under the 1935 constitution, he was no longer eligible for a third term. In 1971, an elected constitutional commission (Concom) was convened to draft a new constitution which would have supplanted the colonial 1935 Constitution. Marcos was maneuvering Concom delegates through bribes, threat, and intimidation to change the form of government from a presidential into a parliamentary type which would allow him to remain in power. Sensing the opposition of public opinion and many delegates, Marcos had to devise another option before his

emanated from him, and everyone in his government including the judiciary served at his pleasure. Indeed, Marcos concentrated power exclusively on himself.

Ironically, the Filipinos initially welcomed martial law. They were tired of the political wrangling and political violence. Many wanted the end of traditional politics and elite dominance. Martial law seemed to promise stability and change, even though Marcos had conceived it for personal aggrandizement. The changes did not mean better living conditions or more equality in society; rather they meant new institutions and policies which were now inefficient and corrupt.

Marcos portrayed martial law as the beginning of a revolution in Philippine politics and society. He coined the term "New Society" to refer to a new Philippines, which he envisioned would be created by martial law. He viewed this revolution from the center, i.e., the state, not the left as symbolized by the communists, nor right as exemplified by the traditional oligarchs. He promised radical social change, an end to oligarchy, and the beginning of a more equitable society. The change, he claimed, would come about because of the emphasis on discipline, subjecting self-interest to national interest, and passivity with action. To complement this rhetoric, Marcos initially ushered in a period of reform. He promised to weed out corruption but in the end it actually worsened. The centerpiece of his "New" Society was his land reform program which eventually fizzled out, largely unsuccessful because it was half-hearted. Land coverage was limited to corn and rice lands. Its provisions allowed exemptions which landlords capitalized to save their lands. On the whole, it lacked provisions for effective appropriation and redistribution of lands.

Marcos' authoritarian rule was, "he may be a son-of-a-bitch, but at least he is **our** son-of-a-bitch."



- b. introduction of authoritarianism
  - c. guided democracy rule
  - d. dictatorship over the people
5. The centerpiece program of Marcos' New Society was:
- a. establishment of a parliamentary type of government
  - b. economic liberalization
  - c. moral rejuvenation
  - d. land reform

## II Fill in the Blanks

1. The authoritarian martial law of Ferdinand Marcos was legitimized under the pretext of the 1973 \_\_\_\_\_.
2. The first casualty of martial law was democracy. Marcos suspended all democratic institutions. Among his first acts were \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, and \_\_\_\_\_.
3. The decision of Marcos to declare martial law received the acquiescence if not support of the United States. In fact, the U.S. turned a blind eye on years of dictatorship and \_\_\_\_\_ abuses in exchange for continued use of the American \_\_\_\_\_ in the Philippines.
4. Marcos claimed that he declared martial law to \_\_\_\_\_.
5. Marcos envisioned that his martial law would usher in a new order called the \_\_\_\_\_.  
It was to be a revolution from the \_\_\_\_\_, i.e., the \_\_\_\_\_.

## III Match Words and Meanings

A

B

## CHAPTER 29

### THE MARCOS DICTATORSHIP

Ferdinand Marcos was in power for twenty-one years, from 1965 to 1986. His election to two terms made the first seven years of his presidency legitimate and constitutional. After 1972, Marcos ruled as a dictator despite coating his governance with such terms as “constitutional authoritarianism.” Marcos rationalized his rule by projecting himself as the father of the nation. He ordered the rewriting of Philippine history textbooks to emphasize the grandeur of Philippine society prior to colonial rule and to draw continuity between the *barangay* and the *datu* then, and the Philippine nation and himself in the present. The *Tadhana*, a multivolume history of the Philippines, was written in his name by various professors of the University of the Philippines. But while he was rewriting the history of the country, his rule had changed course.

#### **Enlarged Role of the Military**

Increasingly, Marcos relied on the military to prop him into power. The military increasingly played a prominent role under the pretext of restoring order and fighting the CPP-NPA and Muslim insurgency. From 1972 to 1985, the size of the military increased from 62,715 to 159,466 troops with its budget ballooning from P879.4 million to P6.132 billion. With its growth in size the military had an enlarged role in the state. From simply being in charge of preserving law and order, the military now participated in counter-insurgency, which included simple police matters, fire-fighting services, and prison custodial services. Marcos exclusively relied on a small group of loyal generals whose primary qualification was their being Ilocano. Marcos Ilocanized the military

insurgency emerged and strengthened due to local conditions and realities. At such, it is a grassroots movement that does not rely on outside assistance.

The declaration of martial law indeed witnessed the beginning of rapid growth of the communist insurgency due to the massive human rights abuses by Marcos and the absence of legal channels of dissent. With mass media muzzled and all Marcos opponents jailed, radical nationalists had no option but to go underground and join the communist insurgency. Moreover, the communist insurgency has been fueled less by its ideology than by socio-economic and political realities during the Marcos years. It attracted supporters due to an inequitable land distribution; a slow and unfair judicial system; widespread and oppressive agricultural tenancy conditions; militarization of the countryside; and the massive disregard and abuse of human rights.

### **The Muslim Insurgency**

The growth of the military was justified on the grounds that it was fighting a two-pronged war against the communist insurgents and in addition, the Muslim insurgency movement. The Muslims who constitute only 5% of the Philippine population, are concentrated on the southern islands of Mindanao, Basilan, Sulu and Tawi-Tawi. The roots of Muslim insurgency date back to what Muslims perceived as the governments' lack of concern in uplifting their living conditions. To complicate matters, the Muslims have long opposed and resisted the government policy of encouraging Christian migration to Muslim lands. The declaration of martial law triggered the armed uprising of the Muslims because the authoritarian and heavily centralized regime of Marcos virtually alienated the Muslims since power had become fully concentrated in Christian

so objected to Marcos' referendum that negotiations between them and the government soon broke down. Fighting resumed again, but by this time the MNLF was split into three factions based on personal rivalries among its leaders and difference in ethnic background and ideology.

### **Human Rights Violations**

The loss of civil rights was the first casualty of Marcos' one-man rule. Marcos used a variety of ways to muzzle opposition from harassment to intimidation and violence. No one was spared since Marcos ordered the arrest and detention of his political enemies, both middle class and commoners, who were accused of being communists or communist-sympathizers. Political detainees, or "prisoners of conscience," packed military jails. Most were physically and psychologically tortured to extract confessions to their alleged crimes against the state.

By the late 1970s, human rights violations reached their peak. First, the quality of the military and paramilitary troops had deteriorated. The paramilitary was made up of civilians armed by the government and attached to the military for the sole purpose of fighting the communists. The military and paramilitary viewed any opposition to the government as "subversive".

Second, the CPP-NPA, having gained the support and assistance of increasing numbers of people in the provinces, had blossomed into a full insurgency with acquisition of high-powered weapons and young cadres. The support they received from rural folks was, on the other hand, a reaction from the increased militarization of the countryside. The military resorted to harassment, torture, political killings, or what was termed as

It was the Church response to the poverty, inequality and oppression in the Third World countries. Basically, it stated that the Church and the clergy had an obligation to serve the poor not only spiritually but to overcome poverty and oppression. This statement opened a radical interpretation of the Church and clergy's role in Latin America and soon thereafter, in the Philippines. The late 1960s saw the spread of liberation theology which adopted Marxist class struggle analysis to explain the causes of poverty and oppression. Many interpreted it as providing the priests the right to help liberate the masses from their sad plight, even to the point of engaging in social revolution.

This liberation theology when applied during the martial law years meant social activism and radicalism among many priests and nuns. This split the church into the traditional older members and the young progressive, even idealistic ones. Some of these radical priests joined the communist insurgency in the belief that this was the only alternative to achieve an equitable society.

Originally, the Church through its charismatic leader, Cardinal Jaime Sin, adopted a "critical collaboration" stance with Marcos in which it mixed dialogue and cooperation with criticism and calls for reform. But by the late 1970s, because of the increased human rights violations by the Marcos regime, the Church became more critical. Through pastoral letters and the pulpit, the Church increasingly condemned Marcos for human rights abuses and government corruption.

1. Ferdinand Marcos was in power, first, as a twice-elected President and, later, as a dictator. His rule lasted from:
  - a. 1972-1983
  - b. 1965-1983
  - c. 1972-1986
  - d. 1965-1986
2. Marcos was noted for appointing relatives and fellow Ilocanos in positions of power. His infamous cousin and chief of staff was:
  - a. General Fabian Ver
  - b. General Rafael Ilete
  - c. General Fidel Ramos
  - d. General Fortunato Abat
3. What institution became increasingly powerful during the Marcos years because it propped his position of power?
  - a. Batasang Pambansa
  - b. military
  - c. cabinet
  - d. Supreme Court
4. In many cases what primary qualification should one possess to have been in the elite circle of Marcos' officialdom?
  - a. fraternity brother at the University of the Philippines
  - b. fellow World War II veteran
  - c. fellow Ilocano
  - d. graduate of the Philippine Military Academy
5. What pact provided for Muslim autonomy in thirteen provinces in Mindanao?
  - a. Manila Agreement
  - b. Tripoli Agreement
  - c. Sabah Agreement
  - d. Jakarta Agreement
6. The growth of the military during the martial law years was due to:
  - a. the communist insurgency
  - b. the Muslim insurgency

#### IV. Essay Writing

1. Write a reaction paper on "Human Rights." What constitutes human rights? What are the international declarations safeguarding human rights? What were the human rights conditions in the Philippines during the Marcos years.
2. Research on the role of the Church in Philippine politics and society. How has the role of the Church evolved from colonial times to the Marcos years?
3. How would you compare the Muslim insurgency and/or communist insurgency in the Philippines with similar movements in other parts of the world?

## CHAPTER 30

### THE POLITICS OF PLUNDER AND RISE OF CRONY CAPITALISM

Ferdinand Marcos rationalized his martial rule as necessary in order to effect radical changes in Philippine society that would create a “New Society.” This “New Society” was to end oligarchy and create a fair and equitable society.

#### **Emasculation of the Traditional Elite**

Marcos claimed that to end oligarchy he had to smash the self-serving traditional elite and accomplished this by removing their economic power base. Knowing that their political power was closely linked to their economic wealth, he stripped these traditional families of their wealth, thereby depriving them of their basis of power and influence. Marcos’ hatred of the elite families partly stemmed not only from their arrogance but also because the Marcoses were not part of the traditionally elite circle.

Two prominent elite families whom Marcos destroyed were the Lopezes and the Jacintos. The Lopez family was involved in the sugar industry, mass media, and public utilities. Marcos through his wife Imelda was able to convince one of the Lopezes, Fernando, to run as his vice-president in his 1969 reelection bid. Even though the Lopezes had partly bankrolled his campaign, Marcos knew that because of their vast economic empire the Lopezes could make or break a president. Thus, upon declaring martial law Marcos dispossessed the Lopezes of their empire, starting off with the Manila Electric Company (Meralco), which had a monopoly of selling electricity in the metropolis. Marcos forced the Lopezes to sell Meralco to Imelda’s brother, Benjamin “Kokoy” Romualdez, for a paltry sum of \$2,000, when the business cost \$400 million.



including tobacco, plastics, textiles, electronics, and oil exploration. Nonetheless, he gained notoriety over the controversial Bataan Nuclear Power Plant (BNPP) deal. The BNPP was supposed to build a nuclear power generator in Morong, Bataan. Westinghouse secured the bidding by giving an \$80 million kickback to Disini, with a good portion to Marcos. The project reeked of corruption and proved a disaster because it was built on such a highly unstable part of the earth's crust that it contained the potential of nuclear fallout.

Besides Disini, Rodolfo Cuenca, who was a golfing partner of Marcos, was given many government construction jobs. Ricardo Silverio became the leading car dealer and sole distributor of Toyota. Antonio Floreindo was allotted a penal colony in Mindanao for growing bananas. Jose Campos, the godfather of Marcos' son, enjoyed the exclusive contract to sell pharmaceuticals to public clinics. Roman Cruz, Jr. was awarded control over the Government Security and Insurance System (GSIS) and Philippine Airlines (PAL), both huge and powerful government corporations. But the most important cronies were Marcos' law classmates and fraternity brothers from the University of the Philippines: Roberto Benedicto, Juan Ponce Enrile, and Eduardo Cojuangco. Benedicto was given the monopoly on the sugar industry, from which he vaulted into hotels, real estate, radio and television networks. Enrile and Cojuangco conspired and created a coconut monopoly extending from planting and harvesting to processing the oil and selling its final product. The presence of this new elite meant that under Marcos, the Philippines was a heavily regulated corporate state. The term "crony capitalism" evolved to describe Marcos' version of state capitalism in the Philippines. Belinda Aquino, who

Marcoses became an avenue to further corruption. The oil crisis in the mid-to-late 1970s exacerbated conditions. Many of the foreign loans brought into the economy were siphoned by Marcos into his private accounts. The fact that the Marcoses were in power for twenty-one years provided plenty of opportunities for them and their associates to plunder the national coffers.

Belinda Aquino lists ways in which the Marcoses and their cronies accumulated their “ill-gotten wealth”. These are:

1. Outright takeover of large private corporations, especially those belonging to political opponents of the Marcos regime like the Lopez family;
2. Creation of monopolies in sugar (Benedicto), coconut (Cojuangco and Enrile), tobacco (Disini and Josefa Marcos), construction (Cuenca), shipping (Fortuna Marcos-Barba), and other industries under the control of Marcos cronies;
3. Granting of government loans to private individuals serving as fronts of, or beholden to, Marcos and his cronies, as in the case of Disini;
4. Use of offshore holding corporations and dummy companies to “launder” money, invest in real estate, conceal profits and ownership of bank accounts, etc.

Marcos utilized dummies--agents and representatives--to secretly acquire prime properties in the United States and elsewhere. For instance, General Ver's close associate, Edna Camcam, on behalf of the Marcoses went on a “condo buying spree” in New York City in 1980. Similarly, in 1976, a secretary of Imelda Marcos, Vilma Bautista, bought a \$270,000 apartment in Manhattan on behalf of “United Motors”, a Floreindo-owned corporation. The following year,

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<sup>39</sup> Quoted in *Politics of Plunder*, p. 1.

Gold bullion constituted an important loot of the Marcoses and their cronies. When the Marcoses fled to Hawaii, gold bullion were found among the possessions they brought. For years, the Marcoses stashed away gold bullion and deposited them in Swiss banks. One possible explanation for the source of these gold bars was the old tale of how Marcos stumbled upon the Japanese gold loot, popularly called Yamashita treasure, during World War II. But the volume of gold bullion stashed away seems to prove that this story is more of a myth. A logical explanation is the fact that Marcos and his cronies raided the gold treasury and pilfered official documents to hide the theft.

7. Smuggling or “dollar-salting” abroad.

Records indicate that million of dollars were smuggled or “salted” daily through the Binondo Central Bank, a syndicate involved in black market activities in dollar trading. Its head was said to be Ver together with Col. Balbino Diego of the Presidential Security Command (PSC), the elite bodyguard force of Marcos. Millions of dollars were withdrawn by the syndicate using three banks controlled by Chinese interests based in Binondo. The money was stuffed in suitcases and flown to Hongkong in the afternoon by a Lear jet owned by a government corporation, the Philippine National Oil Company. Military men assigned with Ver’s National Intelligence and Security Agency (NISA) or Diego’s PSC accompanied the trip.

**Impact of Crony Capitalism**

buy the controlling shares in San Miguel Corporation which was the largest food and beverage corporation.

Cuenca's construction firm, on the other hand, received colossal government projects such as the construction of the North Luzon Superhighway and Manila South Expressway which linked the northern provinces and the southern provinces to Metro Manila. In all the contracts he acquired from the government, kickback payments and overpricing were the norm with grease money undoubtedly reaching Marcos. Similarly, his shipping company, the Galleon Shipping Corporation, was awarded exclusive rights to operate container vessels from the U.S.'s West Coast to the Philippines. Because of mismanagement and excessive corruption, Cuenca's empire crumbled. As expected, Marcos bailed out Cuenca with taxpayer's money and foreign loans for which the Filipinos have to pay.

- c. Eduardo Cojuangco and Juan Ponce Enrile
  - d. Antonio Floreindo and Roberto Benedicto
4. Crony capitalism is Marcos' version of:
- a. elite capitalism
  - b. state capitalism
  - c. corporate state
  - d. kleptocracy
5. According to U.S. Congressman Stephen Solarz, the term kleptocracy is:
- a. government where the poor are enslaved by the rich or elite
  - b. obsession with power
  - c. regime which exists for the sole purpose of plundering the wealth of the country it governs
  - d. ostentatious display and wasteful disposal of wealth by the government
6. When Marcos was forced into exile in 1986, his hidden wealth was estimated at:
- a. \$3 billion
  - b. \$4 billion
  - c. \$5 to 10 billion
  - d. \$3 to 5 billion
7. Imelda Marcos' unconscionable extravagance and ostentatious display of wealth were symbolized by her shoes which in 1986 totaled:
- a. 1,500 pair
  - b. 2,000 pair
  - c. 2, 500 pair
  - d. 3,000 pair
8. Which of the following is not a close associate and/or dummy of Marcos in plundering government resources?
- a. Fabian Ver
  - b. Antonio Floreindo
  - c. Jovito Salonga
  - d. Herminio Disini

- |                               |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| _____ 6. Fortuna Marcos Barba | f. known as the coconut king                     |
| _____ 7. Roberto Benedicto    | g. known as the banana king                      |
| _____ 8. Ricardo Silverio     | h. became the leading car dealer and sold Toyota |
| _____ 9. Jose Campos          | i. gained control of the shipping industry       |
| _____ 10. Roman Cruz, Jr.     | j. known as the sugar king                       |

#### IV Essay Writing

1. Trace how the Marcoses siphoned their ill-gotten wealth.
2. Discuss how the Marcoses and their cronies plundered the Philippine economy.

#### V. Panel Discussion

1. What do you think are the effects on the Filipinos of the plunder of their economy by the Marcoses and their cronies.

## CHAPTER 31

### THE PEOPLE POWER REVOLUTION

The end of the Marcos regime was due to several factors. These factors included the economic crisis brought about by mismanagement and massive corruption; the erosion of Marcos' credibility and his regime's legitimacy; the emergence and intensification of traditional and radical opposition, and the impact of the Aquino Assassination.

#### **Impact of the Aquino Assassination**

In 1983, the Aquino assassination plunged the Marcos regime into a political and economic crisis. Benigno "Ninoy" Aquino, Jr. had been the leading opposition leader under Marcos. He was imprisoned by Marcos from 1972 to 1980 and was released to undergo a heart bypass operation in the United States. During his three-year exile in the U.S. with his wife, Corazon, and their children, he accepted a fellowship at Harvard University where he continued to lambaste the Marcos regime. In 1983, rumors that Marcos was dying from a kidney failure convinced Aquino of the need to go home, unite the opposition, and prepare for a post-Marcos scenario. Against the advice of his family, other opposition leaders, and even the Marcoses, he flew back to Manila on August 21, 1983, accompanied by several journalists. On the tarmac of the Manila International Airport (later renamed Ninoy Aquino International Airport), Aquino was gunned down. The Marcoses immediately pinned the assassination on the communists, who allegedly used Rolando Galman, an alleged communist hitman, who was subsequently shot by Aquino's military escorts. Evidence overwhelmingly proved, however, that Aquino was

machinery; and the vote buying, intimidation, and fraud committed by the Marcos regime.

Side-by-side with the revival of traditional opposition was the emergence of “mass-based” and “cause-oriented” groups, the latter so named because of their emphasis and concern for particular causes or issues. These mass and cause-oriented groups were made up of diverse student organizations, teachers’ associations, workers and peasants’ federations, women’s groups, and human rights’ advocates. They all called for a full investigation of the Aquino assassination; restoration of human and civil rights; the end of U.S. support to the Marcos regime; and the stepping-down of Marcos. These groups launched *welgang bayan*, or nationwide strikes, which highlighted the growing politicization of almost every sector of society.

The decade-long “cronyism” and corruption perpetrated by Marcos and his cronies resulted in an economic crisis in the 1980s, which further heightened Filipinos’ anger and loss of faith in the Marcos regime. Agriculture and manufacturing had declined, balance of payments worsened, national finances were in shambles, and the country was indebted to local and foreign lending institutions to the tune of \$26 billion. While living conditions deteriorated and poverty increased, Filipinos were confronted with the news of how the Marcoses had plundered the country and had amassed billions of dollars of ill-gotten wealth for themselves.

Along with these developments came international attention on the Philippines. The United States was being censured for continuously supporting a morally bankrupt regime. Rumors of Marcos’ declining health served to further erode the legitimacy of his



a vigilance never before seen as they protected the ballots from Marcos' goons even at the risk of losing their lives. The widespread and blatant cheating by Marcos' sides persisted even during the counting of the votes. Several computer programmers of the Commission on Election, the supposedly independent and constitutional body which oversaw the elections, walked out after they noticed discrepancies between the votes they inputted and data being shown on the monitor. Despite evidence that Aquino and Laurel won the election, the Marcos-controlled national legislature went ahead and proclaimed Marcos and Tolentino as the winners of the snap election. In response, Aquino on February 16, called for a nationwide peaceful civil disobedience which was to include a nationwide general strike and a boycott of all government and crony-owned businesses.

The call for civil disobedience did not materialize because on February 22 Defense Secretary Juan Ponce Enrile, together with his men affiliated with the Reform the Armed Forces Movement (RAM), launched a military revolt. This was in response to General Ver's discovery that RAM, with Enrile's knowledge and support, was planning to launch a *coup d'etat* to force Marcos to step down in favor of a coalition government to be led by Enrile, Aquino, Sin, and other opposition leaders. Ver and Marcos had learned of the plan and were going to arrest RAM members, and possibly Enrile. Preempting the arrest, Enrile and the RAM members led by Colonel Gregorio "Gringo" Honasan invited General Fidel Ramos to join the revolt and barricaded themselves in Camps Crame and Aguinaldo. Ramos, disgruntled since he was bypassed in favor of Ver, was perhaps disgusted with the way in which Marcos has manipulated the election, and the subsequent turn of events. But what saved Ramos, Enrile, and the RAM soldiers

party of fifty-five, fled the presidential residence, Malacanang, for Clark Air Base.

The following day, they flew to Guam, then on to Hawaii, which became their place of exile.

There are several interpretations of the EDSA Revolution, sometimes called the People Power Revolution or the February Revolution. Enrile, Ramos, and the military claim that it was they who liberated the Filipinos. But in reality, it was the Filipino people who saved them from Marcos' guillotine. Enrile and company, who were capitalizing on the vulnerability of the Marcos regime, wanted to seize power via a *coup d'etat*, but were checked by Marcos. If the people had not heeded Cardinal Sin's call for people-power, Enrile and company would have died, for they did not stand a chance against the formidable military power of Marcos.

The EDSA revolution was a moderate uprising led by the middle class and centrist forces. The radical left was isolated from the turn of events by their decision to boycott the snap presidential election. The People Power movement never spread beyond Metro Manila and the neighboring provinces.

### **The Role of the U.S.**

The United States played a significant role throughout the many years of the Marcos dictatorship. Its role in helping to overthrow the Marcos regime is remembered more than its complicity in perpetuating the dictatorship in the first place.

It is hard to determine how much the Americans participated in ousting Marcos. American pressure somehow forced Marcos to call the snap election. But Stanley Karnow claims that up to the final days of Marcos, U.S. President Ronald Reagan, who

height of the crisis, rebel helicopters were allowed to refuel and load ammunition at Clark Air Base.

When it was time for Marcos to step down, it was the United States who flew him out of the country and who offered asylum in Hawaii to its fallen friend. Such actions ensured that somehow Cory Aquino would remember this debt in gratitude, especially after she assumed the mantle of the Presidency.

- a. communist hitman                      c. vigilante hitman
  - b. military escorts                      d. hired killer of a syndicate
2. What was the immediate cause of the fall of the Marcos regime?
- a. the economic crisis brought about by mismanagement and corruption
  - b. the intensification of traditional and radical opposition
  - c. the EDSA Revolution
  - d. the assassination of Benigno Aquino
3. The leader of the Reform the Armed Forces Movement (RAM) was:
- a. General Fidel Ramos
  - b. Colonel Gregorio Honasan
  - c. Juan Ponce Enrile
  - d. General Fabian Ver
4. The President of the U.S. who was a close supporter and admirer of Marcos was:
- a. William Clinton                      c. Gerald Ford
  - b. Ronald Reagan                      d. Richard Nixon
5. The February 7, 1986, snap election was:
- a. clean and honest
  - b. peaceful and orderly
  - c. fraudulent and violent
  - d. none of the above

II Arrange the events chronologically

\_\_\_\_\_ snap election between Marcos and Aquino

## CHAPTER 32

### RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY AND ELITE POLITICS

Two challenges faced the Filipino people in the post-Marcos era. First, to restore democracy, but a different democracy from the pre-martial law years. The widespread resistance to the Marcoses had bred cause-oriented and progressive groups which radically changed parliamentary politics. Second, to reverse the economic crisis which Marcos left as one of his legacies. The challenge, however, was not merely to attain economic growth and development, but to make these benefits accessible to all.

#### **Restoration of Democracy**

Because of her years of suffering as the wife of a jailed political opponent of Marcos, it is no wonder that Corazon Cojuangco Aquino's first acts as president were aimed at restoring democracy in the Philippines. But the democracy she knew was the kind of politics practiced prior to the declaration of martial law. It was that kind of environment which she was committed to reestablish or restore. She restored the writ of habeas corpus; freed all political prisoners, numbering about 500, including the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) founder Jose Ma. Sison and the New Peoples Army (NPA) founder Bernabe Buscayno; restored the independence of the courts and the faith of the people for the Supreme Court by appointing members known for their independent and judicious minds; unshackled the press, which was the freest in Asia prior to 1972. She created the Commission on Human Rights (CHR) to investigate all human rights abuses of the Marcos' dictatorship and the Philippine Commission on Good

start. There was absolutely no way she could appease both the military and the communists at the same time.

When the ceasefire and peace talks with the communists failed, Sison went underground again. Aquino was thus left with no option but to rely heavily on the New Armed Forces, named “new” supposedly to differentiate it from the abusive and inefficient nature of the “old”. But the military itself was divided. Members of the Reform the Armed Forces Movement (RAM), presumably with the encouragement of Enrile, staged a series of failed coups, some of which were bloody. Aquino’s presidency became a struggle for survival. In many ways, Aquino was able to stave off military uprisings because of the loyalty of her Chief of Staff, Ramos, who would later on be rewarded with Aquino’s endorsement of him as her chosen successor.

### **Restoration of Elitism**

The Aquino presidency witnessed the rebirth of certain features of the pre-1972 elite politics. Old elite families came back to reclaim the lofty position they had held prior to the Marcos dictatorship. The Lopezes reclaimed their business empire and expanded it to include not only telecommunications and banking but even public utilities. Politics also showed remnants of the Marcos years. Some of Marcos’ cronies were able to retain their status, such as Eduardo Cojuangco who to this day continues to own banks and still enjoys sizable shares of the San Miguel Corporation. Finally, the post 1986 years also seem to have ushered in a new era in Philippine politics. Progressive forces such as mass-based and cause-oriented groups have joined the political fray, espousing issues rather than personality politics.

circumvent the law. Alas, the hopes for a genuine agrarian reform, the prerequisite for an equitable and just society, as promised by Aquino upon her ascension during the February, or EDSA Revolution, were dashed. If she had been really committed to enforcing agrarian reform, she would have passed an executive order early on in her presidency when the Freedom Constitution afforded her legislative powers. Such an order would have been a popular decision supported by the people; it would have capitalized heavily on her immense popularity after the EDSA Revolution. Instead, what really happened lends credence to the claim of Alfred McCoy: that powerful families can control a weak state.

### **Economic Quagmire**

Corazon Aquino will go down in history books for having restored democracy and the peoples' civil and political rights, but her administration will also be remembered for its lack of a sound economic policy and its economic failures. In all fairness, her administration was faced from the start with a grave economic crisis. Before 1986, the economy had been for years on a decline. A quarter of the labor force was either unemployed or underemployed. About 60 percent of families were living below poverty level. Inflation was high. The country was saddled with a \$26 billion foreign debt, and the government was bankrupt. Aquino's early economic policy was aimed at reversing the economic decline. She promised among other things to institute agrarian reform; reduce the government's role in business; remove all monopolies established by Marcos and his cronies; attract foreign investment; promote labor instead of capital-intensive industry; and renegotiate without repudiating the foreign debt.

those which substantially went to the pocket of Marcos and his cronies, for instance, like the Bataan Nuclear Power Plant. Other economists in Aquino's cabinet prevailed, however, and were able to sway her towards a negotiated restructuring of foreign loans, which meant a reduction in the interest rates and an extended maturity. Although an agreement was reached with the foreign banks and lending institutions, Filipinos nonetheless resented arrogance and intransigence of these institutions, particularly the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB). During this period other developing countries, particularly in Latin America, were also bled to death for paying off foreign loans. But the Aquino administration was bent on showing that the Philippine government intended to honor its obligations, thereby earning the confidence of foreign investors and lending institutions.

Aquino failed totally reversing the economic crisis which she inherited from Marcos. Long power outages during the years 1990-1992 were the main factor in the country's economic recession during these years. The country was faced with the severest energy crisis ever, with long daily electric outages which totally disrupted government services, business, and the daily life of the people. It was up to Aquino's successor to revive the economy and chart the country's course towards economic development.

### **Ramos and the Economic Miracle**

Fidel V. Ramos won the 1992 presidential election mainly on the strength of Aquino's endorsement. Ramos immediately laid down his administration's agenda. On the political front, Ramos strengthened political institutions by addressing the problem of



growth the government legislated a tax reform package meant to make tax collection efficient and to encourage private savings and investments. Meanwhile, international confidence in the Philippine government reached its highest in 1996 when the country hosted twenty-one world leaders in the Asia Pacific Economic Council (APEC) summit at Subic Bay, Olongapo. The Philippines was truly on its way to becoming Asia's emerging tiger and fulfilling Ramos' vision of economic prosperity for Philippines 2000.

This prognosis, however, was suspect for two reasons. First, the economic benefit accruing from the country's high growth rate has not trickled down to the common people. The gap between the rich and the poor continues to widen, with the majority of the populace living below the poverty level. Second, the economic gain so far achieved is being threatened by the worst currency crisis ever suffered by the Philippines. Since July 1997, the country has fallen victim to the same financial crisis as many other Asian nations. The Philippine peso plunged from P26 to \$1 in July, 1997, to P45.20 to \$1 in January, 1998, which is about a 71.44 percent devaluation. As a result, prices skyrocketed, inflation rate soared, growth rate slowed down, and mass lay-offs of workers in private enterprises occurred. Conditions further worsened because of the El Nino phenomenon, which induced drought, thereby adversely affecting agricultural production. Despite this setback, called a "temporary aberration", the Ramos administration closed with somewhat bright prospects for Philippines 2000.

- a. personality politics
  - b. issues over personalities
  - c. military politics
  - d. traditional politics
3. What was the avowed centerpiece policy of the Aquino administration which failed?
- a. Investment Incentives Act
  - b. Build-Operate-Transfer Act
  - c. Selective Repudiation of Foreign Debt
  - d. Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Policy
4. What was the legacy of the Aquino administration?
- a. economic development
  - b. restoration of democracy
  - c. agrarian reform
  - d. resolution of the foreign debt issue
5. The agenda of the Ramos administration included all of the following except:
- a. strengthening political institutions
  - b. establishing peace talks with the Muslim insurgents, communist insurgents, and the rebel soldiers
  - c. denationalizing and privatizing state-held businesses
  - d. economic protectionism and state regulation
6. What were the setbacks in the economic policy of the Ramos administration?
- a. economic benefits did not trickle down to the common people
  - b. economic gains threatened by the worse currency crisis besetting many Asian countries
  - c. the adverse effect of the El Nino phenomenon on agricultural production
  - d. all of the above

## II Fill in the Blanks

1. Unlike the Marcos years, the election during the Aquino period was \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_.

1. Is an effective agrarian reform policy needed to democratize Philippine society?  
Why?

## CHAPTER 33

### THE NEW HEROES: THE FILIPINO MIGRANT WORKERS

“The overseas contract workers are our modern day heroes.” This statement by President Corazon Aquino summarizes the government’s recognition and gratitude to the Filipino labor migrants or Filipino migrant workers, more popularly known as Overseas Contract Workers (OCW) or Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW), whose earnings pump some \$7 billion yearly into the Philippine economy and sustain a quarter of the population. These remittances supply the government with over \$1.2 billion in foreign currencies, thus making the exportation of human labor the third most profitable industry next to electronics and garments.

#### **Theme of Diaspora**

Labor migration is not exclusive to the Philippines. It is one part of an international migration phenomena wherein millions of workers are employed outside their country of nationality with far reaching implications on the political and economic development of both the sending and receiving countries. But the Philippines, unfortunately, is the primary exporter of human resources among Third World countries. Estimates of the total number of Filipinos working overseas range from 4.5 million to 6 million. Such a discrepancy is due to the fact that a good percentage of these workers are illegal or undocumented.

Indeed the diaspora is a major theme in the history of the Philippines in the twentieth century. The first Filipino labor migrants were the thousands of young male Filipinos who were recruited to work in the sugar plantations of Hawaii during the

Deployment of Filipino labor abroad has long been a standing policy of the government. It aims to address the country's twin problems of a high unemployment rate and an unfavorable balance of payments. This policy was formalized as a program in 1974 when President Ferdinand Marcos created the Overseas Employment Development Board (presently Philippine Overseas Employment Administration or POEA) to implement the overseas employment program. In the same year, Marcos created the Overseas Workers Welfare Association (OWWA) to provide welfare assistance to registered overseas workers. Through POEA and OWWA, Filipino migrant workers were required to remit from 50-80% of their earnings through authorized banks. Both agencies also aggressively sought additional markets for Filipino labor.

Despite the institutionalization of labor migration as a government policy, the official government position is that the export of human labor to alleviate unemployment problems is only a temporary measure. In reality, however, the government has aggressively promoted labor migration with only a token concern for its long-term economic and social repercussions on Philippine society. Moreover, the government is nowhere near solving the unemployment problem and thus continues to promote labor migration.

### **Feminization of Labor Migration**

Since the 1990s, half the Filipino migrant workers have been women. This feminization of labor migration is expected to increase even more as demand for Filipino women workers continues to outweigh their male counterparts. Most of the Filipino women working abroad are domestic helpers (DH). In 1987 there were 81,000; in 1991,

and relatives are better off compared to those working in, say, the Middle East where the society is very rigid.

Next to domestic workers, entertainers or sex workers constitute the second dominant occupation of Filipino women migrant workers. Most of these entertainers work in Japan and are called *Japayukisan*. Aurora Javate de Dios points out that the term *entertainer* has acquired a dubious meaning.<sup>44</sup> Thousands of women do “hostessing” jobs, which usually mean socializing with patrons and serving drinks. Many dance and sing in skimpy outfits or are forced to perform provocative acts on stage. Being propositioned or sexually harassed is a common occurrence.

### **Plight of Migrant Workers**

From the time of job application to actual deployment, Filipino migrant workers fall prey to all sorts of problems and abuses. Illegal recruiters victimize desperate and gullible applicants and may even stash away the applicant’s placement fees. There are also thousands of illegal undocumented Filipino migrant workers. Upon deployment, migrant workers, both male and female, have to contend with constant violations of labor contracts, physical and sexual abuse, long hours and poor working conditions, cultural shock, and the sadness and depression of being in a foreign land away from family. In Singapore, Filipino domestic workers are banned from having relationships with Singaporeans and they are required to undergo pregnancy tests every six months. In Hong Kong, employers can terminate the contract of domestic helpers at anytime, even for the flimsiest excuse. In Saudi Arabia, many Filipino domestic workers who are

Contemplacion. The Singaporean government was largely viewed as autocratic and its judicial system regarded as highly flawed and discriminating towards non-Singaporeans.

Soon after the Contemplacion trial was the Sarah Balabagan case. Balabagan was a fourteen-year old Filipino Muslim domestic worker in the United Arab Emirates. Her papers had been falsified to show that she was of legal age and eligible to work as a migrant worker. In 1996, Balabagan was sentenced to die for having killed her male employer who tried to rape her. Having learned from the comparable Contemplacion incident, the Philippine government this time acted swiftly and firmly in trying to find a diplomatic solution. Its efforts paid off, as Balabagan received another trial; her sentence was reduced to a year in jail upon payment of blood money to deceased employer's next of kin.

### **Social Costs**

Families left behind by Filipino migrant workers are not spared from the repercussions of distance employment. Many families are broken up due to separation of spouses. The migrant worker, his or her spouse or both of them, may find themselves getting involved with other partners due to boredom, anxiety and loneliness. Perhaps for a migrant worker there is nothing more bitter than to learn that your spouse has taken a lover and, worse still, is living off your earnings. Children also find it difficult to adjust without their parents, particularly their mother. Children left to the care of inept guardians, or even to fathers who are overwhelmed with the responsibility, may end up maladjusted or become a problem in society. There has also been an increase in incidents

**Suggested Readings:**

Beltran, Mary Ruby Palma and Aurora Javate de Dios (ed). *Filipino Women Overseas Contract Workers: At What Cost?* Manila: Women in Development Foundation, Inc. and Goodwill Trading Co., Inc., 1992

Gonzales, Joaquin L. III and Ronald D. Holmes, "The Philippine Labour Diaspora: Trends, Issues and Policies," *Southeast Asian Affairs* 1996. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1996, pp. 300-320.

de Guzman, Arnel F. "'Katas ng Saudi': The Work and Life Situation of the Filipino Contract Workers in Saudi Arabia," Aurora Perez and Maruja Milagros Asis (editors), *Understanding Filipino Migration*. Quezon City: College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines, 1993, pp. 1-56.

Rafael, Vicente L. "'Your Grief is Our Gossip': Overseas Filipinos and Other Spectral Presences," *Public Culture* 9 (1997): 267-291.

**Suggested Videos:**

*Migrante: Filipino Maids in Hongkong*. Quezon City: Asia Visions Media Foundation, 1988. VHS, mainly in Tagalog with some English, 33 mins., UHM Videotape 5992.

**Suggested Activities:****I. Multiple Choice**

1. Who are called the Filipino "modern day heroes"?
  - a. green card holders
  - b. sakadas
  - c. immigrants
  - d. overseas contract workers
2. The first Filipino labor migrants were the thousands of young male Filipinos recruited to work in:
  - a. Asia as entertainers and domestic helpers
  - b. Middle East as construction workers
  - c. Hawaii as sakadas
  - d. the U.S. mainland as professionals



- |                           |  |
|---------------------------|--|
| _____ 1. diaspora         | a. the most common preoccupation of Filipino women migrant workers   |
| _____ 2. "Katas ng Saudi" | b. term used for female entertainers in Japan  |
| _____ 3. DH               | c. the Philippines' modern day heroes  |
| _____ 4. POEA             | d. oversees or implements overseas employment programs   |
| _____ 5. OWWA             | e. provides welfare assistance to registered overseas workers  |
| _____ 6. Japayukisan      | f. refers to the offense levied against women for their actions such as returning a greeting of a male friend on the streets or talking to the opposite sex over the phone |
| _____ 7. "love case"      | g. a major theme in the history of Filipinos   |
| _____ 8. OFW              | h. implies the sweat, tears, and blood of thousands of Filipino workers  |

#### IV Creative Writing

1. Pretend to be an overseas contract worker. Write your diary of what life is like working in a foreign country.
2. Research the number and extent of Filipinos employed as migrant workers throughout the world. Then, write a story about the life and circumstances of an overseas contract worker who is in search of a better life for himself or herself and the family at home.

#### V Panel Discussion

1. Discuss in panels the following issues:
  - a. the Philippine government's policy towards labor migration
  - b. the social costs of labor migration
  - c. the economic benefits of labor migration

## CHAPTER 34

### THE ESTRADA PRESIDENCY

In 1998, Joseph Ejercito Estrada was elected the thirteenth President of the Republic. His presidency had an auspicious start. His mandate was overwhelming. He won forty percent of the votes, or a landslide margin of more than six million votes over the second placed candidate in a multiparty election. It was also the perfect time to assume the highest post. He was called the Centennial President since 1998 marked the 100 years celebration of the declaration of Philippine Independence against Spain. He was also the millennium president as his term of office was to last until 2004.

#### ***Erap Para sa Mahirap (Erap For the Poor)***

The common people or “*masa*” had pinned their hopes on Estrada whom they identified as one of them. Although born to the well-off, educated and prominent Ejercito clan of San Juan, a town in Metro Manila, Estrada was the black sheep of the family. All his siblings had college degrees and were professionals. For schooling, he was sent to the expensive and highly regarded Ateneo de Manila University, although he had been expelled from high school for being a bully. He eventually dropped out of college and became an actor.

A successful multi-awarded actor, Estrada portrayed gangsters, toughies, and Robin Hood-type characters in his movies. For many Filipinos who found it difficult to differentiate the real from the reel, Estrada was their idol, the champion of the masses, who fought for their rights and took care of them. It was largely this perception that catapulted Estrada in the political arena, first, as the Mayor of his hometown of San Juan

### **Mistresses, Cronies, and Vices**

Early on, news reports surfaced of Estrada's "midnight cabinet", a group made up of close friends and business associates who met at night, hence the name, and stayed up until the wee hours of the morning drinking, gambling, and lobbying for government favors. Estrada's cabinet members confirmed this practice, although they noted that he was no longer a heavy drinker having given up liquor since he became President. His aides also reported on his luxurious lifestyle, from expensive food and drinks to his passion for designing and building mansions.

Estrada revealed his indiscretion when he flaunted in public many of his mistresses and illegitimate children. For the record, Estrada has publicly admitted siring eleven children from six women. He even takes pride in being a good provider who has taken very good care of his "extended" family. To a certain extent the public accepted his lifestyle and his indiscretions seem to have added to his machismo image.

But Estrada's mistresses are in themselves controversial. In addition to having fat bank accounts, their association with Estrada enabled many of them to secure government contracts that allowed their businesses to diversify and flourish. Laarni Enriquez, a former movie actress who is said to be Estrada's favorite mistress, has several bank accounts. In one account she had P3 million savings in 1998 when Estrada became President. This ballooned to P63 million in 1999 and P239 million in 2000, a mind-boggling increase especially if you consider that she is a non-wage earning housewife.

Estrada's sons and relatives also used their ties with him to promote their interests. For instance, a cousin, Celia Ejercito Castro, bribed officials of the Department

Miguel, the largest beer, soft drinks, and food conglomerate in the country. It was one of the companies sequestered by the government for being a crony firm that may have benefited from the ill-gotten wealth during the Marcos regime. Forty-seven percent of its shares have since been held by the government.

It was also during the Estrada presidency that the government dropped its tax evasion claims against Filipino-Chinese tycoon Lucio Tan, a known crony of Estrada. The case, which the Ramos administration initiated, involved Tan's flagship company, Fortune Tobacco Corp., which allegedly owes the government P25.27 billion in taxes. Claiming that the evidence was weak, the government quashed any further attempt to force Tan to pay his alleged tax deficiencies.

Another scandal that rocked the Estrada administration involved the stock market manipulation of Best World (BW) Resources, a company owned by another Estrada crony, Dante Tan (no relation to Lucio Tan). Tan illegally amassed millions of pesos from stock manipulation in blatant violation of the securities law. In the course of the investigation, Estrada allegedly pressured officials of the Philippine Stock Exchange to exonerate Tan, whom Estrada admitted was a supporter since he was a Senator.

### **Impeachment Trial**

Although Estrada weathered accusations of immorality and corruption from his cronies and families, the public had had enough and was not willing to accept new revelations that Estrada himself stole from the government coffers and collected gambling pay-offs. Estrada's downfall came when Luis "Chavit" Singson, Jr. accused him of collecting millions of money from *jueteng* operations and pocketing P130 million

Manuel Villar, Jr., turned their backs on him. A total of seventy-seven representatives signed the impeachment complaint, four more than the 73 that the constitution required, or equivalent to a third of the 218 membership of the Philippine Congress. On November 13, 2001, amidst the objections of pro-Estrada legislators, Speaker Villar formally read the indictment against Estrada and transmitted the articles of impeachment to the Philippine Senate.

On December 7, 2001, the 22-member Senate became an impeachment court presided by the highly regarded Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Hilario Davide, Jr.<sup>45</sup> The trial was unprecedented and historic. Never has there been any impeachment trial in the Philippines or even in Asia. Millions of Filipinos religiously followed the soap opera-like drama that was covered live by radio and television networks. The marathon trial was conducted on weekdays from 2:00 to 8:00 pm., pitting the best legal minds of the country against each other. The prosecutors comprised eleven lawyer-legislators from the House of Representatives led by Joker Arroyo, a staunch nationalist who gained prominence during the Marcos years when he opposed the dictator and was imprisoned. They were assisted by a battery of private lawyers who offered their services for free. On the other side, a former chief justice of the Supreme Court, Andres Narvasa, Jr., and a famous Marcos lawyer, Estelito Mendoza, led Estrada's defense panel.

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<sup>45</sup> The peso-dollar exchange rate is fluctuating. At the height of the impeachment trial the peso depreciated to as low as P55 to a dollar. Since President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo assumed the presidency it has somehow stabilized to P50 to a dollar.

<sup>46</sup> The Senate actually consists of 24 legislators elected at large by the voting populace. However, there were only 22 senators since one died while another one, Gloria-Macapagal-Arroyo, resigned after she won the Vice-Presidency in 1998. But only 21 senators sat as jurors throughout the impeachment trial since one was in the United States for serious medical treatment.

As the impeachment drama unfolded, the prosecutors paraded several witnesses including Singson and his employees, who testified that they brought millions in *jueteng* money to Malacanang and to Estrada's residence in San Juan. Singson claimed that he delivered P5 million to Estrada every fifteen days which represented his share of collected *jueteng* money. Around P200 million was eventually deposited in the account of the Erap Muslim Youth Foundation, an organization established by Estrada purportedly to send Muslim scholars abroad for post-graduate studies. Its head was Raul de Guzman, a professor and administrator of the University of the Philippines, who is also Estrada's brother-in-law. It was revealed in the course of the trial that the foundation was bogus since it had no employees, no office, and no scholars. Estrada admitted that the P200 million was indeed deposited in his foundation but that the amount is intact. He claimed that it was deposited without his knowledge after he rejected the amount when it was first offered by Singson as bribery for *jueteng*. When questioned as to why he failed to report the bribery attempt, Estrada claimed it was not his job since it was a police matter.

Singson also accused Estrada of pocketing a share of the P200 million tobacco excise tax that was released by the government for Ilocos Sur. He revealed that Estrada demanded a total of P130 million: P70 million of which went to Estrada; P20 million to his wife Luisa "Loi" Ejercito; P15 million to his son Jinggoy; and P25 million to Atong Ang who facilitated the movement of funds.

The paper trail seems to corroborate these testimonies, since there were cancelled checks issued by the provincial government of Ilocos Sur to bank accounts in Manila

automatically immaterial and irrelevant. The prosecutors, however, argued that the Velarde account was material and relevant to the graft and corruption charges, and that they would prove that the account was Estrada's and that it was inconsistent with his 1999 declaration of assets and liabilities. Finally, after a marathon deliberation, the senator-jurors casted their votes. In a dramatic and stunning 11-10 vote, the Senate stifled the truth and ruled against opening the sealed envelope.

There was much speculation as to why Estrada's senator-allies refused to allow Davide to issue a ruling on the Velarde envelope and instead forced the division of the house merely twenty-three days into the trial. Analysts believe they did so to protect Estrada. Others contend the senator-jurors probably wanted to see how the undecided among their colleagues would vote. Perhaps they also wanted to test the waters and see how the public would react in case of a favorable ruling for Estrada.

But the vote proved fatal for Estrada. It reinforced public perception that he was guilty and that he had something to hide. It also confirmed their suspicions that Estrada's political allies in the Senate had prejudged the case, and that the voting was a clear indication of how they would decide at the conclusion of the trial. This perception was probably valid since they were partymates of Estrada and some were even his *compadres* and *comadres*. Also two of his senator-allies admitted accepting P1 million each as *balato*, or share, from Estrada's *jueteng* pay-off, which later they returned stating they were unaware of its source. In the eyes of the prosecutors and many Filipinos the impeachment court had become a farce.

- c. Estrada's admission of guilt
- d. none of the above

5. The impeachment trial of Estrada was presided by the:

- a. Senate President
- b. Speaker of the House of Representatives
- c. Chief Justice of the Supreme Court
- d. Vice-President

## II Fill in the Blanks:

1. The House of Representatives indicted Estrada for graft and corruption, bribery, culpable violation of the constitution, and \_\_\_\_\_. A total of \_\_\_\_\_ Representatives affixed their signature in the impeachment complaint.
2. Luis "Chavit" Singson accused Estrada of \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_.
3. To endear himself to the masses, Estrada visited squatter areas, distributed \_\_\_\_\_, and promised mass housing projects.

## III Match Words and Meanings

A	B
_____ 1. Eduardo Cojuangco	a. was involved in a textbook scam
_____ 2. Lucio Tan	b. allegedly evaded payment of billions of taxes
_____ 3. Atong Ang	c. manipulated stocks of BW Resources
_____ 4. Celia Ejercito Castro	d. collected Estrada's share of jueteng.
_____ 5. Dante Tan	e. regained stewardship of San Miguel due to his links with Estrada

## IV. Debate Topic



## CHAPTER 35

### PEOPLE POWER II

When the eleven senator-jurors suppressed the truth, they prematurely ended Estrada's impeachment trial. The task of passing judgment on Estrada had shifted from the halls of the Senate onto the streets, and the Filipino people had become the jurors. Unfortunately, Estrada had long since lost in the court of public opinion when he insisted that he would respond to the charges only in the proper venue and when the time comes, i.e., when he presented his defense during the impeachment trial. But his senator-allies deprived him of his day in court, and in the process they unwittingly hastened his downfall. Renato Cayetano, one of the senator-jurors who voted to release the contents of the Velarde envelope, called January 16 a Day of Infamy. As it turned out it was the Day of Judgment, when the Filipinos adjudged Estrada guilty and vowed to remove him in an extra-constitutional process called People Power.

#### **Comparison Between People Power I and People Power II**

Immediately after the Senate count, when the prosecutors walked out, the gallery crowd booed. The ten senators who voted for truth wept and hugged each other in defeat, and the Senate President, Aquilino Pimentel, Jr., resigned in disgust. On the other hand, the senator-sister of Ninoy Aquino, Tessie Aquino-Oreta, who was a staunch defender of Estrada appalled TV viewers when she danced and taunted the gallery. These images enraged many Filipinos and thousands poured out on the streets in a spontaneous mass demonstration. They protested, wept, yelled, burned tires, honked horns, and lighted candles. Amidst calls by Cardinal Sin and Cory Aquino to launch People Power II, by

first day, the number of people increased to 250,000 the following day. When rumors spread that the military would withdraw its support from Estrada if they could see a million people supporting the uprising, many apparently believed it since 1.5 million Filipinos gathered in EDSA on the third day. Those who came were not only from Metro Manila, unlike People Power I where the mobilization was confined mostly to residents of the metropolis. This time thousands came from provinces, some as far as Ilocos and Baguio in the north. There were also simultaneous uprisings nationwide, particularly in key cities such as Cebu, Iloilo, Davao, Bacolod, and Zamboanga. Even the overseas Filipino workers, such as the domestic helpers in Hong Kong, staged rallies in capitals of their host countries. It was evident that public outrage was widespread and it cut across class and ideological lines. Although they all demanded Estrada's immediate resignation, their post-Estrada scenario differed. The conservatives and moderates wanted to avoid a constitutional crisis, and thus called for Arroyo to replace Estrada. On the other hand, the militant and radicals wanted both Estrada and Arroyo to resign and for Davide to temporarily assume the presidency until elections could be held.

Clearly, the biggest difference between the two popular uprisings was the participation of the military. In 1986, a botched *coup d'etat* led to a military revolt which instigated the uprising. From the start then the military was a major component of the uprising. In fact, three of the key personalities were General Ramos, Defense Secretary Enrile, and Colonel Honasan. In People Power II, the military was not a key player at all. They were on the sidelines and only became a factor on the third day of the uprising when the presence of millions of Filipinos in EDSA had convinced them that Estrada had

immunity from lawsuits. While Arroyo's political allies negotiated the terms for the peaceful transfer of power, the militant groups in EDSA issued an ultimatum to Estrada. They were going to march to Malacanang and bodily remove him.

In the early morning of January 21, the fourth day of the uprising, thousands of people marched to Malacanang. To avert bloodshed between the pro- and anti-Estrada groups and to avoid the possibility of a political vacuum since the military and most of Estrada's cabinet secretaries had resigned, the Supreme Court ruled that the welfare of the people is the supreme law, thus paving way for Arroyo's assumption of the presidency. At high noon of the same day and before the enthusiastic crowd at the EDSA Shrine, Justice Davide swore in Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo as the fourteenth President of the Republic. An hour later, a disgraced Estrada and his family left Malacanang via the backdoor and returned to his hometown of San Juan.

### **Question of Legitimacy and Constitutionality**

While the United States was inaugurating a new President, so was the Philippines. Both George W. Bush and Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo are children of former Presidents. Arroyo's father, Diodado Macapagal, was the President of the country from 1961-1965. Arroyo, who is an economist by training, only became a politician in 1992 when she was elected senator. In 1998, she won overwhelmingly as vice-president, even garnering 1.9 million votes more than what Estrada received when he ran for president. She is only the second woman president and, ironically, both she and Aquino were chosen by People Power.

the president. Critics noted that Estrada was questioning the constitutionality of his successor not because he believed he could reclaim the post; rather, it was to escape criminal prosecution since under the constitution the president enjoys immunity from lawsuit. In fact, Estrada filed a motion in the Supreme Court asking that the Ombudsman be barred from filing criminal charges against him in the Sandiganbayan. The Ombudsman investigates and prosecutes errant government officials and employees while the Sandiganbayan is a special court that tries graft and corruption charges against them.

On March 3, 2001, the Supreme Court justices, voting 13-0, unanimously ruled that Arroyo and not Estrada was the legitimate president. In arriving at its decision, the Supreme Court noted that Estrada “had effectively resigned by his acts and statements” during the last hours of his administration. A detailed account of what transpired in Estrada’s camp during the popular uprising is contained in the published diary of Edgardo Angara, the Executive Secretary of Estrada who remained loyal to him until the end. Angara, who was Estrada’s running mate in the 1998 elections, wrote that Estrada had accepted resignation as his only option and his acts and statements during those final days affirmed it. Angara’s insight was reliable since the position of Executive Secretary implies a close working relationship with the President.<sup>47</sup>

The much-awaited Supreme Court decision was expected since Chief Justice Davide sought their unanimous support before he administered the oath of office to Arroyo. Because of his role in the popular uprising, Davide together with Justice

Marcelo is Estrada's mother's maiden name while Velarde may have been taken from the name of Estrada's well-known spiritual adviser. Estrada also allegedly maintained "airplane" accounts, named as such because they are numbered after airplane types such as Account No. 747, Account No. 737, Account No 727 for Boeing planes and Account No. 300 and Account No. 301 after Airbus planes. He also had an account where it spelled out the number "three one eight" instead of a name.

According to the Office of the Ombudsman, Estrada may be guilty of perjury since these accounts would attest that he did not declare his true net worth in his 1999 Statement of Assets and Liabilities as stipulated by law for all government officials and employees. In that declaration Estrada placed his net worth at P35 million. In addition to perjury, Estrada is liable for plunder and the forfeiture of his assets since his salary and other lawful income would not justify the existence of all these accounts. As President he was entitled to an annual salary of P557,000 and the constitution barred him from engaging in any other profession or business while holding the highest office in the land.

### **The Legacy of People Power**

As Filipinos move on with their lives an issue that haunts their recent victory is the legitimacy of People Power as an avenue for replacing a corrupt and hated President. The Filipinos can take pride in claiming that they have created People Power, which has spawned similar movements in Europe and Asia in the late 1980s and which other countries now are trying to emulate again. Students and opposition groups in Malaysia and Indonesia, for instance, have been vocal about their desire to duplicate the feat achieved by the Filipinos and thus resolve their own political crisis.

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with the President, and enjoys his full trust.

was a result of the failure of the impeachment process. In both instances, People Power was a peaceful popular uprising of the millions of Filipinos who took it upon themselves to rectify a deplorable condition that had caused excessive damage to the economy, political institutions, and moral fiber of the nation. It was democratic and extra-constitutional since it was an exercise of the people of their sovereign and inalienable right to remove a dishonorable leader when it appeared that the legal processes have failed them.

The Americans have identified democracy as one of their colonial legacies in the Philippines. As the title of Stanley Karnow's book on the history of Philippine-U.S. relations puts it, the Philippines was created "in our [U.S.] image." Cynics note it is not quite so since the Filipino political culture of patronage and clientism have rendered Philippine democracy different, not as sophisticated as its American counterpart. But in the light of recent developments, what really renders Philippine democracy unique and special is its institutionalization of People Power as a bloodless, democratic, and constitutional way of effecting constructive political change.

- d. both won the Presidency in a close election
3. Estrada's estimated ill-gotten wealth amounts to:
- a. P4 billion                      c. P10 billion
  - b. P5 billion                      d. P15 billion
4. Among the charges filed by the Ombudsman against Estrada were:
- a. plunder                      c. Illegal use of alias
  - b. perjury                      d. all of the above
5. Arroyo became President because:
- a. Erap resigned                      c. she was installed by a popular uprising
  - b. Erap was impeached                      d. she won the snap election

## II Fill in the Blanks

1. The only two women Presidents of the Philippines are \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_.
2. President Arroyo faced two dilemmas when she assumed office. These were \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_.
3. Two of the criticisms raised against People Power were \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_.

## III Enumeration

1. Provide 5 differences between People Power I and People Power II
2. Identify the five assumed names or accounts allegedly used by Estrada to conceal his stolen wealth

## IV Essay

1. Pretend you are the prosecutor or the defense lawyer. Write a good case for or against Estrada.

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# **ANSWER KEY**

## **THE PHILIPPINES:**

### **A STORY OF A NATION**

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## **ANSWER KEY TO “THE PHILIPPINES: STORY OF A NATION”**

### **CHAPTER 1**

#### **I Multiple Choice**

- |      |       |
|------|-------|
| 1. D | 6. D  |
| 2. C | 7. B  |
| 3. B | 8. D  |
| 4. B | 9. B  |
| 5. C | 10. D |

#### **II Fill in the Blanks**

1. unifying, 85%, politics, daily life
2. fish, bangus, dalag
3. Filipino, languages, English, Spaniard

### **CHAPTER 2**

#### **I Multiple Choice**

- |      |      |
|------|------|
| 1. C | 5. B |
| 2. A | 6. B |
| 3. B | 7. D |
| 4. D |      |

#### **II Fill in the Blanks**

1. family, responsibility, well-off, unfortunate

## CHAPTER 5

### I Multiple Choice

- |      |      |
|------|------|
| 1. B | 4. C |
| 2. A | 5. A |
| 3. D |      |

### II Fill in the Blanks

1. Biag ni Lam-ang, Ilocano, musical instruments, myths, legends

## CHAPTER 6

### I. Multiple Choice

- |      |      |
|------|------|
| 1. B | 4. D |
| 2. C | 5. A |
| 3. A | 6. A |

### II Fill in the Blanks

1. spices, add flavor
2. east, March 17, 1521<sup>1</sup>, Limasawa, Lapu-lapu

## CHAPTER 7

### I Multiple Choice

- |      |      |
|------|------|
| 1. B | 4. A |
| 2. D | 5. D |
| 3. D |      |

5. H

10. C

## CHAPTER 9

### I Multiple Choice

1. C

4. D

2. D

5. C

3. B

### II Fill in the Blanks

1. *ilustrados*, affluence

2. Chinese mestizo, Catholic, birthplace, liberal ideas

3. *Indios*, priesthood

### III Matching Type

1. C

6. G

2. B

7. E

3. D

8. H

4. A

9. J

5. I

10. F

## CHAPTER 10

### I Multiple Choice

1. B

6. B

2. B

7. B

3. C

4. B

5. D

## CHAPTER 12

### I Multiple Choice

1. B

2. D

3. C

4. C

5. B

6. A

### II Fill in the Blanks

1. peaceful campaign, writings, pen

2. reform, Jose Rizal and Marcelo del Pilar

3. mestizos

4. student, Europe

5. Noli Me Tangere, El Filibusterismo

### III Matching Type

1. G

6. D

2. C

7. B

3. A

4. E

5. F



2. B
3. D
4. D
5. C

## II Fill in the Blanks

1. Tagalog
2. brandishing a bolo or firing weapons, rendering medical assistance, donated firearms and formed network of contacts
3. Filipino Red Cross
4. Tagalog, General Leandro Fullon

## CHAPTER 15

### I Multiple Choice

1. B
2. C
3. B
4. A
5. C

### II Fill in the Blanks

1. bandit
2. guerrilla warfare
3. martial law, reconcentration, concentration camps, 100,000 people

### III Matching Type

1. C
2. A
3. D
4. B
5. E

## CHAPTER 20

### I Multiple Choice

1. C
2. A
3. C
4. B
5. D

### II Enumeration

1. It was cheaper to hire Filipino workers.
2. It was practical to hire Filipinos since the Philippines was a U.S. colony; technically, Filipinos were U.S. nationals and thus were excluded from laws against importing other Asians; besides, Filipinos were a good alternative to the strike-prone Japanese workers
3. The Philippines was an agrarian nation expose to sugar plantation experience
4. They saw Hawaii as *glorya*, a place they equated with happiness and prosperity

## II Fill in the Blanks

1. unions, Mexican
2. Great Depression, Exeter
3. *pensionados*

## III Matching Type

- |      |      |
|------|------|
| 1. G | 5. A |
| 2. C | 6. D |
| 3. E | 7. F |
| 4. H | 8. B |

## CHAPTER 22

### I Multiple Choice

1. B
2. C
3. D
4. A
5. D

### II Fill in the Blanks

1. Hilario Camino Moncada, spiritual, protection
2. *suroy-suroy*, Holy Week, spiritual
3. 12, 12, 12, 12, 12, 12, *doce-doce*

### III Matching Type

- |      |      |
|------|------|
| 1. H | 6. D |
|------|------|

## CHAPTER 24

### I Multiple Choice

1. D
2. C
3. A
4. C
5. C

### II Fill in the Blanks

1. Rosa Henson
2. *Hukbalahaps*, intelligence, surveillance, medicine, food, shelter
3. *Kempeitai*, torture

### III Identification

1. The comfort women were those forcibly conscripted by the Japanese military to provide consolation and sexual services to Japanese soldiers.
2. The *Hukbalahaps* or *Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon* (Peoples Resistance Against the Japanese) consisted of peasants of Central Luzon who fought the Japanese as guerrillas.
3. The *Kempeitai* or the Japanese military police earned notoriety for torturing guerrillas and guerrilla sympathizers.
4. The *Makapili* or *Kalipunang Makabayan ng mga Pilipino* (Nationalist Association of Filipinos) was an organization of Filipino collaborators or “lovers of Japan.”
5. The USAFFE or United States Armed Forces in the Far East was a combined American and Filipino

2. D

6. A

3. C

7. E

4. B

8. H

## CHAPTER 27

### I Multiple Choice

1. B

2. D

3. C

4. D

5. C

### II Fill in the Blanks

1. nationalization, free trade, parity rights, bases

2. Filipino First; July 4, 1946; June 12, 1898; Philippine History, Philippine Institutions,  
course on Rizal

3. dyadic, patron, client

### III Matching Type

1. E

5. B

2. F

6. A

3. C

7. G

4. D

3. B

4. C

5. B

6. D

## II Fill in the Blanks

1. father, Philippine History, Tadhana

2. military, CPP-NPA, Muslim insurgency

3. human rights

## III Matching Type

1. G

5. D

2. B

6. E

3. A

7. C

4. F

## CHAPTER 30

### I Multiple Choice

1. B

5. C

2. B

6. C

3. C

7. D

4. B

8. C

### II Fill in the Blanks

1. Galleon Shipping Corporation

2. State monopolies, cronies

3. D

6. D

## II Fill in the Blanks

1. free, relatively clean and fair
2. multi-party, legal or parliamentary, *Partido ng Bayan*
3. elitism, lack of political will

## III Matching Type

- |      |      |
|------|------|
| 1. D | 5. G |
| 2. C | 6. A |
| 3. F | 7. E |
| 4. B |      |

## CHAPTER 33

### I Multiple Choice

1. D
2. C
3. A
4. C
5. A

### II Fill in the Blanks

1. Flor Contemplacion, Sarah Balabagan
2. brain drain
3. labor migration

## **CHAPTER 35**

### **I Multiple Choice**

1. C
2. B
3. A
4. D
5. C

### **II Fill in the Blanks**

1. Corazon Cojuangco Aquino, Gloria Macapagal Arroyo
2. fate of Estrada, legitimacy and constitutionality of her administration
3. glorified mob rule, undemocratic and thus can result to constitutionally questionable succession

### **III Enumeration**

1. People Power I was a time of fear and apprehension unlike People Power II, which had a totally festive and relaxed atmosphere.
2. Unlike People Power I, it was mostly the youth that participated in People Power II.
3. Telecommunications played a major role in People Power II.
4. The mobilization for People Power II went beyond Metro Manila to include major provinces and key cities of the country and even overseas Filipino workers.
5. Unlike People Power I, the military was not a key actor in People Power II.
6. Jose Velarde